

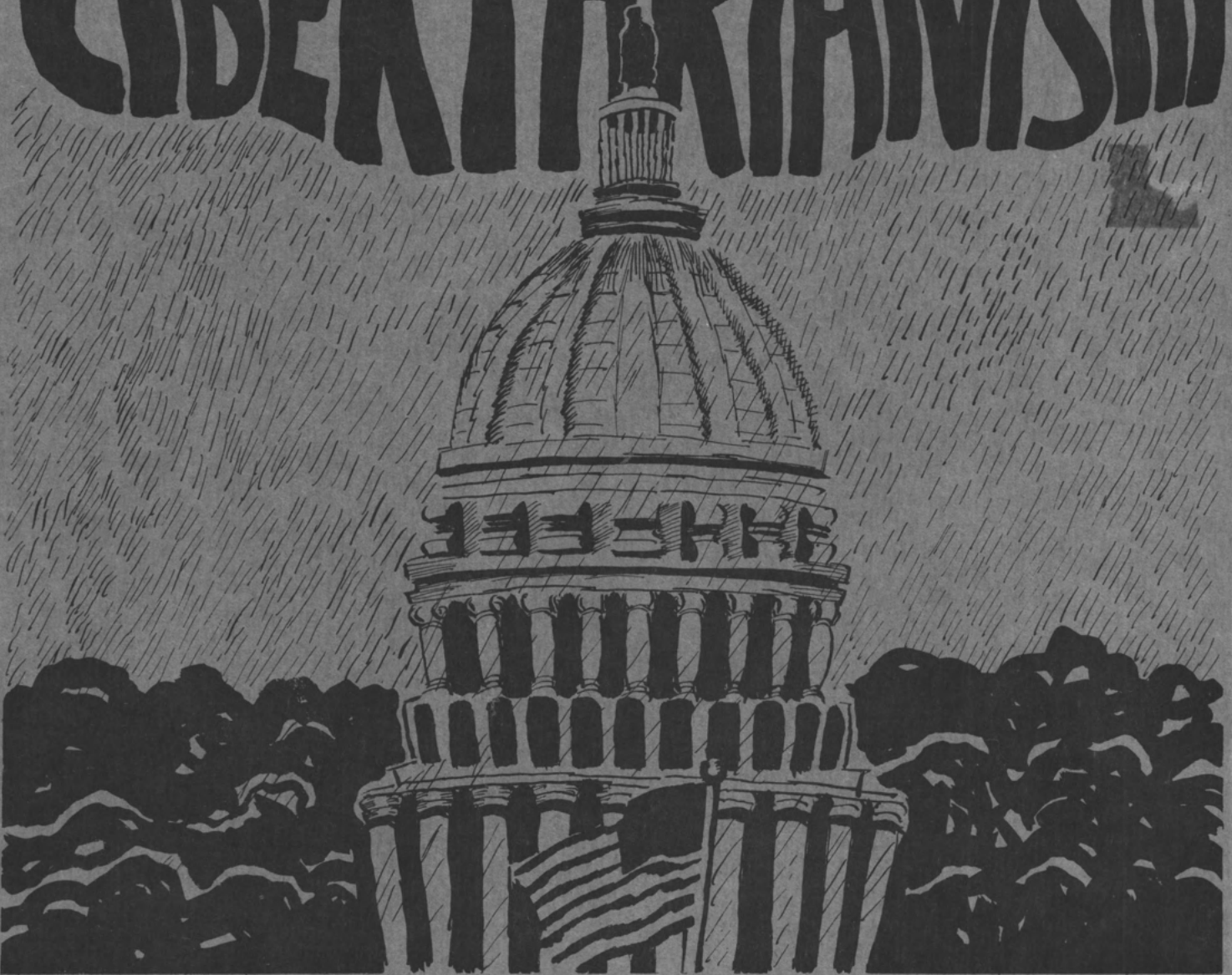
MARCH 1, 1971

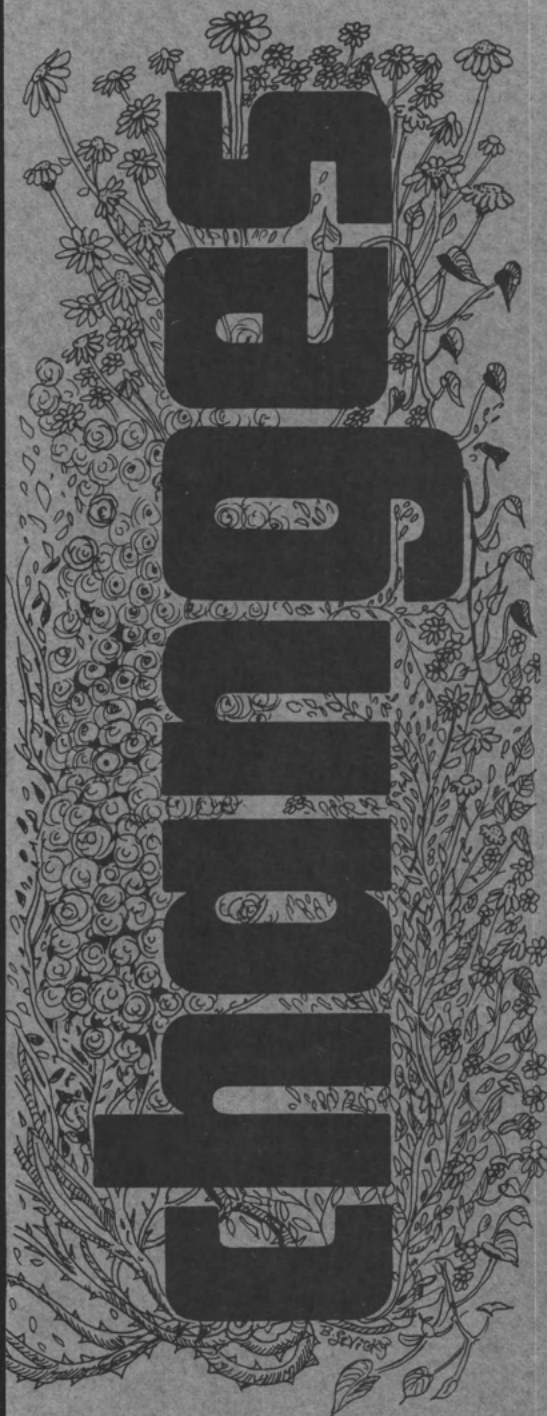
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# win

**SPRING OFFENSIVE  
BERRIGAN CONSPIRACY**

# LIBERTARIANISM





## ANTI-WAR OFFICER SPEAKS FOR 1½ MINUTES AT NAVY DINNER

To his surprise, Lieutenant (j.g.) Peter Dunkelberger, a member of the Concerned Officers Movement, who had asked the Navy to convene a court of inquiry into Vietnam war crimes, got a chance to speak for 1½ minutes at a dinner January 15 for some 115 Navy officers at the Washington Naval Yard.

In his brief speech, he explained that he had taken public action not only because he thinks such an inquiry is necessary, but also because he

wants "to make the public more aware of the situation in Vietnam and consequently bring greater public pressure to bear to alter the situation."

In a telephone interview, Dunkelberger said that his invitation to speak was "precisely the reverse of what I expected to happen. It had been a little joke around the office that I was going to be canned. (the three founders of the Concerned Officers Movement, also junior lieutenants, have been discharged). I think they're faced with a lot of young officers like myself, and they don't want to lose all of them."

The decision to let Dunkelberger speak was attributed to Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, Jr., the new Chief of Naval Operations. An officer familiar with Admiral Zumwalt's views explained that the new Chief is seeking a middle ground "between just bouncing the guys out or letting them march up and down the halls of the Pentagon waving banners."

## AIR FORCE, TOO, KEEPS TABS ON DISSIDENTS

Though the Air Force does not operate its own agency to spy on dissident civilians as does the Army (see last issue of WIN on how Army intelligence fingered over 18,000 dissident civilians in three years), it uses the FBI and other agencies to compile material for SCIB.

These initials stand for Significant Counterintelligence Briefs, a secret bi-monthly bulletin sent by the Air Force's Office of Special Investigations to commanding officers at bases both in this country and abroad. The publication includes comment and analysis of current trends in what the Air Force terms "radical anti-Establishment groups."

Though the bulletin is now in its 20th year of secret publication, only recently has it taken up the topic of civilian dissent. An internal Defense Department document dates Sept. 9, 1970 says: "The Office of Special Investigations has established requirements for collecting and reporting information relating to: demonstrations, agitation, propaganda and disruptive activities directed against the role of the U.S. in Vietnam, Selective Service, or the military establishment which affect the security, mission or viability of U.S. Air Force bases and other installations."

Content of the bulletins indicate that the Air Force is mainly concerned with the Black Panthers in particular and with anti-war activities in general.

—J.P.

## HOLD THE FORT!

Fort Riley, Kansas is an army base with a fairly large size stockade. In addition to the stockade, Ft. Riley has a Special Processing Detachment (SPD) in which many men are held prior to formal charges and / or trial. The men in SPD are expected to work, and may move about the base, but they are not permitted off base without special permission usually given only for emergencies, and their movement on the base is otherwise restricted. There are about 150 men being held in SPD at Riley, or there were on Jan. 18, 1971.

On Jan. 18, 1971, one of the men held in SPD (named Glenn) was arbitrarily sent to the stockade, on the pretext that he had refused to get a haircut, despite reports from other men that he did get a haircut. He was not given written charges of what his offense was prior to his being put in the stockade, which is not unusual.

The men in SPD have suffered many forms of harassment and intimidation before, and have responded in ways they see as appropriate. After brother Glenn was sent to the stockade, the majority of them met, planned an action, and issued the following statement:

Jan 19, 1971

The time for change has come to SPD. The majority of prisoners being detained here at SPD, Ft. Riley, Kansas submit the following demands.

1. Explanation of why Brother Glenn was sent to the stockade on Monday, Jan. 18, 1971.

a. No one should be sent to the stockade without first receiving a written copy of the charges being filed against them.

b. Before going to the stockade a man should have the right to consult with a lawyer of his choice.

2. Immediate end to violations of our constitutional right of freedom to religious and political affiliation. The harassment of Black Muslims here at SPD must stop.

3. We demand that a permanent committee of detainees be set up to handle the complaints of G.I's.

4. The fence must be torn down. It

is unconstitutional for detainees to be held behind barbed wire and locked gates when we haven't been convicted of anything.

5. Improve living conditions and food services. We want to know why we don't receive enough to eat and why we must live in condemned barracks.

6. Immediate institution of 5 day work week. As it is now many of us work 6 or 7 days a week.

7. Free access to gym, service club, PX and library facilities.

8. Processing must be faster. We demand to know why it takes 3 or 4 months to get a courtmartial and/or discharge.

9. Men who have to go home should

receive a pass or leave upon request. One man arrived home two days after his baby died because the brass took their time giving him a leave.

Many of the men at SPD consider themselves prisoners of war or political prisoners. If the army is really concerned about the so-called "POW issue" then the brass will meet these demands. If not it will be one more example of the oppression and exploitation G.I.'s in Germany, Vietnam and all over the world are revolting against. All power to the people!

THE MEN OF SPD, FT. RILEY, KANSAS (signed by 65 men)

The men planned a strike action to underline their demands. On Tuesday morning, Jan. 19, 1971, a large num-

ber of them called in sick, so that they were unable to work. This included the majority of those assigned to KP (about 50), which resulted in a great deal of confusion and mess for the brass. 15 of the men confronted the brass directly, refusing to line up for work, and being put in the position of refusing orders. They were ordered into the stockade, and refused to go in themselves, so that officers had to come in to physically drag them away. In addition, several men in SPD who had previously voiced their opposition to army policies were seized in the barracks, and thrown in the stockade, under the pretext that they were part of the confrontation with the brass.

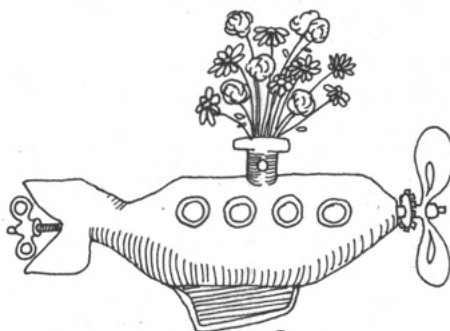
The total men sent to the stockade

## HOME FOLKS

ofelia alayeto	marty lauritsen
marilyn albert	burton levitsky
maris cakars	jackson maclow
susan cakars	mary mayo
bruce christianson	david mcreeynolds
donna christianson	peter merlin
diana j davies	don mochon
ralph digla	jim peck
karen durbin	paul rilling
david easterbrook	igal roodenko
jen elodie	wendy schwartz
leah fritz	lorraine shapiro
nell haworth	connie sohodski
hendrick hertzberg	bonnie stretch
jack horowitz	mayer vishner
marty jezer	linda wood
peter kiger	mike wood
dorothy lane	

## IN THE PROVINCES

denis adelsberger (box 7477, atlanta, ga.)  
 ruth dear (5429 s. dorchester, chicago, ill.)  
 paul encimer (c/o venice draft resistance, 73 market st. no. 11, venice, calif.)  
 seth foldy (2322 elandon dr., cleveland heights, oh.)  
 erika gottfried (4811 ne 107th, seattle, wash. 98125)  
 becky and paul (somewhere in new mexico)  
 wayne hayashi (1035 university ave., rm. 203, honolulu, hi. 96822)  
 rose labele (713 ne adams, minneapolis, mn.)  
 timothy lange (1045 14th st., boulder, co.)  
 mark morris (3808 hamilton st., philadelphia, pa.)  
 paul obluda (544 natoma, san francisco, ca. 94103)



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Cover: Joel Krauser

Volume 7, Number 4  
 March 1, 1971

## WE'LL NEVER DO IT AGAIN DEP'T:

We forgot to mention that the back cover of the last issue was designed by Mark Morris and that the back cover of the issue before that (Feb. 1) was something that we borrowed from Superlove, a Danish underground paper. The issue before that we failed to credit Omega Posters (711 Dearborn, Chicago, Ill. 60605) which carries all sorts of nifty cards and small posters.



from SPD on Tuesday was 20, according to the stockade. Men in SPD report it as a minimum of 17. The following men were sent into the stockade that day: Roosevelt Bonds, Robert Kempton, Patrick Conkler, Steve Smith, Voizell Winborn, John Morse, Jerry Pickle, James Brown, Charles Crockett, Normal Collier, Douglas Abbey, Brent Pack, Earl Hines, Farrad Muhammad, Bernard Hunt and Charles Bransou. This list is not complete. Most of these men face possible charges of refusing a direct order and mutiny. The rest were hauled away because they were respected leaders of the men (Bernard Hunt, Farrad Muhammad) and stood up to the brass in public.

The response of the brass, besides dragging these men away, has been to begin to turn SPD into a "new" stockade. The day room (TV and pool table) was boarded up. This was also the room where the meetings of the men were held. The gates are locked every night, and this appears to be just the beginning.

The response of the men of SPD will be to step up their resistance. As one of them said, "From this point on the responsibility for whatever happens to SPD will rest squarely on the shoulders of the brass."

The response of those of us on the outside should be to publicize this case, as one of thousands like it happening every year, to send legal aid to the men, to encourage them in any way possible, and to see to it that more and more people fight for demands like theirs until the government has no choice but to give in.

for more information:  
contact Rhubarb 1618 W. Wells St.,  
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414 342-4020



SHOCKING

## NIXON'S CREDIBILITY ON GERM WAR

How can the reported expansion of the Army's Deseret (Utah) Biological Warfare Research Center—making it the world's largest—tally with President Nixon's renunciation of germ war?

This is the question put to Nixon January 22 in a letter by Senator Frank Church of Idaho. He said that 190 military employees and 250 civilians are reportedly going to Deseret "to conduct what the Army calls defensive biological research." The fact that the research is to be "classified" is a particular challenge to the Administration's credibility on this issue, he pointed out.

Defense Department officials would neither confirm nor deny the reported expansion of Deseret.

—J.P.

## REP. ANDERSON STANDS BY

Representative William Anderson of Tennessee, who denounced J. Edgar Hoover after his announcement of the Berrigans' kidnapping and bombing "plot," is standing by following Federal accusation of the two priests and 11 others.

In a speech before the National Council of Churches' general board on January 24, he called upon that organization's leaders to become "Christian activists" on behalf of the Berrigans. "They are peace mongers, waging a peace campaign as their nation wages war," he said. He characterized their forthcoming trial as "the climactic point of all dissent in America."

The following day he was blasted by Vice President Agnew, in typically Agnewian terms, for daring, as a congressman, to so express himself.

—J.P.

## MEXICAN SCRAMBLE

On November 12, 1970 sixty-eight of the Mexican Political Prisoners charged with assorted crimes connected with the 1968 Mexican Student Movement were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 3 to 17 years. They were also sentenced to pay a communal fine of 1,987,382 pesos (approximately \$80,000). 46 of the accused have already been held in Lecumberri prison for over two years; the others have been out on bond and will now have to return to jail. There are now more than 160 political prisoners being held in

Lecumberri and many others are only temporarily free on bond; there is always the possibility that the ones who have been sentenced will be sent to an island prison, out of sight and mind of Mexico City.

The rector of the National University of Mexico, Dr. Pablo Gonzalez Casanova, has called upon the new government of Mexico, headed by president Luis Echeverria, to grant a general amnesty to those charged in relation to the events of 1968. According to *Siempre* Magazine the call for amnesty has received wide support in Mexico City. More than 10,000 students, professors and administrative employees gathered at the National University to support the amnesty. During mass on November 15 the bishop of Cuernavaca, Monsenor Sergio Mendez Arceo, called upon Echeverria to grant an amnesty. To our knowledge, this widespread public support of the prisoners has not yet brought an amnesty, although it has been reported that charges were dropped against some 35 persons charged with minor roles in the Student Movement.

The 1968 Student Movement was essentially a spontaneous student protest against repressive police power. It snowballed into an organized student movement against repression and cognizant of the fundamental economic, social and political problems which the ruling party, PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party), has been unwilling to resolve. During the entire Student Movement (beginning July 26, 1968 and continuing to the present) the police have harassed, arrested, kidnapped, tortured, murdered, and jailed real and suspected student leaders. On October 2, 1968 the police and the army descended upon a peaceful rally at Tlatelolco and massacred an estimated 500 people. Most of the leaders who were not murdered at that rally were arrested and charged with assorted crimes, including: robbery, looting, sedition, destruction of private property, disturbance of the peace, murder, criminal association, inciting to riot, destruction of the public means of communication, etc.

