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WAR RESISTERS
LEAGUE



**The Strategy
of Plowshares**

The Challenges Ahead
**People's Power in
the Philippines**

WRL/West Campaign
**Counter-
Recruitment Ads**

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Cover: The cover graphic was done by Fritz Eichenberg as part of the support work around the Griffiss Plowshare action of 1984.

Greetings from the Moscow Trust Group! Western activists are being asked to participate in a cassette tape project which can be fun and also very helpful. It's simple: you tape your own or someone else's articles, research, personal messages, etc., on issues of disarmament, militarism, peace, and so on. The tapes will be used on our seminars and enable you to speak directly to the Soviet people, and possibly these tapes will circulate throughout the USSR. It offers an opportunity for diverse, unhindered, people-to-people contact. Tapes will be ferried to us through the New York Trust Group. Contact Sergei Batrovin, (212) 304-1943 or Bob McGlynn (718) 499-7720 at 528 5th Street, Brooklyn, NY 11215.

Activists are also being asked to help Trust Group prisoner, Nina Koualenko, incarcerated in Kashenk Mental Hospital, Department 33. The project is to call her ward as she to speak to her and demand her release. If the person who answers won't speak English to you, they'll get the

gist of the call anyway. Call the operator and book your call a day in advance, coordinating it with the eight hour time difference (1 am EST would be 9 am their time). The phone number is 124-9968.

—Bob McGlynn
Brooklyn, NY

This is concerning Patricia Maceroni and her fight against military ads in her college newspaper [Nonviolent Activist, March 1986]

I just got out of the service and can say first-hand what an overbearing monster the military has become on our society.

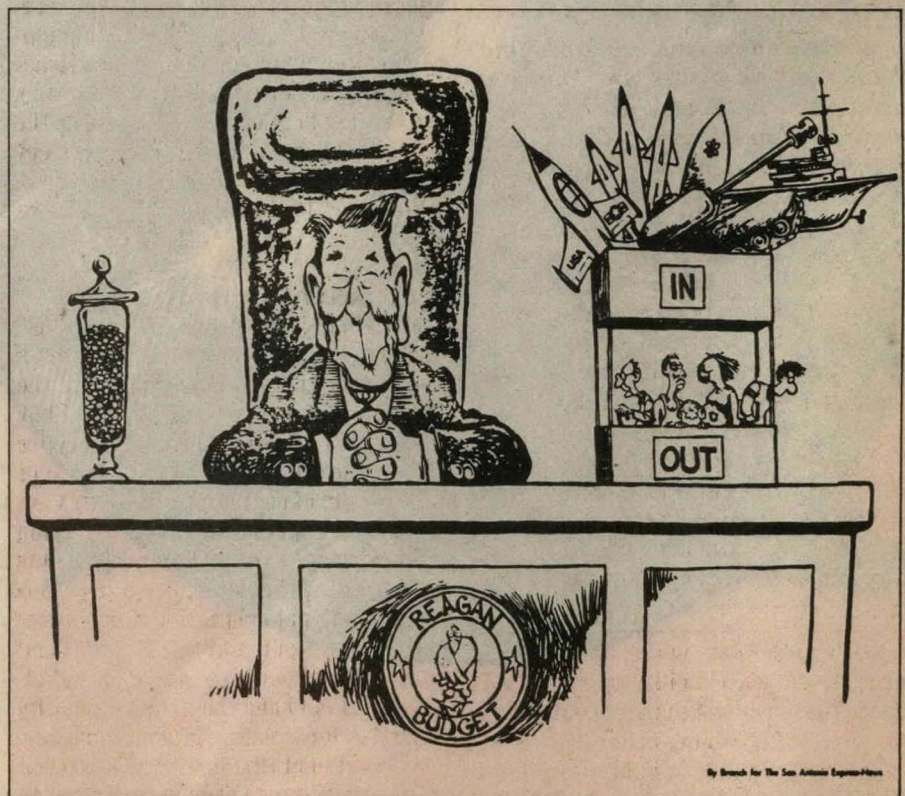
I'm on her side about putting anti-military advertisements in her paper.

She's asking people to think in this day and age of increasing fear and insecurity. That is an extremely unpopular thing for anyone to do.

