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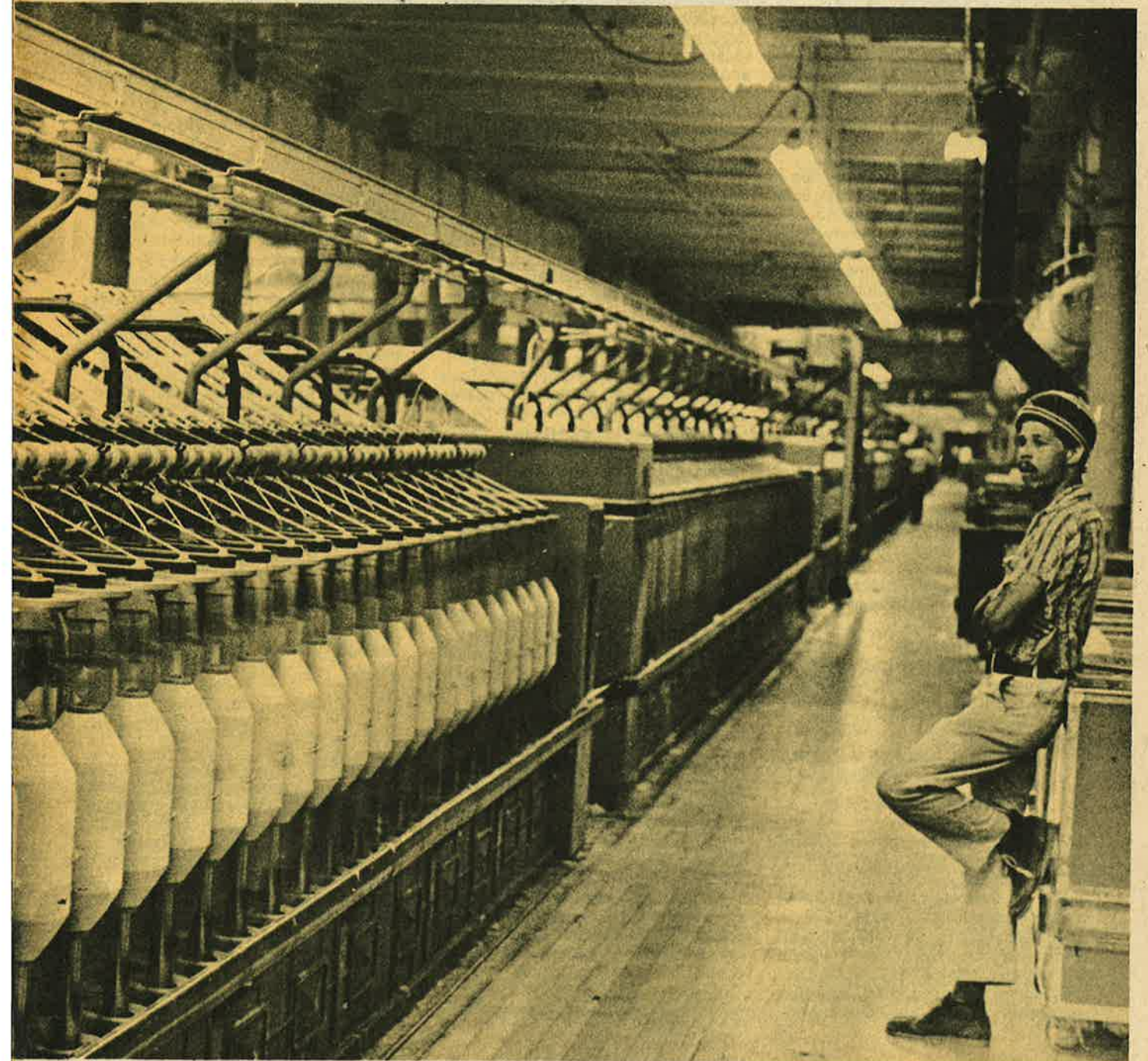
PEACE & FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

September 21, 1978/40¢

**“Mir Y Druzba”
A Pacifist Mission to Moscow**

First National No Nukes Conference

**THE STEVENS BOYCOTT:
TURNING THE TABLES ON THE TEXTILE GIANT**



LETTERS

I recently read the July 20, 1978 WIN with the article on women in the military. I noted that in the last page of the article, Marie Valenzuela states that "witch hunts" for homosexuals are used against women, but never against gay men. While I do not wish to fault the article, for it is otherwise a good explanation of many of the problems of women in the Army, this statement about the problems of gay men is simply wrong.

I have, in working with CCCO Western Region, encountered numerous examples of "witch hunts" for gay men in all branches of the military. The pattern seems to be the same. Someone is suspected of being gay, or someone, afraid of being caught and court-martialed, decides to confess in the hopes of getting a discharge, and then all hell breaks loose. That person is threatened to give names and promised a better discharge if they cooperate. Their friends, acquaintances, roommates, and others are questioned and threatened; the level of distrust among former friends increases to where everyone is suspicious. Eventually, a handful of people are discharged after a great deal of unpleasantness for many people, and often people end up confessing to things they never did, just hoping that investigators will finally be satisfied. It does happen to men, regularly. As indicated in the article, it happens to women, along with a lot more unpleasant problems. I was pleased to read the article and see some exposure of these problems. I simply didn't want people to get the mistaken impression that gay men were somehow safe in the Army.

—STEPHEN HUSTON
San Francisco, Calif.

The articles in your August 17, 1978 issue on mass transit are excellent. You have rendered a public service in the articles by Michael McFadden and Stephen Geisler.

—FRANK P. ZEIDLER
Milwaukee, Wisc.

I see by your paper where you're having a big party to "bring Abbie home." Let me say I think this is just dandy. No one ought to be underground except trans-mogrifying and willing roles.

At the same time. May I indulge in a few reflections, to wit: Mary Moylan of the Catonsville Nine has been mining and moling now since 1970. That, I submit, is a helluva big dose of dark. And

the charges against her (I risk seeming odious) are somewhat weightier to social change than drug dealing. She was accused and convicted, along with the rest of us, for burning papers instead of children. Here goes nepotism. My friends of Jonah House, John Schuchardt, Ledon Sheets, Ed Clark, Carl Kabat, and my brother Phil, are above ground indeed, but on ice in Allenwood. Their crime: impeding, however modestly, the meltdown of the planet.

Now in these and related cases (Wilmington Ten, Marion Brothers, David Rice, et. al.) I am set musing. How come no campaign to bring such and such home?

Let me push a bit further. Are we still hankering after counter-cultural personages instead of serious workers in the polluted vineyard? Are drug charges, however atrocious, more inspiring of rage and reaction than the vengefulness that follows on serious political activity, and punishes handsomely? Please enlighten me.

And please, I don't want to sit munching sour grapes in that famous vineyard. So here's a check for one for that big night. And please tell Abbie to tell us if he will, the difference between shooting up and sitting down. Not that he did the first, but where has the second gone? Maybe he knows. God knows we need to know.

—DAN BERRIGAN
New York, N.Y.

I accept Susan Wilkins' invitation to respond to Jan Barry's article on peace-related legislation (WIN 6/29/78) and her questions about it.

There seems to be an implicit assumption in Susan's piece that there is a lack of harmony between war tax resistance and World Peace Tax Fund efforts. As a WTR and WPTF activist, I feel these are symbiotic efforts which aid each other. If tax resistance were to grow rapidly, I believe the Congress would respond by enacting the WPTF bill or other legislation to provide an alternative for taxpayers morally opposed to war. Large numbers of war tax resisters would clog the system. The WPTF effort aids the WTR movement in a couple of ways. It is raising consciousness about the dilemma of paying taxes for the military while believing that all war is morally wrong. I personally know several WPTF activists who, through their WPTF work, came to realize that they should begin redirecting their own taxes now. The WPTF bill seeks government recognition of a right which already exists and should be exercised. The second way the WPTF bill helps the WTR movement is a matter of legitimization. Many people can understand the legitimacy of our resistance much better if they know we are also working for a legislative solution to our dilemma of conscience.

Readers of Jan Barry's and Susan Wilkins' comments might jump to wrong

conclusions about who would qualify for CO status under the WPTF bill. It would not be limited to those recognized as COs under Selective Service, nor would recognition be similar to that under the Selective Service System. The key difference is in the burden of proof. Under Selective Service, one had to prove that one was a CO. Under the WPTF bill, one acquires CO recognition by checking a box on one's tax return. CO recognition could only be denied if the government could prove in court that one was not a CO. The shift in the burden of proof would make a world of difference, particularly helping the less articulate and those with nontraditional religious views.

I would further like to say that I have been disappointed by how little WTR news has been in WIN in recent months. Unless they read *Peacemaker* and/or *God and Caesar*, WIN readers are probably unaware how much WTR activity there is. I hope WIN will find a way to cover war tax resistance more fully in the future.

—BILL SAMUEL
Falls Church, Va.

In the "People's Resource Guide to Health Politics" (WIN, 7/27/78 & 8/3/78), two corrections should be made. There is a more recent edition of *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, by the Boston Women's Health Book Collective. It was published in 1976 and costs \$4.95. It is considerably longer and changed from the 1973 edition. Also please note that any health treatment or counseling group that has an IRS tax exempt number can order twelve or more books directly from Simon and Shuster at \$1.20 per book, plus postage. See the clinic discount box on the copyright page of *Our Bodies, Ourselves* for more details. Any group not able to qualify for this discount or unable to afford to buy books can write directly to the Boston Women's Health Book Collective for a subsidy.

An important omission under "Occupational Safety and Health" is Jeanne Stellman's new book, *Women's Work, Women's Health* (Pantheon Books, 1978).

—ESTHER R. ROME
Co-author, *Our Bodies, Ourselves*
West Somerville, Mass.

I am having a problem. I cannot correlate your theme of "Peace and Freedom thru Nonviolent Action" with radical feminist articles like "The Politics of Health Feminism" by Claudia Dreifus which support abortion.

I have been very involved, very deeply, in the movement for peace for a long time so your magazine does directly address itself to my interests. But this woman no more represents my thoughts than the man in the moon! It must have occurred to some of you that there are

liberal movement people who are Pro-life. There are enlightened thoughts representing many women that can counter that article. (A fine example was the letter in WIN 6/15/78 by Jo McGowan).

How can abortion be winning "Peace and Freedom thru Nonviolent Action?" You insult me as a woman if you really expect me to believe this is a nonviolent procedure. Again, just for the record, this woman does not speak for me.

Your article on "Alternative Health Care in a Rural Community" was outstanding! As a worker in a skilled medical facility, I can document what a positive approach in the name of peace that article is.

—MICHELE L. FININ
Schoharie, N.Y.

WIN has been good for as long as I've been reading it, but recently it has just been stunningly so. By all means, keep on doing what it is you are doing!

—ROBERT MITCHELL
San Gabriel, Calif.

The positions voiced in Douglas Wilson's and Jim Peck's letters (WIN 8/10/78) are very well taken. Even if the Clam's Coordinating Committee did not follow the usual consensus procedures this time, its decision was a wise one. I'm very impressed that Jim—a pacifist hero of mine for over 30 years—also thinks so. The importance of preserving and increasing the support given by local communities cannot be overestimated.