The case of the prosecution goes something like this: Communism is an international conspiracy to overthrow decency and democracy. The 1968 Student Movement was inspired and led by a ring of international commu-



nist conspirators. Therefore, anyone associated with or in a position of leadership of the 1968 Student Movement is guilty of plotting to overthrow the government of Mexico (i.e. PIR). They are also guilty of all crimes committed from July 1968 through January 1969 which were directly or vaguely connected with the Student Movement (apparently including the crimes of the police, i.e. note the murder charge). The "evidence" presented by the prosecution consists primarily of secret police reports of all real and alleged meetings and speeches connected with the Student Movement. It is clearly a successful attempt to imprison people solely because of their imagined or stated political beliefs.



SOLCUNSKA

In total mockery of all principles of Justice and Democracy, and in full accord with the national and international economic interests which control the government of Mexico\*, 150 of our brothers and sisters are being held captive in Mexico City, and many more may join them. We urge you to provide full coverage of this situation and we urge all readers to show their solidarity with the Mexican prisoners by picketing Mexican tourist bureaus and consulates, boycotting Mexico and Mexican products, writing letters demanding a general amnesty to President Luis Echeverria, Palacio Nacional, Mexico City, and sending literature and letters of support to the Prisoners in care of: Bernard Philip Ames, Admin. de Correos no.9, Letra M, Mexico 9, D.F., Mexico (send all mail registered.)

—Friends of the political prisoners

\*One of Diaz Ordaz' last acts as president of Mexico was to visit Nixon in California. One of Echeverria's first acts was to check in with Dick in Florida.

## PUBLIC NOTICE

It was recently reported in WIN that the Montreal Committee to Aid War Resisters is advising that Americans emigrating to Canada should return to the U.S. When I told someone who worked there about this he said that it was not true at all and that he is a deserter. The Committee is at 3625 Aylmer Street, near McGill University and they are affiliated with the Carre St. Louis Hostel. —Sandy Lutz

## A LITTLE (BIG?) BIRD

Feb. 5—As a harbinger of heightened peace activities for this spring, the Vietnam Peace Parade Committee pulled out about 150 people on two days' notice for a picket line at the U.S. Mission to the UN, protesting the massive intervention with ground troops into Laos.

—Peter Kiger

## U.S. SPRAYS DESTROY 20% OF VIET FORESTS

At least one fifth of the 1.2 million acres of mangrove forest in South Vietnam have been "utterly destroyed" by U.S. herbicides. So states a report issued December 29 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Sections of the delta region, photographed in accompanying illustrations, "look as if they had been devastated by nuclear attack," in the words of one reporter. Some unknown factor has prevented vegetation from returning to these areas, which had been a source of charcoal and a breeding ground for edible crustaceans and fish.

In addition the report points out that the official Pentagon policy of spraying food crops only in sparsely populated areas has not been observed. Dr. Matthew Meselson, who headed the report committee, estimates that 600,000 people have been cut off from their normal food supply by the spraying of rice and other crops.

—J.P.



Joy, affirmation, chaos, flowers to the enemy, terror to the Old Left, innovator to the New. WIN is this and more...

WIN is yellow submarines and white bicycles, civil disobedience and non-cooperation, resistance and jail, rock and pot, picketing and vigil lines, dropping out and new life styles, communes, provos/hippies/diggers/yippies/free people/you and me.

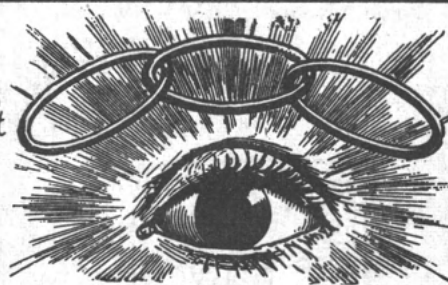
But mostly WIN is about peace and freedom, and how to reach it, radical pacifism and revolutionary non-violence, and what that means.

Which is to say that WIN is about communicating old thoughts in new ways, new ideas for which there are yet no words.

WIN is written by and for activists in the peace movement the people that make the news, the people that are the news. Pushy, provocative, sometimes brilliant, sometimes not, WIN will delight you, offend you, start you thinking. Or keep you thinking. WIN, says Nat Hentoff, "is the liveliest publication ever to come out of the peace movement."

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## the right wing libertarians



# know your rights

by Murray Rothbard

Recently, a bewildering and seemingly new phenomenon has burst upon the public consciousness, "right-wing libertarianism." While earlier forms of the movement received brief and scornful attention by professional "extremist" baiting Liberals, present attention is, almost miraculously for veterans of the movement, serious and respectful. The current implication is "maybe they've got something here. What, then, have they got?"

Whatever their numerous differences, all "right-wing libertarians" agree on the central core of their thought, briefly, that every individual has the absolute moral right to "self-owner-

ship," the ownership and control of his own body without aggressive interference by any other person or group. Secondly, libertarians believe that every individual has the right to claim the ownership of whatever goods he has created or found in a natural, unused state: this establishes an absolute property right, not only in his own person but also in the things which he finds or creates. Thirdly, if everyone has such an absolute right to private property, he therefore has the right to exchange such property titles for other titles to property: hence the right to give away such property to whomever he chooses (provided, of course, that the recipient is willing); hence the



right of bequest—and the right of the recipient to inherit.

The emphasis on the rights of private property of course locates this libertarian creed as emphatically “right-wing”, as does the right of free contract implying absolute adherence to freedom of enterprise and the free-market economy. It also means, however, that the right-libertarian stands foursquare for the “civil liberty” of freedom of speech, press, and assembly. It means that he necessarily favors total freedom for abortion, pornography, prostitution, and all other forms of personal action that do not themselves aggress against the property of others. And, above all, he regards conscription as slavery pure and simple. All of these latter positions are of course now regarded as “leftist,” and so the right-libertarian is inevitably put in the position of being some form of “left-rightnik,” someone who agrees with conservatives on some issues and with leftists on others. While others therefore see him as curiously fluctuating and inconsistent, he regards his position as virtually the only one that is truly consistent, consistent on behalf of the liberty of every individual. For how can the leftist be against the violence of war and conscription and morality laws while yet favoring the violence of taxes and government controls? And how can the rightist trumpet his devotion to private property and free enterprise while favoring conscription and the outlawing of activities he deems immoral?

While of course opposing any private or group aggression against the rights of private property, the right-libertarian unerringly zeroes in on the central, the overriding aggressor upon such rights: the State apparatus. While the leftist tends to regard the State as an evil enforcer of private property rights, the right-libertarian, on the contrary, regards it as the prime aggressor on such rights. In contrast to believers in democracy or monarchy or dictatorship, the right-libertarian steadfastly refuses to regard the State as invested with any sort of divine or any other sanction setting it up above the general moral law. If it is criminal for one man or a group of men to aggress against a man's person or property, then it is equally criminal for an outfit calling itself the “government” or “State” to do the same thing. Hence the right-libertarian regards “war” as mass murder, “conscription” as slavery, and—for most libertarians—“taxation” as robbery. From such past mentors as Herbert Spencer (*Man vs. the State*) and Albert Jay Nock (*Our Enemy the State*), the right-libertarian regards the State as the great enemy of the peaceful and productive pursuits of mankind.

With this as the central core of libertarian thought, we must now investigate the numerous facets of the right-libertarian spectrum; and, despite the numerous difficulties of such an analysis, it is still most convenient to align the various tendencies and factions of right-libertarianism on its own “left-right” continuum.

On the extreme-right fringe of the movement, there are those who simply believe in old-fashioned nineteenth-century *laissez-faire*; the major *laissez-faire* group is the Foundation for Economic Education, of Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, for which many of the middle-aged members of the right-libertarian movement have worked at one time or another.

The *laissez-fairists* believe that a central government must exist, and therefore that taxes must exist, but that taxation should be confined to the prime “governmental” function of defending life and property against attack. Any pressing of government beyond this function is considered illegitimate. The great bulk of libertarians, especially among the youth, have, however, gone beyond *laissez-faire*, for they have seen

its basic inconsistency: for if taxation is robbery for building dams or steel plants, then it is also robbery when financing such supposedly “governmental” functions as police and the courts. If it is legitimate for the State to coerce the taxpayer into financing the police, then why is it not equally legitimate to coerce the taxpayer for myriad other activities, including building steel factories, subsidizing favored groups, etc? If taxation is robbery, surely then it is robbery regardless of the ends, benevolent or malevolent, for which the State proposes to employ these stolen funds.

Most libertarians also reject the *laissez-fairist* position that it is morally imperative to obey all laws, no matter how despotic, as well as the all-too-common *laissez-fairist* patriotic devotion to the American Constitution and the American State. They have also found current *laissez-fairists* (though this was not true of the nineteenth-century brand) to be conspicuously silent in mentioning the heavy responsibility of big business for the growth of statism in twentieth-century America, instead, the blame is almost always placed on unions, politicians, and leftist intellectuals. Moreover, almost never is there criticism of the greatest single force accelerating the Leviathan State in America: the military-industrial complex, and the American Empire fueled by that complex. For all these reasons, the old-fashioned *laissez-faire* position has lost credibility for the bulk of today's right-libertarians.

Moving one degree leftward, we come to the Randian and neo-Randian movements, those who follow or have been influenced by the novelist Ayn Rand. From the publication of Rand's novel *Atlas Shrugged* in 1958, the Randian movement developed into what seemed to be destined as a mighty force. For the emotional impact of Rand's powerfully-plotted novels attracted a vast following of young people into her “Objectivist” movement.

In addition to the emotional drawing-power of the novels, Randianism provided the eager acolyte with an integrated philosophical system, a system grounded on Aristotelian epistemology, and blending it with Nietzschean egosim and hero-worship, rationalist psychology, *laissez-faire* economics, and a natural-rights political philosophy, a political philosophy grounded on the libertarian axiom of never aggressing upon the person or property of another.

Even at its peak, however, the effectiveness of the Randian movement was severely limited by two important factors. One was its extreme and fanatical sectarianism; Randians refused to have anything to do with any person or group, no matter how close in outlook, who deviated by so much as an iota from the entire Randian canon—a canon, by the way, that has a rigid “line” on every conceivable question, from aesthetics to tactics. (An odd exception to this sectarianism, by the way, is the Republican Party and the Nixon Administration, which includes several highly-placed Randians as advisors.) Particularly hated by the Randians is any former colleague who has deviated from the total line; these people are reviled and personally blacklisted by the faithful. Indeed, Rand's monthly magazine, *The Objectivist*, is probably the only magazine in the world that consistently cancels the subscription of anyone on their personal blacklist, including any subscribers who send in what they consider to be un-worshipful questions.

The second, associated factor is the totalitarian atmosphere, the cultic atmosphere, of the Randian movement. While the official Randian creed stresses the importance of individuality, self-reliance, and independent judgment, the unofficial but



crucial axiom for the faithful is that "Ayn Rand is the greatest person who has ever lived" and, as a practical corollary, that "everything Ayn Rand says is right." With this sort of ruling mentality, it is no wonder that the turnover in the Randian movement has been exceptionally high: attracted by the credo of individualism, an enormous number of young people were either purged or drifted away in disgust.

The collapse of the Randian movement as an organized force came in the summer of 1968, when an unbelievable bombshell struck the movement: an irrevocable split between Rand and her appointed heir, Nathaniel Branden.

Since then, the Randian movement has happily become polycentric; and Branden repaired to California to set up his own schismatic movement there. But the latter is still a movement confined to psychological theories and publications, and

to book reviews in the occasionally appearing *Academic Associates News*. As an organized movement, Randianism, whatever variant, is a mere shadow of its former self.

But the Randian creed still remains as a vital influence on the thinking of libertarians, so many of whom were former adherents to the cult. Politically, Rand is to the left of the *laissez-fairists* in rejecting taxation as robbery, and therefore illegitimate. Rand saw through the illogicality, the inconsistency, of the *laissez-faire* view of taxation. Randian political theory wishes to preserve the existing unitary state, with its monopoly over coercion and ultimate decision-making; it wishes to define its "government" as a Utopian institution which retains its State monopoly but gains its revenue only by voluntary contributions from its citizens. Still worse, while Randians agree that taxation is robbery, they stubbornly re-



fuse to regard the government—even the existing government which lives off taxation—as a band of robbers. Hence, Rand illogically infuses into the political outlook of herself and her charges an emotional devotion to the existing American government and to the American Constitution that totally negates her own libertarian axioms. While Rand opposes the war in Vietnam, for example, she does so on purely tactical reasons as a mistake not in our "national interest"; as a result, she is far more passionate in her hostility to the unpatriotic **protestors** against the war than she is against the war itself. She advocated the firing of Eugene Genovese from Rutgers, on the surprisingly **anti-individualist** grounds that "no man may support the victory of the enemies of his country." And even though Rand passionately opposes the draft as slavery, she also believes, with Read and the *laissez-fairists*, that it is illegitimate to disobey the laws of the American State, no matter how unjust—so long as her freedom to protest the laws remains.

Finally, Ayn Rand is a conventional right-winger, as well, in her attitude toward the "international Communist conspiracy." While Randians are not exactly champions of war, they are prevented by their simplistic diabolism from absorbing the

revisionist view of American foreign policy—from realizing that the Cold War and American interventions overseas have been caused by the expanding aggressions of American imperialism rather than by a noble response to “Communist expansionism” by the “freest nation on earth.” Randians persist in the right-wing myth that the antipode of individualism is Communism, whereas the real antipode to liberty in America today is far different, the existing Corporate Monopoly Welfare-Warfare State.

Many neo-Randians, devoted as they are to logical analysis, have seen the logical clinker in Randian political theory; that if no man may aggress upon another, then neither may an outfit calling itself “government” presume to exert a coercive monopoly on force and on the making of ultimate judicial decision. Hence, they saw that no government may be coercively preserved, and they therefore took the next crucial step; while retaining devotion to the free market and private property, this legion of youthful neo-Randians have concluded that all services, including police and courts, must become freely marketable. It is morally illegitimate to set up a coercive monopoly of such functions, and then revere it as “government.” Hence, they have become “free-market anarchists,” or “anarcho-capitalists,” people who believe that defense, like any other service, should only be provided on the free market and not through monopoly or tax coercion.

Anarcho-capitalism is a creed new to the present age. Its closest historical links are with the “individualist anarchism” of Benjamin R. Tucker and Lysander Spooner of the late nineteenth century, and it shares with Tucker and Spooner a devotion to private property, individualism, and competition. Furthermore, and in contrast to Read and Rand, it shares with Spooner and Tucker their hostility to government officials as a criminal band of robbers and murderers. It is therefore no longer “patriotic.” It differs from the older anarchist in not believing that profits and interest would disappear in a fully free market, in holding the landlord-tenant relationship to be legitimate, and in holding that men can arrive through reason at objective law which does not have to be at the mercy of *ad hoc* juries. Lysander Spooner’s brilliantly hard-hitting *No Treason*, one of the masterpieces of anti-statism and reprinted by an anarcho-capitalist press, has had considerable influence in converting present-day youth to libertarianism.

It is safe to say that the great bulk of right-libertarians are now anarcho-capitalists, particularly among the youth. Anarcho-capitalism, however, also contains within it a large spectrum of differing ideas and attitudes. For one thing, while they have all discarded any traits of devotion to the State and have become anarchists, many of them have retained the simplistic anti-Communism, devotion to Big Business, and even American patriotism of their former creeds. What we may call “anarcho-patriots,” for example, take this sort of line: “Yes, anarchy is the ideal solution. But, in the meanwhile, the American government is the freest on earth,” etc. Much of this sort of attitude permeated the Libertarian Caucus of the Young Americans for Freedom, which split off or were expelled from YAF at the embroiled YAF convention at St. Louis in August, 1969. This split—based on their libertarianism and their refusal to be devoted to such unjust laws as the draft—led to the splitting off from YAF of almost the entire California, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New Jersey sections of that leading conservative youth organization. These groups then formed “Libertarian Alliances” in the various states.

A group of older anarcho-capitalists centered in New York founded the *Libertarian Forum* as a semi-monthly, in early 1969, and formed the Radical Libertarian Alliance, which had a considerable impact in fueling and sparking the 1969 YAF split in St. Louis. Its ideas were propagated among the youth with particular effect by Roy A. Childs, Jr. Childs had particular effect in converting Jarret Wollstein from Randianism to anarcho-capitalism and then to a realistic view of the American State. Wollstein, an energetic young Marylander, had been ejected from the Randian movement, and had formed his own Society for Rational Individualism, publishing the monthly *National Individualist*. Finally, at the end of 1969, Wollstein’s SRI merged with the bulk of the old Libertarian Alliance members of YAF to form the society of Individual Liberty, which has become by far the leading organization of libertarians in this country. SIL has thousands of members, and numerous campus chapters throughout the country, and is loosely affiliated with the California Libertarian Alliance, consisting largely of the ex-YAFers and which itself has over a thousand members within the state.

Meanwhile, as the SIL and the old Libertarian Alliance has flourished by moving from right to center within the spectrum, the New York-centered Radical Libertarian Alliance has fallen upon evil days. Murray Rothbard and Leonard Liggio had founded the journal *Left and Right* in early 1965 as a means of splitting finally from a conservative movement with which they had been allied but which had become a crusade against Communism and a celebrant of the American Consensus. In contrast, they saw in the New Left of those days many of the libertarian elements which they had, in earlier days, found on the Right: opposition to centralized bureaucracy and statism, hostility to the public school system, opposition to conscription, and a renaissance of the old “isolationist” hostility to war and American imperialism. Hence, they called upon the libertarians to find their allies on the New Left rather than on the Right. Leonard Liggio has been particularly energetic in working with the Left, having lectured on “American Imperialism” at the original Free University of New York, edited the magazine *Leviathan*, and having been associated with the American branch of the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation and its War Crimes Tribunal on Vietnam.

Under the inspiration of this search for the New Left, Becky Glaser led the transformation of the YAF chapter at the University of Kansas into an SDS chapter, and such youth leaders as Alan Milchman, then head of YAF at Brooklyn College, and Wilson Clark, Jr., head of the Conservative Club at the University of North Carolina, abandoned these organizations to plunge into radical left activity.