—S. Piro
Midwest City, OK

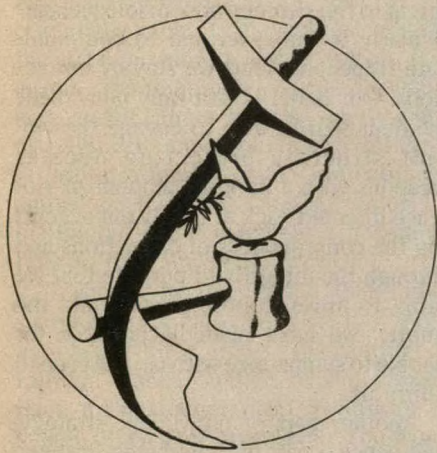
I am impressed by your effort to "take back the calendar." I hope you will stick with it for the several years you'll need to spread the idea and see results. We need better ways to plan ahead—to stop just being reactionary. A focus on holidays puts us in control and is a positive strategy to boot!

—Jerry Depew
Ortanna, PA



The Strategy of Plowshares

By Frank Panopoulos



Plowshares actions began on September 9, 1980 with the Plowshare 8 action at a General Electric plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania where nuclear weapons components are produced. In this and subsequent Plowshares actions, religious and secular pacifists have damaged, or tried to damage, first-strike nuclear weapons components by smashing them with hammers and pouring blood on them. While linked by these common characteristics, there is also a wide diversity in Plowshares action strategy. As Frank Panopoulos wrote in a preface to this article, "A strategic consensus by every group that has acted or will act is practically impossible, and unsought, in any case. Each person who has acted may have their own statement of strategy that is as valid as anyone else's."

When Bill Boston, imprisoned Plowshares activist, heard that WRL was honoring the Plowshare Disarmament Community with the twenty-fifth annual WRL Peace Award (see sidebar), he wrote a letter

Frank Panopoulos wrote this article while in the ACI facility in Cranston, Rhode Island where he is serving time for the AVCO Plowshare action. He is a staffperson with the Catholic Peace Fellowship.

to the WRL national office. In it he noted, "Although I recognize a deep affinity with WRL, I also recognize that there are differences between us . . . I do not consider our differences to be severe, however, as I believe we share a common commitment to non-violence and, in the spirit of Gandhian struggle, to the use of nonviolent methods . . ."

While recognizing differences between Plowshares and WRL, we present the following article as part of ongoing discussion of disarmament action, strategy, and goals.

—Ed.

The strategy of plowshares actions is multi-dimensional, working on several levels simultaneously. The components of this type of action include not only the action itself but the time a group spends together to form a community before and after the action, the trial, and the incarceration period. These separate components, along with complementary issues such as nonviolence, property damage, and the justification defense, make up the strategy of plowshares. This strategy applies to each individual group and, more generally, to the plowshare actions as a whole.

Individual Group Strategy

Each of the plowshares actions has had its own independent creative sense of theme and strategy. For instance, at the AVCO Plowshares action of July, 1983, we sought to bring to the consciences of the people working at AVCO Systems Division (manufacturing MK-21 MX re-entry vehicles) the tears of Rachel crying for her slaughtered children. This was done by using Picasso's drawing of Guernica on our statement of action. On behalf of our group and our children and grandchildren, we also issued an indictment of AVCO and the national security apparatus for violating international law. The indictment (the first of its kind) and the use of Guernica were as important to

the strategy as our actual hammering on MX and Pershing II testing equipment, and our pouring of blood on MX blueprints. Attached to the hammers and baby bottles containing our blood were pictures of our children and grandchildren, poems, peace cranes, and statements. These items were crucial to the strategy for the trial. Hopefully, a jury viewing this evidence would understand in a more human way why we did what we did.

Creating Community

Creating community among an acting group is a very important part of plowshares strategy. People who have participated in a plowshares action have been meeting together for many months, building a community spirit that enables them to act, and they continue the spirit of action through trial and jail. Building community involves sharing our lives, challenging each other, reflecting, celebrating faith, and spending time together.

