



# direct action

for a nonviolent world

NEW ENGLAND COMMITTEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION  
RFD # 1, Box 197 B, Voluntown, Conn. 06384

Tel. 203-376-9970

August 1, 1965

Number 60

## INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE THREATENS NEW ENGLAND CNVA

Low-pitched but persistent harrassment of New England CNVA by the Internal Revenue Service has turned into definite threats and action. An official of the Norwich office, Mr. Bileski, of the IRS has informed Bob and Marj Swann, Co-coordinators of New England CNVA, that he is filing "substitute returns" for the organization and for each of them personally for the years 1960, 1961, and 1962. These returns will be used as a basis for collecting any taxes IRS may consider due. The reason for the "substitute returns" for the Swanns is that they have been open conscientious tax refusers for some 13 or 14 years and have refused to cooperate with Internal Revenue by filing returns or providing information about their income and expenses. They feel that to afford such cooperation would be to assist the government in its preparations for war and prosecution of war in Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, etc.

With regard to New England CNVA, upon the advise of a prominent local attorney and in view of the confusion which seemed to exist within Internal Revenue as to just what they did want New England CNVA to file and why, the Committee has not filed any returns for its general income and expenses, but has provided information on its sales of Barpali cloth, and some monthly financial statements. Such information has not satisfied IRS, which is now demanding to see all financial records of the Committee for the three years mentioned.

The background of the IRS story is, briefly: Not too long after the federal arrests of the Polaris Actionists who tried to board and succeeded in boarding the Polaris submarine Ethan Allen, and of Bob Swann for "aiding and abetting," Bob and Marj Swann and Ken Meister received summonses from the Willimantic office of IRS to bring in their personal financial records for inspection. We were given to understand that this action was taken at the request of or upon pressure from the Navy. Ken Meister did go to the IRS office; Bob and Marj invited the official to come to New England CNVA to talk with them.

There was no further word from IRS until about January of 1964, when Mr. Bileski demanded personal returns from Bob and Marj, and summoned Ken Meister and Gordon Christiansen to his office. At that time he stated that he had obtained records of checking account from the bank and that he considered every check that Bob and Marj had signed for the organization as personal income to them. (In actuality, no staff

member of New England CNVA or resident of the farm receives an income from the organization except for a \$1.00 per week personal allowance if they wish to take it to buy cigarettes, candy, etc. All checks signed by Bob, Marj, Ken, or Gordon are for expenses of the organization.)

Amidst repeated demands for Committee financial records to determine the personal income of Bob and Marj, the Executive Committee decided it would provide copies of some monthly statements, and that it would not under any circumstances provide the names of contributors or supporters. Early this year, 1965, Mr. Bileski made clear that he was now demanding a corporation return from the Committee. Upon the advise of an attorney, the Committee has taken the position that it would provide the information on Barpali, which can be called a business operation, but that no return need be filed on the balance of the Committee's income, which is almost entirely made up of gifts and contributions, which are not reportable under the law. Furthermore, the attorney and the Committee agree that New England CNVA does not meet the specifications for what IRS defines as a "corporation." Just recently the Committee has taken the position that it will not give names and present addresses of former residents and staff members.

The Committee had taken this position with regard to revealing names because we are all aware of the blacklisting, harrassment, and even persecution which has often been the lot of those associated with or

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ganizations variously advocating peace, civil rights, civil liberties, abolition of HUAC, open immigration, etc. Our attorney advisor considers this possibly to be a civil liberties case of considerable precedent.

The staff, meeting with Gordon Christiansen of the Executive Committee, have made tentative plans for certain kinds of action with regard to the IRS threat to disrupt the financial affairs and the program of New England CNVA. A leaflet will be made up, giving the background of the connection between federal taxes and the war in Vietnam. As soon as further overt action is taken by the IRS, picketing will begin at the Norwich IRS office, continuing at regular intervals. Nonviolent resistance action will be planned in case there is attempted seizure of records. Other action is being considered.

We ask your support on two grounds:

(1) On purely technical grounds, it is the considered opinion of our attorney advisor that we are not required to file an income tax return on our general income, and that sufficient information is available to IRS to reach this conclusion; and it is both his opinion and ours that the action on the part of IRS is intentional harrassment and perhaps even an attempt to close down New England CNVA; and (2) regardless of the technical grounds for filing or not filing, the major part of the federal budget is going to carry on the Vietnam war and other war preparations, including the development and construction of nuclear weapons, and we have a responsibility, an obligation, to actively oppose such activities by refusing to help pay for them.

We ask your support in several ways:

(A) continuing moral support by participation in New England CNVA and other non-violent peace action; (B) continuing financial support, which may be more seriously needed than ever before; (C) letters to IRS in Washington asking why vast amounts of time and money should be spent by the government to harrass an organization which obviously operates on a minimum budget and from which no one could or does gain any profit, to say nothing of a salary or income; (D) comments and suggestions for further action.

We in turn pledge to do everything possible to put our time, energy, and resources into opposing the war in Vietnam and all war preparations, and into proposing non-violent alternatives to bring about peace.

---Marj Swann

## NEWPORT FOLK FESTIVAL by Fred Moore

Seven of us stood at various points on the hill where the fans flowed into the festival area. For three hectic days we gave out leaflets. A total of five thousand Washington August 6-9 Calls were handed out; several thousand leaflets against the war in Vietnam, plus other CNVA leaflets and bulletins were distributed. We could have passed out more as crowds continually arrived on thru Sunday.

The Folk Festival at Newport provided a special opportunity for New England CNVA to reach a restless, but generally receptive group of young people. We had hoped to solicit contributions and gather signatures to the Declaration of Conscience, as well as leaflet. The Newport City Council denied our application for a solicitors licence at their regular Wednesday night meeting. Due to the constant movement of people, the time necessary for calm consideration of the Declaration was often lacking and as a result few persons signed the document. Therefore we focused our efforts mainly on leafleting. Ideally, we should have had a "peace booth" inside the Festival grounds. Maybe next year.

\* \* \*

## "THIS IS REALLY WAR," PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Last week President Johnson ordered an increase in US troops in Vietnam from 75,000 to 125,000 almost immediately. He said, "This will make it necessary to increase our active fighting forces by raising the monthly draft call from 17,000 over a period of time to 35,000 per month and for us to step up our campaign for voluntary enlistments."

Johnson does not need the agreement of the American people to carry on the war. All he needs is their apathy---their lack of concern one way or the other. For as long as the people go along, paying their taxes, submitting to the draft, and daily abdicating their responsibility for the suffering and death in Vietnam, this war and other wars will continue. The government knows that by increasing the war effort a little at a time over the months, the public will begin to accept the war as a habit or a drug. Already a feeling of no other choice, of resignation, or of leave it to the experts, is widespread.

How do we halt and reverse this trend? How do we awaken people so that they see what is happening and will stand against the war machine?

(continued on page 4)

RONALD MOOSE SEPTEMBER 30, 1945 - JULY 1, 1965

When lilacs last in the dooryard bloom'd,  
And the great star early droop'd in the western  
sky in the night,  
I mourn'd, and yet shall mourn with  
ever-returning spring.

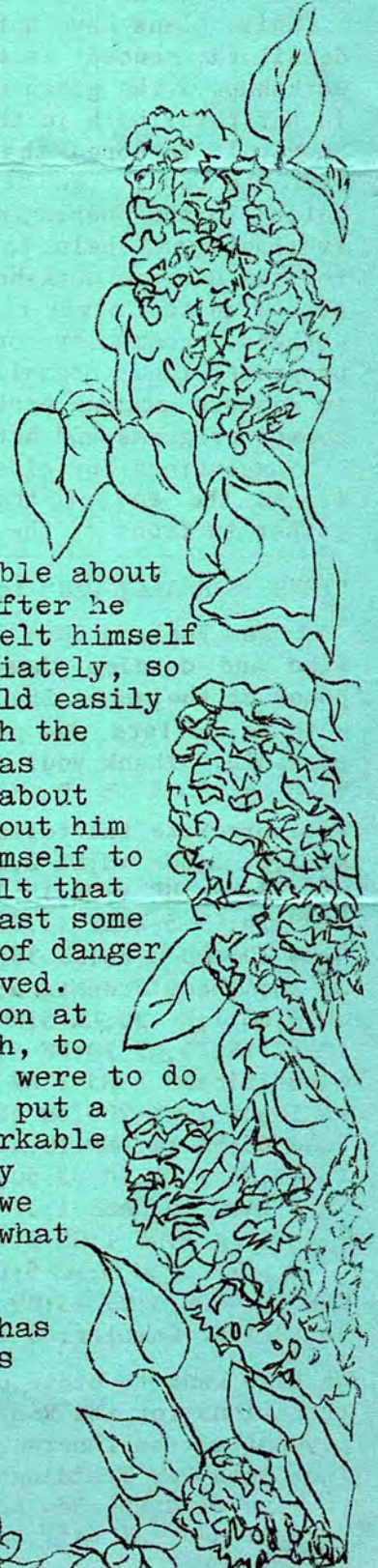
Ever-returning spring, trinity sure  
to me you bring,  
Lilacs blooming perennial and  
drooping star in the west,  
And thought of him I love.

Here, coffin that slowly passes,  
I give you my sprig of lilac.

—Walt Whitman

When I heard how Ron had died, I was struck again by something that had always seemed to me remarkable about him. I'm told that the doctor who examined him after he drowned, said that he probably panicked when he felt himself going down, and filled his lungs with water immediately, so that there was no hope for him after that. I could easily imagine this happening. I was on the Walk through the South with Ron and he seemed to me a person who was terribly easily frightened. What was remarkable about him was that, given this fact -- if I am right about him and it was a fact -- he nevertheless committed himself to the kind of action that he did. I have always felt that most people on projects like that walk find at least some degree of positive satisfaction in the challenge of danger and of the kind of daily discomfort that is involved. But Ron never seemed to me to take any satisfaction at all in either danger or discomfort; they were both, to him, just something that had to be endured if he were to do what seemed to him necessary to do. I think they put a great deal of stress upon him. But this was remarkable about him, too: under stress, I never saw his very special sweetness and good humour evaporate. As we remember him, as we try to share with each other what he has left to us, my own prayer would be that we could take from him precisely this: in some extra measure the ability to feel so simply about what has to be done that our own fears and our own weakness come to seem to us irrelevant.

---Barbara Deming



Growing out of the plans for the Powder Hill rally on Vietnam August 1st, a representative group from the various sponsoring organizations (NECNVA, Yale - New Haven Committee for Peace in Vietnam, SANE, etc.) decided to hold a program on August 7th & 8th around the Washington Monument.

While plans have not been worked out in detail the concept is to hold open visible workshops on the green near the State Capitol in Hartford, both in the morning and afternoon. It is hoped that all those persons from the Conn. area attending and participating in the Washington workshops would be available and help to promote leadership for the Hartford workshops--bringing persons active in the civil rights movement, peace workers, community organizers in poverty programs, labor organizations, etc. together to discuss common problems and help forge common programs and actions.

Suggestions for closing around 4:00 pm.:

(1) At the end of the day everyone would gather in front of the State Capitol.

(2) All would join in singing civil rights and anti-war folk songs.

(3) One person from each workshop would come forward and make a brief statement or proposal (which that workshop had agreed on)

(4) Participants would walk in silence two at a time to the steps and put their gifts (clothes, blankets, medicine, money, etc.), large or small, in boxes on the steps as a visible token of identification and friendship with the victims of the Vietnam war. The government would be requested to send these gifts to Vietnam (however some other alternative may be necessary).

(5) The Declaration of Peace and the Declaration of Conscience would be read.

(6) Some or all would walk in an orderly manner from the State Capitol to the downtown local draft board office. There those who desire would openly declare their opposition and non-cooperation with the draft. Some persons may proceed to tear up their draft cards or burn them at that time. Only some of these suggestions may be used. Any suggestions and comments are welcome.

"THIS IS REALLY WAR" (continued)

New England CNVA is working constantly to publicly oppose war. It is our job to find and develop those nonviolent means and actions which are commensurate with the power of the war effort. Now we must increase our anti-war efforts. Your support, both in dollars and participation, is needed. Each donation makes more direct action possible. Thank you. ---F.M.

We appreciate the following contributions received since the last Bulletin: DR 2;JS 10; AF 2;GL 5;ECA 10;DL 2;IH 25;MM 200;C&AT 10;FF 5;TS 40;AJ 5;JPS 40;TT-B 3;DP 5;SC 17;H&J O'C 15;Mrs.HE 5;DL 35;J&CS 1;CS 3;PW 25;BD 152;A&TU 30;MD 2;JR 10;MG 5;R&VC 15;JF 2;R&S C&JS 24;SS 5;W&BS 10;B&RB 50;MP 4;PB 20;JR 2;TE 20;BW 1.40;HK 1;WS 1;FW 10;RGM 10;VFR 5; L&MN 10;M&D C 85;RS 36;N&HC 2;S&CK 5;K&PC 25;D&IW 25;LA 3;PK 37;R&SC 10;PC 1.40;W&DC 5; NF 10;Albany FrdsMtg. 5;FW 10;CG 10;LA 2;BD 100;R,V,&DC 25;DM 10;S&BS 2;SF 36;AG 1;JL 20; JW 5;RC 1;KS 20;LR 5;MM 75;B&FM 5;JK 20;R&VC 10;L&RS 5;HH 15;LG 5;HL 3;RCC 2;SB 8;WBW - 10;MK 18.75;MF 20;PF 5;AC 10;DK 2;HJ 5;VFO'D 1;WBD 1;MN 1;JS 2;CVP 3;PD 3;HW 1;J&RW 5;J C-BuffalosDS 5;HJ 2;HB 10;K&TB 5;LLeR 1;LR 1;DS 2;AP 5;LPS 50;JR 1;MC 1;MD 2.50;G&EB 10; FW 10;JS 2;MK 200;DB 12;PS 20;N&BG 25;AS 1;DM 1;JW 5;RDH 5;SA 5;CA 3;JF 2;DA 5;AJ 1;RWK 5;AC 65;SK 12;LMF 10;AJ 1;R&RH 10;AS 5;KP 10;R&DA 10;HNS 3;SM 2;HL 1;H&FP 5;MC 1;JG 5;L &EB 3;EG 2;DL 10;JJ 50;MG 10;SS 2;G.J.&ER 1;HL 5;GS-S 5;HC 20;DC 1;JEP 1;EEJ 1;RN 2;PC 1; MM 1;W&DC 10;M&BS 1;JP 2;W&AD 30;FB 1;RH&group 10;BR 20;DM 50;T&PT 10;MTC 3;IRJ 1.25;BF 1;IM 5;SB 2;DF 1;GL 2;WA 5;VG 15;GM 6;GLP 10;DE 7;SS 1;NKB 2;VS 5;EB 5;Mrs.JLC 2;GF 100; CG 5;W&TF 5;WG 5;MC 5;DE 5;MF 10;JP 5;MBR 5;WF&GL 20;MM 10;MAA 12;AP 1;JE 1;NF 10;MR 2; RAC 10;W&DC 5;BS 15;BD 100;B&FM food;AK fruit trees;MM books of poetry;TJ photo enlarger;SR 1960 Rambler;JS 100lbs. raw sugar; Mrs.S drapes; Anon. total contrbtns. 25.

We also want to state our appreciation for all the expressions of sympathy and the contributions for the Ronald Moose Memorial Fund. The Committee has decided that after payment of the funeral expenses, the Fund will be used to bring young people up from the South for Training Programs in Nonviolence, or in the case of two from Mississippi, to live with the New England CNVA staff and attend school here for a year. Personal acknowledgement will be made of contributions to the Memorial Fund.

I have been asked to give my impressions of the training session to the readers of the Bulletin. My living and working here at the Farm has given me many wonderful experiences to remember. I've seen and felt the sun and sky in a total way I can't get in the city. I've relished the smell of freshly cut grass, and the heavy, sweet odor of milkweed blossoms. Sand under feet is an important part of living at the Farm; you can't escape it. There's the whole wheat bread that's so good for you, and crisp vegetables at every meal. And in the special world of the training session, we will remember Ted Clark's bushy beard and the raucous, powerful voice of Bob Dylan.

The trainees have some other good things to take away. We have developed here, among ourselves, a rich feeling of harmony and unity. Drawn to this place and united by similar attitudes, we have often been searching for similar experiences. We came here with a concern for people that we wanted to express in a personal and immediate way. We've found ourselves working to see the idea of non-violence in practice in our lives from day to day. We've all tried to listen, grow, and change because of what we see and hear. A heightened insight into people's behavior has resulted for all of us from Ted's discussions and our personal friendships.

We've learned the value of tolerance and patience with others. Generally we are critical of authority and of established ways of doing things. Despite the variety of ages, from 12 to 22, the group has some pretty sharp and cynical perceptions of the modern world. We've shared these, and also reaffirmed our hope for a better and non-violent world.

Pat Keen, age 22

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Please return to New England CNVA  
PEF# 1 Box 197B, Voluntown, Conn.  
Telephone: (203) 376-9970

\_\_\_\_\_ I can offer rides for \_\_\_\_\_ to  
Washington, D.C., August 6 - 9.

\_\_\_\_\_ I need a ride to Wash., Aug. 6 - 9.

\_\_\_\_\_ Send me more information on the  
six-week Autumn Program.

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for the work of New  
England CNVA. I pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_ a month.

The training session in non-violence starts August 1st and goes through the 21st. All trainees are asked to come by July 31, as we plan to go to Powder Hill for the State-wide rally on August 1st.

Resource people include Arthur Harvey (August 2 - 5), Gordon Christiansen (after August 10), Bill Davidon, Robert Gore, Brad Lyttle (after August 10), Michael Kirby, James Lieberman (August 21), Dave McReynolds, Ralph Templin (August 10 - 14), Sumner Rosen (August 15) and maybe Paul Goodman for a day. Trainees will probably wish to participate in statewide workshops on August 14 or 15, take a field trip to New Haven during the week of August 15 to observe the poverty program, and will undoubtedly desire to go to Washington August 6 - 9.

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— Trainees Visit Bruderhof —

I remember liking especially the pigeons at the Bruderhof; they flew. I asked one Brother whether they had bought the farm because of the real physical beauty and peacefulness. He answered that they had taken the cheapest land in price that they could get. Still, most pigeons don't act like birds in normal surroundings, flowers aren't usually either so abundant or so cared for, and the surroundings aren't usually so healthy even in a summer resort area like the "ice box" of Connecticut. Although it wasn't apparent, because it seemed so natural, it was the Bruderhof which created an emotion to itself, and filled the landscape unconsciously, with the same emotion.