Rapid growth in the New York movement in 1968-69 led Rothbard and his associates to found the *Libertarian Forum*, as well as an ever-growing series of dinners, culminating in a conference attracting several hundred libertarians from the East Coast and Middle West, held in New York City on Columbus Day, 1969. Increasingly, however, a split grew within the Radical Libertarian Alliance, which had branches in Washington, D.C., Connecticut, and Boston. The factional differences centered on the problems of revolution, relations with the Left, and communalism vs. individualism. For as the RLA youth took the concept of alliance with the New Left to heart, they increasingly and to varying degrees became “leftists,” thus setting up an extreme-left tendency within the anarcho-capitalist movement. Leading this tendency was former Gold-



water speechwriter Karl Hess, who had been one of the most spectacular converts to right-libertarianism during 1968. Going through a Randian phase—reflected in his famous *Playboy* article “Death of Politics” in mid-1969—Hess had passed through the center and on to lead the extreme left by mid-1969.

Responsive to the call for alliance with the New Left, the Left tendency began to oppose any criticisms of their new-found allies, leading to an uncritical adulation of the Black Panthers and other groups on the Left, including the anarcho-communists headed by Murray Bookchin. As in the history of many ideological movements, tactics began to merge into principle, so that many of the extreme left began to become anarcho-syndicalists or anarcho-communists, or, failing that, to see little or no difference between the various branches of anarchism. On revolution, in contrast to the Right, which opposes revolution on principle, and the Center, which holds revolution to be morally defensible as armed self-defense against State aggression but tactically and strategically absurd for present-day America, the RLA-Left began to favor any and all revolutionary tactics, including street-fighting, “trashing,” etc. This strategy has become increasingly unviable with the general collapse of the New Left and its drift back to Stalinism.

The final split between these various factions occurred after the Columbus Day, 1969 conference held by RLA in New York City, which degenerated into a screaming match between Left, Center, and Right factions, and featured a Left-exodus from the Conference to join a march on Fort Dix. Shortly afterward, the over-30 group severed all connections with RLA, and soon New York saw two, separate right-libertarian organizations, each wary if not hostile to each other: RLA; and the New York Libertarian Alliance, which was headed by Long Island lawyer Gary Greenberg, and which became affiliated with SIL. Since then, RLA has fragmented into various splintered affinity groupings, the only viable remnants being Ralph Fucetola's New Jersey Libertarian Alliance, which publishes *The Abolitionist*, and a group led by Charles Hamilton, which publishes the newly-established quarterly *Libertarian Analysis*.

In many ways, California, with the largest right-libertarian population, differs from the movement in the rest of the country. The movement there is led by the California Libertarian Alliance, of over a thousand members. Led by youthful former YAFers, the CLA is rightist and neo-Randian in tendency, although over the last year and a half it too has moved leftward and abandoned many of its Randian tenets. CLA has held several highly successful conferences based on the idea of a Left-Right libertarian dialogue. The last conference, held on the campus of the University of Southern California last November and attracting over 700 attendees, featured Paul Goodman as well as more orthodox right-libertarian speakers. It also featured the libertarian psychoanalyst Dr. Thomas Szasz, who, influenced by such *laissez-faire* libertarians as Ludwig von Mises and F.A. Hayek, has also become a favorite of the New Left for his crusade against the coercion involved in the “mental health” program.

At the center of the flourishing movement in southern California is Robert LeFevre, head of the anarcho pacifist tendency within the movement. LeFevre had founded and run for many years the Freedom School near Colorado Springs, a

school which ran two-week summer seminars and was very successful in converting students and members of the public throughout the country. After transforming the school into Rampart College, LeFevre moved the operation to the Los Angeles area, where it has formed the nucleus for the libertarian movement there. LeFevre believes in absolute pacifism, holding it immoral not only to aggress against the person or property of anyone else, but also to defend that person or property by means of violence. Since he opposes all use of violence anywhere, he is far more consistent than socialist-pacifists in his opposition to force, and ranks as a kind of right-wing Tolstoyan. He himself rejects the label “anarchist” and prefers to call his pacifist libertarianism “autarchism.”

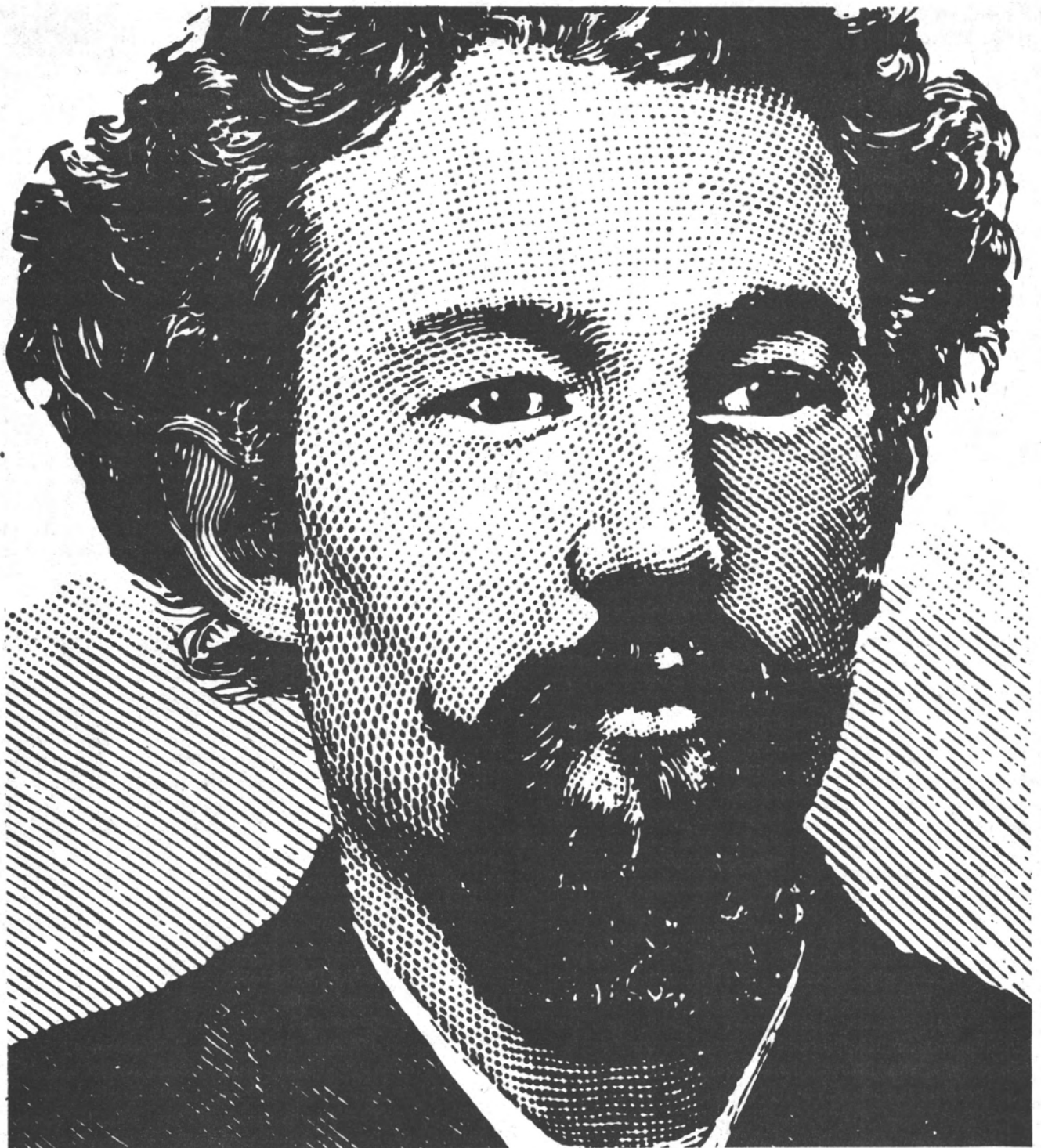
Another split within the libertarian movement centers on “youth culture”: drugs, rock, dress, etc. Almost exclusively, the split is generational, with the over-30's (with the exception of Hess) lined up against the youth culture, and the under-30's (with the exception of dyed-in-the wool Randians) strongly in favor. However, the California youth lead their generation in pushing youth culture as a supposedly mandatory part of the libertarian struggle; a similar but less important split centers on Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation, both of which are pushed strongly by the CLA youth. California is also the home of such bizarre variants as “retreatism”—the dream of small groups for eluding the State by buying (or even making!) their own island, or even moving into caves underground.

Necessarily little-known in the rest of the country, but probably with relatively the greatest influence within its own is the right-libertarian movement in Hawaii. Led by Bill Danks, a graduate student in American history at the University of Hawaii, the movement there managed to gain control of a major radio station, KTRG. For two years, KTRG beamed libertarian programs at their many thousands of listeners for many hours each night. However, the FCC, in a flagrant though unknown example of political repression, has cracked down and taken away the license of the station, and Danks as well as the heads of KTRG have been indicted for violation of the 1970 census! These are the only indictments so far for the high crime of refusing to answer questions on the census. Danks, affiliated with SIL, was head of SIL's Census Resistance '70 in the state of Hawaii.

Another emerging activity in the movement is the National Taxpayers' Union, headquartered in Washington, D.C. Headed by James Davidson, publisher of SIL's *The Individualist*, and Wainwright Dawson, Jr., a former conservative who has merged his United Republicans of America into the NTU, the organization includes among its officers and advisors Murray Rothbard, A. Ernest Fitzgerald, and the distinguished socialist-anarchist Noam Chomsky.

As “left” and “right” categories dissolve and become increasingly meaningless on the American ideological scene, as young people, with the collapse of both the SDS-Left and the liberal “consensus,” grope toward a new philosophy and a new orientation, the emerging phenomenon of right-libertarianism may be destined for an important role in American life. If that happens, left-pacifists should not be very distressed, for this would mean an important thrust toward the dismantling of the war machine, the imperial expansion, and the domestic Leviathan of the giant American State. ■





I despise you,  
I despise your order,  
your laws,  
your force-propped  
authority.

Hang me for it!

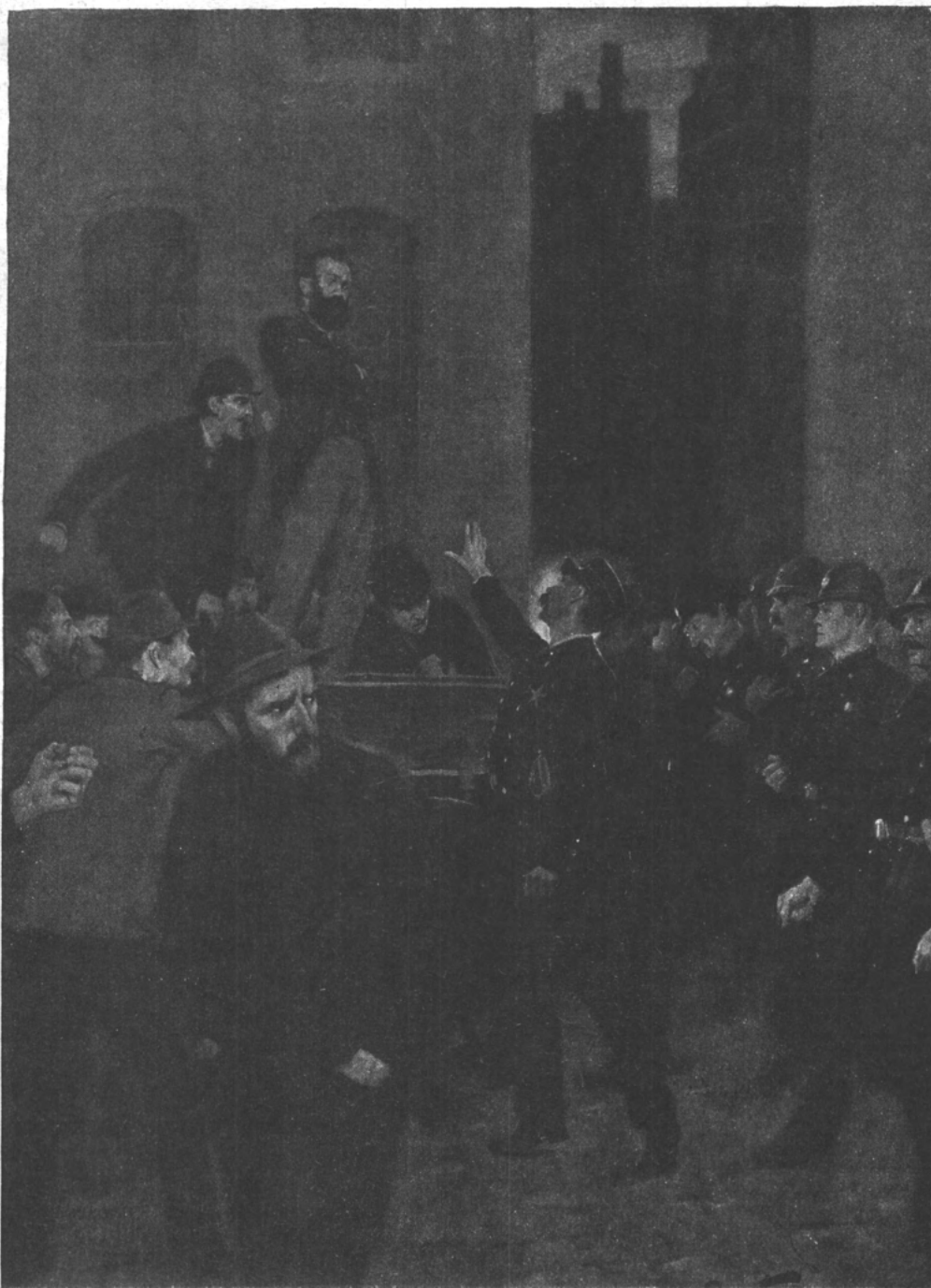
-- Louis Lingg

# your right to be against war

by Leonard Liggio

Once upon a time, until a half century ago, there existed in America a mass, radical movement which I call the Original Left. During the early decades of the twentieth century it centered among those movements whose roots went back to the Abolitionists: the Populists, the Anti-Imperialist League, and the Socialist party. These Abolitionist roots included both the Thoreau and the John Brown varieties (indeed Thoreau and Brown both viewed each other's work as part of the single activity), and rested in the radicalism of the Jacksonian, Jeffersonian, Anti-Federalist, and Sons of Liberty activists.

The Original Left was geographically well-distributed across the United States, having as strong representation in the Middle West and the Great Plains as on the East and West Coasts. This meant the strength of great diversity within unity; it was successful because it was a decentralized movement able to reflect the real needs of peoples in various regional cultures. That radical movement came together as a result of common opposition to American imperialism in the Spanish-American war, especially the U.S. suppression of the Philippines independence movement. Anti-imperialism and anti-militarism were the





defining characteristics of the Original Left.

Additionally, the elements of the Original Left shared a common response to the massive changes in economic institutions that occurred during the early twentieth century. Then there was a consolidation of the state capitalism (or state socialism, take your choice) that had long been important in the American political economy. Gabriel Kolko in *The Triumph of Conservatism* has best described this development: "Laissez-faire never existed in an economy where local and federal governments financed the construction of a significant part of the railroad system, and provided lucrative means of obtaining fortunes. . . The history of the relationship between business and government until 1900 was one that could only inspire confidence in the minds of all too many businessmen . . . (and) the federal government, rather than being a source of negative opposition, always represented a potential source of economic gain . . . Progressivism was initially a movement for the political rationalization of business and industrial conditions . . . the regulation itself was invariably controlled by leaders of the regulated industry, and directed toward ends they deemed acceptable or desirable . . . Such domination was direct and indirect, but significant only insofar as it provided means for achieving a greater end—political capitalism. Political capitalism is the utilization of political outlets to attain conditions of stability, predictability, and security—to attain rationalization—in the economy."

The consistent anti-imperialism and anti-militarism of the Original Left led to its major collision with the U.S. government. The entry of the U.S. into World War I led to major war resistance activity; opposition to the government found important spokesmen in the Congress. (Congresswoman Jeannette Rankin had the honor of leading the opposition to the declarations of war in 1917 and 1941; she was a Republican from Montana). The Socialist party and its press was the major focus for government repression. Along with Lenin's Bolshevik party, Debs' Socialist party was unique among Western socialist parties in opposing its government's war-making. Since both the Bolsheviks and the American Socialists were not orthodox Marxist socialists, they were not hoodwinked either by cooption or the liberal propaganda image of the Allies. (Excellent studies on these events have been written by James Weinstein and by Ronald Radosh.)

As the war progressed, the periodicals of the non-socialist Original Left were subjected to seizures by the government. This was due in part to their refusal to join the newly launched anti-communist crusade of the U.S. government following the October Revolution and the Soviet denunciation of the war. (Because of their criticism of U.S. policy toward the Soviet Revolution, senators such as LaFollette, Borah and Johnson were called "Bolshevik spokesmen in America.") To counter the influence of the Soviet Revolution on European labor, the govern-

ment sent U.S. labor leader Samuel Gompers to Europe. The *Nation* was confiscated for its criticism of Gompers' role. The article which caused this action was "What American Labor Does Not See", (August 24, 1918) by Albert Jay Nock. Since Nock was the foremost intellectual figure on the Old Right, it is useful to quote him: "From the point of view of the state, on the broadest interpretation of Machiavelli's maxim that it is the first duty of the state to keep itself rich and its people poor, modern war is coming increasingly to appear an extremely hazardous enterprise . . . Modern war needs so much material and so many men, not only as fighters but as labor-motors, that when practiced on even a moderate scale the demand presses heavily on the supply, and labor approximates something like the terms of a monopoly. This is extremely bad for the state. As an organization of what some Continental economists call the "political means" of satisfying human desires—namely, the appropriation of the fruit of others' labor without compensation—obviously the state cannot suffer such an encroachment of the "economic means" without great and permanent detriment . . . The state, accordingly, must keep continuously to the minimum of concession and compromise, meanwhile using every force of sentiment and persuasion to secure from labor a maximum voluntary surrender of advantages . . . The Government has given trade unionism precisely what trade unionism has all these years been asking for, and given it with no mean or reluctant hand . . . and by so doing, without forfeiture of a single essential prerogative of its own, it has earned the gratitude and allegiance of organized labor in perpetuity. In short, it has done with trade unionists what Germany did with the old-time Marxians in the early days of the Confederation, and with the result, here as there, that the power and prestige of the state will be immeasurably enhanced. The Wilson Administration deserves credit for this admirably wise and forethoughtful performance as probably its greatest achievement . . . The consequence is that American trade unionism has and will have nothing whatever to offer in the councils of international labor; it has abdicated its place of vantage in favor of the state . . . The war has stimulated Continental labor to a diligent study of the history and philosophy of state development . . . Immediately after the revolution, Russian labor brought forth the magnificent idea of a purely administrative and non-political government, and, albeit with every man's hand against it, set to work manfully to realize the conception. American trade unionism meets all this with disquisitions on collective bargaining and the virtues of the union label. This self-immolation of labor is immeasurably advantageous to the state. It is an indispensable preliminary to the free exercise of all the state's traditional means of self-defence and instruments of self-aggrandizement. It opens the way for a regime of high protective tariffs, state-directed industry of the Prussian type, financial control of domestic and



foreign policy, violent competition for foreign markets—in a word, for imperialism.”