The community and its process extends to local supporters and other plowshares actions as well. The jail time we are presently serving for the Trident II Plowshares action of October, 1984 would be much more difficult and less of a witness to the power of nonviolence, if we could not support each other, and be supported by the wider community of local activists. We would not be able to translate our action and living alternative to the greater community of prisoners, guards, and public.

The contribution of community building to plowshares strategy—particularly between an acting group and its local supporters—cannot be underestimated. All of us realize that not everyone will engage in a plowshares action. Yet in areas where the actions have occurred, people have united to continue such actions, as well as to participate in other forms of civil disobedience. Meanwhile, a resistance community is built that will sustain ongoing activity in the area.

General Plowshares Strategy

A second and more general level of strategy for plowshares actions involves the enfleshment of Isaiah 2:4: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks." This is probably the most visible and easiest level of our strategy to comprehend. The passage in Isaiah makes clear that the judgment of the nations and walking in the path of God involves disarmament. Rather than waiting for the unlikely event of the superpowers agreeing to disarm, we conclude that it is we the people who must begin disarmament by doing exactly that—disarming weapons components. So a plowshares action is not only symbolic, but is actually a disarming of the component, albeit briefly. The end we seek is sought literally by the same means—disarmament for disarmament. It is something very powerful and truthful that few other disarmament strategies approach. It is similar to the fact that desegregation occurred on the day that Rosa Parks sat at the front of the bus just as much as it did when civil rights laws were enacted.

Living Faithfully

An important part of our strategy involves living faithfully, no matter what one's faith is. Generally, plowshares actions are Judeo-Christian in tradition, though people of other faiths have par-

ticipated in such actions. Whether or not our actions are effective is secondary to living faithfully in a lifestyle that involves disarmament in all its aspects and carries implications of non-cooperation with the culture at large. The peace movement needs to learn that lifestyle is integral to strategy. Some of us think the greatest obstacle to nonviolent direct action comes from people believing that change will occur comfortably, *without change in personal lifestyle*.

Nonviolence

The third level of plowshares strategy is nonviolence, which is part of the other strategy components mentioned above. Following Gandhi's description of nonviolence, our actions and ensuing suffering are an appeal to the heart of the opponent that will ultimately make them see where they are wrong, changing *them* in the process of social change. Such a strategy is not passive, but includes assertive direct-action. We certainly view plowshares actions in this way; asserting our responsibility to literally disarm, and indicating our rejection of the legal process of nuclear genocide, yet respecting the rights of others. Hence, every precaution is taken not to harm anyone during an action, and to stop the action if a guard or worker threatens to commit an act of violence to stop us. Nor do we leave the action site, but continue to hammer and

pray, remaining with the action awaiting arrest. The Griffiss Plowshares hammered and prayed/celebrated for three hours, then came out of the hangar and flagged down a security jeep in order to be apprehended. They even had to take the disbelieving officer into the hangar and show him the damaged B-52.

Claiming responsibility for our actions and accepting the consequences are integral to the strategy of nonviolence, particularly to empower and to communicate to people. Thus we stay by our actions. Our belief is that only nonviolent methods will be able to engage the violent structure protecting nuclear weapons with a minimal amount of violence directed back at us. By our accepting the consequences of our actions and through the integrity of purpose that we bring to juries, courts, prisons, and the public, we have made it possible for people to sympathize with us, and even to affirm us.

Another part of nonviolent strategy, and hence a part of plowshares strategy, is to detach oneself from the consequences of the action. Beyond performing the action it is up to the power of its nonviolent integrity to produce further fruits. In this sense effectiveness, media publicity, and proper court strategy aren't priorities for a plowshares action, though they are not neglected. We hope that people will see the truth of the action and act on it in their personal lives. Our goal is a chain reaction of plowshares actions around the country. Short of that we hope for people to be moved by our actions' truth and to alter their lives by engaging in some form of resistance.

The Need for Secrecy

The misperception that plowshares actions are covert, and hence not nonviolent arises because part of the strategy of an action is to keep it secret until it occurs. To me, this secrecy differs from covertness. After all, if a group were to make its plans public, the action would be pre-empted. Also, because of the risk of conspiracy charges, acting groups have chosen not to share the details of the action with local supporters. It would be violent to include someone in planning that could result in that person's arrest without preparation and against his/her will. Also, secrecy is sometimes necessary because information on a facility is provided by workers wishing to remain anonymous. But that is the extent of our secrecy.