Civil disobedience ought only to be used when it has a good chance of being effective toward the ends sought and where its probable effects will not be overbalanced by negative ones, such as, in the case of Seabrook, the withdrawal of community support. CD is a thoroughly political tactic, not merely a moral witnessing, and it was always used as such by Gandhi. Americans and Europeans would do well to study once more his use of CD. Too often it is undertaken romantically rather than appropriately. Gandhi was a nonviolent but thoroughly pragmatic political person, even though he never sacrificed principles for short-term (or even long-term) gains. He was no romanticist.

For persons such as my son and I, who cannot, at this time in our lives, go to jail (and every person committing CD must be completely prepared to go to jail), the legal demonstration at Seabrook provided a welcome opportunity to voice our opposition to nuclear power, as the Mobilization for Survival did for us to voice our support for disarmament in general, as well as our opposition to both nuclear power and nuclear weapons and our support for civil and human rights. Legal rallies such as these are at least as important politically as CD and give many more people the opportunity to act nonviolently in support of their beliefs.

I thoroughly approve of Wilson's advocacy of "a three-pronged strategy: 1) local activity planned by affinity groups and regional clusters, 2) large-scale civil disobedience, and 3) massive legal rallies." This strategy should be adopted not only by the Clam and other anti-nuclear power groups, but also by all pacifist and anti-military groups, such as WRL, as well as groups working for civil and human rights in general.

—JACKSON MACLOW
New York, N.Y.

Susan Wilkins' challenge (WIN 8/17/78) to my article on recent Congressional peace moves was angry, refreshing—and missing the point.

A call in Congress for the creation of a national peace academy may very well be "naive," "hypocritical" and worthy of Susan Wilkins' finest sarcasm—except for one point. When members of Congress persist in raising this idea (over the jeers of the John Birch Society and the jealous pride of the Pentagon), I think it warrants serious examination, rather than a knee-jerk reaction that people "less pure" than ourselves can't possibly offer anything useful to the world.

Susan is most angry, I suspect, because I reported a move toward a World Peace Tax Fund and failed to write about war tax resistance. That's a fine, courageous program. It has won the admiration of many IRS agents, I have been told. But still the IRS agents persist in following orders.

As it happens, I spoke with one IRS agent who suggested how to change their orders which are made in Washington by ordinary men and women. So I mentioned that, in an aside, while reporting some small moves for peace inching through Congress. I am pleased that Susan saw it.

If more people refused to pay taxes, somebody in Washington would have to listen, exactly as Susan argues. And indeed, if I read California's tax revolt clearly, millions of Americans recently refused to pay much of their taxes, through a referendum. I think peace-workers might learn something from that, as well. Or is there only one way to peace? (Sorry, A.J. Muste!)

—JAN BARRY
Montclair, N.J.

I wonder if you could suggest to the people who tied 408 black ribbons to a rope (the length of the Trident) that next time they reconsider their symbolism.

I'd suggest 408 pieces of barbed wire dipped in battleship grey paint, tied around a long wire.

Not only is black beautiful, but old-fashioned rope, with its many short fibers making, by their tight friction, a long strength, is a nice symbol of human society.

Keep up the ELF protest.

—PETE SEEGER
Beacon, N.Y.



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“I’m not out to save the world,” explained Bernie, middle-aged insurance salesman bound for Kiev to visit relatives and fellow passenger on Aeroflot flight 361 from New York to Moscow. “Let me give you some advice—don’t get involved in anything political while you’re in the Soviet Union. You’ll only stick your foot in it.”

I nodded and flashed the sort of knowing smile one possesses when one has something other than tourism in mind. My six colleagues and I were bound for Moscow for an explicitly political reason: to take our disarmament protest to Red Square and the Soviet government, a project that truly promised, in Bernie’s words, to “put our foot in it.”

Some background is helpful in understanding both the logistics and the politics of our mission. The idea sprang, not quite fully grown, from the head of Scott Herrick, a member of the War Resisters League national committee and a participant in the 1961 San Francisco-to-Moscow Walk which marched through 600 miles of Soviet territory to hold a two hour vigil in Red Square with the permission of the Soviet government. Scott, pained as we all were by the quantum leap in the arms race since that time, suggested that the WRL drive home the message of unilateral initiatives toward disarmament by mounting simultaneous demonstrations in Red Square and at the White House in Washington, DC.

“MIR Y DRUZBA” A Pacifist Mission to Moscow



A Soviet plainclothes policeman jumps Steve Sumerford as he hands out leaflets (center, with beard) in Red Square with St. Basil's Cathedral and the Kremlin in the background. At right, another policeman uses an umbrella to knock down a Western reporter's camera. This is the only photo of the 20-second disarmament demonstration (largely off-camera to the left). Photo by United Press International.

The original plan called for ten participants to enter the Soviet Union on tourist visas for a two-week tour of Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev. As the time neared, several people were forced to withdraw due to job or family obligations, leaving seven WRLers: national committee members Jerry Coffin of New York City, Scott Herrick of Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and Craig Simpson of Albuquerque, New Mexico; WRL staffers David McReynolds of New York City and Steve Sumerford of Chapel Hill, North Carolina; WRL chairwoman Norma Becker of New York City and myself. That Norma was the only woman in the Moscow contingent was a disappointment for us all and cannot be justified, though in all fairness it should be said that other women had been solicited to participate but for various reasons were unable or unwilling to make the trip.

In arranging the tour and applying for visas, we were forced to set aside our usual principle of openness, presenting ourselves as people active in the anti-war movement who very much wished to tour the Soviet Union. Since several of our number had either signed statements or spoken publicly in support of Soviet dissidents, there was some uncertainty up to the last moment as to whether one or another of us might be denied entry and trip up the entire group. Fortunately, we received word of the approval of all our visas a week before we were scheduled to depart.

“Tell It To The Russians” Or Something More?

Was our demonstration in Moscow simply a desire to quiet our critics on the right who demand on each and every issue that we “tell it to the Russians”? Simple though that reasoning may be, it is not sufficient to justify the project politically and morally. American pacifists have “told it to the Russians” on a number of occasions both in Moscow (with the 1961 walk and the 1968 War Resisters International protests against the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and at the Soviet embassy and consulates in this country. No doubt this project could bestow an aura of credibility on the movement, but to undertake a demonstration in Moscow merely to make domestic political hay would be the worst sort of political opportunism and anti-Sovietism.

More penetrating reasoning rests in an examination of the arms race itself and each of the superpowers' role in it. The leaflet prepared for distribution in Red Square said it well: “We realize that as Americans our main emphasis must be on the United States, which initiated the nuclear arms race and is the only nation ever to unleash nuclear weaponry on fellow human beings.” Yes, the United States has a two to one advantage in numbers of warheads, a five year lead in most weapons research and development, and is preparing to

Patrick Lacefield was an organizer of the September 4 Moscow-Washington demonstration and is a member of the WIN staff.

deploy such new weapons systems as the cruise missile, Trident submarine and possibly the M-X missile and neutron bomb. Why then did we feel the need to take our disarmament message to the Soviets? Because the arms race has escalated to the point where assessing the blame ceases to be a useful exercise. In their quest for parity with the US, the Soviet Union has accepted the American ground rules and illogic that have brought the globe perilously close to nuclear war.

The Soviet Union has eschewed any bold disarmament initiatives and opted instead, like the US, to place its faith in SALT and the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction talks, bilateral efforts that show little promise of slowing much less halting the runaway arms race and may well serve to institutionalize it. Part of this joint US-Soviet strategy involved stonewalling the Third World demands for substantial disarmament initiatives at the recently concluded UN Special Session on Disarmament. The Soviet Union acted positively in launching a propaganda campaign against the neutron bomb (which Carter delayed less because of “clever Soviet propaganda” than as a result of mass opposition across the political spectrum in Western Europe and the US). Yet for all his denunciations of the bomb as a horrible inhumane weapon, Brezhnev left no doubt that the Soviet Union would produce and deploy the neutron bomb should President Carter give it the green light.

Sending A Message From Moscow

The first hurdle we faced upon landing was customs. Fortunately for us, the Soviet customs inspectors seemed less concerned with what a group of American tourists might be carrying into the country than with rummaging through the bags of Soviet citizens returning from travel abroad. We were met by our Intourist guide, Natasha, a pleasant, dark-haired Muscovite, and whisked by bus to our lodgings at the Hotel National, built in 1902 in the ornate style of a Russia long since past.

In the several days that followed, we played the role of eager tourists, shutterbugging everything in sight and complaining about the starchy Russian food. We soaked up more than a little of the Moscow scene: the Kremlin with its three cathedrals, seat of government, golden copules and czarist treasures; a colorful folk singing and dancing group at Tchaikovsky Theatre; a panoramic view of the city from Lenin Hills where dozens of newlywed couples gathered to pose for pictures; and the GUM department store, crowded with Russians vying for consumer goods. Statues of Lenin and, to a lesser degree, Marx and Engels, were much in evidence in this first socialist state and yet the Marx-Engels Museum was empty of visitors save our group while the museum of Western art next door drew huge crowds. According to Natasha, Communists in the Soviet Union had “all obligations and no advantages,” but only

Westerners and a privileged few Party bureaucrats were allowed entrance to the special shop at the Russo Hotel. All of the accomplishments and contradictions that are the Soviet Union loomed large for all to see and draw conclusions from.

Jerry Coffin contacted the Moscow foreign correspondents about the action, scribbling answers to their questions in homes and offices presumed to be bugged. When we met the evening before the action at the bar in the Intourist Hotel, Rolling Stones music blaring loudly in the background, we learned the correspondents thought it likely that we would be detained for some time. One thought we might be held to exchange for two Russian UN employees being held for espionage in New York; another pointed to the tension surrounding the trial of American businessman Francis Crawford on currency violations scheduled for September 5, while another predicted a quick expulsion. In the end, of course, they were all wrong but we steeled ourselves for the worst.

As the Kremlin tower clock sounded the hour of five on Monday, September 4, I stood in front of the GUM department store off Red Square with David and Craig, waiting for the others and feeling as conspicuous as hell. The sky was dark and overcast and a slight drizzle began to fall on the red cobblestones of the Square. Nearly a dozen journalists, including a few television cameramen, had gathered in the center of the Square, a much better turnout than we had expected and possibly responsible for what seemed to be heavier-than-usual security in the Square.

At three minutes past five, the rest of the group arrived and Steve Sumerford slipped me some

leaflets which I concealed in a copy of the Communist Party-USA newspaper *The Daily World*. We stepped into the Square. At the given signal, Jerry whipped the banner out of his carrying bag and Norma, David and Scott stretched it out while Craig, Steve, and I began to distribute leaflets. Immediately a clamor arose as militia, plainclothes detectives, and KGB agents converged on the banner, slashing it in two with a knife and trying to yank it from the four holding it. Soviet police nabbed Steve before he could toss his leaflets into the air and grabbed Craig, who was leafletting the crowd on hand to watch the changing of the guard at Lenin's tomb. Shouts of "mir y družba"—peace and friendship—rang out across the Square as the Soviet police sought to interfere with Western photographers and cameramen.

Having given away two leaflets in four attempts, I turned to see the banner ripped to shreds after only 20 seconds and immediately threw my leaflets high into the air where a gust of wind caught them and blew them across the Square. Soviet police in hot pursuit. I was seized at once by four young militiamen in light green uniforms. One arm painfully twisted behind my back, I was shoved 20 yards or so and into a police car. In short order Steve was thrown in on top of me as was a CBS News cameraman yelling "help" and "correspondent, correspondent" to no avail. The car then shot across Red Square and down an alley to police headquarters. At the front desk, we ante-ed up our passports and were separated. I was consigned to sit and wait on an old church pew in a small detention room. Later Jerry and Craig were brought in along with reporters from ABC News and the *Chicago*

Moscow demonstrators display banner reading "USA and USSR: Disarm Now!" before leaving for the Soviet Union. From left: Jerry Coffin, Norma Becker, Scott Herrick, Craig Simpson, David McReynolds, Patrick Lacefield, and Steve Sumerford. Photo by Karl Bissinger.