One can easily see in this critique by Nock the seeds of the future Old Right and its critique of the New Deal's NRA, cooptation of unions, militarism and collective security. Nock along with Oswald Garrison Villard, Francis Neilson, Harry Elmer Barnes and others provided the intellectual support outside of Congress for Senators such as Borah, LaFollette and Johnson who formed the senatorial Battalion of Death against the Versailles treaty. The League of Nations and the collective security concept were viewed as the Western powers' instrument for enshrining the whole imperialist system. It was this central concern against militarism and collective security that these Senators and intellectuals of the Original Left carried with them when they became the Old Right. Finally, one of the major achievements of the Original Left was its defeat of the repression which was unleashed on the country during and after the first world war.

Sidney Lens in *The Futile Crusade* contrasts the suppression of liberties during the deep conflict over U.S. intervention in the first world war followed by the successful restoration of traditional freedoms, with the general conformity to U.S. intervention into the second world war followed by post-war deprivation of traditional freedoms during the Cold War. Lens notes: “It is all the more striking, therefore, that today [1964]—when there is so little challenge from the left—that there should be so continuing a state of repression . . . Never has there been less pressure from radicalism.” During and after the first world war, the Original Left engaged in every form of resistance to the government's repression. Because of this resistance the government's repression was essentially defeated and not institutionalized. But, the second world war witnessed not only the growth of repression, of which the Old Right was one of the major victims, but also its institutionalization due to the failure of the successors of the Original Left to engage directly in resistance to repression.

Since Sidney Lens wrote about the depth of the repressive system in the U.S., it has come under its strongest challenge in a half century. The increasing confrontations with authority that have developed in the past half dozen years have had the effect of exposing to huge numbers of Americans the reality of that repressive system and by this awakening has checked its advance. Further, there have been gains in rolling back the repressive institutions as a result of the massive growth in consciousness about them. The repressive institutions are everywhere under siege; they will fall if the present pressures and challenges by the opposition are maintained.

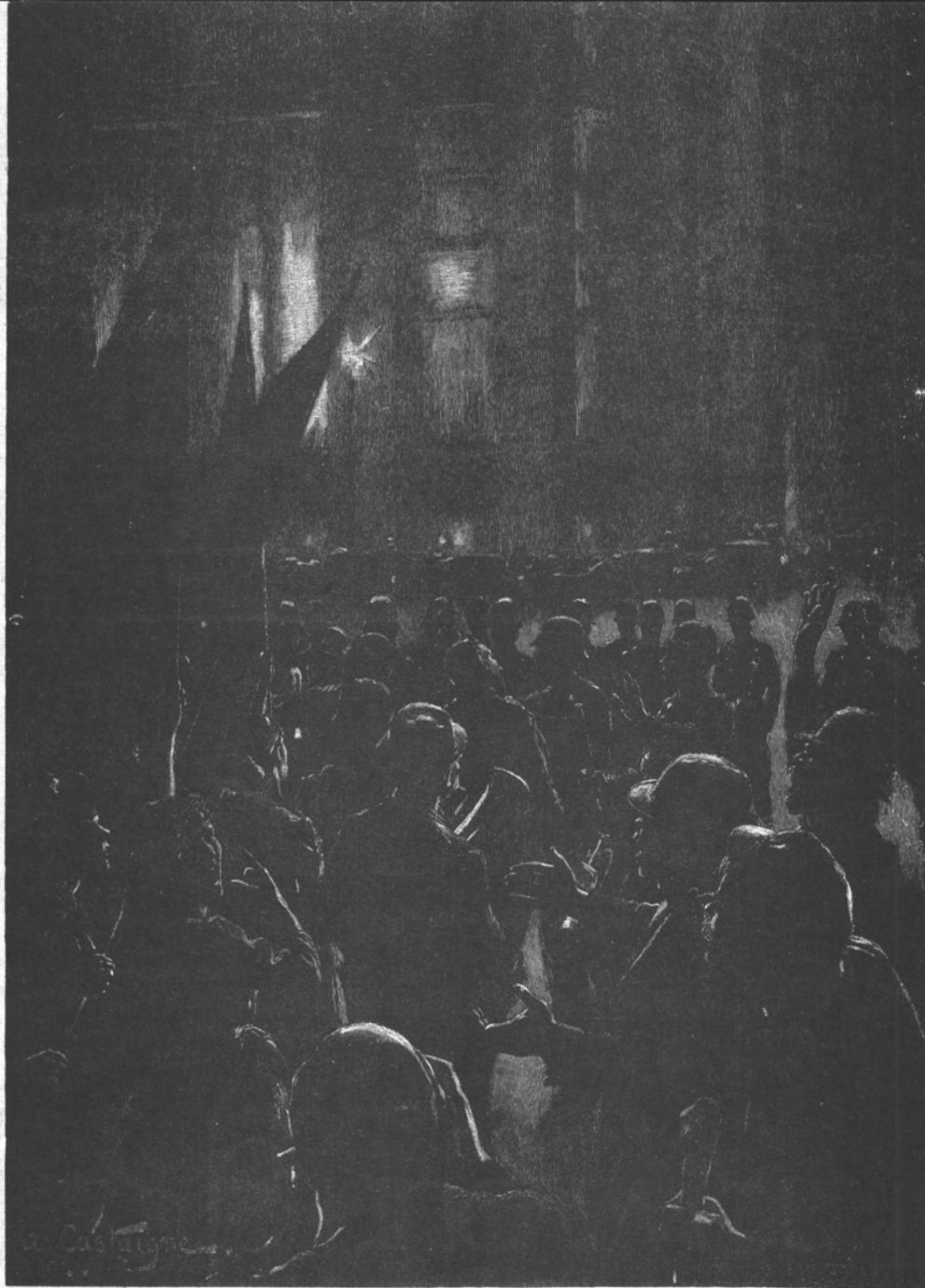
The post-second world war failure to continue the Original Left's example and struggle against repression was due in large measure to major divisions among the Original Left. One facet was the split of the Socialist party and the formation of a Communist Party. This became important after

1932 and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt, since the Communist Party became a major element in the New Deal coalition. (This role of the Communist Party is discussed most recently by Eugene Genovese in *National Review*, December 1, 1970.) Because the Socialist Party in 1932 received almost a million votes, and because it and the populist, progressive formations across the country, represented in Congress by Senators like Borah, Nye, Johnson, and LaFollette, presented a radical critique of the New Deal, the New Deal coalition sought the destruction of these successors of the Original Left. The Communist Party was the New Deal's effective instrument because it could use its revolutionary image to support liberal corporatism and divide the base of the Original Left. (A valuable collection of essays relating to these developments is *For A New America*, edited by James Weinstein and David Eakins.) Thus, the radical critique of New Deal policies was portrayed as a right-wing opposition.

Collective security was central to the New Deal already in Roosevelt's first term, and criticism of it by Socialists and progressives was recognized to be radical. But, by 1941, this recognition had been reversed. Support for New Deal interventionism came from liberals who had previously accepted the Original Left's critique of American imperialism and militarism; allied with the liberals were the social democrats. A proscription against the radical critics of interventionism took place; Oswald Garrison Villard, Charles Beard, Harry Elmer Barnes, Albert Jay Nock, John T. Flynn et al were removed as columnists of liberal publications. A solid New Deal apparatus excluded them from their traditional audiences. There truly was a black-out.

However, the progressives in the Senate were able to rally their supporters from the Middle West to the Pacific northwest against interventionism. Since these progressives were in the Republican party, its institutions in Washington and in the states became the base of operations. In this way the populist and progressive voters became the mass base for the Old Right which emerged in the 1930's in opposition to New Deal interventionism. Barnes, Beard, Nock, Flynn et al became the major intellectual figures in the Old Right. Closely allied with this Old Right was Normal Thomas and the principled socialists. Thomas later (“Who are the Liberals?” *American Mercury* (November, 1947) noted the contrast between the so-called liberals who supported the war, conscription, domestic repression, FBI investigations, and concentration camps and deportation of one hundred thousand Americans of Japanese ancestry, and the opposition borne by the Old Right, including “Senator Taft who spoke out most openly concerning various aspects of conscription and the treatment of the Japanese-Americans.”

The debate during the 1930's and 1940's over interventionism vs. non-interventionism was the distinguishing factor between the Old Left (supporters of the New Deal including liberals, com-



munists and social democrats) and the Old Right (the non-socialist radical critics of the New Deal). Noam Chomsky has provided a very useful analysis of some of these issues in "The Revolutionary Pacifism of A.J. Muste: On the Backgrounds of the Pacific War," in *American Power and the New Mandarins*; Arthur Ekirch, Jr. gives excellent detailed treatment of this period in *The Decline of American Liberalism, The Civilian and the Military* and *Voices in Dissent*.

Similarly, when American interventionism in the second world war slipped into the Cold War it was the Old Right—Beard, Barnes et al—who made the early radical critiques (Beard, *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War*, and Barnes, *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*). The burden of

early opposition to the Cold War was borne by the Old Right because even though some supporters of the New Deal opposed the Cold War they had lost their capacity for strong opposition. Many of them became the victims of their own methods. They had used the strongest pressures before and during the second world war to destroy the Old Right opponents of American imperialism and militarism. The Old Right were treated as political untouchables by the liberals, communists and social democrats; then, it was the communists turn, and finally, the liberals themselves. As Ekirch noted: "What many anti-communist liberals overlooked, in the zeal of their often new-found faith, was that a society could create a class of political untouchables only at the peril of being itself affected by the



very virus it sought to isolate . . . The danger rather lay in the assumption that there was a minority class or group of political lepers guilty of so-called wrong thinking. The contention, popular with some liberals, that communism was not heresy but conspiracy, even if true, overlooked the fact that all heresy which went beyond mere academic protest contained the seeds of possible conspiracy and subversion."

Much of the special virulence of anti-communist ideology can be attributed to the Old Left origins of Cold War intellectuals. Lens provides an excellent summary of this development. "Perhaps the most interesting development in the United States since World War II, in terms of power alignment, has been the simultaneous decline of the Left and the conversion of some of its adherents into an anti-communist phalanx . . . many ex-radicals, whose impact was negligible when they were associated with the Left, have gained a new and impressive status by becoming the most fervid proponents of anti-communism . . . Old friends of the Soviet Union with socialist, communist, Trotskyist, or liberal backgrounds, such as Max Eastman, J.B. Matthews, Eugene Lyons, James Burnham, Sidney Hook, and Jay Lovestone, became the intellectual leavening for anti-communism and, in some cases, for ultra-right organizations . . . The establishment, instead of finding resistance to its negative, anti-communist policy, was thus reinforced. Where in the first post war period the establishment's hysteria was counteracted by liberals and radicals, in the second post-war period it was aided and abetted by many radical defectors. The ex-radical, like the civilian militarist, found a new and exciting place in the sun. The phenomenon was so widespread it prompted the witticism from Ignazio Silone that the next war would be fought between the communists and ex-communists."

In addition to the struggle against post-war military-establishment and overseas military commitments, the central focus of Old Right activities was the abolition of the draft. Closely allied with the Old Right were such people as Frederick J. Libby and Rev. John M. Swomley, Jr. (National Council against Conscription—succeeded in preventing universal conscription; failed, except for a few months, to prevent selective conscription). Repeal of conscription was achieved in 1947. But this major victory was negated a year later by the Truman administration; the inability to resist this imposition of tyranny was an important step in the institutionalization of repression in post-war America. Old Right spokesmen such as Senator Robert A. Taft and Representative Howard Buffett sought to oppose the government's proclamation of a Russian menace as a means to create an American garrison state. In advocating the re-establishment of the draft, the government used such developments as the situation in Czechoslovakia. Taft responded (March 12, 1948): "But let me say that I myself know of no particular indication of Russian inten-

tions to undertake military aggression beyond the sphere of influence which was originally assigned to the Russians. The situation in Czechoslovakia is indeed a tragic one; but the Russian influence has been predominant in Czechoslovakia since the end of the war. The Communists are merely consolidating their position in Czechoslovakia; but there has been no military aggression, since the end of the war."

Taft continued this criticism when NATO was formed. He opposed America's arming of Europe since the Soviet Union had not shown any aggressive intent. He felt that NATO would increase world tension and require stronger moves by the Soviet Union in its self-defense. "In Europe the building up of a great army surrounding Russia from Norway to Turkey and Iran might produce a fear of invasion of Russia or some of the satellite countries regarded by Russia as essential to the defense of Moscow." When the Korean war occurred, Taft strongly opposed U.S. intervention. The Old Right "condemned U.S. participation in Korea as unconstitutional and provided that the only funds available for overseas troop shipment should be funds necessary to facilitate the extrication of U.S. forces now in Korea." Taft protested that the use of the UN for the objectives of American imperialism in Korea violated the UN charter as well as the US constitution. In the final statement on foreign policy made before his death, Taft was particularly concerned with Dulles' Southeast Asia policy because the US was underwriting seventy percent of the costs of the war against the movement led by Ho Chi-minh. Taft feared that Dulles' policy would lead to US intervention in Indo-China and—the worst of all possibilities to Taft—the sending of American troops to Vietnam to fight the guerrillas.

By the mid-1950's the Old Right, just as the Old Left, had passed into history. A New Right, along with a New Left, came into existence. The New Right was founded upon support for militarism, interventionism and imperialism; it was the exact opposite of the Old Right. On the other hand, the New Left embodied most of the major positions of the Old Right. When New Right publications rejected Old Right material critical of US intervention in the second world war and the Cold War, it was published in *Liberation* (see "America's Entry into World War II" by Jeannette Rankin and Edmund Wilson, *Liberation*, March, 1958; and the articles of Harry Elmer Barnes, *Liberation*, Summer, 1958 and Summer, 1959). William Appleman Williams in his *Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (1959) favorably described the Old Right critique of American imperialism; *Studies on the Left* was launched with articles critical of New Deal foreign policy and analysis of the role of such Old Right stalwarts as Senator Borah. The editors of *Studies* had a full understanding of the role of the Old Right and the continuity of its concepts in the New Left. The current struggle to abolish the draft and to limit the government's war-making power has its strongest intellectual roots in the Old Right. ●





P

erhaps the most vital thing about the New Left is that it is not all Left. Nowhere is this more true than in the New Left's economics. It is even possible that contemporary radical economics owes as much to a bunch of economists known as the Chicago School as it does to traditional leftist economics. This is especially true if the seldom-explicit economic theories of the people building communes and other alternative enterprises and of street entrepreneurs are considered as important as the theoretical pronouncements that have appeared in such places as *New Left Notes*.

The name of the Chicago School comes from the fact that many of the members of the school either teach or have been trained at the University of Chicago. The best-known member of the Chicago School, particularly because he alternates with Paul Samuelson and Henry Wallich in writing *Newsweek's* economics column, is Milton Friedman. The School also owes a great deal to Friedman's colleague at the University of Chicago, George Stigler, and to another UC economist, the late Henry Simons, who can be regarded as the founder

## libertarian economics

of the School. Simon's *Economic Policy for a Free Society* (University of Chicago Press, 1948) is a classic that anyone with a serious interest in libertarian economics should read. Among other things, it presents the best libertarian critique of syndicalism that I know of. Anarchists who are inclined toward syndicalism or communalism will have to come to grips with this critique before they can become wholly convincing.

Although establishment economists tend to be at least politely tolerant of socialist economics and the Marxist critique of monopoly capitalism, they show great uneasiness over the ideas of the Chicago School. Back in the days when I was still sort of a half-baked Marxist, this was one of the first things that made me realize what a threat the Chicago School represented to the conventional wisdom of established economics.

Part of the reason the Chicago School is regarded as such a threat is that its subscribers are such good economists technically. Some of the theoretical heavies of Cambridge and Berkeley have found out the hard way what a truly devastating job Chicago

by Henry Bass

can do to a hasty book from an opposing viewpoint.

But the main reason the Chicago School is regarded as such a threat is that its ideas are rather radical. Most of the ideas of contemporary left-liberal economists, by comparison, are pretty tame. Contemporary left-liberals talk about such things as medicare for people under 65, government ownership of the railroads and perhaps other such industries, expanded foreign aid, more money for public schools, etc. The establishment government or corporate bureaucrat has to be pretty square to object to any of this. What does a bureaucrat care if his pay check comes from the government rather than from the Penn Central? As a matter of fact, I would think that the greater security and reduced hustle would appeal to him.

The ideas of the Chicago School also represent something of a threat to the bureaucratic elite and the governmental protection of its privileged position because a significant part of the program of the Chicago School involves withdrawing the public wealth squandered on this elite in the form of government subsidies, defense contracts, and the like.

The program of the Chicago School (as presented by Friedman in *Capitalism and Freedom*, University of Chicago, 1962) is pretty simple. The primary things he calls for are as follows:

1. ending agricultural price supports;
2. ending all tariffs and trade quotas;
3. abolition of detailed government regulation of industry through such agencies as the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Communications Commission, etc., as well as reduction of the powers of the Federal Reserve Board;
4. abolition of licensure requirements to practice various trades, including medicine;
5. abolition of public housing, using the money saved for rent subsidies or, better still, for a contribution to a guaranteed annual income provided by a negative income tax;
6. abolition of welfare departments, using the money saved for a guaranteed annual income;
7. phasing out public schools, replacing them with certificates to students to pay tuition at the private, parochial, or "free" school of their choice;
8. abolition of peacetime conscription;
9. abolition of rent control, minimum wage legislation, and social security;
10. (no Chicago list of powers to be taken away from the Government is ever quite exhaustive.)

Most liberals agree with some of Friedman's proposals. It is easy to be against agricultural price supports, which make the rich farmer richer and which, by raising the price of farm land, make it difficult for poor people to acquire decent land. It

is easy to be for free trade. Most of us are delighted by any assistance to the economic growth of countries like Japan that trade with America may bring about. It is not even all that hard to accept a few of Friedman's more radical proposals (unless you are a caseworker or anti-poverty official) like abolishing welfare departments, the war on poverty, public housing, etc., and simply giving the money to the poor.

Liberals are usually horrified by the rest of Friedman's proposals. On first hearing them, liberals frequently go away in disgust rather than waiting around to hear Friedman's arguments. They assume that because he is against minimum wage legislation imposed by the state he is for low wages, that because he is against social security he is against a decent standard of living for the old, that because he is against the government's saying who can be a doctor he thinks anyone can be a doctor. Clearly they misunderstand him. Friedman is for high wages, but he thinks the way to get them is (1) to have a useful skill, (2) for there to be enough competitive potential employers that they will bid against each other for his services.