WRL Peace Award—Onlookers applaud as Molly Rush accepts WRL's twenty-fifth annual Peace Award on behalf of the Plowshares Disarmament Community. The award was presented by Matt Meyer, acting WRL chairperson, at an April 11 dinner held in New York City which was attended by over 200 people. Speakers at the dinner included Darlene Cuccinello and former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark. Photo by David McReynolds

Property Damage

There is also the question of damaging property; we believe that weapons property should be violated. If we accept the idea that missiles increase the threat of nuclear war, how can hammering on weapons property somehow not be right? At each trial, the state points out that property has been damaged; a legal entity has been violated and for this we are criminally liable. In a capitalist system the state can almost ignore protest, and even a certain amount of civil disobedience. But it cannot ignore property damage. The reaction of the state to this form of protest, especially in its emphasis on deterring others from similar action by meting out long jail sentences, indicates that we have touched a nerve.

It should be understood that plowshares actions, along with the ELF pole actions and Rich Miller's dismantling of railroad tracks outside of the Pantex plant, are pioneering property damage as a part of civil disobedience. These actions are experiments in truth and as such they have no absoluteness about them. Nevertheless, we think these actions are right, justified by nonviolence history, theory, and the Judeo-Christian scriptures. The most important aspect of this element of our strategy is to understand that *we do not undertake to maximize damage or to be irresponsible in the use of our hammers*. We do not hammer on any kind of property. Most of us do not even consider that missile equipment qualifies as property in the sense of it being "proper/conducive to life." The weapons equipment is, in fact, anti-property.

My own thinking is that damage to weapons-related property is crucial at this juncture of resistance. As people increasingly realize that legal means of protest, and even certain forms of civil disobedience, are inadequate to catalyze change, their responses will change. It is predictable that people who consider themselves peace workers will engage in non-violent activities, regarding them as nonviolent because they do no physical harm to others. Nonviolence, though, is not just a tactic. It is a way of life and a strategy based on patience, suffering, love, and creative tactics of resistance that harm no one and seek reconciliation. The rejection by King and Gandhi of destruction to property for its own sake—such as smashing barricades, windows, and police cars—holds true; such actions are irresponsible and will

get us nowhere. The contribution of plowshares and the other property damage actions mentioned above have contributed a strategy towards damage to property that is responsible, limited, and nonviolent. I see our actions as a median between ineffective civil disobedience and irresponsible direct action.

Legal Strategy

Another aspect of a plowshares action is the legal strategy, specifically the use of the justification and international law defenses. This issue is complex, deserving of an article in itself. I can only be brief here.

Plowshares activists have approached the legal end of the actions from different points of view. Some refuse to cooperate with the court system altogether, only giving a personal statement during the trial and sentencing. Others have sought to present a full-scale defense, as much as the courts will allow (which isn't much). Every court so far has rejected a defense based on international law during a plowshares trial. The strategic goal here is that perhaps the judicial branch of the government will rule on the illegality of nuclear weapons production and first-strike nuclear war preparation. Such a statement would uphold civil disobedience against nuclear weaponry and would be a strategic step forward, to put it mildly!

The justification defense has the greater potential, though, for the strategy of disarmament and social change. A jury could disregard a judge's instructions and find an acting group not guilty. A court ruling that our civil disobedience is justified would be powerful indeed, in terms of judicial claims for the legality of acting against weapons production.

Jail Time

Jail time and witnessing to the actions from inside jail are also part of the plowshares strategy. The concept is new because jail is often-times viewed as a consequence of strategy, and not as part of it. The limited experience the peace movement has with this concept comes from draft resisters serving long jail sentences. These are jail histories unfamiliar to most activists, particularly in terms of their implications for the peace movement.

There are two important implications resulting from the plowshare jail strategy. First, people are moved in conscience, and act because of our impris-

onment. Again and again we hear or read that people say, "I can't do what you did, but I can do something else, and your being in jail gives me the prompting to do more." Support communities gather around us and continue to act and new people enter our circles.

The second implication of our jail strategy is that people serving jail sentences build community in jail, not only among themselves as resisters, but also with the other prisoners. This is a crucial strategy since prisons must be abolished and prison strikes add to the pressure of social change.