Tribune and six British tourists (allegedly CP members) swept up after picking up a leaflet. Jerry and I chatted in the doorway with the CBS News cameraman who overheard the police commenting that our leaflet "says some good things."

After less than an hour in custody, we were handed our passports and shown the door. Somewhere in the Soviet chain of command, a decision had been made, a conscious political decision, not to come down hard on us. Indeed, we soon discovered we would even be allowed to continue our tour. Suprised at this, the one contingency we had not planned for, we returned to the hotel to join our compatriots who had not been arrested. That evening, while our 11 comrades in Washington were in jail where they would remain for 30 hours more, we wined and dined at Arbot Restaurant, one of Moscow's finest, reflecting on the irony of the situation and feeling no small discomfort.

With The Soviet Peace Committee...

The next morning, presumably as a result of our action, the Soviet Peace Committee requested a meeting with us. The Peace Committee offices, furnished in marble and cloaked in exquisite draperies, resemble anything but your ordinary peace movement offices. For nearly three hours, our group held discussions on disarmament with a top-level delegation that included Michail Kotov, Executive Secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee; Vikenty Matzeen, a top political writer for the Party newspaper *Izvestia*; and Alexander Dazydov, Director of the US-Canada Institute and a leading Soviet disarmament expert. For their part, the

Soviets sought to convince us of the Russian people's yearning for peace and of the efficacy of Soviet disarmament proposals. Of the first we had no doubt—the devastation and death wrought by the Second World War has so sensitized the Russian people to war that they treasure peace above all else. In Byelorussia, one of the Soviet republics, stands a memorial divided into four parts. Three of the sections bear vegetation, the fourth is kept barren, a stark reminder that one quarter of all Byelorussians perished between 1941-45.

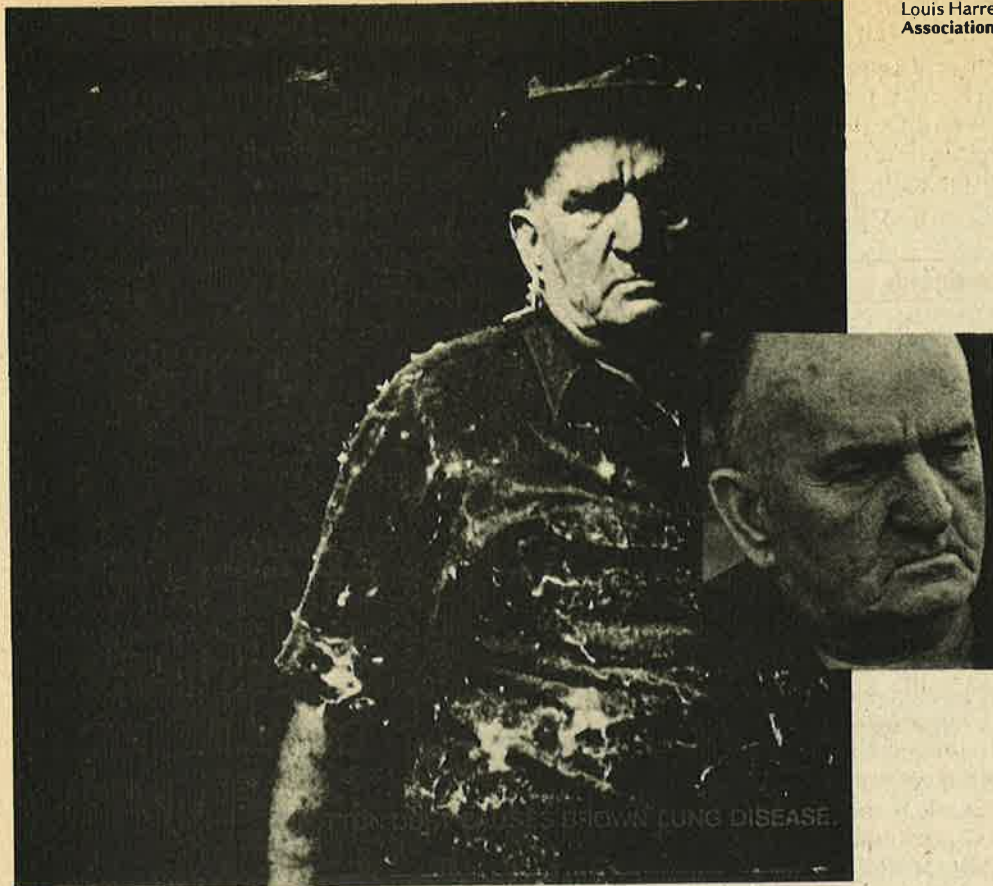
In response to the Soviet support of SALT, we counterposed unilateral initiatives, two in particular. The first was a unilateral halt to all nuclear testing, negotiations for a bilateral test ban having foundered on the rocks of resistance from James Schlesinger and the US Defense Department. Our second proposal would involve a unilateral Soviet declaration that it had reached parity with the US and halt all Soviet production of nuclear weapons. Our proposals touched off a serious exchange of views during which the Soviets aired their anxieties about the possibility of a US-China-Japan alliance directed against them. Like the US government, the Soviets emphasized the need to negotiate from strength, not weakness. "The only thing that imperialism will understand is strength," said Dazydov, admitting quite frankly that the Soviet Union is laying plans to increase military expenditures should SALT fail.

"I respect your publication," Dazydov stated firmly, pointing at me and referring to WIN, "but you are not the equal of the *New York Times*. We respect your movement. You may be in the most diffi-

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Washington protestors unfurl banner in front of the White House. From left: Van Zwisohn, Grace Paley, Ralph DiGia, Cathy Carson, Gail Bederman, Warren Hoskins, Ed Hedemann, Karen Malpede, and Glen Pontier. Also arrested, but not pictured, are Linnea Capps Lacefield and Karl Bissinger. Photo by Karl Bissinger.





Louis Harrell, poster from the Carolina Brown Lung Association.

THE STEVENS BOYCOTT: TURNING THE TABLES ON THE TEXTILE GIANT

by Joe Pilati and David Dyson

The Legacy of Louis Harrell

Byssinosis takes your breath away—and when Louis Harrell was buried in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, on June 19, the dreaded “brown lung” disease had claimed another victim.

Louis Harrell had worked for J.P. Stevens and Co., the nation’s second largest textile firm, for almost 40 years. His photograph—taken as he emerged from the cotton mill, his clothes covered with dust and lint—had appeared on a widely circulated poster for the Carolina Brown Lung Association, an organization that came into being largely because J.P. Stevens and other textile companies denied for decades the very existence of byssi-

Joe Pilati and David Dyson are members of the J.P. Stevens boycott staff of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union in New York City.

nosis—the respiratory disease caused by the inhalation of cotton dust—and fought claims for compensation at every turn.

When Louis Harrell died, he was still waiting for his own workers’ compensation claim to be settled.

“I started in the mills when I was 13 and I been workin’ there ever since,” Louis had said in the film, *Testimony*, produced by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union to promote the consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products. “Been havin’ a breathin’ problem for quite a while. And it got so every time I went in there [to work], I near stifled to death. Finally the doctor told me I couldn’t go back there no more. I just had to quit.”

Other than passage of the legislation pending in Congress to compensate brown lung victims, sponsored by South Carolina Senator Ernest Hollings, there could probably be no more fitting memorial to Louis Harrell than a union contract in

Roanoke Rapids, where Louis and hundreds of other Stevens workers saw to it that the union won a representation election four years ago. But there is still no contract in Roanoke Rapids, nor anywhere else in the far-flung Stevens empire (83 plants, 63 of them in North and South Carolina). The company’s intransigent opposition to the union is, in fact, what made the boycott both a political and moral imperative.

All in The Family

In 1813, when Captain Nat Stevens converted his father’s New England grist mill into a woolen mill, he could hardly have anticipated what he was starting. What he *did* know was that the War of 1812 had given him just the chance he needed. The war with Britain created a need for domestically manufactured wool cloth and business boomed. But with the peace, British woolen goods flooded the market. Many mills that did not react quickly enough went under, but not Capt. Nat’s. He switched to flannel production, bought out his partners and soon owned stock in a gunpowder factory, banks, insurance companies, mills, railroads, and water power associations. Of the more than 100 families who started woolen mills in the US between 1800 and 1815, the Stevenses are the sole survivors in the industry.

From its inception, the management of J.P. Stevens has passed from father to son in a direct line. But family relations were not always harmonious, as the Stevens empire preyed upon relatives as well as outside competitors.

In 1833, Ezekiel Hale, Jr., Nat Stevens’ cousin, purchased a woolen mill in Haverhill, Massachusetts, from his father. In 1839 his son, Ezekiel James Madison Hale, known as E.J.M., was made a partner. Four years later, Ezekiel Jr. became convinced that Jesus Christ would return to earth in December of 1843 and hastened to prepare. E.J.M. advised him that God would look more favorably upon him if he didn’t own a woolen mill. He agreed and sold it to his son for \$20,000.

By 1845, Ezekiel Jr. had become impatient waiting for the world to end. He wanted his mill back. E.J.M. refused and father and son went to court. Capt. Nat Stevens stepped in and convinced the court that the mill was worth \$30,000 (other witnesses refused to value it over \$20,000) and Ezekiel Jr. won back his interest.

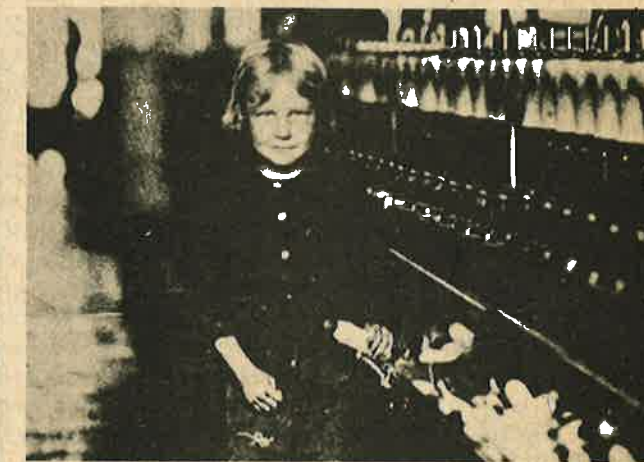
But Nat Stevens was not out of the picture. The ownership furor left the mill in financial trouble. The Hales were forced to sign a mortgage, and didn’t know that Capt. Nat had secretly purchased the mortgage from the broker. When Ezekiel could not meet the first payment, Nat Stevens foreclosed.

An auction sale was held outside the mill. Besides the Hales, Moses and George Stevens, Nat’s sons, were present. Ezekiel and E.J.M. were determined not to lose the mill to Nat Stevens, so they spent all their time watching Moses and George. It proved to be a bad move. By the time the

auctioneer had the price up to \$25,000, only a little-noticed stranger was left bidding. He was Capt. Nat’s trusted foreman and the Hales were finished. That was in 1855.