Friedman feels minimum wage legislation is simply ineffective since a businessman will hire if and only if it is profitable for him to do so. People get paid well because of their power in the market either as individuals or as members of a union. The government cannot give them this power simply by passing a law saying that they have it any more than they can make catnip as valuable as pot simply by passing a law declaring it to be as valuable. The chief effect of minimum wage legislation, consequently, has been to increase unemployment among those with very little skill.

Although Friedman is against social security, he is not against helping poor old people. The old poor would be helped like the rest of the poor by the guaranteed annual income that would be provided through the negative income tax for those with less than a certain minimum income. A poor person shouldn't starve just because he is 20 and not 67. Friedman objects to social security since it forces you to buy a retirement policy from the government. (The government has the use of your money for 40 years to pay for wars, etc.) Friedman feels that you should be able to buy a retirement policy from whomever you choose—the Prudential Insurance Company, the Salvation Army, or even WRL (if it decided to go into the business.)

The Friedman proposal that is most controversial is getting the government out of the business of regulating medicine. In his defense, of eliminating government inspectors, Friedman first argues that government inspection is usually not carried out effectively. In the second place, Friedman feels that competition is a more effective check against abuses. If under legalized prostitution some whore houses were unsafe, their competitors would be quick to tell their customers.



It is in the economic interest of the government inspector to be lax. Like the Pentagon general who is rewarded for his laxity in enforcing government contracts with a Lockheed job on his retirement, government inspectors would have a built-in incentive to be lax. However, a warehouse would have a built-in incentive to be careful. After all, its reputation would be one of its chief assets.

Friedman also believes that if someone wants to take his chances with a firm of unproved reputation, that is his privilege. If he gets the clap he can always sue for his medical bill. In any event, the government has no right to deny him his freedom to gamble on a questionable prostitute, questionable LSD, or what not. Friedman feels that the state should refrain from taking away any of the alternatives.

Friedman is equally serious when he argues that the state should not say who is entitled to practice medicine. In fact, he attaches considerable importance to his belief on this matter since he regards a person's stand on medical licensing as an acid test of whether he is really a libertarian. Friedman recognizes that some medical jobs demand considerable skill but feels that the state is not the best judge of either levels of skill or which jobs require which levels. He feels that, indeed, the chief effect of medical licensure is to hold down the supply of medical personnel, with tragic results. It is irrelevant how well trained doctors are if there are so few of them that you don't get to see one. Part of Friedman's argument is that some expertise is better than none, and that the individual should decide for himself when he wants to compromise by taking medical help that might be less than completely skillful. Besides, many medical jobs—stitching up a wound, setting a broken limb, and handing out prescriptions for antibiotics—don't demand nearly as much training as a doctor gets.

But what about brain surgery? Granted, the dentist, athletic trainer, veterinarian, or Christian Science practitioner is admittedly rarely qualified for this. However, most MDs are incompetent at brain surgery, too. Before employing a brain surgeon, you look around for someone of proven skill. You'd still do this if there were no legal requirement that he be an MD. And the best man available for your operation under such a system might not, in fact, turn out to be an MD. He might have acquired the necessary training some other way—as a Ph.D. research type, as an apprentice to another brain surgeon, etc. Even if there were no government regulation, the average person could not get employed as a brain surgeon, just as the average person cannot get employed as a quarterback by the Jets even though there is no law that prevents the Jets from employing anyone they choose.

In the end, anarchists and left libertarians will not be able to rely entirely on the Chicago School. They will need a developed economic theory of workers' control

which, though it will use some of the libertarian insights of Chicago, will be somewhat original. Only one economist that I know of is working on this all-important problem—Jaroslav Vanek of Cornell. His first book on the subject, *The General Theory of Labor-Managed Economies* (Cornell University Press, 1970) is highly theoretical and consequently inaccessible to the average radical. A somewhat more popular account, *The Participatory Economy: An Evolutionary Hypothesis and Development Strategy*, is scheduled for publication by Cornell some time in the spring. From the preliminary knowledge I have now of Vanek's work it will be extremely important in getting us started on the development of general economic theory for an economy based on workers' control. Although inspired by the embryonic version of workers' control in Yugoslavia, Vanek basically realizes that workers' control is something in the future and that the present Yugoslav example is at best an interesting first step.

The central stultifying characteristic of the present-day American economy is its domination by private and public bureaucracies. Orthodox Marxists propose that we deal with this problem by having a dictatorship of the proletariat seize the power now held by these bureaucracies. Revisionist Marxists and democratic socialists propose that we instead devise a system in which we elect the bureaucratic honchos or in which the bureaucratic honchos even poll us on this or that. Chicago School economists, New Left libertarians and anarchists share the belief that instead of trying to seize the bureaucracies or working out schemes to control them we should abolish them or at least drastically reduce their power. Anarchists especially feel that it is inherently impossible to control a bureaucracy: only elimination will affect them.

Much of the left still tries to get its economics from Marx in spite of the fact that Marx is now a century out of date. Marx himself would be the last person to be going around parroting his old theories. After all, when he was still alive Marx rebuffed his rote disciples, saying, "I am not a Marxist."

We need a new radical economics to cope with an entirely different world than the mid-nineteenth century. Such a radical economics will owe something to the traditional leftist vision and its insistence on equality. It will also owe something to those like Vanek who are trying to extend and expand the ideas of workers' control. And it will owe something to radical economists working on particular problems who don't get involved in big issues like this. Finally, a new radical economics will owe something to fields other than economics, such as radical social psychology, radical city planning, radical political science, etc. The possibilities from such a synthesis look very exciting indeed.

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Nothing sums up the problems of right-wing libertarianism better than a few right-wing libertarians. To know them is to despair of their cause, no matter how worthy its many theoretical positions. In theory they often sound grand. I used to think I did, as a matter of fact. In practice they often are sheer disaster.

There is the notable example, for instance, of Harvey Hukari, the Stanford student selected by *The Wall Street Journal* as the very personification of libertarianism in an article they ran on the subject last year.

This lad's claim to fame is that during student attacks against the Stanford Research Center some years ago, he voluntarily worked with the police in identifying, for arrest, student militants. He is proud of it. He is acclaimed for it by others who call themselves libertarians. He has but a single regret, as he never tires of announcing to audiences who throb to the repetition. His regret is that he did not sell the identifications to the highest bidder, rather than simply volunteering them.

Does this simply mean that libertarians believe in selling people's lives, the way they believe in free-marketing everything else? Not quite. Mr. Hukari was not only attempting to destroy militants, he also was actively **supporting**, by his lights, that founding principle of right-wing libertarianism **PRIVATE PROPERTY**. When it comes to property, as a matter of fact, it apparently doesn't even matter if it is private or not, right-wing libertarians will rush to its defense, willy-nilly.

Observe the property that Mr. Hukari was defending by working with the police. First, of course, he was defending the legitimacy of the police and the state that employs them. He has, as do all libertarians, a highly developed theory about how much he hates the state but, as with right-wing libertarians generally, he has no disposition whatsoever to put theory into practice. When it comes to the way he lives his life, Mr. Hukari, as his working with the police sharply indicates, is statist through and through.

Secondly, Mr. Hukari was defending Stanford Research, a prototypical example of the way in which the Federal government—the **STATE**, Mr. Hukari—establishes 'private businesses' to do state

## what's left?

by Karl Hess



work outside of the limitations of ordinary state restraints in regard to salaries and so forth. Stanford Research is simply a creature of the state and no one with less blurred vision than Mr. Hukari could possibly mistake it for anything else.

Supposing that Mr. Hukari is a typical libertarian, which the usually careful *Wall Street Journal* does suppose, what is there about libertarianism that makes it different from ordinary conservatism of the Bill Buckley variety? Well, for one thing, Bill Buckley hates libertarianism because, as his magazine has pointed out, libertarians are opposed to armed intervention or imperialism—by the state. There is a fairly well-developed libertarian argument that approves of armed intervention if the service of intervention is rendered by a private and profit-making organization. This would suppose that such an organization (recognizing that some benighted people somewhere needed outside intervention to help their cause) would offer to provide those services for such-and-such an amount, would sign a contract, organize an army, and, zowie, go off to war with the banner of free private enterprise flapping in the breeze of their righteousness.

The difference, then, between Buckley and the libertarians, is that the conservatives think that the people should be taxed to pay for the armed forays (excepting, of course, people rich enough or privileged enough to avoid taxes) whereas the libertarians just think that the clients should pay for it. Neither gives any consideration at all to the notion that the armed aggression is itself a dubious enterprise. It's okay with Buckley if it's approved by a duly constituted leader or leaders. It's okay with the libertarians if it turns a buck. At least, I must say, the libertarian theory, by supposing a free market, gives room for the possibility that the people involved in the action (the soldiers and the 'clients') would also have been involved in the decision. The conservative view reserves all such important decisions for elites.

It is particularly awkward for anarchists to be either identified with or confronted by libertarians. First there is the recollection that many anarchists (I am one) came to their position through libertarianism, through being like Harvey Hukari, as a matter of fact, theoretically opposed to the state and yet actively supporting it at every real turn. One can get over that, however, after the ten thousandth time some libertarian tells you that although he certainly is opposed to the state, he certainly also supports the police because they protect private property, that he doesn't like the draft but he certainly wants to see those dirty reds shot up in Vietnam, that he hates restraints on business but he certainly can see why you have to restrain dissent, that he will write ten thousand letters denouncing subsidies to the poor but, well, the situation regarding General Motors is too complex to put in the same category and so forth.

The confrontations often come in concrete situations. Libertarians, by and large, believe in obeying all laws pertaining to property. When they

see leftists, including anarchists, demonstrating in such ways as to threaten property, they swing naturally to the side of the police and thus it becomes a not uncommon sight to see anarchist enemies of the state on one side of the police barricade and libertarian enemies of the state on the other.

There is one sweeping example of everything mentioned so far. It is the example of the difference between Ayn Rand, the author of that very exciting tactical novel, *Atlas Shrugged*, and the action of the novel itself. It is a proper example because the novel is significant to and discussed as an important philosophical statement by so many libertarians and virtually all so-called right-wing libertarians.

The novel is exciting because it hammers away at the theme of a general strike by productive and creative people, a sort of 'new working class' conglomeration. Basically it boils down to a strike of workers against administrators—with the central character going about the countryside, like a non-smoking Tim Leary, getting scientists and inventors, and entrepreneurs, to drop out, thus leaving the administrators and the politicians with the impossible (for them) task of running the machines of an industrial age. It is a sort of New Left fantasy couched in *laissez-faire* capitalist terms. And it includes such actions as these: systematic sabotage of the 'system', actual armed forays against government facilities, the killing of a government guard, and a general preachment that those who remain any part of the system, even if they hate it, actually serve and support it. Nice going. Very revolutionary. Actually smart. Thoroughly desirable, it seems to me.

So much for the rhetoric. How about the reality? Ayn Rand has said publicly that she would not advocate resistance to the draft because such advocacy would be illegal. Is she afraid of being arrested and thus reluctant on grounds of some sort of enlightened self interest? Hardly probable. The chances of her being arrested seem slight or, if arrested, the chance of her making a grand public point, the way her fictional (alas, wholly fictional) characters do would be great. Also, she holds that the office of the Presidency is the highest and most honorable a person can hold, thus displaying a statist mystique which is wondrous to behold in a woman who, otherwise, writes that the individual person, not some elected representative, is supreme. Finally, she takes the side of the police against the students demonstrating at, say, Columbia because of the private property being attacked. Private property! A hunk of real estate ripped off by a monarchical edict and now preserved by arrangement with the state and amply subsidized by it!

Examples of libertarian awe in the face of state or corporate power could go on forever. What this particularly exasperating breed of right-winger really cherishes is the safety of the status quo, the image of personal wealth (not necessarily worth, just wealth) and the moral loftiness of being able to say



that they have hold of some pure form of individualism which leftists and other lowly sorts cannot possibly understand or appreciate. They are, sad to say, romantic poseurs, mostly, in a world of real opportunity—for activist individuals.

Others spend their time mooning about the great possibilities of displacing the state by initiating non-state private alternatives. I know one who speaks like a deep conspirator against the establishment, advocates dope dealing as a way to get rich, proposes a private army to carry out war, private police to stop crime—and who works for a defense industry!

The variations go on and on—with a common thread linking them all together, a good perception that the state is coercive, obsolete, and dangerous but with an attendant inability to go beyond rhetoric in doing anything about it or, worse, active support of the state in real life situations.

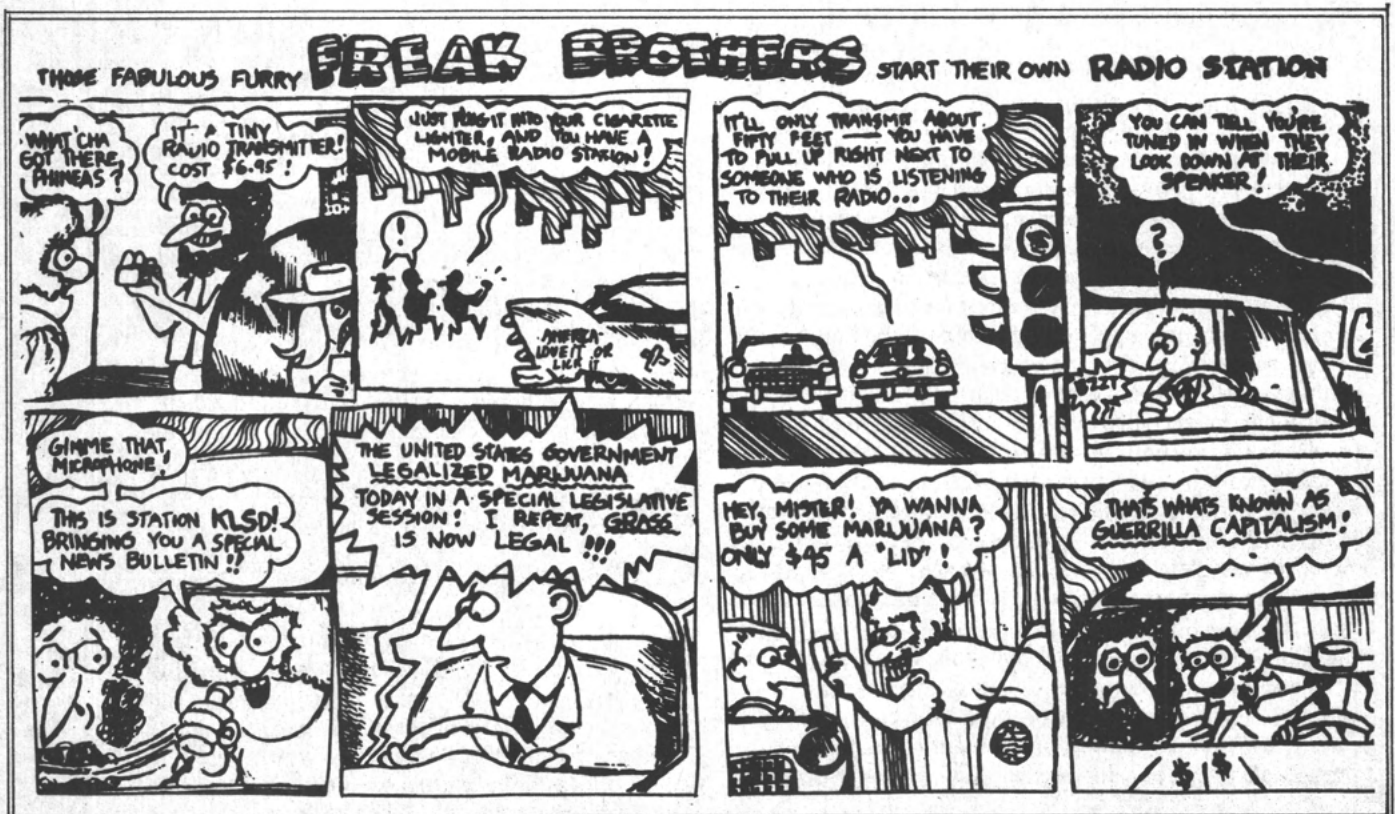
Singled out in this criticism, of course, is a single facet of libertarianism. I happen to feel that it is the main body of that group of persons who call themselves libertarian. I know there are exceptions, and honorable and good ones. These exceptions, however, usually will say that their position is anarchist, that libertarian is just a nice way of

putting it. Others are moving toward anarchism, with libertarianism being a way-station on the trip from conservatism.

It is, therefore, not a position to dismiss at all. Its root principles are good. They are anarchist. They admit of the sort of collectivism which is the result of individuals cooperating together for social ends. They surely admit of the sort of opposition to coercion and injustice which leads to resistance. These are the principles. If many of the people espousing the principles are contradictory, morally unconvinced, and simply posing, that does not degrade the principles and should not deter people of the left from looking seriously at which libertarians are talking, at least talking, about.

Most importantly it should not stop men of the truly libertarian left from looking to the libertarian right for allies and even, eventually, recruits.

It all adds up, I think, to taking people on the basis of what they actually do after you have heard what they say. If libertarians in great numbers ever start acting the way they talk they will have great lessons in resistance and even revolution to teach us all. ■





## on trial for tax resistance

In late February, 1970, I got a new job, in a hospital, and submitted my true W-4 with 3 dependents; a couple of weeks later, having forgotten to claim myself, I submitted a second true W-4 with 4 dependents, so the Federal government was getting none of my money for war. I was accepted for a teaching position in March, 1970, and submitted a true W-4 with about 4 dependents. I was involved in nonpayment for a total of only four months. In mid-April I received a phone call from an IRS agent, Investigations Division, asking for an interview. On April 22, we met at my house: two agents and Kay Halvorson and myself. I was given Miranda warnings and asked whether I would mind their using a tape recorder; I was told that I had the right to have counsel present and that I needn't answer any questions at all.

The questions were straight to the point: had I filled in and signed W-4 forms A, B, and C? Had I written letters A and B to IRS and employers? Had I filled out such and such job applications—stating no dependents and my single status? I answered yes and explained that my dependents were all in the family of man and I was responsible for their lives and deaths—including those on the picture behind me, the victims of the My Lai massacre. I said that such incidents were every day happening in Indochina and that I couldn't allow them to be killed with bullets bought with my tax money; that I didn't want GI's to be thrust into situations where they had to kill or be killed. I answered questions about my birthplace and education and then said that although I had nothing to hide, I felt that we have little enough privacy left and would tell them no more.