Danny Cohen, age 14

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TRIP TO HIROSHIMA

Honey Knopp of the New England CNVA Committee, Farley Wheelwrite of National CNVA Executive Committee, and Leona Grant of Womens Strike left on July 30 for Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan to join in the 20th anniversary observance of the A-bombings and to meet with various groups of hibakusha. Marj Swann and Honey received personal invitations, following up their work last year with the World Peace Study Mission group of 25 survivors who visited 100 communities in this country. Marj was unable to go due to money and fatigue problems; Honey will however have joyful reunions with all our friends in the two cities, and will urge them to continue the work they have already been doing to bring the war in Vietnam to a halt. Particularly Honey hopes to talk with the women to encourage them to initiate a non-violent womens peace movement.

New England CNVA Announces a 6-week Autumn Program:  
ON THE CREATION OF A NONVIOLENT PEACEKEEPING CORPS---  
WORKSHOPS AND EXPERIMENTS IN TRAINING

Dates: From October 17, 1965 (Sunday) to November 27, 1965 (Saturday).

Co-directors of the Program: Bob Swann and Paul Salstrom.

Schedule and Subject Matter: Weekdays shall be used for reading, physical training, (also training in first aid, firefighting, and emergency relief work) and work within the New England CNVA program. Each weekend (Friday - Sunday) will be centered around two or more resource persons, chosen for special knowledge of one aspect of the overall subject. For instance, one weekend will host theoreticians of nonviolent resistance; a second will host individuals close to UN peacekeeping operations; a third will concern the UN's special agencies, voluntary organizations doing similar work (IVS-SCI, VISA), and some of the lessons learned by Peace Corps volunteers in the Dominican Republic; a fourth weekend will study in depth community development and power structures, with an eye to learning from SNCC and SDS activists how overseas constructive programs can take on political cutting edges.

Nonviolent Conflict Resolution: In the tradition of Gandhi and the Shanti Sena, an attempt will be made to integrate direct action with constructive program. The three remaining weekends shall be devoted to concrete proposals, such as (1) that the ground-work of the World Peace Brigade be used in developing new freedom projects in southern Africa; (2) that Canada, Ireland, Sweden, India, Ghana and Nigeria, as countries which contribute Special Forces to the UN be urged to consider the experimental formation of corps for that function which would receive training in nonviolence and would not carry arms; (3) that some of the program's participants take the initiative of declaring themselves an independent action or research unit, ready to relate to moderate-sized conflict situations in, say Latin America. It is expected that other proposals will arise from participants and resource persons.

For further information, write NECNVA. Applicants will be sent a packet of preparatory reading and a questionnaire about their special areas of interest. Suggestions and criticism welcomed.

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DIRECT ACTION BULLETIN  
New England Committee  
for Nonviolent Action  
RFD # 1 Voluntown,  
Connecticut 06384  
August 1, 1965 # 60



Return Requested

Bruce Hartford  
325 Manley Heights Rd.  
Orange, Conn. 06477

# DIRECT ACTION

for a nonviolent world



June 19, 1967

Telephone 203-376-9970

Number 79

## JOHN-I-THIN STEPHENS TAKEN

Friends,

On May 31, John Stephens was taken by the federal marshals and state police.

Three days later five of us were in jail.

We have a lot of ex-walkers with us.

We have plans for a slew of summer projects.

If you don't get the connection, this is what is called a heart-rending FUND APPEAL. In order to operate, we need money. Please contribute as much and as quickly as possible so CNVA can keep direct action projects going.

Yours in peace,  
*Josh Kricker*

### CAPE COD vs VIET-NAM

Mike Colpitts has become the founder and guiding light behind a summer project that is novel and needed. The "Cape Cod Project" is proposed as a full time, summer long program to bring education on war and draft refusal and draft counseling to the swarms of eligible men at the Cape this summer. Right now, Mike and some of his staff are dynamically making arrangements for support, endorsement, housing, office space, and workers for this ambitious plan. Any help of any kind that anyone can offer the Cape Cod Project is urgently needed because the summer crowd is arriving now. If you can offer any aid and especially if you live in the Cape Cod area (Hyannis will be the headquarters), contact Mike in care of the Cape Cod Project, at the Farm.

Dennis Stavis



A U. S. Marshal goes down as another marshal and state troopers carry John Stephens out of farmhouse, and other pacifists block path. Photo by Bradford Lyttle.

That Wednesday, May 31, almost everyone from the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace was in Voluntown. Our reunion, full of flowers, guitar playing, and May in the Connecticut countryside was interrupted by Connecticut's state troopers.

John-i-thin Stephens sat on the couch with his wife, Candy, his wrist handcuffed to hers by their own choice. A marshal stood looking at John i-thin puzzled. How different his mood was from ours. How willingly he forced us out of our fun. How unable he was to understand why we felt we had to obstruct the arrest even though we knew he had the force to execute it.

Four hours later we sat down. The guitar playing was gone and so were most of the flowers we had picked. Twenty-five of us sat in the doorway or in front of John-i-thin. We let the police march in. Ass't Marshal Sullivan had had to call for reinforcements and thirty-five state police marched up Rte. 165, into the farm's drive

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New England Committee for Nonviolent Action  
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# ORDEAL AT HARTFORD

way and into the house. Then they marched out. I felt bodies going over me. A limp man passed over my head in the doorway. It was John-i-thin. I saw his feet disappear around the house. More troopers came over me, and then more. Steve and Michael had been sitting in front of me. Now they were gone and I didn't know whether they had been trampled on or whether they had left by themselves. I got up and ran with the other bodies down the hill. Several troopers ran carrying John-i-thin. Others ran trying to decide what we would do next. We ran to obstruct the exit and the police cars. I lay in front of the police car into which they had shoved John and wondered briefly how they had broken the handcuffs he had put on.

It was very clear that these state troopers weren't as gentle as Pentagon guards. They had one purpose - to arrest John-i-thin. They regarded anything in their way as an inanimate obstacle to be walked over or kicked aside. They dragged us away from the car wheels and threw us off the car hood. Later I was told by Donna that she sailed several feet into the air from the car top. I was dragged a few feet; a trooper twisted my arm around Tally's, who lay limp beside me.

When the police had us all down, the marshal's aide drove John-i-thin away. I got up and saw Candy standing...alone...watching the black car disappear.

The next three minutes revealed the physical wounds: Rebel's mouth and neck were bleeding, Mike's head was cut, Richard was bruised and Steve's sweater was in shreds.

But it only took a few minutes to get ice packs, and an hour to be on the way to vigil at the Montville jail where John-i-thin was being held. We vigiled and sat in at Montville and later picketed at Hartford State Jail for a week.

What about John-i-thin? I don't know him very well, but last night I finished reading Barbara Deming's Prison Notes, which tells of John-i-thin's and others' long jail fast in Albany, Georgia. John's eager and strong. He fasted for over a week after his arrest on June 1. He sends us word that he is prepared to face a prison sentence now. I wonder, however, why he should have to. John wants only to live in peace. He confronts the federal government and the war, as we in Voluntown also did on the day of his arrest. Donna's neck is still stiff. Mike can't open his mouth all the way. I don't feel particularly sorry for us, but a little puzzled. We had a right to our fun that day. We and John have a right to it every day. What is the nature of the state which sends police to violently carry a man from his home for refusing to kill?

--Citti Allsup

June 15...P.S. John-i-thin called tonight to tell us he is released on personal recognizance by Judge Berk of San Francisco Federal District Court. John was flown to California 2 days ago. His attorney, Aubrey Grossman, received a continuance until June 29.



Just before the arrest. Citti Allsup, Chuck Matthei and Josh Kricker picket at Hartford State Jail in support of John-i thin Stephens, as young man in foreground watches.

Photograph by Richard Lema.

On Saturday, June 3, 10 CNVA members vigiled in front of the Hartford State Jail on Seyms Street to protest the arrest of draft refuser John-i-thin Stephens.

Twenty minutes later, three Hartford City Police cars arrived and six policemen got out. They were highly belligerent and told us to start moving in a picket line or they would arrest us. Although it would result in blocking traffic on the sidewalk, we decided to cooperate.

A person with whom we had been conversing Mr. James Byrd, went up to the police, presumably to ask why we were being asked to move. He accidentally brushed up against one of them and was arrested.

I asked why the man had been arrested and was arrested myself. Three other people from CNVA - Citti Allsup, Chris Gifford, and my sister, Candy Stephens - went up one after another, asking the reasons for arrest, and were each arrested in turn. Chuck Matthei, seeing us all being carried into a paddy wagon (all but Mr. Byrd refused to walk), blocked it and was arrested.

We were held until Monday, which was our date for court, all fasting since our arrest (Candy had been fasting since John-i-thin's arrest) and all refusing to walk. Sometime before the trial, the prosecutor dropped the charges.

At this point, I could bring up something about the First Amendment and freedom of speech but I can't help remembering something a friend of mine has told me. When the Quebec-Washington Guantanamo peace walkers went through Georgia, they talked about their rights of free speech and how the Supreme Court protects these rights. The answer the Southern police gave summed up the situation perfectly: "This ain't Supreme Court country, son."

--Josh Kricker



## SOMETHING ABOUT OURSELVES (for our friends known and unknown)

The farm headquarters of the New England Committee for Nonviolent Action at Voluntown, Connecticut is a unique center which combines some features of a Ghandian ashram, of an intentional community, a "cause organization" office, and a youth hostel. It is a temporary or permanent home for anywhere from 8 to 35 persons at one time, and a guest house for as many as 25 more at any given moment.

New England CNVA is a pacifist organization which was initiated in the fall of 1960 after the summer-long Polaris Action Project in New London and Groton, Connecticut (sponsored by national CNVA) which vigorously protested the construction of Polaris submarines at Electric Boat Company and the "world's largest submarine base". Centered first in a large house in Norwich and a store front office in New London, New England CNVA moved in June of 1962 to a 40-acre farm in Voluntown.

Today, New England CNVA conducts a region-wide program in the six New England states, in Eastern New York State, and occasionally across the border with Canadians in the peace movement. Many national direct action projects originate with New England CNVA, and often are coordinated, staffed and partially financed by the New England group.

The regional program consists of a wide variety of activities; continuing protest against deterrence and Polaris submarines, numerous and diverse demonstrations, vigils, leafleting, picket lines, and frequent civil disobedience action at military bases, defense plants, federal buildings and other focal points. Longer direct action projects include walks for peace and extended vigils and fasts. Encouragement and assistance is given to local groups and individuals to undertake similar actions. Assistance includes mailings, poster preparations, printing of leaflets, and often participation and leadership by CNVA staff members.

Another major activity can be termed educational, and includes numerous speaking and film - showing engagements, T.V.

and radio appearances, and the "Peace Caravan" to college and high school campuses. In the past two years New England CNVA personnel have visited close to 100 campuses: setting up literature tables in prominent locations and being available all day for discussions and questions. Speaking in classes and department seminars, and in the evening at a public meeting or at the local coffee house, the Caravaners have been able to bring to thousands of college and high school students new information on the draft, the war in Vietnam, non-violence, and related subjects.

The farm at Voluntown is used for conferences and weekend seminars, work-camps, and training programs in nonviolence. The first direct action at the farm itself occurred recently when a staff member was arrested for draft refusal and 25 other staff and visitors engaged in non-violent resistance which took some 30 Connecticut state troopers and U.S. Marshals to overcome. These confrontations are likely to become more frequent as the rate of both conscription and draft refusal are increased.

Staff members of New England CNVA are selected after a 2-month trial period of living and working at the farm and must commit themselves to a minimum of 6 months' full-time participation. They receive no salaries, but do get maintenance and a \$1 per week allowance. The annual budget of between \$16,000 and \$20,000 includes all maintenance and program costs and is raised mostly with contributions. The organization normally carries a \$1,500 - \$2,000 debt.

Life at the Farm is in many ways communitarian, sharing meals, work, and often personal savings and income. Private rooms are usually available for long term staff members; guests stay in dormitories. A Discipline of Nonviolence and the Principles of Conduct are guidelines for both living in the community and participating in New England CNVA activities.

Persons interested in becoming staff members, or in visiting are urged to contact the farm in advance.

New England Committee for Nonviolent Action

RFD 1; Box 197B; Voluntown, Connecticut 06384 - Phone; 203-376-9970

delicate terror  
fluttering like new leaves  
in the wind,  
in the sunlight

A child presses his chin to the fence  
I give him a leaflet to take home to read.  
"Bombs kill kids  
and big people," I say.

People  
running through rain filled patties  
crouching in huts  
with the still air dancing,  
air filled with shrill death,  
People lying dead in the rain.  
Their eyes are still open,  
the rain water filling their mouths.

The child runs into the house  
and the door slams.

delicate terror  
raging quietly  
everywhere.

Patsy Richardson

...rocks are waaashed by the swiftly sand  
smoothed and molded  
molded and smoothed  
waaashed waaashed and ground by the pound  
ing of the force  
ing of the force  
waaashed  
a grain remains of sand remains  
sand waaashed waaashed waaashed  
sand by force  
is forced to rock  
and rock to sand and sand to rock  
more sand more rock more sand more rock  
sock rand  
rock rand  
rock and sand  
I am the rock you are the sand  
sand am the rock I are the you  
waaashed waaashed waaashed waaashed  
waaashed...

Dennis Stavis

# Alternative at Coventry H.S.

The administration at Coventry High School recently felt moved to institute a program of civil defense education for its seniors. However, one social studies teacher, Ray Ducharme, rushed to the students' rescue. Ray approached the officials with an alternative to the civil defense program, that the students might have a program of peaceful alternatives to war.

Surprisingly, Ray was allowed to go ahead with his peace program. I assume that the school officials thought the students would be hostile and give no support. Quite the opposite...when it was announced at the C.D. assembly for the first time that the students would be allowed to leave and attend Ray's meetings, 40 people got up and walked out.

Ray spoke at the first meeting himself. On the second day Chuck Matthei of CNVA went and spoke about nonviolence, noncooperation, and peace. Patsy Richardson, Mike Colpitts, Tom Elm and I came the following day and talked about direct action, our positions on the draft, the Vietnam war, the Boston to Pentagon Walk for Peace, religion, Joan Baez and the Institute she had helped found, and whatever else came to mind. Marj Swann spoke later on. Ray also invited the state director of civil defense for contrast.

The reaction of the students at Coventry High School reaffirmed my belief that the kids of this country are desperately searching for some alternative to the madness of our society. It would be more satisfying if more sympathetic teachers would invite CNVA or other movement people to speak at their schools.

--Bob Talmanson



Connecticut State troopers pull a protester from under police car as other pacifists at Polaris Action Farm sit in front of car in attempt to block arrest of John-i-thin Stephens.

Dr. Gordon "Chris" Christiansen is a former chairman of both National and New England CNVA, a member of the WIN magazine staff, a chemistry professor at Connecticut College, and the father of four children. But now his only task is to recuperate from a severe heart attack at St. Vincent's Hospital, 6th Ave. and West 11th St. in New York City. He'd like to hear from you.

## AID and COMFORT

A sinister new plan has come out of the minds of even more sinister female peaceniks. When they pass their eighteenth birthday, they are writing their draft boards that would have power over them had they been men and telling the Selective Service that they will not register or co-operate in any way with the draft process. Then they simply sign their first initial and last name. Although seemingly legal this plan is proposed to throw confusion into the bureaucratic machine which will have to investigate all these letters. So why don't you write a friendly letter to your draft board?

--Dennis Stavis

## THANK YOU

Thank you for the contributions we have received between May 16 and June 11: Concord Area 75 JR 15; SG 20; MB 5; LC 3.65; RM 1; SS 1; MH 10; LB 5; IJ 1.25; JJ 50; DI 25; DW 5; JO 20; RW 20; WL 5; JA 15 RC 2; BW 2; PC 5; MT 25; Anon .45; BB 35; RF 50; MS 10 FW 3; BM 5; DC 1; D VanH 2; RG 20; BS 10; DW 5; KB 10 JS 25; HF 10; TT 5; FW 10; MC 9.54; ST 20; R&DW 5; JS 20; RB 2; GH 1; EW 15; RS 10; LS 100; MM 5; JG 10; BQ 3; AFM 10; AS 50; BH 30; AS 2; RD 20; M&JG 5; GL 2; C&MP 25; BS 10; FHC 254.10; TE 5; JV 25; BW 1; JA 5; RM 10; JY 10; HR 5; WM 40; BD 100; Princeton FOR 40; Bennington Coll. 100; FK 30; EB 5; T McC 5; L&FT 5; SS 10; S&BS 2; Contribution dish 74.96; JA can of maple syrup; AS office furniture and equip.; BW shampoo and bed; ET apples from New Hamp.

Please fill out and return to NEW ENGLAND CNVA  
RFD #1, Box 197B, Voluntown, Conn. 06384  
Telephone: 203-376-9970

I plan to come to the Farm on \_\_\_\_\_  
(dates) to help. (Please give  
advance notice; the Farm is very crowded now.)

Send the following items: \_\_\_\_\_ copies of "We Burned Every Hut!" (reprint of letter from soldier in Vietnam) - single copy free, 40/\$1.00; \_\_\_\_\_ copies of "Salisbury from Hanoi" (reprint of the N.Y. Times articles) - 25¢; \_\_\_\_\_ copies of "The Geneva Agreement" (excellent pocket-size booklet with map) - 25¢, 5/\$1.00; \_\_\_\_\_ copies of "Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal" (excellent new book by Howard Zinn, 131 pp. - \$1.25; \_\_\_\_\_ "Vietnam North: A First-Hand Report" by Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett - \$1.85; \_\_\_\_\_ copies of "We Won't Go" (reprints of speeches by Lynd, Bevel, Tatum and others at U. of Chicago Conference on Draft Resistance - 25¢; \_\_\_\_\_ free samples of statements by draft refusers.

Enclosed is \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for New England CNVA.

I pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_ per month.

(Please check your name and address on reverse.)

# Marriage Celebration

Suzanne Williams and Fred Moore declare a celebration at 3:00 p.m., June 20. The festive occasion, both joyous and solemn, will begin with a time of quiet in the field at the New England CNVA Farm. Dinner and partying will follow.

Fred Moore  
Suzanne Williams

(Two dedicated young people, both New England CNVA staff members, will become united on this happy occasion. Fred has recently completed serving his two year prison sentence for draft refusal. In the past year, Suzi's exploits, both in and out of jail, have kept the peace movement on the edge of its seat as she courageously witnessed for peace and freedom.)