This adroit maneuver by Capt. Nat marked the beginning of an expansionary period in which he accumulated sufficient capital to weather the financial panics of the 1800s and make a grand killing off the Civil War. In 1899 a grandson of Capt. Nat formed a partnership, the J.P. Stevens Co., to expand into merchandising. From 1906 on, they expanded to the South, once more beating competitors to the punch.

Robert Stevens, Capt. Nat’s great-grandson, was appointed a colonel during World War II and served as Deputy Director of Purchases in charge of federal contracts worth tens of millions of dollars. With this kind of help, the company secured over \$50 million in contracts during the war. At the war’s end, all Stevens woolen and worsted manufacturing was moved from New England to the South. The reasons: “Old buildings...high costs...and unions.”



In the early days the textile companies reaped huge profits by exploiting child labor. Photo from *Brown Lung Cotton Mill Blues*.

“Goons and Ginks and Company Finks”

The Southern textile industry is America’s last unorganized manufacturing industry, with only 10% of its workers organized. Textile workers are the lowest-paid industrial workers in the nation.

The hostility of the textile industry has played a considerable part in keeping the workers unorganized. That hostility extends beyond the walls of the mill. Last year Thelma Swann, a former Darlington mill worker, described what happened during an organizing attempt in a mill town at public hearings on the Labor Law Reform Bill before the House Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations. She told the Subcommittee that if one person was pro-union, all the other family members were laid off. Children were pressured at school by their teachers to oppose the union, churches made their appeal for the sake of “community peace,” and neighbor was set against neighbor.

Still, courageous Southern workers began to organize despite Stevens' insistence that "the unions had caused the closing of the mills in the North." The company "line" was vividly reinforced by the closing of the Hockanum, MA, mill in 1949, laying off 1,300 workers. It became clear that the National Labor Relations Act would be ineffective in the face of recalcitrant and deliberate obstruction by the textile industry. Union organizers knew they couldn't take on the whole South, so they resurrected an old labor tactic: target one company.

Burlington Mills, the largest textile company, was considered. Although they had fought unions in the 40s, they were partially unionized by the 60s. J.P. Stevens, on the other hand, had a history of a few union contracts in New England but had established a Southern headquarters in Greenville, SC, where several other industries had been recently organized. The Stevens workers were eager and asking for help.

In 1963, the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA) began concentrating on J.P. Stevens and sent organizers to 21 plants. The company's response was swift and harsh. Workers who sympathized with the union were fired on the spot. The action resulted in a court case now known as Stevens I, the first of a long line of cases, many of which are still unsettled.

Eventually, the TWUA proved in court that 71 workers had been fired illegally in 21 plants simply because they wanted to join a union and had encouraged others to do the same. Many more had been fired, but these 71 cases could be proven. The Supreme Court decided the case in December 1967 in favor of the 71 workers and ordered them reinstated.

But before the litigation was completed; the second round of firings had begun. This time, the victims were the workers who had testified in Stevens I.

The NLRB went to court on 14 more occasions to try to restrain Stevens from the intimidation campaign, but the early organizing efforts were stalled by still more company-inspired fear tactics.

Between 1963 and 1976, Stevens was found guilty of more violations of the National Labor Relations Act than any other company in the nation's history. The violations were so numerous that many were combined in order to expedite legal processing, resulting in 15 guilty decisions by the Board. J.P. Stevens was forced to pay more than \$1.3 million in back pay to workers who were illegally fired or discriminated against.

By the late 1960s, the workers in the Statesboro, Georgia, plant had had enough. They asked for a representation vote. The majority of them had signed union cards, but management harassment before the election reached such a fever pitch that hundreds of workers feared voting for the union. The NLRB concluded in 1969 that Stevens' managers had flagrantly tampered with the elec-

tion process and recognized the union as the bargaining agent without requiring another election. But the quest for a contract was futile. Stevens simply ignored the union—and when the union wouldn't die, they made good their threats to the workers and closed the plant in 1975.

The NLRB had gone to court in the Statesboro case. In 1971, Stevens was ordered to bargain in good faith. By 1975, Stevens was held in contempt for failing to do so. On appeal, the decision against Stevens was affirmed in 1976 by the Fifth Circuit, but it made no difference: the judges were talking about "remedies" in an empty plant.

Meanwhile, in another part of the South, a majority of the 3,400 Stevens workers in seven Roanoke Rapids, NC, plants finally overcame the intimidation and voted for the union. But these workers soon found themselves in the same state of limbo as the Statesboro workers. To this day, the company engages only in "surface" bargaining; otherwise it acts as if the union doesn't exist. Work rules and wage scales are changed arbitrarily without so much as a nod to the union. Hanging over it all is the ever-present and oft-repeated threat that Stevens will close the plants.



Photo from Southern Exposure.

In an opinion handed down by the US Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit concerning new violations at six plants in three locations in 1977, Judge Feinberg lamented, "This case, perhaps destined to be bleakly denominated as Stevens XVIII in the long list of Stevens litigation, has been a troubling one not only because of the violations of the rights of the employees involved, but also because it raises grave doubts about the ability of the courts to make provisions of the federal labor law work in the face of persistent violations."

By the time Stevens had—inevitably—been found guilty of bad faith bargaining in the Roanoke Rapids case, Administrative Law Judge Bernard Reis of the Labor Board wrote, "I conclude that (Stevens) sat, talked, proposed and listened for two years without the slightest intention of attempting to compose differences with the union and reach a bargaining agreement." He observed that Stevens

"approached these negotiations with all the tractability and open-mindedness of Sherman at the outskirts of Atlanta."

Boyd Leedom, a former NLRB chairman appointed by President Eisenhower, described Stevens in 1967 as "so out of tune with a humane, civilized approach to industrial relations that it should shock even those least sensitive to honor, justice and decent treatment." His comment is, tragically, as true today as it was then.

Some White Sales Are No Bargain

The June 1976 merger of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America (ACWA) and the Textile Workers Union of America marked a turning point in labor history. With a combined membership of more than 500,000 and strong support from the AFL-CIO (whose president, George Meany, can be credited with coining the phrase "America's Number One Labor Law Violator" to characterize J.P. Stevens), the new Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) could not only step up organizing throughout the South, but also launch the nationwide—soon to be worldwide—consumer boycott of J.P. Stevens products.

The distinguished lineage of the boycott tactic can be traced back through US history to the Boston Tea Party, but more recent experiences—such as the United Farmworkers grape and lettuce boycotts and the ACWA's successful boycott of Farah pants a few years ago—helped set the strategy and direction of the Stevens boycott. Hundreds of organizations have rallied behind the consumer boycott: endorsements have come from the National Council of Churches, the national Catholic associations of priests, nuns and brothers, and the Synagogue Council of America; from NOW, the NAACP, the National Student Association and the

Products	
J.P. Stevens products are sold under a wide variety of labels. Here are some of the labels you may find in retail stores.	
SHEETS & PILLOWCASES	DESIGNER LABELS
Utica	Yves St. Laurent
Tastemaker	Suzanne Pleshette
Fine Arts	Dinah Shore
Meadowbrook	Angelo Donghia
BLANKETS & CARPETS	Cacharel
Utica	Ava Bergmann
Gulistan	Hardy Amies
Forstmann	
TOWELS	
Tastemaker	
Utica/Fine Arts	
Snoopy (comic strip character)	



National Gray Panthers, to name just a few. Across the country, governors, senators, state legislators and city councillors are on record for the consumer boycott.

Endorsements, of course, have to be translated into effective action at the local retail level if the consumer boycott is going to succeed. There have been a few cases of stores and/or chains voluntarily discontinuing the sale of Stevens products after only a visit or two from a local citizens' committee; more often, after boycott staffers survey retail advertising and inventories of Stevens products in their communities, it is necessary to start an extended dialogue with store managements and to couple such "moral suasion" with leafleting and

MILITARISM

From the inception of the company during the War of 1812, military contracts have provided the owners with a significant source of income. The close relationship between Stevens and the military has been cemented by the family's involvement in military operations. Even Capt. Nat Stevens headed the local militia in Andover, Massachusetts.

In the 20th century, the family's participation in Army affairs escalated. During World War I, Nathaniel Stevens (Capt. Nat's grandson) headed the Joint Committee of Wool Manufacturers, which cooperated with the Council of National Defense and federal purchasing agents to ensure orderly production of goods; he was later the manufacturers' representative to the government War Services Committee. His nephew, Abbot Stevens, served as a captain in the Quartermaster Corps, assigned to overseeing textile purchases in New England. Stevens received \$10 million in military contracts during World War I.

During World War II, Colonel Robert Stevens, in charge of the Army's textile purchasing, landed more than \$50 million in government contracts for the company. At times, more than 90% of its products went to the military. Even Horace Stevens once admitted, "It is probable that it (Stevens) took more than its full share of what was offered to the industry."

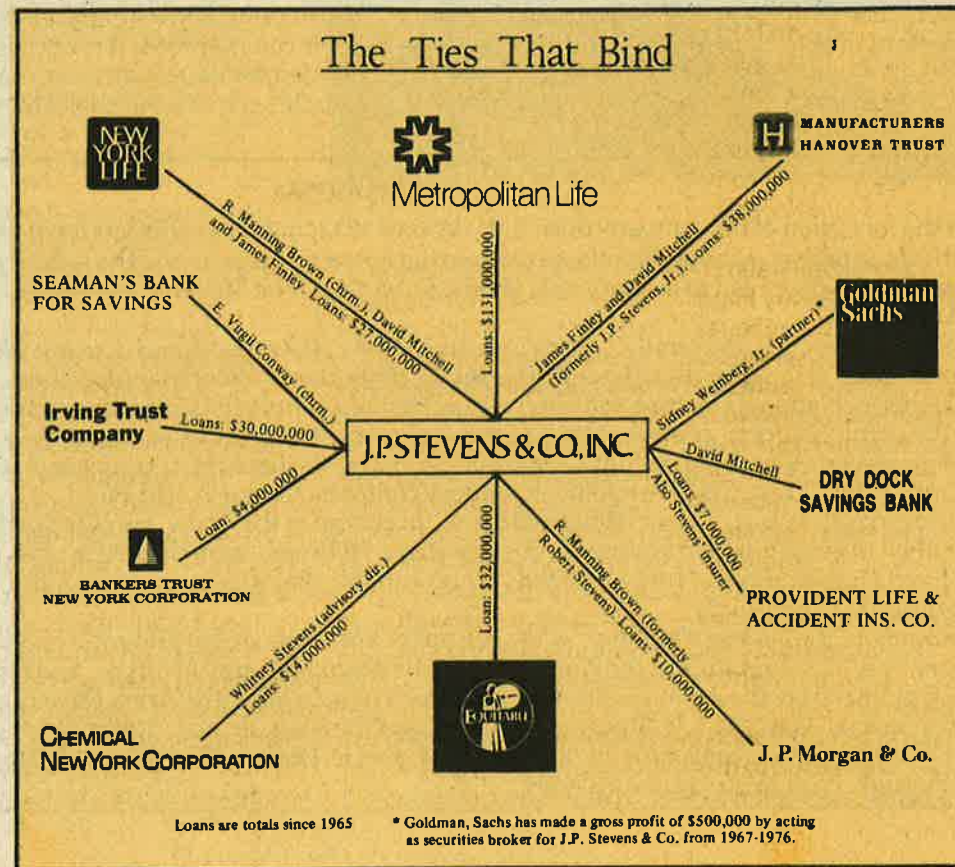
Throughout the Vietnam buildup, A.W. Anthony, a Stevens vice president, served as the chairman of the Military Fabrics Committee of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, and received a Patriotic Civilian Service plaque from the Army for his role. Also, for Vietnam duty, the Army presented its Defense Supply Agency Special Award to J.P. Stevens. At the peak of the Vietnam war, Stevens' government sales soared again—up to eight percent of the company's total sales in 1967 alone, and a total of more than \$236,525,000 for 1967 through 1975. Who says war is hell?

other manifestations of strong customer sentiment.