I was aware that by answering I made the job easier, but I still feel that if I am to do this openly, I must confront even IRS Intelligence agents on the issue. However, with the experience of court behind me, I think that the use of the recorder, later played in court, would have been helpful because when the prosecution presented its case it simply ran through all my "yes" answers without all my reasons and

explanations on who dependents really are and what entitlement can mean to those of active religious and moral conscience. I don't think cooperation with the interview made me a sure target for indictment. A number of other local people were interviewed during a two or three month period; only two of us were singled out for indictment. Some of the others said less than I.

I was barely informed of the likelihood of prosecution; I was told what the penalties were: they said vaguely that they would go through their usual procedures, whatever that meant.

As far as I know, the only "acquaintances" questioned during the investigation were the personnel people at my jobs and the academic dean. I had been told before the interview by my employers that they had notified IRS. Only at the interview did I become aware that a thorough investigation had taken place.

As far as I know neither Dennis Richter or myself was sent a notice to testify before a grand jury.

I had no advance knowledge of the probability of indictment. It was done on Sept. 27, 1970 while I was in Pendle Hill, Penn. at a nonviolent training conference. After the conference, while visiting friends, I received a call from a friend who said that there had been rumors of an indictment but we still didn't know for what. When I returned in early October my lawyer had called the U.S. Marshalls office and been told that the indictment was for "willfully supplying a false and fraudulent W-4." To prevent surprise arrest and its inconvenience we immediately set a date for arraignment. There was a formal arrest, on the day of arraignment, with the usual fingerprinting, picture-taking, questions about age, occupation. There was no detention since I had gotten release on a personal recognizance bond (\$2000 if I were to split). I can't remember any suggestion that criminal prosecution would be waived if I paid.

Of at least ten people interviewed in the Twin Cities area, only Dennis Richter and myself were indicted, because



we both were political activists, he in Twin Cities Area Alternative Fund, I in Minnesota War Tax Resistance. My name was on literature as a contact; I helped organize April 15 demonstrations and talked with individuals and groups on tax refusal. For a while Kay Halvorson and I were Minnesota War Tax Resistance. Of course many others were doing it already but we were trying to form a community of resisters—and this is what IRS is after, really. Not me. And delightfully enough, resistance cannot be stopped by slowing me down because everyone who is resisting has taken an individual, weighty decision and then happily found that others were doing likewise. Some resisters are reassessing their ability to deal with prison, but no one that I know of has quit and many have hardened in resolve. In this sense the indictments have simply had the effect of getting people to realize more fully the possible consequences of their act—an area that had always been foggy. Of course, it would have been more fun to let the fog remain!

The case was quite thoroughly investigated, including all my tax records from 1965 on and record of my telephone tax refusal and of my arrest on April 14, 1970 when sitting in on a trailer to prevent collection of a motorcycle for \$8 worth of phone tax. That, in fact, may be what bugged IRS enough to be convinced that I was a "troublemaker" beyond the usual variety. And, there were questions by the prosecution, which though rules irrelevant, about my writing of tax resistance articles, calling of meetings to form an Alternative Fund, etc. which led to a final question as to whether I was trying to obstruct collection of taxes and lead others to refuse. So the research was surprisingly thorough and indicates the government's motives, beyond just getting a single refuser, behind the criminal prosecution. Incidentally, two of the articles which I supposedly wrote were Karl Meyer's "An Alternative Fund for Mankind," and the legal-size condensation of that on a single sheet.

The trial was Nov. 4-6. I feel that its chief significance was the publicity and education and new support that it made possible and the long and short term possibilities of challenging and changing the law regarding the taxpayers' voice in allotting the monies. And the latter of course raises the whole big question of "working within the system," which I won't comment on now. Our coverage in local papers, the only I have seen, was good in terms of space and accuracy; reporters were very interested and many were sympathetic. Through them we reached many sympathetic and neutral types not reachable through underground press; many have sent money for defense costs (my lawyers are

contributing their time, but the briefs and transcripts cost lots) and have requested me and other resisters to speak at churches, homes, a group of regional broadcasters, etc. But this is a side-effect and there is no question as to its cost (a trial in exchange for publicity, etc.).

As to challenging the law and the government's virtually unlimited power to tax: this will formally start with appeal, after my sentencing in early-or-mid-December. On the latter we don't really know what to expect. The challenge, briefly, will be based on 1st Amendment freedom of religion clause and 14th Amendment equal protection under law (which conscientious tax refusers, unlike draft CO's don't have.) Also on IR Code's definition and the Court's application "Fraud" and what constitutes a W-4 form (the single slip of paper or also accompanying papers—as is true with other tax information). And a couple of other items too technical to recall, but important to resisters.

Regarding the "fairness" of the court in kind of evidence and testimony allowed, instructions to jury, the court was quite lenient in testimony—I was examined and then cross-examined with lots of statements of my beliefs, motives, etc. by me for about 30 minutes. Not that that is a gift! But what I had to say kept some thoughtful mavericks in the jury pondering for 4-5 hours.

But the judge in his instructions to the jury read IRS laws relevant to fraud and said, as the prosecution had, that there was no question regarding my motivation or sincerity—only whether I had fraudulently claimed too many dependents. Later, when the jury called for new instructions on the 1st and 14th Amendments, the judge disallowed them, saying that the constitutional Amendments were not relevant at this time!

A few words of advice—if we do work through the courts, let's hone up our lawyer-like skills or become lawyers, so we aren't drafting dedicated people from work with black and other poor people. Another important lesson from this case: many of us do W-4 resistance openly, speaking and writing letters to employers and IRS. But IRS is picky! These documents (letter and W-4) should be submitted at the same time, stapled; notation right on the W-4 as to who you think are dependents might be best.

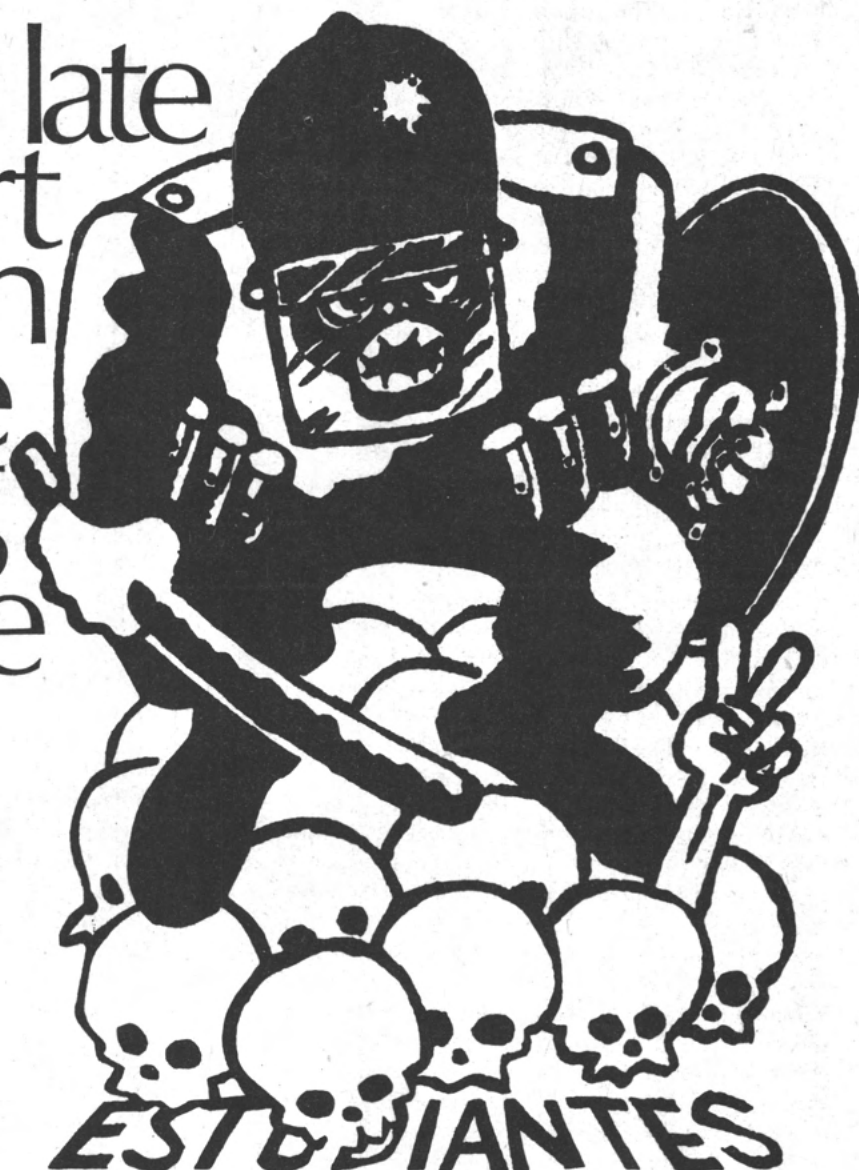
Second, crucial lesson. Fraud, to IRS, is not only deceit which they claimed I had done, despite all letters and conversations. It is simply preventing IRS and Uncle Sam from getting all the money they think you're supposed to have. That's why they define "entitled" on the W-4. So further charges can be expected.

—Sally Buckley



"Are you hiding a Viet Cong in there?"

# late report on the spring offensive



**S**ince the last issue of WIN, in which Bob Greenblatt had reported plans for mass actions in Washington, D.C. on May 1st, a number of changes in planning have taken place. As WIN readers know, the old "National Coalition Against War, Racism, and Repression" came together in Chicago on January 8-10, with close to 400 persons attending. Out of that conference a smaller continuations committee was set up and that met in Detroit on January 3-31 in bitter zero degree weather. The following is a summary of the "agenda" for this spring as it developed out of the Chicago and Detroit meetings.

First, the coalition has taken a new name — **PEOPLES COALITION FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE.**

Second, it is planning nationwide local actions on April 2-4 on issues of social justice, with specific support for the National Welfare Rights Organization, the lettuce boycott, and probably for the Operation Bread Basket Project of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

One of the approved actions will be widespread tax resistance with the money being turned over directly to community needs. (Nixon wants to share federal revenue with the cities and states? We'll help him — we'll share it directly with the community groups that need it most). There may be hunger marches in a number of cities, and families will be asked to try eating on the welfare budget. There may be vigils at city prisons to dramatize the fact that 52% of all men and women now in city jails have not even been convicted of a crime! The range of possibilities is endless, and the peace groups are encouraged to make clear the link between social injustice and the warfare state with signs and slogans urging that we feed our own children rather than kill Vietnamese, etc. Perhaps the following quote from President Eisenhower can help us reach Middle America during these days of protest:

"Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are



not clothed. This is not a way of life at all. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron. Is there no other way the world may live?"

... Eisenhower, 1952

The April days of social action are timed to coincide with the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination, and are meant to stress the need for new national priorities and to prepare the nation for the use of massive nonviolent action in May.

Third, the Continuations Committee has called for "Seven Days in May" to help shake the government and move the nation toward peace. The assumption is that during March and April there will be wide circulation of the Peace Treaty and that May is the time to enforce it. The May 1st date has been given up for any mass action and the calendar now is:

**May 1** Youth and students arrive in Washington from "long marches" (New York, Philadelphia, Richmond, etc.), find housing, go to orientation centers, take part in a youth festival Saturday night. It is a day of arriving and preparing — but no direct action.

**May 2** Mass legal rally in Washington. (And possibly on the West Coast). This rally will not involve any direct action but will be used to prepare the nation (and the demonstrators) for the events of the week ahead. In a sense we are saying to people "Look, you may not be able to join in C.D. during the week, you may not be able to stay away from work or school except for this one day, but join in this rally to let the nation know that you stand behind and support the use of massive nonviolence and then, if you cannot remain in Washington, go home for local actions."

**May 3** "People's Lobby." Taking the peace treaty in hand, thousands will roam through the capitol building, through the State Department, Pentagon, Selective Service Headquarters, HEW, etc., urging government employees to sign the treaty and preparing them for Wednesday. If people are not allowed into buildings, picket lines will be set outside of government buildings.

**May 4** "People's Lobby," second day.

**May 5** "No business as usual." This is a call for actions across America, not just in Washington. In Washington itself an effort will be made to hold a brief rally on a main street and then to move by the thousands to the Capitol building where a nonviolent line will be set up completely surrounding Congress, urging and demanding that it remain in session until it has acted on the Peace Treaty, on the \$5,500 Welfare Budget, and on freeing all political prisoners. This vigil line will remain in place through the night and, for many, for all of the next two days. If the police attempt to break up the rally and/or the vigil lines, we will have to use our nonviolent heads, regroup as quickly as possible, and maintain the vigil line as close to the Capitol building as possible.

We are asking the movement across the nation to have a "moratorium" sense about May 5th, to use it as a day to commemorate the Kent State killings (May 4, 1970) and those at Jackson (May 6, 1970), and to organize nonviolent direct actions at IRS and draft and recruiting offices. Actions will vary a good deal — in one city workers may ask for an hour off, in many colleges and high schools there will be an all-day student strike, in some areas small businesses may close down. But May 5th is not just Washington — it is a peaceful, nonviolent, and in many cases "civil disobedient" way of saying through nationwide actions that the system can't run as long as it bombs children in Indochina.

**May 6** Some will continue the vigil at the Capitol, while others will organize large non-violent actions at the Pentagon, at the Draft Headquarters, at the Justice Department, etc. There is absolute agreement by the Continuations Committee that all actions are to be nonviolent.

**May 7** The same program as May 6th, with a press conference called either that evening or Saturday morning by those still out of jail to announce full support for the next phase of the spring offensive — the May 16th Military Demonstrations planned within the armed forces.

Full material on all these projects is being prepared and will be available. The spring offensive is a heavier trip than we have ever tried before, going far beyond token demonstrations. Your help is needed, in your community and/or Washington.

What about April 24th? The National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), largely dominated by the Socialist Workers Party, has called for nationwide action in Washington on April 24th, action that will be limited entirely to the Vietnam question and which will in no way be linked to civil disobedience. The Peoples Coalition for Peace and Justice has issued a strong appeal to NPAC to join in co-sponsoring the May 2nd mass rally and to give up the plans for April 24th, in order that we can have unity in the movement at least for that day. The May dates are not only more logical (they mark the beginning of last year's Cambodian invasion, they come just at the time of the Kent/Jackson killings) but they also link to the worldwide May actions planned even by fairly moderate trade unions. The April date is artificial and was chosen originally for fear that a mass rally in early May would involve Civil Disobedience. The new coalition has made it clear that there will be no C.D. on May 1st or May 2nd and we are urgently asking the Student Mobilization Committee, NPAC, etc., to unite behind May 2nd. Hopefully WIN readers will press this position in local peace groups.

See you in Washington in May — unless you have set up demonstrations of your own in your local areas, and in that case we shall move together in spirit in the largest action of the American peace movement since the Indochinese war began. Carry it on, give peace a chance. —David McReynolds



It was hard to believe. But the AP newsman on the phone insisted that I had been named a co-conspirator in an alleged kidnapping and bombing plot, which was to make front page news for some time to come. Eqbal Ahmed, Sister Liz McAllister, Fathers Joe Wenderoth, Neil McLaughlin, Tony Skobick, had all been indicted and arrested for conspiracy earlier that evening, with the exception of Fr. Phil Berrigan, who was already serving a six year sentence at Danbury Federal Prison.

These six and three other "co-conspirators" beside myself included people who had long been committed to the nonviolent peace movement. For the first few hours I felt as if I had mistakenly stumbled into some Kafkaesque nightmare. Then it became clear to me that this was nothing less than the Nixon-Mitchell-Hoover version of the American dream.

What follows are a few reflections on some of the personal & political implications of those events. It is hardly a legal analysis of the indictment, which to all appearances is not a very weighty document. As of this writing, due to the harassment of travel restrictions and prison, the six defendants have been prevented from meeting together in order to work on any common legal defense or statement. It would, therefore, seem to be premature to comment on the conspiracy indictment itself other than to say that the only conspiracy that I know about is that of the

American government against the Indo-Chinese, poor and non-white people of the world (and even against middle America).

Many have been amazed or shocked at what should have been apparent to us all along. These conspiracy charges have made crystal clear the willingness of the "Justice" Department to move its repressive focus from extremist groups such as Black Panthers and Weatherpeople to the more "moderate" nonviolent wing of the Movement. If nothing else, it should serve to disillusion the adherents of the "It can't happen here" school of thought.

Not only can it happen here, but it is happening. 1984 is upon us. It is still extremely doubtful as to whether American liberals will learn anything from the experience of Pastor Martin Niemöller in the concentration camps of Nazi Germany. He wrote somewhere (and I am paraphrasing):

"When they came for the trade-unionists, I wasn't a trade unionist, so I didn't say anything. When they came for the Communists, I wasn't a Communist, so I didn't say anything. When they came for the Catholics, I wasn't a Catholic, so I didn't say anything. When they came for the Jews, I wasn't a Jew, so I didn't say anything. So when they finally came for me there wasn't anybody left to say anything."

It does not require a great deal of imagination to substitute Panthers, Weatherpeople, the Chicago 8, Kent & Jackson State, and now the new "Conspirators" in the appropriate slot. Is it so far-fetched to project ourselves into the future and to imagine the new targets of political repression? Will it be placard carrying suburban demonstrators, or NAACP civil rights supporters, or Common Cause workers, or who? One fears that it may be the people who, like Niemöller, could not imagine that they might be next.

My purpose here is not to make cheap rhetorical comparisons between our situation and that of Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, there are enough similarities—and increasingly so—to frighten all but the most naive or Pollyannaish. What, after all, is so astounding about these comparisons when one considers that the U.S. government is actively supporting political repression and torture in Greece, Brazil, Paraguay,



Guatemala, Saigon, and elsewhere? And, yes Virginia, the Gestapo did wear clean white shirts, ties, and trench coats, and probably attended Sunday Mass.

The purpose of these indictments, then, is to strike fear into the heart of the movement (and of the population at large) and to discredit the movement and its issues. We must affirm loudly that there is a bombing plot. It is on the part of the American government and its Air Force to bomb Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia off the face of the earth. After long government denials it is becoming clear even to the media that the war is not being "wound down" but that we have been bombing South Vietnam & Laos, each at the rate of 2½ Hiroshimas per month.

Even the kidnapping charges are not far-fetched. Again, it is our government which is uprooting 200,000 people in the liberated zones of South Vietnam from their villages & sacred soil to those "strategic hamlets" which are nothing more than concentration camps. To assure their not returning, the bulldozers of Corps of Engineers level the huts & trees and literally "peel the earth"—a Vietnamese expression. This is to say nothing of the American young men who are "kidnapped" by the Selective Service System to die and kill in Southeast Asia.