## C.O.s IN & OUT OF PRISON

On June 6, ROBERT A. TALMANSON was tried in the Federal District Court in Boston for refusing to take a physical and for refusing to report for induction. Tally's trial was unusually long, because every letter that he had sent to his draft board was introduced, as well as leaflets he had sent or passed out there. Judge Murray was very reasonable and kept everything going smoothly. Even Assistant U.S. Attorney John Wall said, "Mr. Talmanson is not on trial for being a pacifist - that is an admirable quality." On June 7, a jury found Tally guilty on both charges; he will be sentenced on June 21.

--Richard Lema

Our family recently visited DAVID BENSON and TOM ROOD at the federal prison in Petersburg, Virginia. Both are well and in good spirits. Tom will be released on parole on June 26, and will work at the Tatums' conference center in New Jersey.....Dave does not expect that his parole request will be granted, so he plans to continue learning carpentry and auto mechanic skills.

--Marj Swann

We farmers over here in Eastern Connecticut are always needing something or other to help us in our work, so here's a list of "appreciables".

- 35mm camera that works well
- 8 mm or 16 mm motion picture camera that works better
- Heavy duty truck (we even have a lightweight '61 Corvair truck we'll trade for it!)
- Wringer washing machine
- Blankets and sleeping bags
- Arts and crafts supplies
- Big pots and pans
- Light meter
- Large tents
- Tarpaulins of all sizes
- Freezer (for all that garden produce)
- Beach umbrellas, picnic tables and benches for our newly-cleared outdoor meeting area
- Canning jars with screw tops
- We always need good cars

# PENTAGON POSTSCRIPT



DeCourcy Squire arrested by Pentagon guards.  
Photo by The Washington Post.

Suzi Williams, Chuck Matthei, Lou Waronker, and Peter Kiger remained in jail in Washington, D.C. awaiting trial for their "crimes" at the Pentagon after others had been tried by the U.S. Commissioner in Alexandria, Virginia, found guilty, given 30-day suspended sentences, and released on 6-month's probation. Suzi and Chuck were refusing to drink water as well as fasting; Lou was fasting but taking water. Anxiety mounted in those on the outside as we realized that Chuck had gone 8 days with no food or liquid, and Suzi had only 2 intravenous feedings in that period. We initiated a vigorous campaign to acquaint top officials in Washington with the situation, and to get them either to drop charges or at least to give proper medical examination and treatment.

For several days, the story was the usual one of bureaucratic rigidity and seemingly deliberate psychological cruelty. Finally, however, the determination of the 4 prisoners, plus outside support and the fact that they had already been in jail for 2 weeks, proved sufficient to get the charges dropped. We thank all those who sent letters and telegrams, or who made phone calls.

--Marjorie Swann

NEW ENGLAND CNVA  
RFD #1, Box 197B  
Voluntown, Conn. 06384  
Number 79

FIRST CLASS

# MEMO



NATIONAL BULLETIN OF WOMEN STRIKE FOR PEACE  
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Barbara Bick, Editor

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AUGUST 1967



JOIN THOUSANDS OF WOMEN AS WE DEMONSTRATE - - AT SELECTIVE SERVICE OFFICE AND WHITE HOUSE IN WASHINGTON D.C., SEPTEMBER 20 - - TO SUPPORT YOUNG MEN WHO REFUSE TO FIGHT THE ILLEGAL AND IMMORAL WAR IN VIETNAM AND TO DEMAND NO MORE DRAFT CALL-UPS.

Women Strike for Peace calls upon all American women concerned for the lives of their sons, concerned for the suffering of the Vietnamese, and for the strivings of the oppressed poor of our own country to escalate the protest against the war.

GIVE A DAY TO SAY "NO" TO THE WARMAKERS

Join with women from all over the United States Wednesday, September 20 - 12:30 pm, at Selective Service Headquarters, 1724 F St., N.W. Washington, D.C.

Increasing numbers of young Americans are saying "no" to the draft and "no" to the war in Vietnam. Thousands face jail, court martial, or exile because they refuse to participate in a brutal war they consider to be immoral and illegal. These courageous young men are standing up for all Americans who oppose the war, and hastening its end. They are the true defenders of freedom and justice.

WE WOMEN MUST STAND UP FOR THEM

Demonstrate your support for those who resist. Circulate the Statement of Conscience shown below. Get unprecedented numbers of women to sign. Your local WSP office will have Statements or get them from the New York office. We will present those collected by September 20 to General Hershey, National Director of Selective Service, at our demonstration in Washington.

WOMEN'S STATEMENT OF CONSCIENCE

Increasing numbers of young Americans are finding that the Vietnam war so outrages their deepest moral and religious sense that they cannot serve in the Armed Forces while it continues.

As Americans they have been taught respect for the rights of others and to stand up for their belief in justice.

They now refuse to violate these principles. They refuse to be sent to Vietnam to kill men, women, and children who have never harmed them and who have never threatened our country.

As mothers, sisters, sweethearts, wives, we feel it is our moral responsibility to stand beside these brave young men who refuse to participate in the Vietnam war because they believe it to be immoral, unjust, and brutal.

Too many men have died. Too many more will die, unless they have the courage to say "No!" We can help give them that courage by giving them our support.

We believe that support of those who resist the war and the draft is both moral and legal. We believe that it is not we but those who send our sons to kill and be killed who are committing crimes. We do, however, recognize that there may be risks involved, but because we believe that these young men are courageous and morally justified in rejecting the war regardless of consequences, we can do no less.

We urge all women to stand with them and with us.

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Circulated by Women Strike for Peace, 2140 P Street, N.W., Wash. D.C.  
TO BE PRESENTED TO GENERAL HERSHEY, NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF SELECTIVE SERVICE AT A NATION-  
WIDE DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, AT SELECTIVE SERVICE HEADQUARTERS,  
1724 F St., N.W., Wash. D.C.

STATEMENT BY DAGMAR WILSON

Women identify with black Americans who through frustration have been forced to rebel in order to draw attention to the denial of their right to participate in the forming of our common human destiny.

The appeals of women to abandon the arms race and direct attention to improving the lot of the human race has fallen on deaf ears as have the legitimate demands of our fellow black citizens for the basic rights of human-beings.

Implicit in the rejection of our appeals to humanity and reason is the rejection of us as human and reasonable. By ignoring our needs and our humanity those in power reject their own humanity and thus pursue a course of ultimate self destruction.

So we are saying to those in power, look at our needs and you see your own. If you will not see, we must compel you to see, by whatever means are at our disposal.

This is the reality behind the Black rebellion and behind the women's Peace Movement.

## WSP Annual National Meet September 21-23

The site of the annual WSP conference has moved from the mid-west to the far-west and now, finally, to the nation's capitol, Washington D.C. The date and place were chosen to coordinate with the anti-draft demonstration of September 20 and to encourage a widespread participation in both.

That WSP, a non-membership alliance of thousands of women working in autonomous groups, has met in a constructive national conference for six consecutive years is a testimony to non-organization. Because we are committed to peace, to understanding what motivates American women to seek peace, to translating ideas into vital programs, we emerge from a fog of disorganization to that wonderful state of consensus each year.

Planning ahead has never been a strength of WSP. We are stronger on immediate response. But we try. Naomi Komorowski, Mary Clarke and Ruth Meyers were designated at the National Consultative spring meeting to act as a temporary steering committee for conference agenda items. Traditionally (after six years we have traditions) the establishment of a permanent steering committee is the first order of business of the conference.

The purposes of the conference: exchanging ideas for peace actions, formulating programs for the coming year, analyzing current problems and philosophic changes, will best be served with the aid of as much advanced thinking as possible. Send suggestions for agenda items and ideas for discussion, as soon as possible, to Ruth Meyers, 799 Broadway, N.Y. 10003, who will act as secretary for the agenda steering committee. And, if you have thoughts on a particular phase or direction of peace activity or have worked successfully on a project, please consider preparing a paper for the conference and notify the agenda committee.

...Ruth Myers, New York

NOTE: A pre-conference Issues for Discussion will be mimeographed and sent to Steering Committees for local distribution IF enough material is received by WSP national office by August 31.

WSPs attending national conference who will need hospitality, please contact national office.

## Communication from New York

### WSP AND THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR NEW POLITICS CONVENTION

WSP has been invited to attend a convention called by the National Conference for New Politics August 29 - September 4, in Chicago.

The NCNP was formed in 1966 by a group of individuals whose stated purpose was to aid local political efforts around the issues of peace, poverty and civil rights by making available funds, volunteers, information to local organizations which sought to run candidates and to build permanent political constituencies at the grass roots level.

The NCNP now proposes "conversion to a membership organization" inviting individuals and organizations to become charter members.

The convention will seek to "debate policy objectives, political strategy and perspectives...and determine responses to the 1968 election ...and determine the structure, program and leadership for the NCNP..." In addition, it will concern itself with political electoral activity, it will address itself to "other kinds of tactics of creative disorder: sit-ins and marches, rent strikes and labor strikes and school boycotts. We plan to invent our own institutions, to found neighborhood governments based on neighborhood power;..."

It proposes three categories of persons to attend the convention: delegates, representatives and observers. A delegate is a person representing a local political or community organizational group, if accredited as much. A representative is an interested individual not affiliated with any organization. An observer is a person from a state, regional or national organization. For full information on voting procedures and application forms, write to NCNP Convention Center, 1517 Howard St., Chicago, Ill. 60626.

The New York Coordinating Committee of WSP - a) taking into consideration the consensus at our last WSP national conference that women should participate in political action in broad coalitions around the issue of peace on a congressional district level, thrusting within the political parties, where possible and outside if necessary, and b) recognizing that WSP is a movement which has never participated as a member in a membership organization, makes the following recommendations:

Question 1: Should WSP participate in the NCNP convention?

Answer: Yes

Explanation: The potential 51% women's vote for peace, if organized politically, can be decisive on Vietnam and related issues in the 1968 Congressional and Presidential elections. WSP has a special responsibility to involve women in political action and to address itself to the special role of women in the 1968 elections. However, WSP participates with others, albeit from its own vantage point, in discussing and influencing the political course which can best bring about a change in politics, parties and candidates.

Question 2: Should we participate as delegates, observers or as representatives?

Answer: As delegates, voting by consensus, after caucus before each vote, subject to approval at our own national conference in September after the convention.



Explanation: WSP makes policy by consensus agreement. WSP has a policy of individual WSPs attending national and international conferences as observers without vote, and as delegates instructed in advance to present previously agreed upon positions. Our participation as delegates is being recommended with the stipulation that we vote as a body of the whole by consensus after caucus at the convention; where there is no consensus that we record the abstention of WSP as a whole. In this way it is possible to participate in a gathering which includes many individuals, small organizations and groups in formation, in a manner reflective of our relative size and influence, and at the same time keep final approval of recommendations open for our own national meeting. We suggest this procedure as an alternative to participation as observers.

Please communicate to the Washington Office the names, addresses, telephone numbers and dates of attendance, of each WSP planning to attend the pre-convention and/or convention, so that there can be further communication with respect to the time and place for the caucus at the pre-convention and the convention.

...Prepared by Bella S. Abzug, New York Political Action and Legislative Chairman, with the assistance of Judy Lerner, Westchester; Shirley Margolin, Queens; Martha Kahn, West Side; Laura Edelman, Bronx; Ruth Myers, Nassau; Bea Friedman, Brooklyn; Miriam Chessman, New York.

## 2 Chicago WSPs Arrested at Draft Center

Two Chicago WSPs were arrested August 7 at an Army induction center and trial began the next day. Jayne Switzer and Faith Bissell were among about a dozen women passing out leaflets to draft inductees as part of a regular WSP program that has gone on for the entire summer. An officer inside ordered the young men entering to throw the leaflets into a trash container. When the WSP leaflets were used up, 2 women went inside the center and retrieved leaflets from the trash box. The incensed officer then demanded that all leaflets brought in by the men be crumpled and thrown away. Whereupon, Jayne and Faith re-entered the building and explained to the men their legal right to read and keep material. Police were called by the officer and both women were arrested.

21 year old Faith refused to cooperate with what she felt to be an illegal arrest and was carried by the arresting officers. She also caused a minor sensation when she demanded to be allowed to nurse her infant, brought down to the jail by her husband. Police matrons were completely uncooperative. But Jayne and Faith were both released that evening on \$25 bail. The next morning Jayne told the Judge she needed the \$25 for groceries--and the money was returned. Women and children crowded into the court for the first day of the trial.

## Ann Arbor Reports In

It's high time you had a communication from Ann Arbor. Everytime the MEMO comes we read it eagerly and every month it's the same thing - news from everywhere but here - because once again we forgot to send any to you.

Ann Arbor Women for Peace have been frantically busy with Vietnam Summer - there are five cooperating organizations plus many previously "unattached" people. We have a full-time office and many projects. The most exciting, I think, is the peacemobile. We bought an old bookmobile, painted it bright yellow with orange trim and letters and take it everywhere - fully stocked with books, leaflets, papers, posters and coffee and, as of today, the Philadelphia WSP records. We have had marvelous success with it. We go to whatever local "do" there is - from church suppers to the annual art show - throughout the county. We were in the 4th of July parade (sponsored by the American Legion) in Ypsilanti (the local newspaper criticized the "large yellow vehicle" but the American Legion thought we had a right to be there.) We visit the parks and playgrounds, the Farmers' Market, any place where people come in bunches. We sell and give away literature (\$75. worth last Sunday morning). We talk and listen. We supply coffee and/or tea and some sympathy. And every week about a thousand people come through the peacemobile.

Vietnam Summer and Women for Peace have also undertaken canvassing throughout the city of Ann Arbor - door-to-door stuff - with varying success. Several neighborhood "coffee hours with discussion leader" have come from this.

There is also a "letter writers" committee - which isn't a kaffeeklatch sort of things where people meet and write letters but rather a group of very diverse people who can't, for whatever reason, do more public things. Each week the chairman makes up a page or so on some news story of interest about the war or some related topic, gathers background material and pertinent facts, mails it out to his committee (which is quite large - some 50 or so) so that they may write intelligent letters to either government people or newspapers here and around the country.

Also one of the cooperating groups has been sponsoring weekly lecture programs on Vietnam. These include panel discussions and straight lectures and the whole series has been very well attended - never less than 200. This Sunday we will participate in a silent vigil on Hiroshima Day outside several of the largest churches in town.

Of course WFP continues our weekly radio programs. The programs vary widely - from historical analyses of the War and specific ideas for ending it, to a discussion of the Detroit riot of last week.

I know we've mentioned these weekly programs before, but we'd like to tell you a little about them again. WFP have 10-15 minutes every Monday morning (re-broadcasting in the evening) on a daily program called "Public Forum." This program offers time to any "responsible" group in the community. The spectrum of opinion is very broad (The

John Birch Society has a regular slot, too.)

I know many WSP-WFP groups have found it difficult to get radio time and perhaps urging this kind of program on a local station would help break the ice. Any interest group or person can get our scripts for \$1 each. Recently we have gained more confidence and don't use scripts so much. Still, if anyone is interested in sample scripts or in our procedure, address: A.A. WFP, 1546 Barrington Pl., Ann Arbor, Mich.

We are still prepared to send teams of women out for "toy" talks. We had some success with this last winter and spring and expect to have several speaking engagements this Fall as nursery schools get underway again. We also have a list of make-it-yourself toy kits which we made up and distributed widely, by request, to several nursery schools. These are on the peacemobile along with a small toy display and a set of large lego for children to play with while their mothers "shop" for peace literature.

Several of our projects have been taken over by community groups, which is the best of all possible goals, as we see it. The Committee For Responsibility, for example, is now totally a community group with wide support and an imposing list of sponsors. If only we could work ourselves out of every job that way. If only there were no longer a need for us. How glorious it would be to close the kitchen door on the mimeograph machine; if only I could think of nothing but how big everyone's feet have grown and worry about nothing but the high cost of shoe leather.

Before I end, let me give you a few figures about our Vietnam Summer Project. We have more than 200 people working actively and hard. All of the women active regularly in WFP are working in Vietnam Summer. It is hard to tell where WFP leaves off and Vietnam Summer begins. We help in the office, in the peacemobile, in canvassing, etc. Vietnam Summer works in such a way that if we - as WFP - wish to prepare a leaflet or speak from a certain point of view about a specific issue - we can do it thus: "This leaflet (or this talk) prepared by AA WFP in cooperation with Vietnam Summer," and any other group can do the same thing.

There now, Mrs. Editor, cut and slice as you see fit, but let this long letter make up for our non-letters all these months.

...Nancy Gendell, Ann Arbor Mich.



MRS. JOHNSON CAME TO NEW YORK TO RECEIVE OFFICIAL BOUQUETS . . . AND SHE GOT THEM FROM THE OFFICIAL SOURCES . . . BUT FROM THE PEOPLE SHE GOT SOMETHING ELSE.

demonstration sponsored by the Women's Strike for Peace and R.I.D. (Republicans, Independents, and Democrats). About 200 women, included playwrights, painters and socialites passionately voiced their feelings about the First Lady.

"I am not against her personally—but her husband's policies."

"She is interested in beautifying America, when U. S. troops are defoliating Vietnam.

"She is here tonight for the sake of children . . . isn't she interested in the children in Vietnam."



Ten women, mostly members of "Women Strike for Peace," protested the lack of white people who are sympathetic to Negro demands

Mrs. Jo Ann Collier

said she feared that violence in Newark and Plainfield would spark an anti-Negro violence through white backlash.

"We support what the black people are demanding," she stated and noted that "the white people should not interpret what the Negroes are doing as an attack against white people in general. The white people shouldn't let their race feelings get stirred up," she added.

Compared With War

"White people have been afraid to support the black peoples' struggles against the National Guard and police," she said, and emphasized her point by comparing recent racial violence with the war in Vietnam.

Members of the group mostly housewives from the Twin-County Area, also are opposed to the Vietnam war. Mrs. Collier said

Despite the fact that the Mayor of Detroit had a network of citizen sentries, including spies planted among groups of hostile angry Negroes, his warning system failed to detect the rumbles of a revolt. Five days later the result was 37 dead, 3,500 jailed, 2,000 in the hospital and over \$200 million of property damage.

One thing the revolt was not. It was not a massive Negro uprising against white people. Instead it was a demonstration of a slum community overrun with rats, unemployment, poor education - and no way out.