The tasks of boycott organizers and their allies and volunteers across the country would be greatly simplified if all or most Stevens products were sold under the J.P. Stevens label. Unfortunately, they aren't. Only about a third of Stevens output is in the form of finished retail products; the rest consists of "piece goods" (bolts of cloth sold unfinished) and industrial products. What's more, even the retail products are sold under a wide assortment of labels (see the list on page 11).

Given such obstacles to merely identifying Stevens products — you can't simply look for a union label like the Farmworkers' Aztec eagle symbol, for example — it becomes all the more difficult to gauge the impact of the boycott. Although the company's sales were up about five percent in the first quarter of 1978 from a year earlier, earnings were down seven percent for the same period — a disparity that suggests there has been widespread "dumping" and heavy discounting of Stevens products. On the New York Stock Exchange, the price of Stevens common stock has fallen steadily from a 1976 high of \$26.62 per share to the present three-year low of \$14.75. The rapidly escalating anti-Stevens sentiment among women activists and consumers may have contributed to the company's decision to drop its hosiery line this year and sell the labels (or brand names) to another firm. There are scattered reports of declining Stevens sales in major department stores (such as Gimbels in Pittsburgh, where the store management estimated a 20% drop early this year). Dozens of smaller stores

Diagram from Southern Exposure/LNS.



and chains have voluntarily discontinued sales of Stevens products, as have a few larger chains (most notably, the 76 Bradlee's stores in New England).

"I Don't Want To Be Where I'm Not Wanted"

Is a spectre haunting the corporate boardrooms? Has ACTWU seized upon "something new and disturbing" in its struggle with J.P. Stevens, as the dean of the elite Wharton School of Business recently claimed? Is the union, in the words of a *Wall Street Journal* editorial, "terrorizing businessmen who do business with Stevens"?

Hardly. Perturbed and panicky remarks of some of its critics notwithstanding, the union's Corporate Campaign is, on one level, only a logical extension of the "power structure research" which has illuminated so much corporate greed and so many political misdeeds since the era of the muckrakers. There is, however, "a gathering momentum against J.P. Stevens" (as *Business Week* magazine admitted somewhat ruefully last spring) among business and financial interests as well as among consumers — due in large measure to the highly sophisticated research and action program the union launched about a year ago.

"You cannot view the Stevens company as 83 plants, 44,000 employees, a multinational company with endless ties to the Wall Street community," explains an ACTWU Corporate Campaign director. "That is too unmanageable, too big to deal with." Instead, he contends, Stevens' real nexus of power can be viewed as "just 13 men" — the members of the company's board of directors.

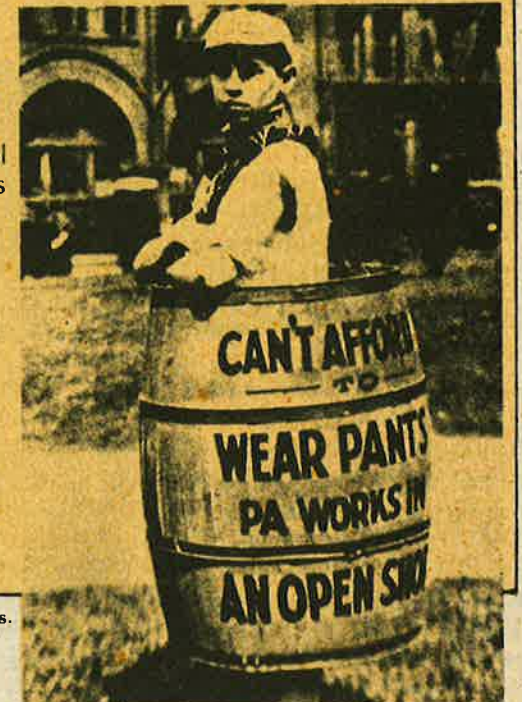
MONEY

"After 37 years of loyal and faithful service, I have a plaque, \$1,360 (total pension benefits) and brown lung."
— Thomas Malone, retired J.P. Stevens employee.

If you were a J.P. Stevens worker, you'd most likely be earning about \$3.65 an hour and end up with a weekly paycheck (before deductions) about \$54 a week less than the national average wage for factory workers. If, on the other hand, you were a J.P. Stevens executive, you'd be doing a lot better. The list below shows the total paid in salary and bonuses to each of the top eight company officials in 1976; the "wage per hour" figure is based on a hypothetical 40-hour week.

Name	Salary & Bonuses	Wages Per Hour
James Finley, chairman	\$368,375.	\$177.10
Whitney Stevens, president	\$295,000.	141.83
Thomas Price, group VP	\$196,633.	94.54
Wyndham Gary, treasurer	\$152,633.	73.38
Ward Burns, controller	\$135,140.	64.97
John Wilson, group VP	\$128,925.	61.94
Peter Kamins, group VP	\$118,450.	56.95
Paul Nipper, VP	\$ 95,225.	45.78

Photo from Brown Lung Cotton Mill Blues.



Earlier this year, Stevens chairman James Finley and David Mitchell, chairman of Avon Products and a member of the Stevens board, felt the "gathering momentum" in a very direct manner. Both men served as directors of the nation's fourth largest bank, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co., which has also provided J.P. Stevens with millions of dollars in loans. Bank officials up to and including "Manny Hanny" chairman Gabriel Hauge were deluged with letters, postcards and other customer protests generated by the same coalition that supports the consumer boycott. The bank had become the first major institution widely portrayed as tainted by its ties to Stevens; more than 150 religious, political and community groups joined with ACTWU and other unions in expressing their "moral outrage."

It wasn't long — about six months from the inception of the "Manny Hanny" effort — before the bank began to realize, as a union staffer put it, that the "issue was serious and that they had a lot to lose in terms of profits and losses, in terms of their image, reputation and credibility." *The New York Times* reported that even "some leading businessmen and bankers are said to have privately supported the departure of Mr. Finley from Manufacturers Hanover's board." And depart from the bank board he did, commenting to reporters at the J.P. Stevens annual meeting in Greenville, SC, last March: "To be quite honest, the bank put enough pressure on me that I decided against seeking reelection... I don't want to be where I'm not wanted."

Avon's Mitchell soon made his own decision not to seek re-election to the bank board. With what many observers felt was less candor than Finley

had mustered, Mitchell cited only "business pressures" behind his departure. Less than a month later, though, Mitchell resigned "with regret" from the Stevens board, asserting that his "continuing service (to Stevens)... would not be in the best interests of Avon or its shareholders, to whom I owe primary responsibility as chief executive officer." Delegates to the November 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston, Texas, through their own avalanche of postcards to Avon Products, apparently exerted a considerable influence on the cosmetics company's management; relying as it does on thousands of individual door-to-door salespeople who take the pulse of consumers every time they intone "Avon calling," the company (through a public relations spokesperson) acknowledged that "feedback from our representatives across the country" had hastened the departure of its president from the Stevens board.

Another Avon director, Ralph Manning Brown Jr., remains a member of the Stevens board while also serving as chairman of the powerful New York Life Insurance Co. (whose board, in turn, also includes Stevens chairman Finley). New York Life policyholders and stockholders are now being mobilized around the Stevens issue.

The focus of the Corporate Campaign is shifting to another large New York-based bank, The Seaman's Bank for Savings, and its chairman, J.P. Stevens director E. Virgil Conway. "I have no intention of resigning as a director of J.P. Stevens," Conway has written to many of those who protested

his links to the textile firm. "J.P. Stevens has an outstanding record," he adds, insisting that he is "proud to be associated with such a fine company." It remains to be seen how long he can maintain such an attitude, but it is worth noting that Avon's David Mitchell expressed a similarly stubborn determination to stick with Stevens as late as one week before he saw—or was shown—the light.

Words to Live By

"Stevens never gave us anything," said Roanoke Rapids worker Caroline Brown. "But in spite of themselves, they did give us one thing—and that was the union. That is one thing they cannot take away from us: the union and our respect for each other."

Lucy Taylor, a brown lung victim and the immediate past president of the Carolina Brown Lung Association, gave 35 years of her life to J.P. Stevens.

At the end of the film, *Testimony*, she had this to say:

"It is too late for us that're sick. But for the people still working in the plants, and for our children and grandchildren that're coming after us, we ask you to help us. Boycott J.P. Stevens."

Resources

Southern Exposure, Vol. IV; No. 1-2, Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

Southern Exposure, Vol. III, No. 4, Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514.

Institute for Southern Studies, Special Report on J.P. Stevens, "The Men at the Top," 1978.

Patricia Ann James, "J.P. Stevens: The Industrial Plantation," (an unpublished report).

National Council of Churches, Division of Church and Society, "Fabric of Injustice," 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

OFFICE LISTING

The Stevens Consumer Boycott campaign is always in need of volunteer help. Your energy, skills and dedication can be put to good use through any of the regional boycott offices listed below. The regional offices can also supply leaflets, fact sheets, "calendar cards" (listing the Stevens labels), buttons, bumper stickers, T-shirts and other materials. And if you haven't seen *Testimony*, the 30-minute color film in which Stevens workers tell the shocking story of the company's abuses, you can arrange a free showing for your group or organization.

NEW YORK—111 E. 15th St., New York, NY 10003 (260-4400).

NEW JERSEY & CONNECTICUT—9 Washington St., Hamden, CT 06158 (288-3519).

NEW ENGLAND—150 Lincoln St., Boston, MA 02111 (426-7590).

EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA—2115 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146 (545-3900).

WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA & OHIO—650 Smithfield St., City Center Tower, Pittsburgh, PA 15222 (281-9983).

ILLINOIS—333 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago, IL 60607 (421-4100).

WASHINGTON, D.C.—815 16th St. N.W., Washington, DC (638-1007).

NORTHWEST—3924 Whitman Ave. No., Rm. 20, Seattle, WA 98103 (632-7341).

SOUTHWEST—1627 Locust St., St. Louis, MO 63103 (241-0018).

SOUTH—4620 S. Fifth Ave., Birmingham, AL 35222 (592-3774).

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA—995 Market St., Room 1412, San Francisco, CA 94103 (495-7240).

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA—2501 S. Hill St., Los Angeles, CA 90007 (749-6161).

CANADA—33 Cecil St., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5T 1N1 (416-368-6540).

Drawing from *Southern Exposure*/LNS.



What are the ties of J.P. Stevens to American companies that invest in South Africa? Consider the following: R. Manning Brown, Chairperson of Princeton University's Board of Trustees and a director of the J.P. Stevens Company, also sits on the board of directors of the Union Carbide Corporation which operates a subsidiary in South Africa under the same name. The American parent controls 50% or more of the subsidiary capital. Our Princeton connection is also a board member of the J.P. Morgan Company, one of the major American financial institutions organizing and participating in loans to South Africa. Since 1975, J.P. Morgan has helped to transact more than \$505 million in loans to South Africa.