The greatest mistake that Movement people and others could make would be to allow ourselves to be driven into either paranoia or apathy by these charges. Rather, the time has come to address ourselves more forcefully and more clearly to the real issues. Mitchell and Hoover by their creation of these pseudo-issues hope to divert our attention from the real issues of the war, racism, the poor, and the expansionist policy of our Pax Americana.

Perhaps the demonic nature of these conspiracy charges will create a rallying point around which we can mobilize and unite large but divergent groups of people. Is it still possible for us to become a real "movement" in fact rather than in name only? I know that it is the wish of all the people involved—especially of Phil and Dan Berrigan in prison—to be a focal point of greater unity among all kinds of people.

We can do nothing better in this spirit than to support the People's Peace Treaty and the whole Spring Offensive of the New Coalition. At the same time we must escalate our struggle, doing all that we can to keep it both militant and nonviolent. Tax resistance, G.I. organizing, the harboring of political refugees of all kinds, the direct neutralizing of the war machine along with community organizing around all kinds of issues must be maintained and increased.

As a final reflection, one can hardly overlook the irony that most of us involved in this case are priests, nuns, or religious types. This is scarcely an invitation to make this a narrow sectarian issue. It does, however, give one new hope in the tradition of the great Hebrew prophets and in the revolutionary vision of Jesus. If the government really takes us this seriously, then perhaps it is still possible to put new flesh on dead men's bones and to fulfill the dream of returning power to the people.

—Paul Mayer

## DEERHORN VALLEY

*for Rich Parker  
in celebration of his  
first visit from the FBI*

Morning sun is  
scribbled across the face of  
Mother Grundy Peak.  
In the flats  
ceremonies for the arriving  
guests begin.  
A tarantula  
journeys across the yard  
leg over leg over leg.  
Three deer wait at the road,  
the dog coughs.

You offer tangerine juice,  
they decline.  
The Chinese scroll  
echoes their  
metallic movements.  
Buddha rubs his shaven head  
uneasily,  
inscribes their intentions  
with smoke of incense  
on the oval mirror.

You nod and smile.  
There is a certain calmness  
about you  
as you test the armoured  
visitors.  
Last winter you watched  
an oak branch snap  
under the only snow,  
all spring you  
gathered watercress  
at the creek,  
this summer you became  
caretaker of the level  
of the lake.

You are ready.

*Joan Jenson  
September 7, 1969*



## DANCE THE EAGLE TO SLEEP

by Marge Piercy

Doubleday, New York, 1970

Once I opened this book I couldn't put it down until I'd read it all the way through to the last page. It is fascinating reading for people of any age as a serious prophecy, a terrible warning with a faint ring of hope, and as a powerful affirmation of the aims and ideals of revolutionary youth in this country.

The book centers on the lives and relationships among four or five main characters all under 25 and their lives and deaths among many other people the same age. Together they form a revolutionary movement, develop themselves within it, and give their lives for it (in most cases) in an America (the Eagle) of what seems to be the late 1970's when the killing of demonstrators by the police is commonplace and ghetto riots are normally put down by bombing and shelling. At the age of 19 every male goes into his year of service to the government.

In the face of this, rebellious kids in the book come together as high school students (as the Indians) to protect themselves and each other from being sucked dry or killed by the Eagle. Each of the main characters' initiations into the Indians is different and is examined separately. The kids come from varying backgrounds and their relationships to their revolution vary accordingly. They and their friends form themselves into underground packs or tribes in character rather like a cross between the early Christians in Rome (except they are not passive in the face of oppression) and SDS (although they don't seem to have any historically based ideology in particular).

Their chief communion is a ritual dancing. They believe their binding force is love (the main vehicle for which is sex), in the face of oppression. The Indian movement spreads as more and more kids become attracted to it out of a world they hate. The physical situations they find themselves in are very similar to those in which young runaways and radicals find themselves today. The author has only escalated the killing a little in setting the book in the future. The events in this book are too close to what is happening now to be called fantasy or science fiction.

For example: very shortly after the invasion of Cambodia I happened to be on the NY University campus in the Village one afternoon when I came across a very large march of Queens College students arriving to rally around the NYU computer center which had been taken over by the NYU students. The Queens College kids had marched, attempting to block traffic, all the way from their campus, partly on the big parkways and partly detoured some distance on smaller streets in Brooklyn by police. At least twice while

crossing bridges on their way into the city police cars, without using horns, lights, or sirens rammed through crowds of students from the back. Two kids were hit hard enough to be thrown some distance and hurt. The young man who saw this happen and described it to me did not know how seriously they were hurt.

The Indians as a social force are more oriented toward survival in the present than toward political goals for the future. They exclude almost completely all older people. Their politics evolve around their leaders from a very simple communal base. I found the sociology of the developing movement and its background fascinating to follow. The way the author very carefully deals with the positions and feelings of the women involved is convincing and very interesting.

The book taken as a whole has more to say about political and social development than any of its characters. I found it difficult to empathize very closely with the main characters because, although their dialogue is convincing; Marge Piercy's long sections describing their motivations, thinking, and unspoken reactions seemed to me to be far more mature sounding than the kids could have been—considering their backgrounds. She uses them as different windows looking out onto the social and political scenes and sometimes fails to maintain them as convincing human beings. But this didn't keep me from feeling some sympathy toward them as individuals in their struggles.

I think one reason the book is as tight as it feels in narrative is that Marge Piercy leaves out all the petty little wastes of time and stupidities people of any age are going to run into together or alone on occasion. The reader is left to assume that this sort of thing happens and the space for it is left only in the time jumps taken now and again by the story. Most of the Indians can, as a result, appear to function among themselves on a preternaturally peaceful and efficient level. It is the dialogue and her description of loving and disagreements between the main characters that save the picture from becoming unbelievable.

Most of the Indians are involved in a violent revolution using bombs, guns, etc. Nonviolence as a tactic appears to have been abandoned in the face of the terrific violence they face from the police and the powers that be. They even try and shoot to death one of their own people when he admits to behaving like a capitalist with a product of their community. The violence they use increases the force used against them until finally all but a few of them are killed. The Eagle is not danced to sleep in the story. Toward the end of the book the few survivors analyze their mistakes and recognize their error in using guns. They finally realize that no real revolution can take place that doesn't come out of all the people.

—MEM



## TWO REVIEWS:

### MARY JANE AGAINST PENNSYLVANIA

by Ralph Adam Fine  
McCall, N.Y. 4.95

### THE DRUG BUST

by John Dominick  
The Light Co. 1.95

A spate of recent books pandering to the drug scene or ripping off the members of the drug culture is typified by two books recently to hit the market. *Mary Jane Against Pennsylvania* is the panderer, *The Drug Bust* is the rip off.

*Mary Jane Against Pennsylvania* is a trip by a former US Attorney who shows us his legal legerdomain by arguing both sides of the issue, presenting the issue itself, legalization of grass, in such a charming and inoffensive way as to cater to the adventurous literati who occasionally does some dope, without offending the law and order freak who sees the book for what it is, an adventure in the legalistic dialectic with no real point of view.

If you are a law school student it is a book that you should probably read for it will give you an insight into the workings of a United States Supreme Court argument, although rather antiseptically. For those who are not in the legal bag, forget it.

If the book stands for anything at all, it shows the hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil method of the "law" at its highest level, stripped of all humanity and pathos. It substitutes mechanical facts such as the fact that grass has less tars than cigarettes for the overall perception of the pot smoker. Viscerally, if not intellectually, the head sees no harm in what is essentially a victimless crime. Like any person who uses stimulants or depressants, he is interested in the effects of the drug on himself. The law is essentially silent on victimless crimes and so is the book.

When viewed overall, *Mary Jane* is quite harmless. Not so *The Drug Bust*. This is a book by an ex-law student who seems to have lived the life of a hard core druggie. It is written for the consumption of others like him. It is a dangerous book. Without making moral judgments about heavy drug use and the politics of escape, this book is calculated to misinform street people about the law, and where it is right on the law, it deludes people about the viability of their rights in the precinct where most rights die aborning as the cop makes up his lie. Sweeping generalizations about the law of search and seizure ignore the facts that different states have different rules, different police procedure, and different bail systems which will prevent the arrestee from operating with the knowledge this book pretends to impart.

*The Drug Bust* ignores the politics of drugs, the effects of drugs on the consciousness of middle class and working class youth. It is a racist book, showing by each example it cites that it is meant for the middle class white drug user with the two dollars to spend towards the purchase of the book, and not for the black and brown brothers and sisters who have to fend off the narcs every day and who sustain

the bulk of drug arrests in this country. Even for its own constituency it is dangerous for the impression is strongly left that your rights will conquer all. Fear not, if you are on the good side of the lord you will win over the evil narc who has entrapped you into selling him three tabs. What I suspect you should fear not is that if you are foolish enough to spend the money for this privately-published book the author will have had a good toke at your expense.

—Fred Cohn

### TO END WAR

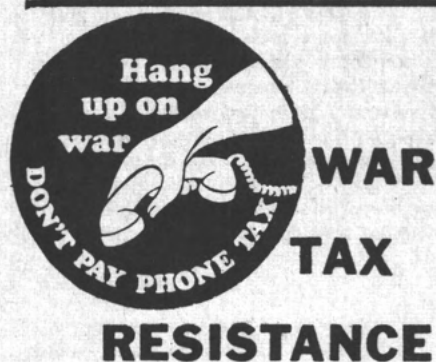
by Frederick J. Libby  
introduction by Ernest Gruening  
188 pages \$5  
published by Fellowship\*

The National Council for the Prevention of War was organized in 1921 and died (though was never officially buried) on December 7, 1941. Even after I came to work full time for the War Resisters League I had never heard either of Libby or his organization. Sometime in the early sixties I got a letter from Libby about a matter I can't recall, and asked someone in the WRL office if they had ever heard of the National Council for the Prevention of War, showing them the letter. "My God, Libby is still alive! I thought he must have died years ago," was the response I got. Yes, he was still alive then, and at the age of 94 he wrote this book, and was still alive when it came off the press. He is dead now, as his Council died in the chaos of the Second World War.

For the general reader this book will not be of great interest. It is well written but the events are musty with age, since more than half of all Americans were not yet born when the NCPW's work came to an informal close. But for all students of the American peace movement the book is a treasure of information about an organization that had tremendous influence on American political life for two decades. People who think the peace movement began only with nuclear testing or with the Vietnam war, will find here a carefully documented and vigorously written account of an earlier experiment to end the institution of war. Frederick Libby, before he died, wrote what will surely become a standard textbook for the host of college courses dealing with "conflict resolution" and the history of the peace movement.

—David McReynolds

\*Available by mail from Fellowship Publications, Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960.



The main question in people's minds when they are contemplating tax refusal is what are the consequences. Every time one refuses to pay some federal tax there is a possible penalty.

In the past, some tax resisters have been arrested. Some have gone to jail and a few received favorable decisions in the courts. Vivian Kellems invoked the Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination to keep her financial records out of government hands. The government withdrew the District court action and acknowledged that she had "properly pleaded the Fifth Amendment..."

Recent arrests have been Robert Muncaster of Montgomery, Ala. for failing to file an income tax form 1040 for the years 1964 through 1968. Jim Shea, Wash., D.C. and Sally Buckley, Minneapolis were convicted for declaring more exemptions on their W-4 form. Jim received a one year sentence but is appealing and Sally will be sentenced in May. Others indicted for W-4 resistance are Dennis Richter, Minneapolis; John Malinowski, Phila., James F. Smith, Springfield, Mo.

The number of war tax resisters arrested have been small compared with the numbers resisting. Also, arrests have been confined to three categories—refusing to file form 1040, refusing to reveal financial assets, and W-4 resistance. There have been NO arrests for refusing to pay the 10% telephone excise tax, for "falsifying" the 1040 form or refusing to pay all or part of the amount due on the 1040 form.

The following are different methods of resisting:

- 1) File a return showing tax due but refuse to pay all or part of the due.
- 2) On the 1040 form, Line no. 17, "Less Adjustments", take off that

percentage that went for military purposes or that amount that was withheld from your salary during the year.

3) On the 1040 form, Line no. 22 "Total Credits", take off as a war tax credit either the percentage of your taxes that went for the military, or the amount that was withheld from your salary during the year.

4) Don't file a return.

5) Claim so many dependents on your W-4 form that no tax is withheld, then file and don't pay or file and show no tax due.

6) Instead of the W-4, file the W-4E, which will enable you to have no federal taxes withheld.

7) Don't pay the 2½% income tax surcharge.

8) Don't pay the 10% telephone excise tax.

(For more detailed information write to us)

The most constructive part of the war tax resistance movement has been the Alternate Funds. Many people who are resisting are putting their money into these funds. The money is being used to fund constructive programs in the local communities. There are funds in Roxbury, Mass., Philadelphia, Wash. D.C., Cincinnati, Denver and Portland, Maine. Other cities such as New York are in the process of starting a fund.

Join together with tax resisters in your community and form an Alternate Fund. Use the money in your community. Show the citizens of that community how their money can be used more constructively.

We are not just making a protest. We are attempting to have a new kind of revolution, i.e., a non-violent revolution. The war in Indochina is merely a symptom of the problems that exist in this country and the world. We have to join and work out our problems together. If we wait for the government to change national priorities it may be too late. We must change them ourselves.

There will be a War Tax Resistance Conference Feb. 26-27 at North Newton, Kansas. Call David Janzen (316) 283-9880; and one Feb. 20 at The Church of the Holy Apostles, 360 West 28th St. New York City, 10 am through 6 pm. Call Bob (212) 477-2970.

—Bob Calvert  
339 Lafayette St.  
New York, N.Y., 10012

# DOVE TALES



SANDSTONE ET AL: This winter, the chaplain invited Joe Mulligan of the Chicago 15 to give a sermon. "While the officials present listened in red-faced rage and the congregation gave ear in malicious joy, Joe proceeded... to a full blown denunciation of the war, draft, and related teachings"... Ed Hoffmans arrived there Jan. 20... Mike Cullen (Milwaukee 14) left, hopefully, on Feb. 12, having completed a year and a day... Meanwhile, in Michigan, four Beaver 55 people will be paroled in Feb.-March but Jane Kennedy, whose articles on prison conditions have appeared in WIN and elsewhere, has been denied parole and dragged into isolation several times... A 26-minute 16-mm. film of David Harris before he went to prison is available from Neil Reichline, 1651 Veteran no. 6, L.A. C.O. James Tate, after 7 years of appeals from his draft classification, was finally free of the courts last October, the government having recommended dismissal of his case. In Jan. he issued a statement from California thanking his attorneys, Pearl Hart and George Pontikes, and concluding that although he resisted within the framework of the selective service system, "I recognize and appreciate the relevance and validity of any kind of non-violent... resistance to the draft and the government which refused to stop committing mass murder in Southeast Asia"... Twin Oaks, an intentional community, listed as a Unitarian-Universalist Fellowship, hopes to be accepted as a place of alternative service. Address: Louisa, Va... Health professionals who wish to file for c.o. are invited to write of their experiences



Hudson Non-Violence Center. We talked, held a service, and at 3 p.m. nine people walked onto IBM property to set up "tent city," and were arrested for trespassing and brought to the county jail. Others began the vigil line that would continue throughout the week. (See photo at right.)

On Monday, April 10th, a second group of five people were arrested for leafletting on IBM property in front of the main plant. Leafletting on that day at shopping centers included some fairly well received guerilla theater.

Wednesday, a free lunch was held for IBM employees and several made the decision to come. They explained the effectiveness of the vigiling and leafletting on their fellow workers, in helping them to realize the relationship of the "360" computer and the war as it is now being waged in Indochina. Many do not realize that IBM computers are key components of the automated air war. Despite the fact that many IBM employees feel threatened about openly voicing their discontent with IBM's war contracts, they were supportive of the action and gave their names to the center. At this time we received a statement of support from 23 local clergy.

The week ended with a group of 40 people gathered once more on IBM land, to share a meal, and for some, the breaking of the fast. From there we walked to the IRS building five miles away, to present a statement of resistance to taxes channeled for war.

With high spirits, tired feet, and some some more or less weak stomachs, IBM project week ended. Because so many of us feel the importance of what has been accomplished and what can be accomplished, continuing actions are under serious discussion.

—Beth Arnold and Laurie Torgan

## ON TAXES, WAR AND COKE MACHINES

The Tempe Peace Center had a nice little demonstration on Friday April 14. After having it announced on one of our biggest radio stations for a week we even had nine people there. I mean Phoenix, Arizona what do you expect? Berkeley or something? Oh well.

But it was nice. Four out of five people were very friendly and talkative. Usually people who come out of the Federal building aren't sociable at all. Not today. We talked about where our taxes go. The trillion dollars we've spent on defense in the last 27 years. The tons of bombs we've dropped on S.E. Asia. We talked about where that money could have gone. The hundreds of schools which the cost of one air-



craft carrier could buy. The hundreds of medical centers and homes the cost of only a few days of the air war could buy. It seemed people were actually listening. Maybe it was because it was tax time, maybe it was because they were tired of the way our money was being used. For the first time we ran out of leaflets.

Tired and happy, two hours later we are getting back into the peace center truck to go home. It was a peaceful Phoenix day, when all of the sudden. . . . .the doors of the Federal building swing open and. . . . .out come 1. . . 2. . . . .5. . . . .10 IRS agents! They rush up to our truck and slap! THIS VEHICLE IS SEIZED IN THE NAME OF THE UNITED STATES STATES OF AMERICA for \$22.63 of phone tax due. We are in shock—this can't be happening here. It can't be real. But it was.

IRS agents are swarming all over our beloved truck. Sticking stickers and tying tags on it. I tore off a couple of

these, but after being threatened with a charge of destroying government (?) property, I cooled off. Government property—somehow the magical line between private property and government property had been crossed, for \$22.63. I wonder if the Vietnamese appreciate all that government property we are dropping on them every day. (I can picture our truck turned into a huge fat bomb.)

Being patriotic citizens we couldn't allow our truck to go for war taxes. We decided to keep the nasty ol' tow truck away from it. We talked to the tow driver, and not knowing what to do he radioed to his office. For a while we thought he might leave but he was told "get the truck or lose your job." That's when five U.S. Marshalls enter the picture and that's also when four peace workers exit. Not distastefully either. We were dragged away on t.v., one by one (Joe Gerson, Jack Price, Kathy Glover and myself), for \$22.63. Think about it.