The revolt raged rampant after approximately 8,000 of Michigan's 9,998 national guardsmen had been called into the area and lost control of the situation.

Many of our women are working around the clock in helping to relocate families without homes. Food is being collected and a fight is on to stamp out the black market and high cost of food. (milk \$1 a quart). The curfew is still on and probably will continue all week end. It is impossible to continue our work with Vietnam Summer.

In viewing the scene it hits one that had the money, that was found in a hurry to supply troops and extra police, been used to help the people, it would have begun to alleviate some of the problems causing the rebellion. It's revolting that money can be found quickly to quell people in Revolt - whether at home or in Vietnam. It is never there when it is needed to help people in Peace. Something don't add up!

...Olga Penn, Detroit

# THE BLACK REBELLIONS

her group has picketed the draft board at 108 Church St., every Saturday since February.

The members of the group handed out leaflets bearing a newspaper account of 16 persons listed "as among those killed during the last four days of racial violence in Newark." It lists 14 Negroes killed and one white detective.

Mrs. Butler expressed a similar opinion to that of Mrs. Collier when she said, "It isn't right for Negro demands to be put down by the police and National Guard."

At one point, the demonstration was interrupted by plainclothes Patrolman Donald Bowling who told the women he didn't think it was a good time to be demonstrating.

Bowling did not demand that the protestors disperse, he suggested it. The demonstrators refused explaining that they were helping the situation.

Bowling said they could stay at the corner until 6 p.m. but had to leave at that time.

**Tom Hayden:** The Occupation of Newark

*The New York Review of Books*, August 24, 1967 250 West 57th Street, N.Y. 10019

• • • • •  
We never know the full story of how these troops and the police hurt the black people of Newark. But there is now sufficient evidence to establish the main features of their behavior.

*Trigger-happiness because of fear, confusion, and exhaustion:* • • •

*General and deliberate violence employed against the whole community:* On Friday night ten Negroes were killed, 100 suffered gunshot wounds, 500 were "treated" at City Hospital, and at least as many were arrested or held. By Sunday night another ten were dead, at least fifty more had gunshot wounds, and another 500 were in jail. People were stopped indiscriminately in the streets, shoved, cursed, and beaten and shot. • • •

*Cold-blooded murder:* An evaluation of the deaths so far reported suggests that the military forces killed people for the purposes of terror and intimi-

ation. Nearly all the dead were killed by police, troopers, and Guardsmen. The "crimes" of the victims were petty, vague, or unproven. None were accused by police of being snipers; only one so far is alleged to have been carrying a gun. Several of the dead were engaged in small-scale looting at most. The majority were observers; ten, in fact, were killed inside or just outside their homes. Seven of the dead were women, two were young boys. • • •

THE EVIDENCE points to a military massacre in Newark rather than to a two-sided war. This was not only the conclusion of the Negroes in the ghetto but of private Newark lawyers, professors of constitutional law, and representatives of the state American Civil Liberties Union. They charge that the police were the instrument of a criminal conspiracy "to engage in a pattern of systematic violence, terror, abuse, intimidation, and humiliation" to keep Negroes as second-class citizens. The police, according to the complaint, "seized on the initial disorders as an opportunity and pretext to perpetrate the most horrendous and widespread killing, violence, torture, and intimidation, not in response to any crime or civilian disorder, but as a violent demonstration of the powerlessness of the plaintiffs" • • •

To the conservative mind the riot is essentially anarchy. To the liberal mind it is an expression of helpless frustration. • • • both assume that the riot is a form of less-than-civilized behavior. • • •

similar concepts, a third one must be asserted, the concept that a riot represents people making history.

The riot is certainly an awkward, even primitive, form of history-making. But if people are barred from using the sophisticated instruments of the established order for their ends, they will find another

## Roots of Rioting

To the Editor:

In describing looting, assaults and arson alone, the crimes of economic and social policy, which Negroes do not make, are unjustly omitted. To do too little to relieve the agony of Negro life is as inflammatory as inciting to riot. To put an Asian war of dubious national interest far above domestic needs in the order of priorities and to pit it against reforms that were delayed a century is worse than a blind policy; it is a provocative policy.

There is blood on the hands of some Negroes who will, and should, pay the price society exacts. What of the blood on the hands of a Congress that sneered at a modest bill to control the rats that daily bite babies in the ghettos; that emas-

culated a Model Cities program; that killed rent subsidies; that with Administration cooperation is more than halving desperately needed anti-poverty programs?

Should not all the culprits be put in the dock together, white and Negro? Negroes have awakened to their rights and dignity and to the unutterable wretchedness of their lives simultaneously.

It will take more statesmanship and more sacrifice by the white society to solve this problem than is presently manifest. Without it, harmony will continue to elude us because the day is past when the violence of the white majority can serve to quell the stirrings of a people deprived and rebuked for 350 years.

MARTIN LUTHER KING Jr.  
Atlanta, July 28, 1967

# Same Proposal Evokes Opposite Response In 2 Areas - -Montgomery County, Md.

By Norman Solomon

A group of county citizens, many of them parents, has asked the county school system to inform high school students of the legal alternatives to the draft.

The Montgomery County Section of the Washington Area Committee on the Draft says it specifically objects to the little-known fact that only the United States military has access to the otherwise closely-

guarded lists of graduating seniors.

the group requested in a letter to Board of Education President Clifford K. Beck that "some similar arrangement for the distribution of information on conscientious objection be made with some responsible local group."

The military is said to use the lists to send graduates information on opportunities in the armed forces.

Pointing out that the Selective Service Act is a complicated document of several volumes, the group wrote, "We

feel that you should recognize an educational, legal and moral obligation to these young men so that they may know and consider all the legal alternatives provided under the Selective Service System."

The draft committee has requested that a condensation of the Selective Service Act and its alternatives be made available to high school students through the school system guidance departments.

The group has also asked that equal time be given for conscientious objector viewpoints when military recruiters visit

## Draft Alternatives

Draft requirements and military service opportunities are explained fully to county high school students. Guidance counselors work closely with students who are at or near draft age and military recruiters visit the schools to explain their particular branch of the service and the advantages it offers.

There is little or no dialogue, however, on the alternatives to the draft. Many students are unsure or altogether ignorant of them. And yet the alternatives are clearly spelled out under the Selective Service Act--all perfectly legal and proper, formally enacted by Congress and part of our system of laws.

Now a group of countians has asked, according to a story appearing elsewhere in this issue, that this situation be changed. Their proposal makes sense.

The group wants experts on the subject of draft alternatives to be allowed to speak at schools as military recruiters do. It asks that guidance counselors make information available about draft alternatives. And, in addition it wants lists of graduates to be open, as they are to the military, to groups seeking to make high school students more knowledgeable about the legal draft alternatives.

The request seems altogether reasonable and proper. We hope it is considered favorably.

Thursday, July 13, 1967

Montgomery County, Md. SENTINEL

School Superintendent Homer O. Elseroad has ordered that "a concise synthesized review" of military draft regulations and alternatives be drawn up by the county school system for distribution to all high school seniors as part of the current counseling program.

"We are, indeed, interested in giving the best possible information to our students regarding this Act," the superintendent wrote recently to the group, "and are also interested in presenting this information in a complete and objective way.

"Since there is a possibility that we have not been doing this, we will analyze and review our procedures, revising them as appropriate."

Information will be included about conscientious objection,

he noted.

In another major move, the county school head launched an investigation into the present policy of giving the military sole access to otherwise closely-guarded names and addresses of graduating male students.

"Since our practice of releasing this information to the armed forces has been in existence for a number of years," he said, "I have asked that a review be made of this policy."

## -- Columbus, Ohio

Since February, Columbus Women for Peace has been in correspondence & discussion with the Board of Education over the failure of the schools to present the legal position of C.O.'s in their assembly programs at which military responsibilities of young men are made clear.

Feb. 8 -- to: Inter-Church Board from WFP: ...at a school assembly an Army Colonel informed the senior high students of their responsibility of registering for the draft and ...opportunities available in the armed services. No mention was made of a C.O. alternative. A student (son of WFPer) stood up and simply stated that any of his fellow students who hold such objections are within their legal rights...

During the day many teachers delivered classroom lectures on the need to support our country...the colonel called the principle to ask whether the student...was a "trouble maker".

...request the Inter-Church Board to address a letter to the Board of Education requesting assurance that at all such assemblies the complete law (including the legal provisions for C.O.'s be explained.

April 11 -- to: Superintendent of Schools; from: Executive Director, Inter-Church Board...assume all facts about selective service and its alternatives are explained as part of the educational process...pleased to know precisely what the policy of the Board is so we may reply (to WFP)

April 18 -- To Executive Director, Inter-Church Board; from: Superintendent of Schools ...Historically, the Columbus Public Schools has cooperated with armed forces...in making clear to each senior boy that he is required to register...basic step in meeting his military obligation...

Firm in our belief that this is a part of good citizenship training. It is the law of our great nation and we can do no less.

April 25 -- to: all Columbus High School Principals and School Guidance counselors; from: WFP...In the next few weeks, many of the young men must make a moral decision which may mean life or death to them in spiritual as well as physical terms. They should make this decision with full information on their legal rights under the present draft law and with competent advice from counselors...

Please confirm a date and time at which we can make a full presentation to your students...

May 1 -- To WFP; from: Principal West High School...request...not accepted. As a veteran of World War II, I am certainly not in favor of this action and feel that patriotism is still in style.

May 2 -- To: WFP; from: Principal, East High School...your request to explain to the students how they can avoid conscription...not approved...

May 16 -- Statement to Board of Education by WFP...request that Board...insure that legal provision for C.O.'s be included in all assemblies and classrooms in which military responsibilities are presented. ...request that staff and counselors be informed of provisions of law.

June 20 -- Statement of Columbus Public Schools for Board Meeting...We firmly believe our program of informing the youth about the Military Training Service act is educationally sound...Our plan is to continue the assembly programs...

We distributed C.O. information at 6 of the 12 city high schools as the students entered in the morning. Because we did not have the cooperation of the principals or Board of Education the leaflets were distributed from the side walks surrounding the schools. The response of the students was excellent and we are now getting inquiries for C.O. counselling.

Our plans for the Fall, at this moment, are to follow up with distributing C.O. information at the high schools.

...Doreen Wohl, Columbus, Ohio

## Congressional Threats to Dissent

THREAT #1: H.R. 421 - The "Anti-riot" bill.

This bill passed the House on July 19 by 347-70. Possibly it can be stopped in the Senate. It could apply to any of us, civil rights or peace workers.

For example, under its provisions, any peace demonstration at which there occurs a "riot" (defined in the law as: "a public disturbance, involving acts of violence by assemblages of three or more persons, which poses an immediate danger of damage or injury to property or persons") would make liable to arrest as having incited the "riot" those who crossed state lines or used the U.S. mails "with intent to incite a riot, or to organize, promote, encourage, or carry on a riot.

Sounds far-fetched? If this bill had been law on June 23, the "public disturbance" in Los Angeles could have brought the arrest of the speakers who had crossed state lines to speak as having intended to incite the "riot." Or it could apply to the sponsors of the demonstration who used the U.S. mails.

It does not matter how the violence gets started. It could even be caused by the police or by counter-demonstrators. Yet the speakers, or the sponsors, could be charged with having intended to incite the violence in their speeches or literature. We would then have to go to Court to prove that the charge was false. Instead of being used for peace work, precious money for bail and legal expenses, and valuable energies and time, would be tied up in fighting criminal charges under this bill against peace movement leaders. If convicted, the penalty is five years in jail, \$10,000 fine, or both.

The bill also states: "Inciting a riot shall mean urging or instigating other persons to riot, but shall not mean the mere advocacy of ideas or the mere expression of belief" but this is what would have to be proved in Court. This language would not prevent the initial arrest where the Government chose to interpret a speech or literature sent through the mails as intending to incite the "public disturbance."

Where does this bill stand now? On August 2, the Senate Judiciary Committee began public hearings. Several Senators on the Committee opposed the bill but said that as long as it was being considered, everyone should be heard, not just those whom Chairman Eastland had asked to testify. But Eastland said he would not let the hearings drag on too long. Ask the national office of the various organizations you are affiliated with to give testimony on the dangers of this bill.

What to do about it? Write your Senators, the Judiciary Committee, and your local newspapers. Getting on record publicly against this bill now (all the public education you can do) will also help to create a public climate against enforcement of the law if it is passed. Unpopular laws are difficult to enforce. WRITE THE ATTORNEY GENERAL emphasizing his duty to protect the right of dissent. Ask him to testify against it in the current Senate hearings.



THREAT #2: H.R. 8 - The Pool Bill.

H.R. 8 has been reported out of HUAC and could be placed on the House calendar at any time. The bill provides a heavy fine and jail sentence for anyone 1) who obstructs the movement of military equipment or personnel, or 2) who gives anything of value to any person or group from a government with whom we are "in armed conflict." The first part of this bill could conceivably be applied to some of our draft resistance activities.

What to do about it? One good way of fighting this bill is to join the Quakers and others sending medical aid to the North Vietnamese war victims! As their numbers grow, it becomes more and more difficult for Congress to pass a law that would put hundreds of Quakers (and WSPers?) in jail for 20 years (and/or fine them each \$20,000), as the Pool bill would do. Be sure to give anything you do plenty of publicity.

Of course, write your Congressmen, but also your Senators. Last August, Sen. Dirksen (R-Ill.) said the bill would be passed in the Senate over his dead body. It passed the House but did not reach the Senate before adjournment. Mention the fact in your letters that five Departments of the Government testified against it last year: Justice, Defense, State, Commerce and Treasury. Attorney General Ramsay Clark said it was unconstitutional. Ask your Representative to request that H.R. 8 be kept off the House calendar.

THREAT #3: New HUAC Hearings. (date and place not announced as of Aug. 3)

On August 2, HUAC voted to conduct public hearings to expose "Communists" in the civil rights movement as a cause of the "riots." With Congressional immunity from libel suits, HUAC can call anyone a "Communist" -- and usually does! As we know, HUAC especially thinks that peace activities are subversive. It would be delighted to find that civil rights workers in the "riot" areas are working with peace workers. This could intimidate many people otherwise ready to oppose the war. Both white and black people oppose the Vietnam war; we must protect each other and do everything we can to frustrate this phony HUAC "hearing" aimed at our black friends.

How can we do that? Use the weapon of ridicule; many Congressmen are sick of HUAC's foolish "hearings" and feel it should stay out of the delicate "riot" situations. Write your Congressmen that, as a WSPer, you know how ridiculous HUAC is. (The WSP hearings were very embarrassing to Congressmen.) Make fun of HUAC in Letters to the Editor. This hearing can have serious effects on both the civil rights and the peace movement, but our best weapon against it is ridicule. Use it however and wherever you can.

...Donna Allen, Washington, D.C.

## Appeal From Greece

LETTER FROM YIOURA (This letter, written on a scrap of paper, was smuggled out of the prison-island of Yioura, Greece, and reached London in June, 1967.)

On the morning of April 21, Athens was not awakened by the milkman but by the rumble of tanks. Those few shops which had time to open, quickly shut down again. Streets were deserted. Noisy Athens appeared a strange city - inhabited only by the army and police.

People were asleep as police rushed into their houses and got them out of bed. Tanks and armored cars stood outside your door. Telephones were cut and the big city turned into many small isolated houses. Those who had time to turn on the radio heard the decree declaring martial law signed by an anonymous Prime Minister and anonymous cabinet members! Police hastily arrested men and women giving no answers to their protests, not allowing them to take even blankets with them. Everyone was told "the Chief of the local police wants you for a few seconds."

Thus, in a few hours 1500 people were brutally torn away from society; 1500 households overwhelmed by anxiety over the fate of relatives. The city's life seemed to have stopped, nobody conversed with the arrested people. Only the Piraeus General Security gave a strong warning of what was to come by barbarously beating those arrested. After a while soldiers with bayonets fixed and machine guns ready squeezed the human freight into jeeps and transported it to 3 camps set up in Athens...at the race course, the football grounds of A.E.K. and Karaiskaki. Thus began the operation "persecution" which ended in so many people being thrown on to the strange uninhabited island of Yioura which has no port, no water, no vegetation.

Democrats, resistance fighters, communists, socialists, liberals from the cities and countryside, workers and intellectuals, fathers and mothers, old, ill, crippled...all found themselves in Yioura. Not even the seventy year old Vlassis, nearly bent double; not even the crutches of the crippled, not even the pregnant woman, or four year old Makis who was with his mother, moved the law of the military fascism. The country's leading intellectuals like 80-year old Vasilis, Rotas, the engraver Vaso Katraki, the poet John Ritsos, were thrown into Yioura. Ilias Iliou, the parliamentary leader of E.D.A. was sent to Yioura to demonstrate that the May 28 elections were off.

**A CAMP ON THE RACE COURSE:** The race course camp went through 5 days and nights of horror. 470 people were squeezed under the stands. There were no toilets and when people had to relieve themselves they were escorted by soldiers with fixed bayonets. In front of the door soldiers in tanks aimed their guns day and night from 2 tanks. Machine guns pointed at the prisoners continuously...On Sunday afternoon, people were not allowed out for their natural needs and the door was closed. Silent anxiety spread through the room. At about 11:45 a major of the guards entered and called the M.P. Ilias Iliou to come out. He was pulled to the left side of the door as he went out...and with sticks hit on his hands, legs and head, then bloodied his face with punches. A doctor among the arrested gave him first aid when he was returned 20 minutes later. Terror reigned in the room.

On Monday morning the major in charge pretended that he did not know anything, and assured the prisoners about the safety of their lives. The same evening they beat up 2 others.

On Tuesday morning they brought in the Cypriot Ilio Ioannides and the Mayor of Kalithea. That afternoon, while Resistance hero Panayiotis Ellis was returned from the toilet, the black-berretted captain shot him twice at point blank range, suddenly and with no reason. Ellis died instantly, his lung pierced. The prisoners began shouting and protesting. The director was forced to meet a delegation who demanded assurances for our lives...For 5 days the prisoners in the race-course lived lives of doom. Everyone was psychologically ready, calm and determined, sending his last thoughts to relatives and waiting helplessly. At 2 a.m. of Wednesday morning, they were awakened to start their journey to Yioura.