James D. Finley, chair of the board and chief executive officer of J.P. Stevens, sits on the board of directors of the Borden and Sperry Rand corporations. Both companies operate subsidiaries under the same name in South Africa with the American parent controlling 50% or more of the subsidiary capital.

These relationships become important to the divestiture and boycott campaigns only when they are fully exposed, understood, and most importantly, acted upon. They are politically meaningful because of the base created for coalition building among various activist groups and individuals concerned about social and economic justice and corporate investment responsibility.

The similarities between the J.P. Stevens Company and American corporations investing in South Africa are actually intrinsic. For example, one of the most vicious aspects of our industrial society is the reality of "runaway shops" or the "flight of capital." J.P. Stevens is a national symbol of runaway shops because it abandoned the Northeast during the past 30 years throwing nearly 12,000 people out of work. The company, unwilling to pay decent wages to unionized workers in the Northeast, fled to the low-wage, anti-union climate of the South in an

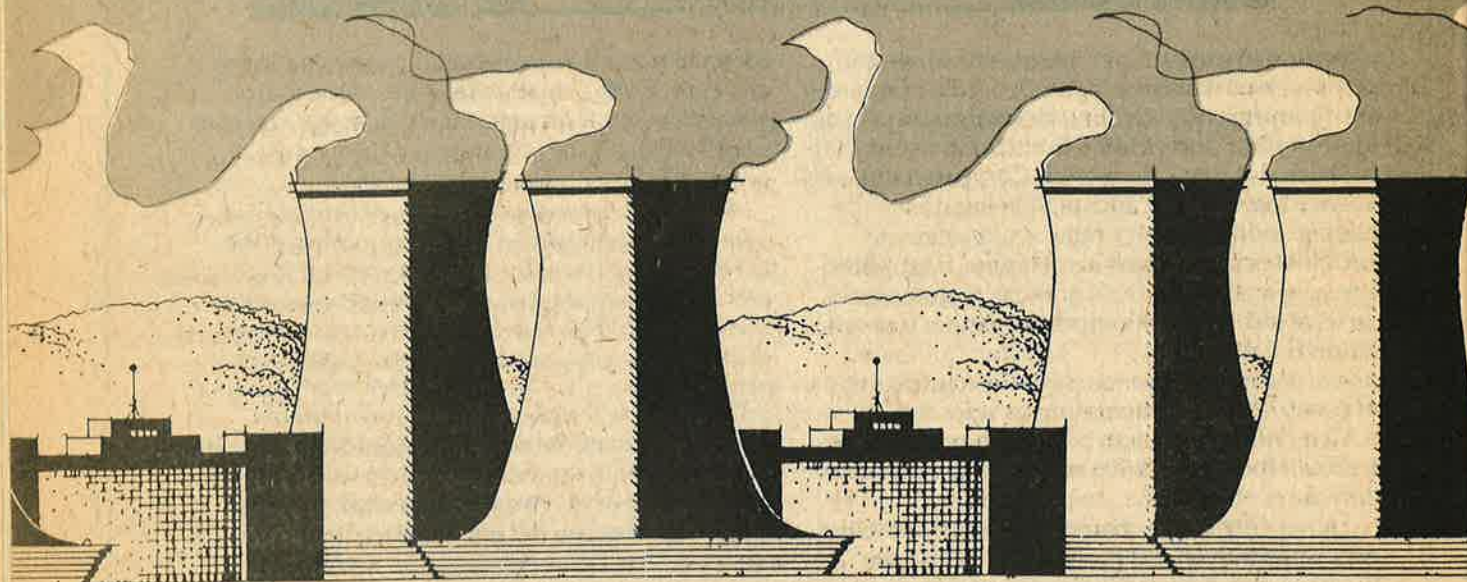
effort to maximize profits at the expense of the workers. By the same token, one of the major reasons several American corporations invest in South Africa is the low-wage environment created in large measure by apartheid.

American corporations have, of course, run away not only from the northern section of the US to the southern, but to other continents as well. Although the J.P. Stevens Company does not operate directly in South Africa, it is nonetheless a multinational corporation that might someday consider direct investment or presence in South Africa. Simply put, if the forces of liberation do not achieve their goal of liberation from apartheid, and if Southern textile mills are organized, Stevens might decide to run once again from paying decent wages to unionized workers, and move to a political, social, and economic environment where maximizing profits will continue to occur at the expense of workers. Apartheid is a proven environment of this kind. The social, political, and economic assumptions that oppress workers in Stevens' textile mills are the same set of assumptions that have created the evil and oppressive system of apartheid in South Africa, assumptions that do not give priority to human needs.

There should be serious thought given to joining hands publicly on campuses in the formation of a "coalition for justice" for both the oppressed people of South Africa and the exploited workers of J.P. Stevens. This is not to suggest that the individual divestiture or anti-apartheid committee and the boycott committee should merge into a single group on both issues, but rather, to urge that leaders of both efforts demonstrate enlightened concern and understanding by publicly stating that the issues are related and that both groups will plan some joint actions.

— Eugene Carroll
National Campus
Coordinator for the
J.P. Stevens boycott.

FIRST NATIONAL NO NUKES CONFERENCE



by Murray Rosenblith

The National No Nukes Strategy Conference met in Louisville, Kentucky, August 16-20; it was the first time all the different parts of the anti-nuclear movement sat down together to exchange ideas and begin coordinating their campaigns on national and regional levels.

Everyone was there. The legislative reform groups, intervenors, lobbying organizations, and the more recent, and currently most prolific, wing of the movement—the direct action alliances; 3-400 delegates in all.

In Louisville many alliances were still flushed with the excitement of recent campaigns and occupations. A large part of the original Trojan Decommissioning Alliance delegation was still in jail in Oregon. The Abalone Alliance was still recovering from having almost 500 people in jail for their Diablo Canyon, California, occupation. Just a week before the conference, the Clamshell started sending people back into the Seabrook site. During the

Murray Rosenblith, a WIN staff member, is active in the anti-nuclear movement.

conference the Bailly Alliance staged their first direct action at a nuclear waste dump in Morris, Illinois; 15 people were arrested there.

There seem to be new alliances springing up every week. The list runs through both the familiar and unfamiliar groups: Crabshell, Keystone, Armadillo, Paddlewheel, Palmetto, Kudzu, Catfish, Headwater, Shad, Oystershell, SEA, Potomac, Lakeshore, Prairie, Great Plains and Sunflower.

The direct action alliances are the most visible part of the movement. The real foundation of the fight against nuclear power comes out of the research and lobbying groups who provide the anti-nuke movement with its ammunition against the propaganda of the nuclear industry. The conference was organized primarily by people active in these groups. Organizations like the Environmental Action Foundation, the National Resources Defense Council, Critical Mass, Supporters of Silkwood, the Environmental Policy Center, Environmentalists for Full Employment, Citizen's Energy Project, American Friends Service Committee, the National Lawyers Guild and many others all provided resource people for the conference.

The conference schedule was divided into issue and skills workshops. The 14 issues workshops were intensive sessions covering all the bases in specific aspects of the anti-nuke struggle. Some of the topics were: Health, Native Americans, Economics, Export and Proliferation, Transportation, etc. These workshops met four or five times during the five-day conference; they produced workshop reports with recommendations for action and resource listings.

The skills workshops were one-session meetings which covered subjects like rate-withholding campaigns, union outreach, newsletters, doing research, nonviolence training, fundraising and canvassing. There were 40 skills workshops in all and most delegates got the opportunity to attend four or five of them.

In addition to workshops, there were several plenary sessions where delegates could address the entire conference, an almost continuous schedule of films and videotape showings, and literature tables. On Friday night, August 18, the conference took a break and most delegates attended a Paddlewheel Alliance rally against the Marble Hill reactors which are 31 miles upstream of Louisville on the Ohio River. Barry Commoner and several local activists addressed the 500 people who attended the rally.

In the end, the conference issued a voluminous report (over 100 pages) containing regional reports, issue workshop reports and contact lists. Reports should be available from your local anti-nuke groups who sent delegates to Louisville.

The conference had a schizophrenic nature to it. The anti-nuke movement has grown with a fiercely

regional focus and many activists are suspicious of forming organizations that embrace the issues on a national level. Others, however, wish to set up some way to coordinate actions and campaigns on a wider scale. While no one I can recall suggested a national organization, many people hoped that the conference would help start things rolling for some kind of formal coordination between regional groups.

There was some controversy over whether to hold a national action in Washington, DC. Two separate proposals with a Washington scenario were introduced, one calling for a mass direct action in the summer of 1979, the other urging a Washington action in the summer of 1980 culminating a series of events. The majority of conference delegates supported the general idea of such actions. A small group of delegates expressed strong objections to the idea. We came away from the conference with general support for "some kind" of Washington action, but with no specific proposal that gathered strong support.

However conference delegates did voice strong support for the regional activities planned for Karen Silkwood week, November 11-17, and issued a call for American anti-nuke groups to join their European allies in a series of international protests against nuclear power and weapons on June 3 and 4, 1979.

The conference served mainly to help anti-nuke groups establish contacts and communication with others in the movement and gave us a sense of the growing numbers, strength and vitality of the people who oppose the nuclear threats to our existence.

Pacifist Mission...Continued from p. 7.

cult situation in the world, because of the strengthening of right forces at present." We stated our view that Soviet military strength, far from overcoming those right forces, fuels the fires for those who proclaim a "Soviet threat" and sets back the American disarmament movement. We emphasized that the strength required for reversing the arms race would come from a mass movement for disarmament in the US and that modest unilateral moves such as we suggested would bolster that movement and the cause of disarmament as well. In the end we agreed to disagree and both groups emerged with a better appreciation of the other's position.

Meanwhile, back in our nation's capital, 11 pacifists left their White House tour, unfurled their banner on the North Lawn in front of the mansion, and began handing out leaflets bearing a translation of those distributed in Moscow. The 11 were arrested by the Secret Service (more than a little nervous since President Carter was in the White House) and taken to a local precinct headquarters

for processing. In stark contrast to the Moscow action, the police charged the demonstrators with illegal entry, a class A misdemeanor which carries with it a penalty of up to one year in prison and/or a \$1000 fine and held the 11 for nearly 30 hours before releasing them. It was a classic example, said the *Des Moines Register* in an editorial, "of the totalitarian society being more lenient than the disorderly democracy," an irony lost on neither the Washington demonstrators nor those of us in Moscow.

"We are not utopians," read the leaflets we scattered across Red Square and passed out at the White House. "In a world bristling with nuclear weapons the stakes are too high, the situation too urgent, for us to be content with promises and platitudes." Disarmament certainly is, as Lenin said, an ideal of socialism and Jimmy Carter may yearn for "the elimination of all nuclear weapons from earth," but it remains for us to translate that rhetoric into reality so that the time an action such as this one occurs the headline will read not "US, USSR Break Up Peace Protests" but rather "US, USSR Support Peace Protests."

Changes

TROJAN WAVE OCCUPATION RESULTS IN 273 ARRESTS

The Trojan Nuclear plant in Rainier, Oregon, north of Portland, continues to be plagued with problems, including the persistence of the Trojan Decommissioning Alliance (TDA).

In four days of wave occupations August 6-9, 273 TDA people were arrested for entering the Trojan site. The protestors had vowed to stay until the plant was permanently closed. All, except 60 who bailed out, were held until August 10 when most were released on personal recognizance. Bail had originally been set at \$2,500.