—Jon Markoulis



# classifieds

WIN READERS: Send stamps (2) for sample of **NEW EARTH TRIBE NEWS** P.O. Box 264W, M.F. Wis. 53051

FAMOUS PERSON'S SCHOOL. Money back if not satisfied with your place in history 100 years hence. Send \$1 to FPS, 509 Fair Oaks, Oak Park, Illinois 60302

'Overland to India & beyond' new BIT publication with detailed info (on visas, health, student cards, dope laws, border hassles, the blackmarket, food, shelter, hitching, buses, trains, boats, planes, prices, etc., etc.) for every inch of route from Istanbul to Indonesia; plus BIT's complete European address network. \$2.50 (minimum 'donation') all money to BIT Free Information Service, 141 Westbourne Park Road, London, W.11, Eng.

Drag queens in Bangkok demand marriage rights. A new gay political party in Japan. Over 200 new homophile organizations in the States. Gays take over Stockholm for a week. It is happening all over—Mexico, Italy, Australia. We are changing laws and challenging our societies. The details are in G.I.N., a monthly international newspaper. Subscriptions, \$3 a year for twelve issues (postage included) to G.I.N., 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1. U.K.

I'm splitting soon—thumb tripping across Amerika. I need to know places where I can crash—and find whole beautiful people. And congratulations to Sandy and Henry of Cambridge, England, for the birth of Aidan Myers Merritt. Bobby Barton, Box 73, Kayville, Utah 84037.

THE SOCIALIST TRIBUNE is for building a non-sectarian socialist movement. The only requirement for joining us is belief in democracy. Send for a free sample copy. 1012 North 3rd Street, Suite 317; Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

"MEN" First time in U.S. all new Developer, Enlarger! It will Double your size, vigor & Health! proven facts. Bowman-Eggers Co. Brookings, OR 97415

COMMUNAL GROUP needs three women. Work involves research toward spiritual and revolutionary goals, healthy bodies and open minds. Write Gerry, 5620 Morton St., Philadelphia, PA 19144, or call (215) 849-1259

The IM NEWSLETTER, sent out free every two months or so, has a few things to say about the politics of peace and getting down to it. Add yourself to our newsletter mailing list. IM, 407 North Maple Drive, Beverly Hills, California 90210

## MAKE LAUGHING GAS

New book, "Making Reality More Real", gives simple, one-step, one-chemical (easily obtained) kitchen type procedure for producing nitrous oxide at home. Also described are detailed psychedelic and medical effects and experiences by scientists (William James, Humphrey Davy) and poets (Coleridge). Send \$2.00 to TOU, Dept. # 16, 6311 Yucca, L.A., Ca. 90028. Ecstasy or refund. Plain envelope.

Happy Birthday to THE CATHOLIC WORKER, first issue published May 15, 1933.

HELP WIN. SELL WIN ON YOUR CAMPUS OR IN YOUR COMMUNITY. WE'LL SEND YOU A BUNDLE (AS LARGE OR SMALL AS AS YOU CAN USE) AND CHARGE YOU 15¢ PER COPY. YOU SELL 'EM FOR 30¢. RETURN UNSOLD COPIES FOR CREDIT. WRITE WIN, P.O. BOX 547, RIFTON, NY 12471, FOR FURTHER DETAILS.

# PEOPLE DON'T MAKE WARS, GOVERNMENTS MAKE WARS

and poverty, and oppression, and are generally responsible for most of the things wrong with the world today.

If, like us, you believe that the road to peace and freedom is through *dismantling* the State as much as possible, rather than through *increasing* its power (via fascism, state socialism, etc.) . . . then we'd like to hear from you.

Who are we? A sizeable group of individuals who are working to build a new political party, dedicated to the proposition that every human being has an absolute and inalienable right to his or her own life, liberty, and property.

Our temporary platform calls for immediate withdrawal from Indo-China; repeal of the draft and the income tax; amnesty for draft resisters; opposition to censorship, wiretapping, and preventive detention — and much more. The final version of our 1972 platform will be adopted at our upcoming national convention, which will be open to all party members.

We can't accomplish much without broad-based support, however. So we need *your* help . . . and we want *your* ideas on how to go about it. Interested in learning more about our plans? Gather your friends, and send us \$1.00 for an information package. And say you read about us in WIN.

## Libertarian Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:  
7748 LOWELL BOULEVARD  
WESTMINSTER, COLO. 80030  
PHONE (303) 429-0400

TANSTAAFL





Michelle Clark's two articles in WIN, January, 1971, are incredibly insightful and beautiful in depicting Amerika's sexual wasteland. We've rendered sexuality into a prison, from which few of either sex are paroled, while most settle for simple yard privileges. Amerika's sexuality, sterilized by Protestant Ethic hygiene, has dichotomized all of us into either villains (pros) or victims (cons). Some few of us are lucky enough to really get born, drop our masks and halt the stupid sex role-play. The sexual revolution is the real revolution.

Write on, Sister!

*LeRoy G. Schultz*  
Assistant Professor of Social Work  
West Virginia University  
Morgantown, West Virginia

It was about a year ago, in a Draft Counseling center in Seattle, where I read for the first time about the military refusing to draft men with "obscene tatoos". I was hard pressed to come up with a suitably obscene tatoo

which would impress men who think nothing of firebombing little children, but I figured that disrespect was obscenity to the military, and thus "Fuck You, Sir" on the Karate edge of the saluting hand, would qualify. I wrote a short bit for the Good Times in S.F., sent it off and it printed.

Somebody picked up on it, and had the Tatoo put on his hand when he went to Oakland Induction center and got sent home and he told Herb Caen, a columnist on the San Francisco Chronicle, who mentioned it in his column. Herb Caen mentioned it again when another guy did the same thing. It isn't an extremely popular bit, but it is one which, when used, works. So well in fact that the Establishment, in the form of a Military Person, felt compelled to write an article which printed in the Readers Digest about how a man with a tatoo "Fuck the Army" on that edge of his hand was inducted as a "Navy Inductee", ie; the writer of that short bit for the RD had to lie, as the Navy doesn't draft. "Fuck You, Sir" works as a tatoo and for those in sensitive spots a flesh colored band-aid will cover it for that special occasion.

Another thing which works is to have your picture taken with a nude young man who has a hard-on and you are about to cop his joint. Just stick out your tongue at it and smile while making the "V" sign. I mentioned this in my Gild Times article and suggested that if you were unable to find your own homosexual, you might try the Bus Depot and pose with a hustler in the photomatic machine. Two different guys are required as only one homosexual episode will not get you out. Two are required. Be sure to mark the envelope you send the pictures to your draft board in "Caution: this envelope contains evidence to support a claim for draft ineligibility, and is to be opened by members of my draft board only. Any other use constitutes a violation of privacy". This is to keep you from getting busted for mailing obscene matter, as evidence has redeeming social value.

Some factions of Gay Liberation in S.F. have considered a mobile photo studio with Polaroid camera, curtains and a gay driver and co-pilot to make on the spot homosexual evidence for draft boards. A van is being fitted out in the lot behind our house, and should be cruising this fall. Both these systems steal soldiers from the king and, if the man tries to infiltrate the van operation, he will get fucked, and photographed being fucked and no pig can take that. It's safe and works.

*Ben Dover*  
San Francisco, Calif.

Now that the 18-year-olds have the Federal right to vote and in many states; would suggest it is time for WIN and WRL to set up a political advisory committee to issue advice as to the expansion of communes into villages and towns. Throughout many of the states there are communes of young people and most of them very vulnerable due to their isolation and lack of political muscle. Now they have the muscle if they would use it. Many of them would say that they are apolitical, yet the action belies the word... what is more political than the coming together into a commune.

This is not a new thought or action. It has been already done. But not enough!

Believe me, this would get a helluva lot more attention than wild hair and beards and bizarre clothing. The establishment can shrug and smile indulgently at these things... but a town?? Hell, they'd ring it with tanks and police cars.

*Johnny Johnson*  
New York, N.Y.



to CO c/o Health Rights News, 1616 E. 53 St., Chicago 60615.

GI's: Six of 50 GI's who refused to emplane for Vietnam held out after 4 hours of pressure. The other 44 went... A servicemen's boycott of the Antle scab lettuce in mess halls and PX's is being organized on the West Coast. On Jan. 14, 36 workers and supporters demanding an interview with Gen. Pearson were arrested at Ft. Lewis' main gate... Foregoing items from Camp News, 2214 N. Halstead, Chicago 60614, which reports on the war and the GI movement. It's published by the Chicago Military Area Project which began with military counseling. A panel of lawyers is available for legal defense work or referrals outside the Chicago area... "ALL OUR SONS IN VIETNAM ARE POWS. BRING THEM HOME!" Bumper stick-

er, Another Mother for Peace, 407 N. Maple, Beverly Hills, Calif.

ANNOUNCING: NYCLU will put out a Spanish version of the Student Rights Handbook. The English edition, 100,000 copies, is exhausted... Classical works on anarchism, bound volumes of selected articles from Freedom Press Publications, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1, Eng... Environment's publication, Earth Kit, is now a quarterly and will have an article on "SST: The \$uper \$onic Transport." A single issue is 1,50, a sub, \$10 (150 5 Ave., NYC)... The Summerhill Collective which recently took over Summerhill Socy. offers membership to those who want to help organize a children's liberation movement, an exchange of free teachers and kids, workshops, or a fight vs. state compulsory education laws. Address the society

c/o Alternate U, 630 6 Ave., NYC 10011... Su Negrin and Tom Wodetzki are running Times Change Press, "A new radical pamphlet and poster press." It aims, among other things, to spread information and ideas "with which to topple the American Empire" and material about and from people with restricted access to communication." Write to the press at 1023 / Ave., NYC for a catalog.

FUNDS FOR KENT, JACKSON: Insurance companies are not paying medical bills for injuries incurred in "riotour situations" at Kent and Jackson State. Send contributions for victims of both colleges to Kent Student Medical Fund, P.O. Box 116, Kent, O. 44240. The Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 116, Kent, is looking for bands and halls all over the country to stage benefits.

—Ruth Dear

# Classifieds

**THE EYE OF THE STORM** by Lewis Allan. Timely, poignant, protest poems. Satire, humor. \$1. Peter Piper Press, 6666 S.W. 64. Pl., Miami, Fla. 33143.

Read the **ABOLITIONIST**, individual-anarchistic publication of the Radical Libertarian Alliance. Free sample on request, GPO Box 2487-B, 10001.

**PET PLAN** for a cooperative economic democracy. 2 copies/\$1.00 from U.S. FARM NEWS, 1024 Grand, Des Moines, Iowa, 50309

**TWO, THREE, MANY . . .** Anti-Imperialist magazine (Ex-Peace Corps Volunteers.) Subscriptions \$2.00 CRV 840 Oakdale, Chicago 60657

Fertilize yer mind, plough under yer psyche! The latest **GREEN MOUNTAIN POST** contains fiction, fantasy, poetry, comix and lots of pretty pictures of people and cows. Contributors include Ray Mungo, Marty Jezer, Verandah Porche, family & friends. 50¢ from GMP, Box 269 RFD 1, Montague, Mass. 01351 or subscribe: 4 issues /2/

## DIRECTORY

Directory of Communes—\$2

Directory of Free Schools—\$1

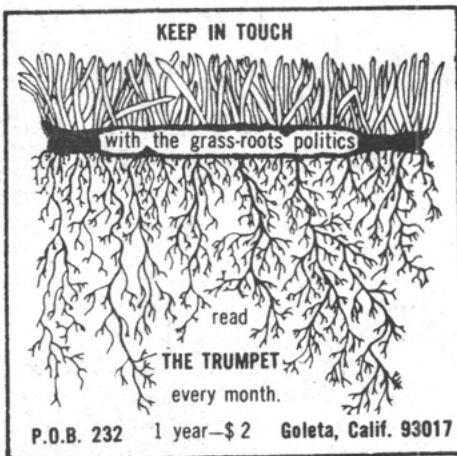
Directory of Social Change—\$1

Directory of Nudist/Sex—\$1

Directory of Personal Growth—\$1

All 5 for \$4 plus newspaper:

**ALTERNATIVES**—56 P.O. Drawer A—Diamond Hgts. Sta. San Francisco, Ca. 94131



Editing, revision, rewriting, from somebody who learned the **HARD way**—at WIN. Super-reasonable rates; my needs are small, but pressing. Will consider any job that doesn't require leaving the Southwest. Write to: Paul Johnson, Somewhere in New Mexico, c/o WIN.

Pamphlets available on: Anarchism (classics and new material), Women's Liberation, Indian Culture and Ecology, Friends of Malatesta, Box 72, Bidwell Station, Buffalo, N.Y. 14222.

If you stock "A Draft Law Primer" by John Reints, write to the Fellowship of Reconciliation to obtain a supply of revision sheets for your present stock and for notification of further revisions.

Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ sheets.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

## HELP WIN

Sell WIN on your campus or in your community. We'll send you a bundle (as large or small as you can use) and charge you 15¢ per copy. You sell 'em for 30¢. Return unsold copies for credit. Write WIN, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012 for further details.



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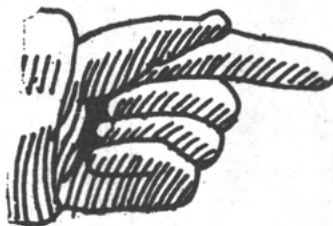
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**The Match! Anarchist Monthly.** A Journal of essays and articles on anarchism. Subscriptions: \$3.00 per year. Student Libertarian Action Movement, P.O. Box 3684, Tucson, Arizona.

Learn the truth about Anarchism! Three pamphlets for \$1 from The American Society of Anarchists, 1600 N. 16th St. /10, Arlington, Va. 22209

**FLOWER POWER** Stick-on vinyl flowers to decorate books, walls, whatever you want. Six for \$1.00. Assorted colors. Order from Kirkpatrick, 6274 Avenue de Gaspe, Montreal 326, P.Q. Canada.



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# Local WRL Groups

*WRL-West* (Western Region Offices, 833 Haight Street, San Francisco, California 94117, (415) 626-6976

*Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence* (Southern Region Office), P.O. Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309 (404) 875-0646

*WRL-Southwest* (Southwest Region office), 116-B Hermosa S.E., Albuquerque, N.M. 87108. (505) 268-8871

*Akron WRL*, 753 Brown Street, Akron, Ohio 44311 (216) 535-6783.

*Albany WRL*, Box 1237, Albany, N.Y. 12201 (518) 272-2237

*Boston WRL*, c/o Olmsted, 28 Lawrence Street, Boston, (617) 627-4952

*Suffolk County WRL*, Box 536, Sag Harbor, N.Y. 11963.

*Manhattan Beach WRL*, 1014 Duncan Place, Manhattan Beach, California 90266. (213) 379-0315.

*Detroit WRL*, 28314 Danvers Court, Farmington, Michigan 48024. (313) 335-0362.

*Columbus WRL*, 30 West Woodruff, Columbus, Ohio 43210.

*Milwaukee Area Draft Information Center and WRL*, 1618 West Wells, Milwaukee, Wisconsin (414) 342-0191.

*Cobb County WIN*, c/o AWIN, Box 7477, Atlanta, Ga. 30309. (404) 875-0646.

*Olivet College WRL*, Box 507, Olivet, Michigan 49706.

In addition to the above groups, there are about a dozen efforts to organize local WRL's going on around the country. These are what we could call embryo WRL's and when they reach the stage of being able to organize and work outside the WRL membership we will list them as local WRL's. If you would like to begin organizing a local WRL or would like information on the local WRL program please write to the National Office.

## literature

THE ONE-MAN REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. Ammon Hennacy's final book—about 17 individuals throughout American history who, like himself, fit into such a category. Paperback, 338 pp., \$5

WAR RESISTANCE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE. A mini-"Conscience in America" by Larry Gara, first man to be jailed, in 1947, for counseling draft resistance. pamphlet, 23pp., 55¢

THE PROBLEM OF PRISONS. David Greenberg's study of prisons which concludes by calling for their abolition. pamphlet, 40pp., 75¢

TRAINING FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION. A manual compiled by Theodore Olson and Lynne Shivers and published jointly by War Resisters Intl. and Friends Peace & Intl. Relations Committee. Pamphlet, 40pp., \$1

EXPLORING NONVIOLENT ALTERNATIVES. This guide, citing 85 specific instances, is by Gene Sharp whose "Creative Conflicts in Politics" has long been a popular WRL item. Paperback, 128 pp. \$2.25

AMERICAN SERVICEMEN HAVE RIGHTS: DO YOU KNOW YOURS? A handy pocket guide issued by GI Counseling Services, single copies free to servicemen. To others—15¢

WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON? At last, a much needed leaflet for community distribution on the Middle East issue. single copies free, \$1 per 100



### BUTTONS

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### To: WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012

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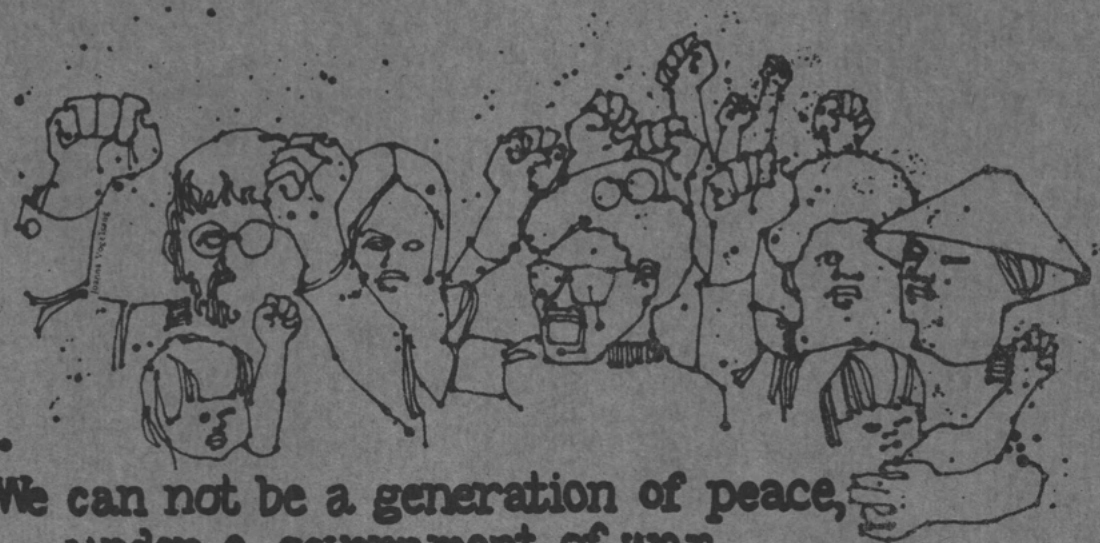
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under a government of war.