**A.E.K. FOOTBALL GROUNDS CAMP:** 2 dressing rooms were used for the prisoners. 180 people lived in the larger room for five days and were not allowed out at all. A tunnel used by the football players to go to the playing field was used as a toilet by these 180 people. About 100 people were squeezed into the other room. The prisoners slept on the bare floor in shifts because there was not enough room for all of them to lie down. There was no fresh air at all. The guard consisted of army units, under the charge of a

black-beretted major who ordered the soldiers to keep up continuous shooting into the air. The camp gave the impression of being a battle ground. Shots followed every demand by prisoners to be allowed to go for water or to the toilet.

**KARAIKAKI CAMP:** The Karaiskaki football grounds were used for prisoners from Piraeus. There were two toilets and two water taps for the 600 people. None were allowed to go out at all. Very few were properly clothed, and here, too, they slept in shifts on the floor.

The Piraeus prisoners arrived at the camp after being brutally beaten in the Security Building. Arriving in such horrifying condition were the Mayor of Peristeri; Trade Union leaders were especially brutally beaten; resistance fighter Diakrousis was beaten till he was unconscious and the same thing happened to Venieri, an old woman and mother; The dentist Elli Ioanidou had all her ribs broken and was beaten over the liver. The military doctor, when he saw these people, said, "Were they beaten by cannibals?" And the Army told the police: "We will not accept them in the condition in which you are bringing them to us."

**TRANSFER:** For 5 days those arrested were completely cut off from their relatives. Nor did the arrested know what was going to happen to them. We lived in fear. ...until we were awakened for the journey to Yioura, the hell haunted by human bodies and condemned by the world, that was being reopened by 1,350 Athenian and Piraeus citizens.

By May 15, 6,299 people inhabited the rock island. The climate is such that it kills even the natural vegetation. Strong winds sweep it every day. The weather changes from hour to hour; south winds, north winds, dampness, cold and heat. 1,742 have been put in the only "building" on the island; a dungeon used by the ancient emperors and described by Court of Appeals Judge Bizimis in his report as "hellish." Here the new city of fascism is being built.

**FOOD:** It is supposed that 17 drachmas is spent on the food of each prisoner daily. This, however, is impossible. Transport to and from Syros is difficult and is done rarely because of the weather. Thus, the prisoners are being given the remnants of the army food supplies which have gone bad. For days we ate only bread. The parcels and money sent us by relatives are being held in Syros. The Ministry's announcement about meat, eggs, etc. as being food for the prisoners could be a joke if one could laugh with the hunger of 6,500 people.

The water must be transported from Piraeus and stored. There is barely enough for drinking and is just bearable for that. We cannot keep ourselves clean and the situation is made worse by the lack of a sewage system. The uninhabited island, suddenly occupied by 6,500 people is becoming a source of infection. Initially, open space was the only toilet. After old sewers (trenches) were repaired by us, leading to small gullies, the sea in these places has become foul. Thus, even the sea cannot help us keep clean.

**HEALTH AND FAMILY CONDITIONS OF PRISONERS:** Of the 1171 prisoners in Sector C, 425 (35%) are gravely ill. Whole families were brought to Yioura, mothers with babies, 58 husbands with their wives. 21 mothers have been separated from infants of one month to 3 years of age. 11 of these women are here with their husbands (so the infants are not even with their fathers.) 16 mothers are here with children under 6 years old. 43 mothers are here with children up to teen age...

Yioura, 5/15/67

Helena Bena was arrested on the night of the coup. She is a prisoner on the island of Youira. Helen is one of thousands; but she is also one of us. She was the representative of the Greek women at the Hague Conference and Demonstration organized by WSP against the NATO proposal for a Multilateral Force. Helena has a four-month old baby, born prematurely - she had been trying to have a baby for some years - and the baby was barely three months old when the police forcibly separated the infant from its mother. Because we know Helena Bena we can make a special appeal on her behalf: Ask your Congressmen to make inquiries about her and urge her release. Also as a matter of humanity, urge humane treatment of prisoners. Ask Congressmen to inquire about the prisoners. Pressure for their release.

People who escaped the coup and thousands shocked by the repressive measures of the junta are organizing a resistance movement. They need money desperately. If you can raise or send any, it should go to: League for Democracy in Greece, 376 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C. 1, England. Money is also needed to send blankets, soap, food, medicines, etc. to the prisoners (probably through the International Red Cross) and perhaps you may find it easier to raise money for such specifics. Please...these are people who have been fighting with us for peace.

...Norma Spector, N.Y.



HONOLULU, Aug. 8—Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) said today that "the Great Society has become a sick society" by trying to cope with Vietnam and Detroit at the same time.

"Each war feeds on the other," said Fulbright

"At home, largely because of neglect resulting from 25 years of preoccupation with foreign involvements, our cities are exploding in violent protest against generations of social injustice."

He said war-anxious citizens are not likely to show compassion for their neighbors, adding, "The war in Vietnam is poisoning and brutalizing our domestic life."



Detroit's superintendent of schools presented a bleak picture to a Senate subcommittee yesterday a result of last month's riot's.

No school buildings were destroyed, Drachler said, but the schools must face problems ranging from emotionally disturbed youngsters who were "traumatized" by the violence

"I visited six schools in the ghetto areas the day we resumed," Drachler said. "The stunned look of fear on the faces of the little children was far worse to me than the burned-out buildings. Can you imagine what it must be like to live through something like that at the age of five or six? We need money for counselors and psychologists to help these children when our schools open in the fall."

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# Peace & Freedom thru Nonviolent Action

Vol. III No. 15

Sept. 15

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## WIN Peace & Freedom through Nonviolent Action

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## "Come You Masters Of War . . ."

The American Air Force is bombing the dikes near Haiphong. Large sections of Hanoi have been destroyed and the American troop level in South Vietnam continues to rise. How is the peace movement responding to these facts?

Having established on April 15 that the movement has a wide and growing base, the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is adopting a far more militant stance and laying plans to actually confront the warmakers at their offices in Washington. The demonstrations planned for October 21-22 will be a dramatic example of this shift in strategy, (see p. 5), but over a month earlier—beginning on September 11—the Mobilization will begin using this strategy of direct action. Starting on that day (the day Congress reconvenes) teams of people from all over the country will come to Washington on a daily basis to confront both the Congressional Armed Services Committees and the Selective Service Headquarters. The confrontations will continue until October 21. In addition to teams of demonstrators from specific geographical areas, there will also be teams consisting of professors, draft resisters, and other constituencies.

Specific demands and tactics will be determined for each group by the group itself, but all of them will operate within a framework of direct confrontation and actual disruption. Many will wish to speak to the committees about topics such as draft resistance and the totalitarian nature of the draft. Presumably their request will be denied and they will be arrested while try-

ing to make their statements anyway.

The primary purposes of the Mobilization Direct Action Project are to provide a dramatic focus for education about the draft and the war and to demonstrate that the peace movement is now at the stage where it has the ability to do more than simply mount one or two day demonstrations—that it can pick its ground and stand and fight. In addition, this project is seen as an excellent focus for local organizing and provides opportunities for local support activities such as rallies, sympathy demonstrations, press conferences, etc.

The role of the Mobilization is to coordinate the project, and to provide housing and legal assistance. Staff members are available to speak to groups about the project and to organize workshops on direct action.

This project represents the first significant attempt by the peace movement to use direct action on a sustained basis. Perhaps even more important is the fact that for the first time many of the more conservative groups which are part of the coalition will not only be associated with direct action, but will actually take part in it. But all of this progress will only be progress on paper unless local groups cooperate fully. This means that members of peace groups have to discuss the project at their meetings and then get in touch with the Mobilization as soon as possible. The two staff members for this project are Bruce Hartford and Maris Cakars and the telephone number of the Mobilization is (212) 867-4605. The address is 857 Broadway, New York City 10003.

—Maris Cakars

## GR-R-R-R!

The Sick Society Presents: SGT. PEPPER'S LONELY HEARTS CLUB HATE PARADE

Rip Ho's Guts, Kill Children, Squish Robins' Eggs, Do Yr Own Sign, Bomb Peking, Bomb Paris, Bomb London, Kill a Commie for Christ, Do Yr Own Sign, Pick Wings Off Butterflies, Castrate Pacifists, Disembowel Earl Warren, Kill for Peace. Meet: NW Corner Columbus Circle Noon Saturday, September 16, and Walk Down 5th Ave.

## "Now is the Time for All Good Men"

is a new off-Broadway antiwar musical comedy with script and lyrics by Gretchen Cryer, sister of Pete Kiger (CNVA).

The protagonist, Mike Butler, is a young C. O. from the East who comes to teach in a midwestern school. The play satirizes the community's quaint but vicious small-town attitudes which leads to his eventual death at the hands of a local super-patriot.

The music is by Nancy Charles. Word Baker (of the original "Fantasticks") is director. Co-producers: Gretchen's husband, David, and Albert Poland.

Previews begin September 15 at the Theatre De Lys, Christopher Street. Preview ticket sales start September 11. Official opening: September 28.

IN LOS ANGELES ON JUNE 23rd THIS YEAR, LYNDON JOHNSON SPOKE AT A DEMOCRATIC PARTY FUND-RAISING DINNER AT THE CENTURY PLAZA HOTEL. OUTSIDE IN CENTURY CITY PLAZA, 30,000 PEOPLE DEMONSTRATED AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM. THE LOS ANGELES POLICE, ARMED WITH THE USUAL PARAPHERNALIA AND PERHAPS A LITTLE EXTRA HATE, PERFORMED AN AMAZING NUMBER OF BRUTAL ACTS AGAINST THESE PASSIVE PEOPLE (see "Report from Mahagony" by Paul Encimer in July's WIN). THE POLICE DIDN'T LIMIT THEIR HARRASSMENT TO DISSENTERS, HOWEVER. IF YOU THINK THE COVERAGE OF THIS INCIDENT IN THE UNDERGROUND PRESS HAS BEEN EXAGGERATED, TAKE A LOOK AT THIS LETTER TO THE LOS ANGELES CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, BY A WITNESS WHO HARDLY SHARES OUR BIASES:



July 5, 1967

Mr. Eason Monroe  
Executive Director  
American Civil Liberties Union  
of Southern California  
323 West 5th Street  
Los Angeles, California 90013

Dear Mr. Monroe:

Reference is made to your letter to me of June 30, 1967, wherein you request a statement from me regarding my observation of the incidents that took place outside the Century Plaza Hotel on the afternoon and evening of June 23, 1967.

First and foremost, I would like your indulgence in properly interpreting my political position, in regard to the philosophical aspects and overtones that have come to the surface subsequent to the event referred to herein.

My background is one of substantial support of the present administration's position in Vietnam! I have no political sympathies with those people opposing our involvement in that area, and I have not, at any time, been aligned with any group or organization representing such opinions!

My attendance at the Century Plaza Hotel was as an active member of the Democratic Party: as a Delegate to the National Convention; as a charter member of both the President's Club and the Golden Bear Club; and as a member of the Finance Committee of the State Central Committee of the Democratic Party, as well as former Vice Chairman of the San Diego County Democratic Central Committee.

Mrs. Lawrence and I arrived at the Central Plaza Hotel, from San Diego, and checked into the hotel around noon on the 23rd. There was already considerable security activity stirring in the hotel. We had heard rumors about a "peace" march, but, unfortunately, events of this nature receive very minor press coverage in San Diego. When they do, it is without any objectivity, so we were very poorly informed as to what actually was about to take place.

Mrs. Lawrence went shopping, and I attended a bus-

iness meeting that afternoon at the office of John Cogan, Vice President of Litton Industries in Beverly Hills. At approximately 4:30 p.m. I was driven back to the hotel by Mr. Lawrence Campbell, a New York City based partner of Eastman Dillon, Union Securities & Co. Mr. Campbell was driving, but he was unable to drive me to the hotel because, approximately one block away, the streets already had been barricaded. When we reached the barricade, I explained to the officer that I was a guest both at the hotel as well as to the dinner and that I had to carry a large number of packages from the car and would appreciate the opportunity of being allowed to drive to the hotel for the last block. The officer was most discourteous. Although I cannot remember his specific language, he told me that he was under orders not to let anyone in. We stopped the car. I assembled my packages, with some delay, started to walk, and the officer ordered me to get out of the street as I was holding up traffic.

I proceeded to my hotel suite, which were Rooms 701 and 703, facing directly overlooking the Avenue of the Stars, on the easterly end of the Century Plaza arc, approximately 150 feet from the fountain itself, and in an excellent vantage point to see all that was going on.

There had already accumulated a few hundred persons. A few of these persons carried picket signs and the balance appeared to me to be curiosity seekers. There was even a refreshment truck parked nearby so that the atmosphere had the implication of being one of fun!

Approximately one-quarter hour later, a group of people who appeared quite well dressed, and were sitting on the curb of the east side of the Avenue of the Stars, were surrounded by police and asked to disperse. By that time, the overall group had approximately doubled in size but was still very well controlled. Although I could not tell exactly what caused the incident, the police arrested a few of the young people and, with their arms bent behind their backs in very decidedly stringent fashion, escorted them down the steps to the lower level of the Century Plaza Hotel & to patrol wagons.

It was shortly thereafter that Mrs. Lawrence returned to the room. She advised me that she had been

(continued next page)

DEAR MR. MONROE (continued)  
trying to get back to the hotel for an hour and a half, and that she continually had been forced to drive in a circular pattern around the hotel. You must take into cognizance that we are out-of-towners, not familiar with the area, and that Mrs. Lawrence, being a lone woman, was most thoroughly confused by the entire incident when she arrived. She had finally been allowed to pull in after she stated she would leave the car in the middle of the street and walk to the hotel, if that were the only way to get inside.

During the course of the next few hours, while we were dressing for the affair to come later, I kept watching the accumulation of people and police in front. It became almost hypnotic, as one could see the police were anticipating a great deal of trouble and were preparing for same, both logistically and psychologically. However, as the on-lookers accumulated (and again it appeared that a substantial number of them were not demonstrators, but strictly curiosity seekers or people out to get a glimpse of their President), there did not seem to be any problems arising. Occasionally a policeman with a hand loud speaker told the group to keep moving; although, as the crowd got larger, it blocked the sidewalk between the curb on the east side of the Avenue of the Stars and the hand rail overlooking a lower level tunnel across from the fountain.

At some point between 7:30 and 8:00 p.m., I recall the police forcing all of the assembled persons (and I estimate there may have been 1,500 or so there), back into that area on the sidewalk which was quite narrow, so that those few pickets who were marching back and forth could no longer pass.

It was at this point, in my opinion, that the strategic error was made, that caused the incidents that took place later.

Between the curb on the east side of the Avenue of the Stars and the hand rail over the tunnel passing under the street, no one could pass; and, if the police were anticipating a parade, it was absolutely impossible for that parade, or any group of persons, to go past the hotel unless they would be allowed to go on the street. Still, although the attitude of the police seemed to be overly firm, the crowd appeared to be rather jovial in its mood and atmosphere, and there did not appear to be any trouble.

Sometime after 8:00 p.m., I viewed a tremendous crowd of people coming up the east side of the Avenue of the Stars, from east to west, passing the Olympic Boulevard overpass. The group seemed to be 8 or 10 abreast in a line so long I could not see the end of it, in what appeared to be 10,000 to 15,000 or more persons. I watched as the lead portion of the group reached the crowd bottled up by the police in front of the hotel and was stopped. Since they had nowhere else to go, some of the line proceeded to push behind those in the front into a va-

cant lot between the parking lot and the street and police cordon.

At this point, Mrs. Lawrence and I went downstairs to our table at the President's Dinner. I told the people at my table about the excitement going on outside. I suggested that they come up and view it from our suite. Accompanying me back upstairs, at approximately 8:30 p.m., were Mr. and Mrs. Milton G. Gordon, formerly Commissioner of Real Estate for the State of California; Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Weinberg, President of the Larwin Company in Los Angeles; and Mr. and Mrs. Robert Walter, President of U.S. Financial Corporation of San Diego, California. We all stood out on the balcony and watched the ensuing events.

It was the most terrible situation I have ever seen in my entire life. The police constantly pushed into the crowd and ran motorcycles in front of them, to keep them on the curb. The people in front consisted of many women and young people, all, for the most part, very well dressed and well disciplined. I did not notice more than a few of the beatnik types, and my observation, and that of the people who were with me, was that the crowd was well disciplined and controlled. At no time ever did I witness an overt action of any type, toward any police officer. On two occasions, we saw a police officer mount a portable sound unit and make some announcements. However, the noise and din of the crowd was so overwhelming that the announcements could not have penetrated more than a small percentage of the persons assembled.

I do not know exactly what time it took place, but shortly thereafter the police, in an unprovoked attack, started rushing the crowd in various groups of 150 or 200 police, in a flying wedge type maneuver. It appeared they were trying to break the crowd into segments. Each time they did this, a number of persons were knocked to the ground and, in many cases, as it appeared from our vantage point, were seriously hurt.

Isolated cases of police brutality were numerous and unbelievable! One young man was forced off the curb by the surge of the crowd behind him. He was knocked down by a policeman and though offering absolutely no resistance, was struck six or eight times on the head with a billy club. A woman wearing glasses was caught full face with a club held in a two-handed position by an officer and had the glasses smashed against her face.

The women in our group were so overcome by the atrocities committed that Mrs. Gordon had to be helped to the powder room. Both Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Weinberg were openly weeping. In my anger, I went downstairs, out to the street, and asked for one of the police officers in charge. I was rudely directed to a man standing by a truck. On my way over, a young boy who I would estimate was approximately the age of fourteen was lying in the street with his

head split open above his ear. No policeman made any effort to give him assistance. I picked him up and took him to what appeared to be a first aid station. There a plain clothes officer took his arm and led him away. I then proceeded to the truck where I approached an officer and told him I was a member of the party attending the President's Dinner, and that I thought the President would not approve of this type of brutality. His response to me was "to get the hell out of the street before I got killed". He proceeded to take my arm and push me in the direction of the hotel.

I went back into the President's party and approached Attorney General Tom Lynch to ask him to witness what was going on. I was told by him that it was none of his responsibility.

I spoke to Speaker Unruh and he replied with the statement that we did not want another Dallas in Los Angeles, but at no time did he ever leave the room. I mentioned the incident to former Governor Brown, who was most upset, and I do feel he was strongly opposed to the tactics being taken. I also spoke to Supreme Court Justice Stanley Mosk, who later came up to my suite to discuss the matter with me more thoroughly; and he had me point out exactly where the matters took place. Mrs. Mosk advised me that Police Chief Reddin was in her company during a part of the evening, which seems somewhat in conflict with the statement I have subsequently read that he was, at all times, observing what was taking place.