The Portland General Electric Company (PGE) which operates Trojan had sought a broad injunction against the occupation. Their attorneys argued for a court order that named three organizations (including TDA and two environmental groups not directly involved in the occupations) and 127 individuals. In a hearing that lasted five days, the Columbia County court finally granted an injunction naming 27 individuals.

In addition to those arrested at the site, four people named on the injunction were hauled off for sitting in at PGE offices in Portland. Two of those people (including WIN correspondent Norman Solomon) and four others named on the injunction who occupied at Trojan are currently doing 30 days in jail for violating the injunction or because they were on probation from earlier arrests at Trojan.

In addition to the TDA offensive, the Trojan plant was the scene of

an accident on April 5 of this year where two workers were exposed to the highest accidental doses of radiation at a commercial nuclear plant to date. Compounding the accident, PGE tried to cover it up and then claim it wasn't a serious incident. PGE was fined \$20,000 by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission for its efforts.

And the plant, the largest operating reactor in the country, remains closed today because it was recently revealed that its control building does not meet federal earthquake resistance standards. The plant will remain out of commission until public hearings on the plant's deficiencies are held.

TDA is now gearing up for fall and winter campaigns in communities across the state to aid the passage of public power initiatives and pressure to state legislature to close Trojan for good.

—Newsdesk

15 ARRESTED IN ILLINOIS ANTI-NUKE ACTION

In the late afternoon of Saturday, August 19, 15 members of the Bailly Alliance were arrested after climbing over a hastily erected fence surrounding General Electric's Morris, Illinois, nuclear waste dump in an attempt to occupy the parking lot in front of the main gate and halt the further shipment of nuclear wastes to the dump.

The day began with a spirited parade of about 150 demonstrators through Morris, a town of 8,000

people 50 miles southwest of Chicago. Morris is ringed by three operating reactors, four more under construction and four more planned, and General Electric's "Morris Operation," a storage facility for spent nuclear fuel rods. After a rally, the demonstrators drove ten miles east, then marched the rest of the way to the dump.

After a brief ceremony, we climbed the fence while supporters chanted "Com Ed makes it, GE stores it, we don't want it, shut it down!"

With two exceptions we spent the weekend in the county jail in Morris. On Monday we were arraigned, pleaded not guilty and bailed out after the judge refused to reduce bail below \$35. We hope at our jury trial to use a competing-harms defense: we climbed the fence to prevent a much greater harm from happening—a radioactive future.

The action at GE's Morris dump was the first civil disobedience demonstration against nuclear plants in Illinois. The next one, a "Die-In at Zion," is scheduled for October 7 at the Zion nuclear plant 40 miles north of downtown Chicago. Illinois has seven operating reactors, with eight more being built and nine more "planned". Also, pile-driving has again resumed at the Bailly nuke site, at the southern tip of Lake Michigan in Indiana, 30 miles southeast of downtown Chicago. With two exceptions, these all belong to Commonwealth Edison, which has more nukes than any other utility and a terrible nuclear safety record (\$105,000 in NRC fines since

1974). Com Ed is overbuilt, with a reserve capacity of 30%.

Illinois also is home to the Sheffield "low level" nuclear waste dump and GE's Morris spent fuel dump. The Sheffield dump was closed recently when radioactivity was discovered migrating and the NRC decided that the "impermeable clay" lining the waste burial trenches perhaps wasn't so impermeable after all. GE's Morris dump was originally built for \$64 million as a reprocessing plant. It didn't work and was converted to a spent-fuel storage facility.

Although the 310 metric tons of spent fuel stored in a pool of water at the Morris dump are only a small part of the thousands of tons of spent reactor fuel that have accumulated in the US, the Morris dump is the only US facility which stores spent fuel besides the storage pools at individual reactor sites. Spent fuel has come to the Morris dump from as far away as Connecticut and California.

With no operating reprocessing plants and no permanent repository for high-level wastes in sight, the storage of spent fuel is becoming a severe problem for nuclear utilities. Storage pools at the reactors are filling up fast, and utilities are applying for permission to expand the pools and to pack the spent fuel assemblies closer together. Anti-nuclear groups should fight the expansion of these pools and the establishment of away-from-reactor storage pools like the Morris dump. There is no solution to the problem of what to do with high-level radioactive wastes. If the utilities are allowed to keep expanding the pools for interim storage of the deadly spent fuel rods, they can postpone the problem of having to deal with the spent fuel for decades. Indeed, with the high level of citizen opposition to the establishment of permanent waste repositories in their areas, these "interim storage" pools may become permanent waste disposal pools. But without interim storage space, the nukes will have to shut down.

For more information, or names and addresses for other anti-nuclear groups in Illinois, contact

the Bailly Alliance, 711 S. Dearborn, Rm. 548, Chicago, IL 60605, (312) 764-5011.

—Ed Gogol

CONTINUING PENTAGON CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

On Friday, September 1, 1978 nine persons were arrested for chaining themselves to and closing three entrances to the Pentagon outside Washington, DC. Ten other persons were arrested for other acts of civil disobedience. Some 50 persons held banners, sang, conducted street theatre and leafleted in support.

These arrests were a continuation of citizen protests to the US military preparations, in particular production of the neutron bomb. Over the past several years, more than 400 persons have been arrested at the Pentagon protesting nuclear arms. Most of these acts of conscience have been co-ordinated by the Atlantic Life Community.

—Richard Bowers

ANITA BANNED IN BOSTON: SCANT INTEREST, LARGE DEMO CANCEL BRYANT APPEARANCE

Anita Bryant did sing "God Bless America" in Boston September 1, but only to about 50 specially invited guests at the Copley Plaza Hotel, not to the few thousand expected for a political rally at Hines Auditorium. The occasion was a fundraiser for the US Senate campaign of Democrat Howard Phillips, who may be best remembered as the man Richard Nixon brought in to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Howard Phillips is just about as conservative as they come, but he is also running at the back of a considerable pack of contenders for the seat of Edward Brooke, the nation's only black senator. Phillips asked Bryant to appear at his "Pro-Life and Pro-Family Concert: A Patriotic Family Evening." She agreed, and Ticketron was all ready to sell the \$10 tickets—until lesbians and gay men found out

about the event. Together with many women's groups in the Boston area, they formed the September One Coalition and immediately began to plan for a protest rally outside the concert.

But the day before the scheduled event, Phillips organizers announced that the concert was off—cancelled, they said, because of threats of violence to Bryant. The Boston Police Department wouldn't substantiate these charges, however, and Coalition organizers maintain that the much-touted "Family Evening" had attracted very little support from Massachusetts's six million residents. Ticketron reportedly sold only 78 tickets. With an additional 300 to 400 Phillips faithfuls, the group would have rattled around with great embarrassment in the large auditorium.

Phillips and Bryant may have called off their event, but members of the September 1 Coalition weren't about to call off theirs. Some 1,000 people gathered at 6 pm in Copley Square Plaza, just below the Hotel where Bryant's cocktail reception was in progress. The mood was a festive one—a celebration—with many brightly-colored banners and signs. "But We Are Your Children," proclaimed one sign, referring to Bryant's anti-homosexual "Save Our Children" crusade.

—Liberation News Service

A BREAKTHROUGH IN THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM?

Who says the Government can't cope with our most pressing economic problems? In a bold move that has been shamefully neglected by the mass media, the Carter Administration last fall drastically reduced the unemployment rate among veterans of the Vietnam war. Credit for this remarkable achievement goes to the US Department of Labor, which simply decreed that anyone who has been separated from the military for more than 48 months will no longer be considered a Vietnam veteran, regardless of when he/she served. In one day Texas reduced its share

of unemployed veterans by 66%.

— **The Progressive**

STUDENTS BEWARE... SURVEY AIMED AT IDENTIFYING DIVESTMENT MOVEMENT

A research project currently being conducted on US campuses by a South African professor casts doubt on academics' pet myth about the objective and "neutral" nature of academic research.

Professor Meyer Feldberg, Director of the Graduate School of Business at the University of Cape Town in South Africa, is coming to the US to conduct a research study on "American Student Attitudes Towards US Business Involvement in South Africa."

Student groups on several campuses have already received the questionnaire, and it seems probable that administrators and others on campus will also be approached to provide information.

What information and for what purpose?

The questionnaire has seven questions—but Feldberg comes right to the point with Question 1:

"Describe the main on-campus student organization that has shown an interest in US-South Africa relations or in South Africa's domestic policy." Number 1 also asks for the name of that organization, the number of members, when founded, and its "contacts or relations with other bodies both student and non-student."

Question 2 asks about the responding organization's policy "regarding the ownership by the university of stock in US corporations with activities in South Africa." It also wants to know how the policy was established and why, and how it is promoted. Questions 3 and 4 deal generally with attitudes towards the admission of South African students to US universities and towards US academics who accept visiting professorships or lecture tours in South Africa.

Question 5 comes back to the nitty-gritty of the whole thing. "Please describe the nature of student opposition, if any, to your university holding stock in US

companies, with activities in South Africa."

It asks for details on petitions, demonstrations and the "number of students actively campaigning for divestment of company stock held by your university."

Question 6 asks about university responsiveness to recommendations regarding stock, and 7 asks for comment on the corporate argument that withdrawal would not be in the interests of South Africa's black population.

That's it. The answers go to Feldberg at Northwestern University in Illinois, where he is a visiting professor in the Graduate School of Management and purports to be collecting and analyzing the information with admirable disinterest.

US corporations, campus administrations and maybe even South Africa's secret police, BOSS are no doubt eagerly waiting for the answers: What is the size of the campus movement? Who are its leaders? What are its links? Where is it likely to surface next?

— **Liberation News Service**

WHAT ONE HAND GIVETH...

The self-serving nature of US foreign aid is seldom as well exposed as it was in an April speech by US AID official Abelardo L. Valdez before the New York-based Center of International Relations.

In 1977, he observed, for "every new dollar made available through international and US banks, Latin America's net take was seven cents." The banks and the US government are receiving almost as much in loan repayment as they put out in new loans. In fact, in some cases the US receives more than it lends. In 1977, for example, the US got back \$150 million more than it provided Latin America in AID and Export-Import Bank loans.

In overall figures, Latin America netted only \$300 million out of last year's \$4.2 billion in loans from the US and development banks, and that, as Valdez noted, was loaned at "increasingly stiff rates."

— **Internews**

EVENTS

ANN ARBOR, MI— National Organizing Conference to Stop Government Spying on September 22-24 at the University of Michigan Union. For more information, contact: Campaign to Stop Government Spying, 201 Massachusetts Ave., NE # 112, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 547-4705.

CAMBRIDGE, MA— Tom Reeves will speak "On the Need for Reviving Resistance" on Friday, September 22, 8 pm, at MIT, 105 Massachusetts Ave., Bldg. 9, Rm. 150. Sponsored by the Black Rose Anarchist Lecture Series.

CLEVELAND, OH— Film: "Eugene V. Debs" on Friday, September 29, 8 pm at the Workmen's Circle, 1980 South Green.

CROTON, NY— The anti-nuclear Shad Alliance will hold a congress on September 29-October 1 at Camp Rainbow, Croton-on-Hudson. Speakers, workshops, and films. For more information, call (212) 249-7649 or (914) 949-0088.

PHILADELPHIA, PA— Zero Nuclear Weapons coalition meeting on Wednesday, September 20, 6 pm at Friends Center, 1501 Cherry St. For more information, call (215) WA3-0861.