I am sure Mr. and Mrs. Gordon, Mr. and Mrs. Weinberg, and Mr. and Mrs. Walter will be glad to give their reports on what they observed, if so requested.

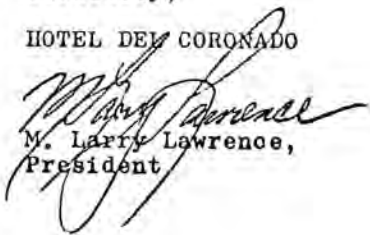
Regardless of the consequences to myself, I will appear anywhere, with reasonable notice, to testify against this type of occurrence, as I did not believe it possible to happen in our country!

The reports I have read in all of the media were, for some reason unknown to me, attempting to justify an action on behalf of the Police Department that need not have taken place. There is no question in my mind that if allowed to pass, and given the room to do so, the parade would have moved on by the hotel in a most controlled fashion. I also repeat that the attack by the police was absolutely and completely unprovoked. More than that, the individual instances of police brutality were ghastly.

I trust the responsible citizenry of the City of Los Angeles will see to it that no such incidents ever again have the opportunity to occur.

Cordially,

HOTEL DEL CORONADO

  
M. Larry Lawrence,  
President



Are you at wits' end, discouraged and frustrated over the results of months of demonstrations, debates, teach-ins? Half a million men and women—ranging from hippies to liberal clergy, lonely hearts to angry young men—marched last spring in New York and San Francisco, and the president from Texas answered with new escalation and improved weapons of terror. But do not despair. Once again the bread is rising.

The Overseas Press Club, a mid-town Manhattan establishment stronghold, was the scene on August 28 of the unveiling of plans for a direct confrontation with the warmakers in Washington. Father Thomas Lee Hayes, executive director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, speaking for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, announced that the giant coalition group that grew out of the Spring Mobilization "is beginning to organize a confrontation in Washington on October 21-22 which will shut down the Pentagon. We will fill the hallways and block the entrances. Thousands of people will disrupt the center of the American war machine. In the name of humanity we will call the warmakers to task."

Symbolic of this new coalition's broad base was the diversity of groups represented at the press conference. There was H. Rap Brown, national chairman of SNCC, and Abbie Hoffman, Digger and representative of the hippie community, both of whom promised the support of their massive constituencies. Amy Swerdlow, representing national Women Strike for Peace, pointedly remarked that her group is willing to work with anyone who shares the conviction that the war must end.

Judging from the diversity of its support, this mobilization will pose a substantial threat to the war machine. Others present included Dave Dellinger, chairman of the National Mobilization; Dick Gregory, comedian and social commentator who believes that the present power structure is totally insane; Jerry Rubin, former co-chairman of the Vietnam Day Committee of Berkeley, now project director of the October 21st demonstration; Rt. Reverend Msgr. Charles Owen Rice, known as the "labor priest" of Pittsburgh, Pa.; William Pepper, executive director of the National Conference for New Politics holding its convention beginning August 31 in Chicago; Carl Davidson, representing Students for a Democratic Society; Lincoln Lynch, assistant director of Congress for Racial Equality; Fred Rosen, of the Resistance; Lee Webb, national co-director of Vietnam Summer. (James Bevel, national director of the Mobilization, on leave from the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was unable to attend.)

According to Rev. Hayes, "This press conference itself is a landmark. The diversity of people and movements united here today represent a new stage in the anti-war struggle. We are today a united power force representing blacks, women, students, workers, hippies, draft resisters, clergy and political organizers. This unity will resound throughout America. It will make itself felt in Washington on October 21st.

"This will be a weekend of unified activities. Individuals will act on their consciences and in their own personal styles. Not all people will take part in the massive sit-in at the Pentagon, and we are not asking people to come to Washington solely on this basis.



Those who do not block the Pentagon will surround it in a massive peace-in of picketing, vigiling, music, drama and rallies. We will bring a community of protest, expressing joy and affirmation of man, to a place whose only business is wholesale murder. This confrontation will be massive, continuing, flexible and surprising!

The main theme of the press conference, termed "a major advance in opposition to the war," was the shift from simple protest to collective resistance, from petition which has gone unheeded to direct action which is determined to escalate the opposition. In response to reporters' questions—they all wanted to know how the mobilization intends to control the Black Power sectors, represented by SNCC Chairman H. Rap Brown—Dellinger and other spokesmen outlined a position that can be traced to the pervasive hippie influence of recent weeks: everyone is free to do his thing.

In this connection, Digger Abbie Hoffman disavowed his identity. "I'm really Colonel Jerome Wilson. I dropped out of the Strategic Command two weeks ago because of bad vibrations." He went on to promise "a lot of freaky things" including a crowd of holy men praying around the Pentagon, which would make it rise 300 feet into the air, at which point the evil spirits will pour out and it will start to vibrate and turn orange.

—David Herres

"Although ours is a peace group, we are opposed to peace at any price. We also demand Vietnamese independence."

That is the position of a group of Americans in Paris, the Paris American Committee to Stopwar, and probably the position of most of the rest of the French peace movement as well. What it means is that while the French peace movement under the leadership of De Gaulle himself is booming, the pacifists are taking a beating.

Pacifism has never done well in France. The only explanation ever given for this is that the French temperament is not suited to pacifism—which really means that the French are just too romantic to abandon the romance of violence. I doubt that's true, but can offer no better explanation.

Now it is even worse, because it's the Americans who are doing the fighting and therefore young Frenchmen, although they are still drafted, do not have to confront the problem of violence. As a matter of fact, when they go into the Army they enter the service of a government which clearly stands for peace—at least in this particular situation. Secondly, there are about 60,000 Vietnamese living in France (mostly NLF supporters) and only about 30,000 Americans. This means that Vietnamese restaurants are as common as Chinese are in the U.S., and that the appeal to support the heroic struggle against U.S. aggression has a human and therefore more convincing dimension to it. Just imagine trying to say to a Vietnamese that you support his struggle, but that they should have used nonviolence. It's hard, particularly for an American, and for some pacifists it has been impossible.

Then there's the French Communist Party, which is so big that it runs its own peace movement and that movement is almost an "official" movement. It's so big, that why join a small pacifist group and be irrelevant?

To be sure, the Communists have their problems—the biggest of which is the fact that Kosygin is friendlier with De Gaulle than with them. Thus, at least as far as foreign affairs go, they are unable to attack the French government, and their own position is that much weaker. And, since their position is much more for peace than for independence, they are being hurt, at least a little, from the left; while this has not yet resulted in much of a rival political party or new peace groupings, the internal dissension is a problem that does nothing to strengthen the party.

The French people, as one might expect, by and large support the government in its position on Vietnam. This, however, doesn't mean that they understand the war and some opponents of it even believe that the U.S. is fighting Chinese troops in Vietnam. But the fact that they oppose it is enough and the peace movement doesn't spend very much energy on trying to educate them. Rather, it organizes expressions of "so-

lidarity" with the Vietnamese by collecting money for medical supplies and such. As for actions that are intended to stop the war, probably the biggest project yet is the mailing of a booklet about the war to random names and addresses from the New York telephone book. Several thousand copies of the booklet have been sent so far, but as of yet there has been no response.



To anyone familiar with the British peace movement of the late '50's, the state of the movement there today must come as a profound surprise. True, most of the organizations such as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the Committee of 100 and Peace News which were active then are still around and so are many of the personalities of that period although many have left the organizations they were with during those days. The difference is that the movement has entirely lost the real political power it had (some will remember that at the 1960 Labor Party convention a platform of unilateral nuclear disarmament was approved) as well as its mass following, its intellectual influence, and the initiative.

CND (an organization similar to our own SANE) has, despite the patent futility, continued to advocate working within the framework of the Labor Party. The result of this policy has been that the Labor government, now in power for over three years, continues to move to the right on questions of both domestic and foreign policy, and CND is dead on its feet with a huge organization but no support for it and, even worse, no coherent explanation for what went wrong. In addition to the Labor Party, the only other beneficiary of CND's policy has been the anarchist movement which, although it has not increased greatly in numbers, has gained considerable prestige by forecasting accurately what the results of courting Labor would be.

The Committee of 100, once led by Bertrand Russell, has always advocated civil disobedience and the tactical use of nonviolence and has always had a close relationship with CNVA. It too has lost nearly all its mass support and instead of attempting to organize the kinds of mass civil disobedience demonstrations that astounded the world

just a few years ago, it is reduced to small scale "guerrilla" actions involving small numbers of people.

The British peace press, once very widely read, is also incredibly weak. The circulation figures tell the tale: Peace News, a genuinely excellent weekly of news and opinion, has a readership of about 7,000 and Resurgence, a kind of British Liberation, only 700.

The obvious explanation for this state of affairs and the one that concerns most people still active in the movement is that the policies of the British peace movement have been somehow wrong at their very basis. A great deal of rethinking is going on now about the basis for a sound peace movement.

A variety of positions have been put forward. The centrifugal effect of the different directions being urged on the movement, and the hostility generated by the debates, are significant characteristics of the English peace movement. Two main positions, however, are emerging.

One, reflected by the journal Resurgence and representing the growing anarchist influence, advocates a movement concerned with decentralization and rejection of conventional politics. "If the morality of war is to be repudiated, then the lust for gold and power which promotes it must also be repudiated, and alternatives based on ordinary human goodness and morality must replace them... Are CND, the Committee and the Peace Pledge Union and others, prepared to concert now to stop monkeying with the power machine, and to repudiate it and its institutions altogether? To seek a world of small-scale, human-dominated communities which will achieve peace as naturally as our giant, over-centralized, mass conditioned and machine-dominated societies produce war?" Thus wrote John Papworth in the March/April 1967 issue of Resurgence.

The other position while also rejecting conventional politics, rejects even decentralist political theory and concentrates instead on promoting peace by winning the confidence of people through work projects such as fixing up the homes on a slum block. This approach, led by former Committee of 100 activists such as George Clark and Barnaby Martin, is just now beginning to be tried and it is too early to tell where it will lead. Yet it has generated enough interest within the peace movement that leaders of established organizations complain that this sort of thing is starting to take good men away from more traditional projects.

A second reason for the collapsed state of the British peace movement is the fact that there is no clear-cut issue such as nuclear testing or the Vietnam war upon which to campaign. But this has also been a boon, because it has given the movement a breathing spell during which ideological experiments and arguments can be carried out.

—Maris Cakars

# BOLIVIA is next-door to VIET NAM!

If any good at all is to derive from our Vietnam experience, it should be an increased awareness of the responsibilities and limitations of being a great power. Concern for our behavior in Vietnam should extend into concern for other areas of foreign policy.

Our actions in Bolivia, for example, show that we have not learned from our errors in Vietnam. We are following the same absurd pattern, in greed and shortsightedness. The horrors of Vietnam, exposed, have not stopped us from giving napalm to the Bolivian government. Communiques from Saigon are read daily, yet there is very little reaction when the Bolivian government limits constitutional liberties. If students demonstrate in Hue, thousands of miles away around the world, it's front page news. When Bolivian students attempt to do the same, there is silence.

And yet we are as responsible for Bolivia's unrest as we are for Vietnam's. Many Americans object to teaching the Vietnamese to kill one another, yet we totally ignore the training of the Bolivian army officials in U.S. schools. Millions of Americans march in protest of U.S. planes in Vietnam, yet we never noticed that tiny Bolivia bought 30 powerful jet bombers from us. As this nation recoils in disgust from an unjust involvement in a Southeast Asian civil war, its government mechanically follows the pattern that has set off a hundred or more insurrections in Latin America—without one voice being raised in protest in Congress, in the mass media, in any of the channels used for protest by the people who do not consider it their policy.

In Vietnam, as in Bolivia, we support an unpopular, military dictatorship of the right. Both governments fight organized guerrilla insurrection. And Vietnam feels what Bolivia might soon experience, the fatal impact of the American war machinery—jet bombers, the so-called "military advisers" teaching them the new, improved war to kill one another, napalm to incinerate the land as the people get poorer, anti-Communist propaganda (and as a reaction, intensified Communist propaganda) to make their children grow up not only hungry, but also cynical. Why should a starving people fight in the cold war to promote the foreign politics of the fat world powers?

The Vietnamese and the Bolivians have a history and a tradition dating thousands of years before our own. After fighting China and its neighbors for 2,000 years, Vietnam was exploited first by France, then by the United States. Bolivia was subject to empires from the Inca to the Spanish. Its larger neighbors stole its ocean ports, its oil-rich fields. The Americans exploited its tin mines, paid low prices for raw materials and sold them expensive manufactured goods. When it inevitably broke out in '48, Bolivia's extreme poverty made the revolution vacillate and finally degenerate into a series of ineffectual gestures.

The military junta that took power in 1964 has done nothing to alleviate the shameful dependency on the U.S. Aid has been forcibly pumped into a weak economy in order to corrupt high officials, to promote anti-Communist propaganda, to control public opinion and local organizations—this in a country where 67% of the population is illiterate! Bolivia's land lies fallow, with six American companies controlling huge holdings of

oil land, waiting for the international prices to improve. The Alliance for Progress refuses to aid state-owned industry, or any kind of agricultural venture based on peasant cooperatives.

As in Vietnam, the U.S. has ignored the obligations of a great power, with a shortsightedness born of greed and arrogance. The Vietnam debacle and our sense of national disgrace has not changed our sense of righteousness and messianic might. After a quarter-century of hegemony, we align ourselves with the powerful—Ky in Vietnam, Barrientos and the military aristocracy in Bolivia—scorning the democratic humanism we preach at home.

Associating with the established authorities does not exonerate us, because such a status quo is nothing but a conspiracy between the law and illegal violence. In Bolivia, as in Vietnam, we have the authorities on our side—the army, police, legislature, the business establishment, in short, those who make their word law. But we forget our own dictum, that a government must be of, for, and by the people. As soon as a government departs from this standard, it stops being anything more than the gang in possession, and its days are numbered. If our government insists upon aligning itself with such, its days will be numbered, too.

—Ofelia Alayeto

General Rene Barrientos  
Presidente de la Republica  
La Paz, Bolivia

Dear President Barrientos:

Here in the United States many of us have heard of the arrest and imprisonment of the Argentine painter *Ciro Roberto Bustos* and the French writer *Regis Debray*, who have been charged with participating in a guerrilla movement against your government.

While we have no way of knowing many of the facts in the case, we are very much concerned over certain reports which suggest that these two foreign intellectuals may not receive a fair and public trial.

As a friend of our government, we are sure you must know how strongly most citizens of the United States feel about civil liberties and fair treatment in the courts, and we therefore urge you to do everything in your power to insure that *Bustos* and *Debray* are given every opportunity to defend themselves within a framework of democratic jurisprudence, and to insure that Bolivian justice shall not prove to be unduly hasty, arbitrary, or severe.

We hope we will soon learn that our worries are without foundation.

Respectfully yours,  
J. David Danielson, Ph.D.  
West Hartford, Conn.

(Readers are urged to write to President Barrientos, the Camiri prison commander, Camiri (Santa Cruz), Bolivia, and the Bolivian embassy in Washington. Please inform Professor Danielson of your action c/o WIN.)

Dig.: (throwing the money on the ground) Well, there it is on the ground, do something with it.

The Digger walks away dropping clues to understanding the street drama: Liberty House, Black, Newark, Food, Free, Money.

The rumors begin to fly as rumors always do. Rumors have power. Like myths, people become involved in them, adding, subtracting, multiplying. Get them involved. Let them participate. If it's spelled out to the letter there is no room for participation. Nobody participates in ideology. Never lie—diggers never lie. Once committed in a street drama, never turn back. Be prepared to die if it's necessary to gain your point

! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !

Don't rely on words. Words are the absolute in horseshit. Rely on doing—go all the way every time. Move fast. If you spend too long on one play, it becomes boring to you and the audience. When they get bored, they are turned off. They are not receiving information. Get their attention, leave a few clues and vanish. Change your costume, use the props around you. Each morning begin naked. Destroy your name, become unlisted, go underground. Find brothers, Soul brothers. Black people, Puerto Ricans, Dropouts, Bowery Bums. Find out where they're at. Don't fuck with their thing. P.R.s dig manhood, don't play sissy. Black people dig pot, don't give them acid. Dropouts dig flowers, don't give them I. F. Stone Weeklies. Bowery Bums dig money, don't give them bibles. Become aware of the most effective props. On the Lower East Side pot is an effective prop, it is the least common denominator. It makes us all outlaws, brothers, niggers. Smoke it in public. It really has an effect on P.R.s, really challenges their concept of courage.

"Hey man, you're brave enough to kill someone, and not brave enough to smoke pot in the park!"

That kind of question is a good deal more effective than sermons on the holiness of passive resistance. Use non-verbal props and media. Music is another denominator. Conga-Rock, get together. The Diggers and Pee Wee's gang (largest P.R. gang on New York's lower east side) threw a large dance at the Cheetah, a discotheque, on August 15. Conga-Rock. Something for everybody. Do your thing. Don't give speeches. Don't have meetings. Don't have panel shows. They are all dead. Drama is anything you can get away with. Remember that last peace demonstration? Do you recall the speeches, of the Bread and Puppet Theatre and Stokely yelling "Hell no, we won't go!" That was drama, not explanation. The point is nobody gives a shit anymore about troop strength, escalation, crying over napalm. A peace rally speech to me is like reading the National Guardian which is like watching the TV reports on Highway Fatalities which is like praying for riots to end which is like BULLSHIT! Herbert Marcuse says flower children have the answer. He smoked hashish at the big word happening in London in early August. Pray tell, what is a good Marxist to do?

Accept contradictions, that's what life is all about. Have a good time. Scrawled on the wall of the American pavilion at Expo '67 is our slogan in bright day-glo: "It is the duty of all revolutionists to make love." Do weird things. Silly-putty sabotage and monkey warfare. John Roche, who is now intellectual-in-residence-fink at the White House once said that if Hitler had been captured in 1937, brought to Trafalgar Square,

and had his pants pulled down, he could never have risen to power. Every time he tried one of those spectacular speeches the people would have just laughed at him because the image of "Mein Fuhrer" with his pants down around his ankles would have been too much.

Think about it.

—George Metesky



Free food, free pads, free grass, free air, free love, free transportation, free money...

Free money?

Yes. Free money. If you'd have been on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange Thursday morning, August 29th you'd have seen the green stuff come floating down.

This philanthropic act was performed by the East Side Service Organization, who had made arrangements a week before to tour the stock exchange. Their spokesman, a mad bomber and former SNCC worker named George Metesky, explained that these volunteer poverty workers wanted to get into the heart of things, see how the country works.