RALEIGH, NC— Citizens' Hearings on arms shipments to Iran on Saturday, September 30, 1 pm at Pullen Memorial Church, Cox and Hillsboro Streets. Speakers will include poet Reza Baraheni and Michael Klare. Sponsored by American Friends Service Committee. For more information, call (919) 829-1558.

WASHINGTON, DC— Letelier-Moffitt Memorial Human Rights Program on Thursday, September 21, 7:30 pm at Howard University's Cramton Auditorium. Speakers will include Rep. Ronald Dellums, Robert Borosage, and Rev. Ben Chavis. Admission is \$5. For more information, contact Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, DC 20009.



Painting by Suzanne Peters from *The Spokeswoman*.

Review

FINAL PAYMENTS
by Mary Gordon
Random House/\$8.95/297 pp.

Final Payments is full of small pleasures. Mary Gordon has an eye and ear for the Irish Catholic Queens, New York, neighborhood and the peripheral characters that give the novel a sense of a very particular place.

Her descriptions are quick and sharp. Of the neighbors next door: "...the aggressive jocularly of people defending a position...and working-class Irish are always defending something, probably something indefensible—the virginity of Mary, the C.I.A.—which is why their parties always end in fights." The lawyer Delaney: "Whenever he approached me, I felt as if I were drowning in flesh." The hated housekeeper Margaret: "All her clothes seemed damp as if her body were giving off a tropical discharge...she made me feel as if she had found me with my hand somewhere shameful; in the cookie jar, in the money box, in my own private parts."

Where the book is less good is in the spiritual struggle of Isabel, the narrator, which is its central theme.

Sybil Claiborne is a freelance writer in New York City.

Final Payments is about a woman of 30 who has spent 11 years nursing her father after he had a stroke. The book opens with his death which is both a liberation and a grief to Isabel. She loved her father, a brilliant, devout, scholarly Catholic, a reactionary, a neighborhood saint, a friend of the priests who flocked to the house. Taking care of him is an act of expiation as well as love for Isabel. (How easily we fall into the verbal style of Catholicism.) What leads to his initial stroke, or at any rate precedes it, was his coming across Isabel in bed with his favorite student (he taught at a Catholic college). Three weeks later, the father had his stroke.

All this is told in flashbacks. Most of the book deals with the new life, leaving the old neighborhood, getting a job, a lover—a married man—and the subsequent spiritual struggle that occurs because he has a wife and children.

It is a situation common enough and always painful—the domestic triangle—but here it is permeated by a sense of Catholic sin and even though Isabel is a lapsed Catholic, it slowly takes hold of her until the torment is unbearable and she runs from her lover and her new life.

The spiritual struggle that follows seems too schematic, often sounding like a tract rather than a genuine conflict between the spirit and the flesh. It is played out at the hated Margaret's, the ex-housekeeper, where Isabel goes to repent for her sins, to force herself to love a woman who is unlovable as a way of doing penance. Yet somehow the struggle seems unconvincing, its energy flags.

Unfairly perhaps, one thinks of Dostoevski, the master of the spiritual struggle, the obsessive nature of that struggle, its perversity, contradictions, terror, pain.

Here obsessiveness becomes repetition, pages and pages of Isabel discoursing with herself, remembering her Catholic upbringing, her fall from grace, her need for spiritual salvation, penance. But the pain doesn't come through; the agony is described rather than felt.

I am leaving out a lot. Along the way, there are some very good scenes with her friends, Eleanor and Liz. Her job with the state brings her into homes where elderly are cared for and the people she visits are sharply drawn, funny, sad, terrible. Later when she is living with Margaret there is a wonderful scene in a small town beauty parlor. "I tried to make my eyes sweet. But I knew...that was not what they wanted from me. They wanted me to laugh with them as soldiers laughed in movies, as if we were in a war that made distinctions foolish, as if we were in the business of keeping alive."

All in all, this is a book by a young novelist of which she should be proud, and no doubt is, since it has had a very good reception by the critics and has done well. It is best in its details, in the small everyday events. And if it doesn't entirely succeed in the drama of the spiritual struggle, the courage to tackle such a large and difficult theme is impressive.

— **Sybil Claiborne**

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MEMBERS NEEDED: N.C. People's Alliance, a state-wide citizen's group for social and economic justice. Write: Box 3053, Durham, NC 27705.

International Living Center fosters a new spirit of internationalism in our campuses. We sponsor workshops, cultural events, lectures, movies, etc. on global issues and nonviolent change. Share with us your ideas, and keep us abreast of what you do. International Living Center, Box 95, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass. 01002.

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 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.

Free booklist: vegetarian cookery, herbals, crafts, lots more, including the IWW Songbook. Kimo Books, 2613 S. Walter Reed #3G, Arlington, VA 22206.

Kansas City Nonviolent Studies Institute Book Store closed it's doors last year. However, there are still lots of good books and pamphlets available at unbelievable savings of 50% to 75% off list price. Send 50¢ for a book list to Robert Calvert, 3144 Hardesty Drive #1-C, Kansas City, Missouri 64128.

Lucy Parsons, *American Revolutionary* (\$3.95); *The Pullman Strike* (\$2.95); *The Autobiography of Mother Jones* (\$3.50); many other labor, feminist history books. Orders, list: Charles Kerr Publishing, Box 914, Chicago, IL 60690.

WIN's Special Double Issue on Health Care with articles by Ron Dellums, Claudia Dreifuss, and others on occupational safety and health, women's health, rural medical alternatives and more. Order now in bulk for distribution to friends and co-workers: \$1.00 each for 1-9 copies, 40¢ each for ten or more plus 20% for postage. Send orders to: WIN, 503 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11217.

FREE! "Where is Movement for a New Society Coming From?" by George Lakey. Send 25¢ postage to MNS, Network Service Collective, 4722 Baltimore Avenue, Phila., PA 19143.

PRODUCTS

"No Nuclear Disposal" buttons with mesa and New Mexico blue sky and sun—25¢ each from Citizens Against Nuclear Threats, 106 Girard SE, Rm 121C, Albuquerque, NM 87106.

No Nuke T-shirts with Adam and Eve graphics by George Knowlton reading "The Fruits of Nukes are Death and Pollution". White in S, M, L, XL. \$3.75 postpaid, color add \$1. (specify) Order: The Flats Workshop, P.O. Box 13, Kingston, RI 02881.

NAMIBIA SLIDE SHOW. 50 slides and written commentary on Namibian history and the liberation struggle. \$30 prepaid to purchase. \$10 prepaid to rent. Philadelphia Namibia Action Group, 5021 Cedar Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 (215) 474-9592.

"I'm an Anti-Nuke Bicyclist, What Kind Are You?" Bike size bumperstickers (1 3/4" x 5 1/4") 3 for \$1. "A Woman Without A Man Is Like A Fish Without A Bicycle!" Full size stickers 75¢. Kate Donnelly, Box 271, New Vernon, NJ 07976.

SUN POWER NOW! 3-color buttons are 50¢ each. PIRGIM, 590 Hollister Bldg., Lansing, MI 48933.

Movement Postcards—Anti-nuclear power and weapons, including Diablo Canyon, Trident No. 1, Rocky Flats, plus—25¢ each or set of 4 for 75¢. Fund-raiser for Santa Cruz People for a nuclear free future, 515 Broadway, Santa Cruz, CA 95062.

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

LIVING ALTERNATIVES

MEMBERS WANTED for small commune in Brooklyn. Vegetarian, MNS-oriented, we have kids, cats, no tobacco. We're struggling to build a stable social change in the city, with the spirit of commitment and sharing usually found only in rural communes. (212) 965-3790.

Alternative college community starting somewhere in the Northeast needs artists, academics, carpenters, etc., as members. CCC, 90 Summer, Williamstown, MA 01267.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

EDITOR: Environmental Action Foundation is looking for an editor for *The Power Line*, its monthly journal on utilities and energy. Applicants should have writing and editing experience as well as interest in the utility reform movement. Involves contact with local citizens' groups. Salary \$11,500; job begins mid-November. EAF operates as a collective. Send resume and clippings to: Deborah Schoch, Environmental Action Foundation, 724 Dupont Circle Building, Washington, DC 20036.

Movement fund-raiser wanted. The Mobilization for Survival is looking for a full-time fund-raiser to work out of its national office in Philadelphia. The job involves working with the Financial Task Force of MFS to raise a \$100,000 budget. Experience with individual solicitation and foundation fund-raising is desirable. Pay is subsistence-level movement wages. MFS, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107.

peace news for nonviolent revolution

— is the sister paper to WIN in Britain produced collectively for readers' contributions. We are nonviolent anarchists—working to undo all relationships of authority and dominance (sexual, racial, economic, military...) without treating anyone as expendable in that struggle or as closed to change. The paper aims to be a tool for people making change in—taking control of—their own lives as much as for resistance to the institutions of power.

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Peace News 15p fortnightly. Subs £8.00 a year, trial 5 issues £1 from: 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham, England.

WRL/West is seeking a full-time member for our collective staff. The new staff member would have major responsibility for coordinating WRL/West outreach, coordinating fundraising activities, and promoting War Tax Resistance. The staff person would also share office and other administrative work. Organizing experience, a feminist awareness, a commitment to nonviolence, an ability to work collectively, and a one-year minimum commitment are basic requirements. Subsistence stipend of about \$300-\$350 per month. Deadline for application is Sept. 25. We want to hire by Oct. 1. For more information, contact, WRL/West, 1360 Howard St., San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 626-6976.

The Midwest Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee is seeking an Executive Secretary to undertake general administrative management of regional activities and programs beginning November 1, 1978, or as soon thereafter as practicable. Written inquiries only to Lewis B. Walton, Jr., 1421 Northwoods, Deerfield, IL 60015 before October 30, 1978.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZER WANTED. United Neighborhoods in Community Organizing (UNICO) is seeking an experienced community organizer. UNICO will be working with the low-income and Spanish-speaking community on issues affecting residents of Las Vegas. Two years organizing experience required. Knowledge of Spanish preferred. Salary open. Call Ed Dunn, 647-3610 or 648-2768, or send resume to UNICO, 704 McWilliams, Las Vegas, NV 89106.

Friends Military Counseling is seeking a military counselor for our new Philadelphia office. Responsibilities will include: counseling, fund raising, and public relations. Begin in October. Pay \$6,700, and Medical and Vacation. Flexible. Please respond to Bruce Haines, Friends Military Counseling, P.O. Box 62, Wrightston, NJ 08562.

Feminist/gay librarian seeks full-time movement work. Write or call: Jim Lenahan, 708 Douglas, Ames, IA 50010 (515) 232-0349.

Missouri Citizens Action (MCA), a utility/energy action organization, has job openings for a Staff Director and a Canvass Coordinator. MCA operates an organizing and fundraising door-to-door canvass that is based in St. Louis, and has a small Mid-Missouri office in Columbia. For more information, contact Bob Zeffert, MCA, 393 N. Euclid, Suite 32, St. Louis, MO 63108.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZERS needed for a peace and social justice center. Must demonstrate a prior and continued commitment to radical social change. Subsistence salary, plus medical benefits. One year commitment. Third World, women and gay people are encouraged to apply. Contact Michael Stoops, Collective Chairperson, Portland Military and Veterans Counseling Center, 633 SW Montgomery St., Portland, Oregon 97201 (503) 224-9307.

HELP

Would like to correspond with people working with for people in the inner cities; rural poverty areas. Write Jo Ann, Missionaries of Mercy, Box 143, Ocean Grove, NJ 07756.

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