The exchange complied and at noon about twenty people named George Metesky joined hundreds of tourists on a line leading to the balcony of the exchange. Something exciting must've been going on because there were a lot of press and TV crews milling about.

Finally it was time for the ESSO people to be admitted to the balcony. Some of them had long hair, although one friend of ours, whose commitment to the revolution is total, shaved and cut his hair for the occasion—so the exchange authorities figured that a demonstration was at hand. George Metesky denied it vehemently. "We do not want to protest," he said.

On the balcony, the ESSO people, now augmented by two young men from Illinois and a little old lady from Dubuque, proceeded to pull single dollar bills from their pockets and throw them over the railing. Somewhere between \$50 and \$1,000 went sailing down, compliments of the Digger money tree (arborum gratuitous). It was, some felt, the only decent thing to do for the brokers, to whom wealth is an illusion measured by paper credit, and who, wheeling and dealing down on the floor, never see a genuine green dollar.

The nation's business came to a standstill. A stunned silence, then some cheers when they saw what was being thrown, then some boos when they realized the implications of the whole thing. If money is free, the stock exchange folds. A few people, the non-ideologues in the crowd, bent down to pick up the money. What'll they buy with it?

The press snapped pictures and asked questions. What is the meaning of this? Giggles. Who are you? "George," they said, or "Emmett," or just "Us." How many of you are there? Each stuck up one finger and shouted, "One!" or "None!" or "There's nobody here, can't you see?" Where did you get that money? "Do you ask Cardinal Spellman where he gets his money?" Francis retorted. "Well, I'm Cardinal Spellman." The stock exchange fuzz led them forcefully off the balcony. They retreated to the street, danced in a rhom-

(continued next page)

"On his first missionary visit to Antioch in Asia Minor, the apostle Paul and those with him found many persons that were unreceptive to the good news that they preached. They were even mobbed out of town by these people, but this unpleasant experience did not cause them to develop the wrong mental attitude toward their work and thus cause it to lose its joy."

—Acts 13:52 (as interpreted by The Watchtower magazine)

This Digger phenomenon deserves a close examination by the peace movement—not that these jottings will necessarily make things clearer; clarity, alas, is not one of our goals. Confusion is mightier than the sword!

First it is important to distinguish between Hippies and Diggers. Both are myths, that is, there is no definition, there is no organized conspiracy, both are in one sense a huge put-on. Hippies, however, are a myth created by media and as such they are forced to play certain media-oriented roles. They are media-manipulated. Diggers too are myth, but a grass-roots myth created from within. We have learned to manipulate media. Diggers are more politically oriented but at the same time bigger fuckoffs. Diggers are zen-like in that we have totally destroyed words and replaced them with "doing"—action becomes the only reality. Like Lao-tzu: "The way to be is to do." We cry, "No one understands us," while at the same time, winking out the corner of our eye, recognizing that if the straight world understood all this Digger shit, it would render us impotent because understanding is the first step to control and control is the secret to our extinction.

This reluctance to define ourselves gives us glorious freedom in which to fuck with the system. We become communist-racist-acid-headed freaks, holding flowers in one hand and bombs in the other. The Old Left says we work for the CIA. Ex-Marines stomp on us as Pinkos. Newport police jail us as smut peddlers. Newark cops arrest us as riot inciters. (These four events were all triggered by passing out free copies of the same poem.) So what the hell are we doing, you ask? We are dynamiting brain cells. We are putting people through changes. The key to the puzzle lies in theatre. We are theatre in the streets: total and committed. We aim to involve people and use (unlike other movements locked in ideology) any weapon (prop) we can find. The aim is not to earn the respect, admiration, and love of everybody—it's to get people to do, to participate, whether positively or negatively. All is relevant, only "the play's the thing."

...Stand on a street corner with 500 leaflets and explode. Give some to a sad-looking female. Tell guys that pass, "Hey, can you help her out? She can't do it by herself and her father's a communist cell leader and will beat her up if she doesn't pass them out." Recruit a person to read the leaflet aloud while all this distribution is going on. Run around tearing the leaflets, selling them, trading them. Rip one in half and give half to one person and half to another and tell them to make love. Do it all fast. Like slapstick movies. Make sure everyone has a good time. People love to laugh—it's a riot. Riot—that's an interesting word-game if you want to play it.

Don't be for or against. Riots—environmental and

# DIGGERY IS NIGGERY



psychological—are Holy so don't screw around with explanations. Theatre also has some advantages. It is involving for those people that are ready for it while at the same time dismissed as nonthreatening by those that could potentially wreck the stage. It's dynamite. By allowing all: loving, cheating, anger, violence, stealing, trading, you become situation-oriented and as such become more effective. You believe in participatory democracy (especially when talking to a New Left audience) only you call it "everyone doing his thing." You let people decide, no strings attached. During the riots in Newark we smuggled in food, giving it to our underground soul brothers SNCC and NCUP.

"We've brought a lot of canned goods, Tom, so the people can eat them or throw them at the cops."

Like many of the people in the riot, we dug the scene. Had a ball passing out food. Seven truckloads in all. And that's another key to the riddle, Dig what you're doing! Make war on paranoia. Don't be afraid. Don't get uptight. There's a war against property going on. I asked an old black woman in Newark "What's going on?" and she tells me they stole her shoes and she's roaring with laughter. Spades and Diggers are one, Diggers are niggers. Both stand for the destruction of property. There are many ways to destroy property: to change is to destroy—give it away free. The free thing (another clue) is the most revolutionary thing in America today. Free dances, free food, free theatre (constantly), free stores, free bus rides, free dope, free housing, and most important, free money. Theatre will capture the attention of the country, the destruction of the monetary system will bring it to its knees. Really fuck with money. Burn it, smoke it to get high, trade with it, set up boxes of it in the streets marked "Free Money," panhandle it, steal it, throw it away. Scene: Washington Square Park. Actors: one very nicely dressed white liberal, one down and out looking digger. Audience: a large crowd of similar liberals, of various sexes. The title of the play: "Food for Newark Spades."

Dig.: Sir, could you please spare a dollar for some food for Negroes in Newark?

Lib.: Gee, I'm sorry, I don't have much money on me.

Dig.: (still pleading, hat in hand) We're collecting food at Liberty House. Couldn't you buy a dollar's worth and bring it over?

Lib.: If I had a dollar I certainly would.

Dig.: (exploding) I think you're full of shit. Here's ten dollars (pulling out real American money and shoving it in his face) go buy some food and bring it over to Liberty House.

Lib.: (getting a bit annoyed but still wanting to be polite) Oh no, I couldn't take money from you.

DIGGER, continued

bold, and burned the change.

"I still don't understand the meaning of this," a newsman said to George. "We're trying to show that it's not property or money that counts," replied George, saying his name was Emmett. "It's people. And these people in the stock exchange with their impersonal ticker tape machines forget that it's people whose lives they are dealing with."

George whipped out another bill—a ten-spot this time—and gave it to a pair of imploring shoeshine boys. The effect was instantaneous. "Free shines for everybody!" one shouted, while the other yelled "Free beer!"

# COALITION: SOUTHERN RIFED

On August 6, 1967, the South had its first major peace parade when over 500 people marched from Piedmont Park to Hurt Park in Atlanta, Georgia. The demonstration was sponsored by the Atlanta Alliance for Peace, (AAPF), a broad coalition of peace, civil rights, and community organizations that banded together several months ago. The Alliance is a diverse group. It includes local Friends, Mennonites, Veterans for Peace, student groups at Emory and Georgia State, civil rights organizations like SCLC and SNCC, community organizations like the Vine City Council, as well as Atlantans for Peace, the Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Atlanta Workshop In Nonviolence. Atlanta thus joins the small group of cities with major peace coalitions and all the problems attached.

The demonstration was quite a success, for Atlanta, where the largest previous peace demonstration was not much over a hundred people. Clarence Jordan, Hosea Williams, Dick Gregory, and Father Philip Berigan were among the speakers at the rally. The Workshop made a yellow submarine and a giant papier-mache psychedelic peace dove for the occasion. As usual, the press played things down. Our six-foot, four-inch dove they estimated as four feet, and our nine-foot, eleven-inch submarine became five feet.

When Sue and I first came to Atlanta early in March to start the Workshop, we spent a great deal of our time talking to existing peace groups, trying to get those that had never done so to participate in direct action, and encouraging the few groups which had been previously active in demonstrations to become so again. We also talked to local civil rights groups about their taking the big step and becoming involved in the peace movement locally. Out of this developed an informal alliance of several groups which has mounted most of the major demonstrations over the past four months.

Sue and I had not planned or thought of having a very formal coalition because our main purpose in coming here was to develop a Workshop which would gradually become involved more at resistance than at demonstration. The idea and impetus for a somewhat broader and more formal coalition in Atlanta came from Tom Houck, who was then a staff member of SCLC and is now dividing his time between the Workshop and F.O.R.'s draft petition. He laid the foundations for the Atlanta Alliance for Peace on Tuesday, May 2, at a meeting he arranged at the SCLC Freedom House. At that meeting, Cleveland Sellers of SNCC, Ben Clarke of SCLC, and I spoke on creating an anti-draft movement in At-

and waved a flip-top can.

The newsmen wrote it all down and walked away. A large black lady walked by, and eyeing the long hair and the cameras, asked what was going on. "Just some people throwing money away," we replied. "Oh. Is that all?" she said and walked on.

—George Washington

◆ Stock Market Report, Thursday, August 25:

◆ "Following an early-morning advance, the market began falling off at noon and moved downward. By the closing bell, prices were at the day's lowest levels."

—N. Y. TIMES

lanta. The response was so enthusiastic that we decided to call another meeting, to which all local peace and civil rights groups were to be invited as well as any other organization which might be willing to work publicly against the war in Vietnam. It was decided that the meeting would be devoted to forming an alliance for joint cooperation on all aspects of the struggle against the American war in South Vietnam, not just against the draft.

Forty-two groups were invited to this second meeting, held at Ebenezer Baptist Church on May 9. Most of the invited church-related and liberal groups simply responded with ironic amusement or a polite refusal. Still, a much larger delegation than anyone expected finally assembled at the church. Many of those present were only observers and could not go on record publicly as opposing the war. Others dropped out of the Alliance over the following weeks. The May 9 meeting adopted an ambitious four-point program: (1) direct action for peace, (2) an anti-draft program, (3) education for Peace, and (4) "Special programs," which encompassed possible affiliation with national projects such as Vietnam Summer, the Mobilization, and Negotiation Now.

The first several meetings of the Alliance were completely futile and very nerve wracking. Coalition politics may conceivably be useful but he who calls it "groovy" (See WIN, vol. III, no. 12) simply has never attended one of those meetings. For weeks we argued over such things as what the alliance should be called, whether each organization should have one or two votes, and whether we should always meet in the black community, meet half the time in the black community, or meet without regard to the area.

By far, the most difficult meeting of the coalition was the one when the alliance was almost broken up by controversy over Vietnam Summer. V.S. had not dealt with the local peace groups in Atlanta very sensitively. None of the local groups here were informed by V.S. in advance of its southern regional meeting. Some of us were a bit bewildered by their holding it in Baltimore, Maryland—hardly a central location, unless they didn't want any real activists to attend.

There were other problems with V.S. First of all, there often appeared to be conduits of privileged access to it. Certain people would receive phone calls doping them in on this and that, others wouldn't. Sometimes the Workshop was one of the favored groups. Sometimes not. Either way it disturbed us. We didn't like being on their list of groovy organizations any more

than being ignored. The gossipy, false rumors, and mistrust of this faction for that faction. After having to neglect much of the Workshop's own program, it would be a bad joke to have sacrificed all for nothing. And then there was our beautiful demonstration on August 6. And the numbers. How overwhelming is a mass of people after months of isolation. Yet I am not quite convinced that it was worth it.

We expressed these concerns to the people at V.S. and got a mixed reaction. Some of our criticisms they admitted as valid and they said they were trying to correct initial blunders. One of their best organizers naively thought that V.S. would even be willing to democratize itself by adding representatives from various Mobilization organizations to its steering committee. He was, of course, wrong. Other times, V.S. simply disagreed—as when I complained about their "advising" us on a potential employee of the Alliance. I felt that the political situation here was so delicate that outside advice from an organization handling our money could not fail to be misconstrued. V.S. simply could not understand and accused me of being "undemocratic" in not even wanting to hear their advice. It was this attitude more than anything else which identified V.S. for me with establishment liberalism.

The Alliance in the end decided to reject an overall program under Vietnam Summer sponsorship but to not bar assistance on a specific project that we designed and initiated if this could be done without interference by V.S. Later we decided that assistance in paying speakers we had chosen for August 6 without consulting V.S. did meet this test.

The controversy over V.S. was at least partly our fault. The original program proposed for the Alliance was so broad and comprehensive that it would have taken months for us to get anywhere even in discussing it, even if there had been no Vietnam Summer. Moreover, it was not an appropriate program for an Alliance since there was simply no general agreement on how to proceed on such things as draft resistance. Consequently, once the V.S. controversy was out of the way, the AAFP decided to adopt a lesson from the Mobilization and concentrate our energies on a single demonstration on Hiroshima Day rather than proceeding in several controversial directions at once. This was certainly job enough. It was actually all we could do to work out all the problems of having the demonstration by the time August 6 rolled around.

The enthusiasm generated by the Hiroshima Day demonstration here has been tremendous. Over 500 people marching for peace in Atlanta, Georgia—those numbers do affect you, especially here in the South where activists so often feel isolated and lonely. And there would have been a somewhat larger crowd if there had not been a whispering campaign against us that the demonstration would turn into a riot. The whispering campaign was denounced by the publisher of the "liberal" Atlanta Constitution after the management of the demonstration turned out to be quite professional. Even a lot of the hippies at the coffee houses we visit with our draft program told us they were honestly scared to come out. The rumors were completely groundless. Never have I seen fewer or less belligerent hecklers. All of us were heartened by this and are sure that the tactic will not work again.

One aftermath of the demonstration was harassment of the Workshop. We had some trouble from the police, two or three of our many neighbors, and some self-designated Minutemen before, but nothing like what we have had since.

A final word on coalition politics. Does Atlanta's experience show that it is worth it all? I certainly would like to think so. All that work. All those hor-

rible meetings. The gossipy, false rumors, and mistrust of this faction for that faction. After having to neglect much of the Workshop's own program, it would be a bad joke to have sacrificed all for nothing. And then there was our beautiful demonstration on August 6. And the numbers. How overwhelming is a mass of people after months of isolation. Yet I am not quite convinced that it was worth it.

I do not wish to rehash the whole coalition politics debate, but I have one point to add. As I walked on August 6 I couldn't help but feel that what was happening had next to no relation to the months of coalition politicking. No one there was walking because of the expensive publicity. The Workshop got a number of new people out because of our draft work in coffee houses, etc., but this had nothing to do with coalitions.

How many people in New York walked on April 15 because the Mobilization Committee talked and talked and talked? How many walked because of what individuals like King, Carmichael, or Bevel did or said? And how many came simply because their friends dragged them along or persuaded them to come or because of what LBJ did? But this had nothing to do with bureaucratic decisions by the Mobilization.

How many SANE members failed to walk because of what its executive committee did? Probably none. But a lot did walk because Dr. Spock as an individual was there. People are not activated into massive demonstrations by coalition politicking any more than they are activated into lone acts of civil disobedience by it. Witness how precarious is the mechanism by which a big demonstration is called and catches on or doesn't catch on.

In attributing the numbers who walked in New York on April 15, or in Atlanta on August 6, to coalition politicking, we are committing the "administrative fallacy." Is it the bureau of marriage licences that makes people fall in love? Is it the Bureau of the Census in Washington, D.C. that creates children? In the words of Mr. Dooley, "Is it the mill that makes the water go?"

Some mechanical arrangements—publicity, housing, etc., are necessary for a big demonstration—but this does not require coalition politics. Not even the members of disciplined authoritarian parties need official directives to find the street. No, it is not mobilization committees that turn out numbers, any more than it is the mill that makes the water go. Indeed, mobilization committees slow things down just as the mill impedes the water's flow. I think we could have had a bigger and better demonstration in Atlanta on August 6 without a formal coalition and all that paraphernalia.

But the mill does have a function; although it impedes the water, it captures and controls its energies for the uses of the mill. Precisely. In the same way mobilization committees attempt to capture and control the energies of mass demonstrations for the interests of mobilization committees. The interest is always in control, control of press releases, control of slogans, control of discipline. So in the end coalition politics is an attempt by steering committees of the few to control a movement of the many. With no mobilization committee, there is a danger that people might just make up their own slogans, or burn their draft cards, or—who knows? Fortunately, mobilization committees can't control mass demonstrations as firmly as they would like. The spontaneity breaks through—and what results has little relation to the committee's carefully laid plans.

—Henry Bass

## Karl on Retreat

"It appears that we have here a case of sincere hatred of law and order," the judge told Karl Meyer, longtime pacifist who is currently associate editor of *The Catholic Worker* and director of St. Stephen's House of Hospitality in Chicago. And after delivering himself of this observation, he proceeded to impose on Meyer a total of \$500 in fines for committing two heinous crimes: unfurling banners with Vietnamese poems on them during Dean Rusk's speech to the Lion's Convention in Chicago on July 16th; and "disorderly conduct and obstructing a police officer" at a streetcorner Vietnam Forum on July 14th.

Whether the judge realized how sincere this "hatred" of law and order really was is not known. But Karl's concern for justice appears to be strong enough. For Meyer believes that anyone with bail money should use it instead for "purposes which are pure and good and necessary"—such as the cause of free speech. Thus he has not paid a penny and is now serving out his fines at the rate of \$5.00 a day. —D.M. (thanks to *The Catholic Worker*)

## Candy on Probation

Candy Stephens and Emily Brown were released from prison in Oakland, California, on August 21, after accepting probation from Judge Allen E. Broussard.

Three other women—Connie Karr, Judy Herrman, and Dorothy Hill, Berkeley's 73-year-old anti-war Flower Child—will begin serving jail terms rather than accept probation for blocking the entrance to the Army's Oakland Induction Center two weeks before. No mandatory sentences were given.

Why did Candy accept probation?

Candy explained that the experience in Oakland Jail left her "more frightened than I've ever been. And I've been in some very frightening places.

"There's something missing in those people. That's what frightens me most. What's missing seems to be that common soul, that spark, which I believe every man has. I'm sure it's there, but very deep."

When she was arraigned, Candy was very weak from her fast and from the "psychological brutality" of the jail. She refused to appear voluntarily before a judge because, in her experience, judges generally administer to the law and not to people's problems. She was prepared to be dragged into the court.

In the holding cell that morning, a very dignified jail official in a brown suit and with a grey clipped moustache pleaded with her not to be dragged into the court. "It would be undignified," the man argued. "Dignity is of the spirit," Candy replied.

She was ordered by the court to make an appearance when she did not answer to her name. Candy's voice was heard from inside the cell which backs the

courtroom: "I'm sorry, but I cannot cooperate."

She was weak, she had been crying, she wanted out. Refusal to cooperate with this inhuman system would mean ten more days for contempt and then another call to appear before the judge.

Fortunately there was a human being nearby. Judge Allen E. Broussard did not charge Candy with contempt as he had every legal right to do. Instead he left the bench. He got down and walked into the cell with the prisoner!

Someone muttered about the "court's dignity"; Judge Broussard had achieved greater dignity that morning in the cell than he risked in forsaking the bench.

Candy was "flabbergasted." The judge had greeted her not as an object but a person. Candy is now out of jail. —Gar Smith in the Berkeley Barb (UPS)

## Visiting the Mc Namaras

The hippies of Aspen, Colorado, sent out fliers inviting the residents of the town to a love-in in Paepcke Park on Sunday, August 6. The green was alive with color. A matronly gray-haired lady dressed as if having just come from church had a tremendous Mexican fuschia paper rose in her hair. A dog ran about with a collar of flowers. There was food and drink provided by the hosts on long tables. The gazebo was bedecked with psychedelic canvases and colorfully dressed people were passing out peppermint candy. A bearded man carefully explained himself and his flute to tourists. Two Dominican nuns sedately spread a cloth and ate fried chicken and tossed salad.

In a "sermonette" the Rt. Rev. James Pike linked Hiroshima Day with the Transfiguration of Christ, stating that at Hiroshima, indeed, the Americans had also achieved a transfiguration, a great light. Growing out of this was a decision to go invite Defense Secretary McNamara, who was vacationing in the area, to the love-in.

The previous Friday afternoon, a group of 150 Aspenites had made their viewpoint concerning Vietnam evident to the Secretary in what the papers termed "the real protest parade." They stood with 70 of artist Tom Benton's peace posters, in view of McNamara's residence and the road approaching it.

McNamara did not acknowledge the presence of the pickets. Benton and three other demonstrators knocked on the door, politely asked the lady who answered if the Secretary of Defense would speak to them.

About 6:30 p.m. McNamara came out and said, "Does anyone here want me?" Benton asked him to make a statement, which he declined to do. He said he would be glad to discuss Vietnam with Benton, but in Washington. He said his wife was ill and needed peace and quiet. On Saturday morning, Music Festival pianist Anton Kuerti and Benton were again in front of the house with posters. Later, Benton presented the Secretary

with one. The Secretary accepted the gift. By this time he was smilingly acknowledging Benton.

On Sunday, over 200 people walked from the love-in over the mountain road. Police cars accompanied them, and the police did not refuse flower offerings. Cars on their way to the concert lined the path. No one was in evidence at the house where McNamara was staying. No one answered Bishop Pike's knock. The beautifully carved door was bedecked with mountain flower offerings and a poster was left to the side. The walkers dispersed. —Helen Duberstein

## Shoshone Ambushed by Army

Private Richard Williams, a Shoshone Indian who contends that his conscription into the army constitutes a breach of 1863 Western Shoshone—U. S. treaty, was given the maximum sentence August 18 for refusing to go to Vietnam.

His lawyer argued that because of the 1863 treaty, the court martial lacked jurisdiction. A motion was denied by the board and Williams was sentenced to five years at hard labor, reduction in rank to E-1, loss of all pay, and a dishonorable discharge.

Chief Rolling Thunder warned the tribunal that "If the white man does not change his ways, then, according to the prophecies of my nation, he will perish in a great fire. This treaty was written with the blood of my people."

Williams told the board officer at the conclusion of his testimony, "I'm an American Indian and you're standing on my land, boy." —Berkeley Barb (UPS)

## Sedition in Kentucky

A special U. S. court will decide whether Kentucky's sedition law can be used to prosecute three poverty workers in Pike County, Kentucky. U. S. District Judge Bernard Moynahan has granted a request for a three-judge court to pass on the validity of the law as soon as possible. Decisions from such a court are appealed directly to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Alan and Margaret McSurely and Joseph Mulloy were arrested in Pikeville, Ky., and accused of plotting to help the poor people take over the government. They were charged with having and distributing seditious literature.

The three petitioned federal court after the McSurelys were refused a reduction in bail by the county circuit court. Joining in the petition were the SCEF, the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP), and Vietnam Summer. The McSurelys are organizers for SC- EF and NCNP and were distributing literature for Vietnam Summer.

Judge Moynahan denied their request for an order to stop prosecution by the state court pending the outcome of the U. S. court action. The McSurelys were then freed under a total of \$7,000 in bail supplied by SCEF. Mulloy, a field director for the Appalachian Volunteers, had been freed under bond soon after his



arrest. (Sargent Shriver has since responded to pressure by cutting off OEO funds to Appalachian Volunteers.)

The prosecuting attorney is Thomas Ratliff, who is the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor of Kentucky in the November election. The McSurelys and Mulloy charged that Ratliff started the prosecution to help get himself elected. Two defense attorneys, Dan Jack Combs and William M. Kunstler, declared that strip-mine operators are also behind the prosecution. The people in Pike County have been engaged in a fight with the operators over this technique of obtaining coal, by ripping the cover off the mountainside and allowing it to tumble down, destroying property and filling streams. —SCEF

### (Southern Conference Education Fund) International Quaker Meeting

The Fourth World Conference of Friends met at Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina, July 24 to August 3, 1967. The third such conference was held in England in 1952, so the event was unusual in the Society of Friends. It was also unusual in that it was a "closed" meeting—that is, only officially appointed representatives could attend. I was there as one of the 55 persons appointed to represent the 17,000 members of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends.

It was necessary to restrict attendance both because of the limited facilities of Guilford College and to keep American Friends from dominating the event just by sheer numbers. The ratio of Friends from outside the United States was good. With about 850 representatives present, 300 came from 32 countries other than the U.S. Of the 200,000 Friends in the world, 120,000 live in this country. Friends from 38 states and the District of Columbia were in attendance at the conference.

I was disturbed at the amount of time that went into writing statements as we attempted to propagandize one another and the world. Many of the roundtables produced statements on their topic. The Conference itself produced a message, a statement on Vietnam, a statement on race, a statement on population and the use of world resources, and a request to the Friends World Committee for Consultation for programs with more cooperation across Quaker organizational boundaries in international work. Few will be surprised to learn that Friends believe that we should love one another, therefore oppose war, favor racial integration and a more equitable sharing of the world's resources.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about the mass of documents produced was the opening of the Vietnam statement: "Our hearts are filled with compassion for the unspeakable suffering of the people of Vietnam. We believe that every effort must be made to furnish them with medical aid in whichever part of Vietnam they may be."

In the plenary session, which went over the statement thoroughly, nobody even raised a question about this approval of aid to Vietnam, in spite of the controversies raised in American Quakerdom on this subject. Friends from outside the U.S., like lots of other people outside the U.S., couldn't understand how the U.S. can justify their Vietnam war policies.

My overall evaluation of the Fourth World Conference is that it was an expensive necessity for the Society of Friends, as we grope for internal integration amid our diversity of culture and ideology, but that the peace movements around the world, other churches, and the general public will not be challenged by it, nor gain from it. I do not mean this to be negative evaluation, as I feel Friends do far too little of setting their own house in order.

—Lyle Tatum

### ON THE SHELVES

Report to the Stockholders and Other Poems and To Live and Die in Dixie, by John Beecher (Red Mountain Editions, Box 7331-A, Mountain Brook Station, Birmingham, Alabama 35223; 1962 and 1966).

◆◆◆ Reviewed by Bonnie Stretch

John Beecher has now published two volumes of poetry, and America has a new kind of balladeer, who may, after many decades of writing, find his place in this time. He has already been compared to Whitman and Melville by such as Maxwell Geismar. Robert Frost and Carl Sandberg also whisper through his lines.

By the language and rhythm of his poems, Beecher is related to the great men of American verse. Like most of them, he has wandered long and listened well. But Beecher has heard a different story. There is little joy and a deep pessimism in his work. He, like the others, was fed from the womb on the American dream—of giant men stalking across the prairies, harnessing the land to their will, each man strong and separate, creating the home of the brave and the free. Beecher himself says it: "America was more than just a land; / it was the sum of all that men had won against the ancient darkness. . . ."

But Beecher grew up in the South—not New England, not the Midwest. Trees that were felled and homes that were built were done by black hands while white hands held a whip. When you have seen this the dream is gone forever. Beecher believes that the dream was the right dream but that somewhere we missed our way—"The lifted lamp is guttering," he warns—and against this betrayal and neglect he turns his anger and vengeance.

The most obvious evil gets the most blatant attack, especially when it is closest to the poet's heart. The racial horrors of the South are depicted over and over again in his poems as they have occurred from his own boyhood until the present day. "In Egypt Land," a long

dramatic narrative opening To Live and Die in Dixie, is the story of a black sharecroppers' revolt in Alabama in 1932. It is probably one of Beecher's best. The stark, perfect lines run for nineteen pages and tell what happened as simply and clearly as the story deserves.

In the title poem of that volume he tells of his own youth:

Our gang  
laid for the kids from niggertown  
We'd whoop from ambush chunking  
flints  
and see pale soles  
of black feet scampering  
patched overalls and floursack  
pinafores  
pigtailed with little bows  
flying on the breeze  
More fun than birds  
to chunk at  
Birds  
were too hard to hit

And he tells of youth today, where perhaps lies yet a spark of hope, in "Woke Up This Morning with My Mind Set on Freedom":

The flock escapes old shepherds  
who in the dust of the stampede  
incredulous and dazed  
lumber along out of breath

Not only the blacks, but all of our "other America" are brought out of hiding and ride the tip of Beecher's avenging lance. Miners, wanderers, the nation's unemployed. And ever there is the dream contrasted with the reality. In "A Meditation on the Flag" (in Report to the Stockholders), he conjures on Whittier's poem to Barbara Fritchier—the "Dame" who cried to Stonewall Jackson, "Shoot if you must this old grey head, but spare your country's flag." Says Beecher, "Her myth/enshrines a symbol sacred to us once/though worse defiled now than by rebel shot." For now in that same Frederick, Maryland, is a laboratory whose chief labor is developing chemicals for CB warfare. Typically, Beecher's angry lines embrace the dream with what is:

What crime in all man's ghastly  
history  
can stand with this prepared in  
Frederick  
beneath the poet's "symbol of light  
and law"?  
Haul down the stars and stripes!  
Run up the flag  
we really serve—black, with the  
skull and bones!

But he carries the dream in his heart. Unequivocally, he has thrown in his lot with "the weak many" against "the strong few". Watching an old film of a union protest, he mourns the common cause betrayed by unions now joined to the power structure.

"Pitiful!" he cries in "The Seed of Fire" (Report). "The nation rots." But "...New men rise up with skins/dark-hued to take the vanguard place of those/grown compromised. . . Here is the con-

(continued next page)

(ON THE SHELVES, continued)  
tinity, the precious seed of fire in these sad ashes."

The dream burns on inside an old man who will not, cannot give it up. In "Their Blood Cries Out" (Report) the poet depicts two Negroes, one murdered in the South for buying a farm, one a sailor killed at sea in World War II just before his time of discharge. He concludes the poem with what must be close to a personal creed.

You ask me  
what would I do if I were a Negro?  
and I keep thinking of these two  
who died  
one on land and one at sea  
murdered  
If I were a Negro  
I would swear the same oath I am  
swearing now  
to avenge these men  
and all the men like them and the  
women and children  
white black yellow and brown  
whose blood cries out for vengeance  
all over the world

Being a Negro would change nothing  
the same men would be my brothers  
for brothers are not known by the  
color of their skins  
but by what is in their hearts  
backed up by their deeds  
and by their lives  
when it comes to that

Beecher's poetry is not confined to social protest. A few lyrical masterpieces in each volume made me long for more. "Turn of the Year" (Dixie) describes the coming of an autumn storm over a redwood grove:

Siva, destruction's king, was multi-  
limbed  
as these sequoias, choreographers  
of death, aghast against the stricken  
sky.

And from "Dragonfly" (Dixie):

... With his mate  
he couples in the air and sails elate  
and unabashed before his smiling  
Lord.

Other poems are devoted to various religious men, from a Catholic Worker on the Bowery to a Buddhist priest to Alexander Meiklejohn—lone men who saw Truth and struggled and held the vision.

His heroes are lone men. Beecher is a lone man. A man who sees clearly and refuses to blink, and who moreover refuses to allow others that luxury. He is angry. He is hurt. He has had a long life. One might compare his anger and rebellion to Bob Dylan's. But Beecher is older, and it shows. He may not have seen more than Dylan, but he has borne it longer. Enough of philosophy, he seems to cry, let's look at how it is. Is is ugly. Everywhere is betrays, destroys the dream. Like an old world prophet, Beecher warns of doom if we do not return to the Way. We have had balladeers—Whitman, Frost, Sandburg—to help us to cling to the dream. Now we have one who would clear our eyes and rouse us to action.

# Letters

Dear Editors:

Nancy Rice's "A Woman's View" in last issue of WIN I enjoyed, particularly the point that male protection on a demonstration ends often in less protection than otherwise, and which protection is subtle male chauvinism. Her proposition, however, of the female as innately or congenitally more noble or nonviolent than the male seems a sort of male chauvinism in reverse. If the female be indeed more nonviolent, then this, as all else in every human culture that sociologists and anthropologists have ever observed, is learned—process of acculturation—conditioned—Pavlov's dog & bone. Yet even here, even in this learned situation, is she no more saintly than the male, and maybe even a little less, if German Nazi women were any index. It was (in case anybody doesn't yet know) more her than the male that put a mustached saviour in power (and a Duce, too, in Italy), more her than the male who enjoyed torturing prisoners or making from same skin lampshades.

I'm afraid the female, German or otherwise, is not the wallflower that Nancy imagines. More passive, yes, but let's not, Nancy, confuse passivism with pacifism, else we'd have to assert that the silent, submissive oriental woman is pacifist, which is laughable since pacifism, at least as I understand it, is anything but submissiveness to or cooperation with a wrong, like the wrong of sexual inequality. Or we'd have to assert that Eichmann's six million submissive Jewish victims were pacifists!

It all boils down to that the only difference between male and female, aside from the genitality, is the latter's ability to give birth, which immobilizes her for certain periods of time and hence gives rise to the saintly image, though even on this point she can theoretically, and in primitive culture often does, give quick birth behind a bush and be ready for work again. As for Nancy's notion of females as less aggressive because of genital receiving instead of thrusting, this can get very interesting, particularly in view of Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* in which the wallflower woman, once in the privacy and safety of the bedroom, becomes over her husband a bedroom commando. It is this phenomenon, as Miss Friedan points out, which is the basis for so much divorce today. Some female passivity!

Thus is the image of the innately saintly female no more than an image, a facade, a myth—be she in Tokyo or New York—a continuation of the male-chauvinist woman-as-the-weaker-sex. Only as she reaches practical, psychological as well as legal equality with the male, only as she frees herself from playing second fiddle in that old and honorable institution known as marriage (and then having to compensate for this

playing second-fiddle role with night-time bedroom commando-ism), only as she, to put it squarely, liberates herself from the totalitarian men of power—only then would we be able to speak of her as non-submissive to power-relations, hence nonviolent. But long as she stays put in the psychic submissiveness, she remains infantilized, a kind of a screwball (bad driver, unworldly, etc.), a thing mysterious, mystical, either some treacherous all-evil or saintly all-good, and often both.

Sam Coher  
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Fellow Peace Workers:

It is modern man's war from the skies which more than any other facet of war's inhumanity causes death and destruction. In Vietnam, for instance, our bombs and the jellied gasoline (I have heard more than one returned Vietnam veteran affectionately term it "gook-killer") probably cause more civilian damage and death than land battles ever could. It was air warfare which caused Franco to be Spain's dictator, it is air warfare which has killed innocent English, Ethiopians, Algerians, Germans, and many other nationalities in the past thirty years. Not to mention the Japanese at Hiroshima and Nagasaki or the Americans at Pearl Harbor.

Therefore, why do we not concentrate on completely reorganizing the armies of the skies? Let those from all the nations of the world who love peace establish a vast international armada of the sky to be known as the Peace Pilots, each unit to be known for a famous national pacifist. For example, the Ghandi Squad in India, the Muste Squad in the United States.

Let the planes be painted a bright and cheerful color. Perhaps yellow to match the submarines. Instead of a national insignia on the sides, let the symbol for nuclear disarmament ☸ be in clear view.

The duty of this armada would be to "bomb" the major cities of the world, not with explosive bombs but with Love. They would drop leaflets urging an end to war, balloons with messages such as: "War is Foolish. End it forever"/"No More War. War Never Again!"/"Let There Be Peace On Earth. Let It Begin With Me"/"Make Love Not War"/"What The World Needs Now Is Love", and of course they would drop the eternal symbol of Love: flowers. For added effect, a few of the planes could be piloted by sky-writers who would put pro-peace slogans in the sky for all to see.

It could be that the very machines now used to kill and maim and destroy could be converted into instruments which would kindle the spark of Love in man and cause him to save lives, heal, and build.

Pax,  
Richard Chinn  
Providence, Ky.

P.S. I'd be glad to have comments from any WIN readers.

The Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) was founded in 1958 to sponsor imaginative nonviolent direct action projects for peace. It is supported by voluntary contributions from individuals. CNVA officers: Neil D. Haworth, Interim Chairman of the Executive Committee; Ralph DiGia, Treasurer; Eric Weinberger, National Secretary; Maris Cakars, Field Secretary.

The N.Y. Workshop in Nonviolence is a local New York City pacifist direct action group which functions as an affiliate of both the Committee for Nonviolent Action and the War Resisters League. General meetings open to everyone are held on the first Wednesday of each month (August only: second Wednesday) at 8:00 p.m. at 5 Beekman St. Coordinator: Allan Solomonow.

Pacifist direct action groups (local CNVA's, Workshops, etc.) are being formed across the country. Contact one in your area.

Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence, P.O. Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309. (Telephone: 872-1137)

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