Taking Action

In summary, I would say that the strategy of plowshares actions is the same as the strategy of nonviolence for social change. It is in accordance with Biblical integrity, and is an experiment with the truth of symbolic yet real damage to weapons-related property. I wish that we did not have to do this, and not have to leave family, friends, and community for these prisons, but as Barbara Deming wrote, "... actions of disruption should be taken in the most careful spirit. The actions through which it is easiest to communicate that spirit of carefulness are actions simply of non-cooperation, actions by which we declare to the state: Not with my life!"

To me, a million people facing the risk of occupying and remaining at primary nuclear weapons testing, production, and deployment sites would shut the system down, creating the moral crisis atmosphere necessary for disarmament to begin. Since no one seems to understand the practicality of organizing such a mass occupation, and the ten million plus people who want an end to the arms race are not willing to risk more, our more "aggressive" plowshares actions continue. ■

The Challenges Ahead

People's Power in the Philippines



Corazon Aquino with Salvador Laurel on the campaign trail in Laguna province.
Photo by John Miller

By John Miller

The world saw and recorded a people who knelt in the path of oncoming tanks and subdued with embraces of friendship the battle-hardened troops sent to disperse them. . . . A people lift[ed] themselves from humiliation to the greatest pride."

—Cory Aquino

On February 24, tanks, manned by troops loyal to President Marcos headed down E. de los Santos Avenue toward Camp Crame in Quezon City, but thousands of people, bearing flowers and friendship, filled the street in front of the military base, blocking the tanks. People's power was in action.

Protected by a small number of armed troops and a much larger force of un-

John Miller is a former member of the WRL Executive Committee. He spent a month in the Philippines, leaving a week after the election. He coordinates Mobilization for Survival's Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in the Philippines. He is available to speak on the Philippines, contact: Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway #418, New York, NY 10003.

armed Filipinos, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile and General Fidel Ramos challenged Marcos's authority to rule. Only days before, they were key figures in the now thoroughly discredited dictatorship. But now nonviolent civilians turned back loyalist tanks with no shots fired.

The people of Manila were showing their support for Enrile and Ramos, the most prominent defectors since the February 7 election that proved to be Ferdinand Marcos's undoing.

Played out before the world was a drama that can only be characterized as a mostly nonviolent coup. An unarmed populace, called to the barricades by Radio Veritas, the Catholic Church's radio station, protected two military leaders who had often repressed street demonstrations in the past. Marcos, fearing a final collapse of U.S. support, hesitated to give orders for an ultimate assault. Pro-Marcos military units refused to attack fellow unarmed Filipinos to get to the rebellious troops.

Aquino's Strategy

Only a week before, Cory Aquino announced a seven point nonviolent strategy to gain the presidency stolen from her by the ruling party, Kilusang Bagong Lipunan (KBL), under Marcos's direction. Key to the plan was a call for members of government, the military, and crony corporations to resign. The defection of the two senior military figures set off a flood of similar resignations as whole military units, overseas consulate staffs, and others jumped the sinking Marcos ship. Soon after, Ronald Reagan, a longtime Marcos ally and among the last to desert him, sent word that Marcos should leave.

The Aquino nonviolence program was a modest one, especially when compared to more militant protests organized by left and center left coalitions in the past several years. Marcos-controlled newspapers, crony and government owned banks, and some crony corporations were targeted for boycott. A general strike was called for February 26, the day after Marcos's scheduled inauguration; many mid-

dle class and business people were prepared to withhold tax payments. Family and other ties would be used to persuade government officials and others to resign. Universities and churches were set up as alternative communications centers, in anticipation of a crackdown on the alternative press.

Announced a week after the election, these plans had been developed at a meeting of organizations and parties supporting Aquino, where the conservative and left of center forces that made up her coalition were all represented. Key groups included AKKAPKA, an affiliate of International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and people close to the Catholic hierarchy. In recent years IFOR had led dozens of workshops in active nonviolence throughout the Philippines for bishops, priests, nuns and others.

The Catholic Church

Meanwhile the Catholic Church (85% of all Filipinos are Catholic) had been moving from support of the regime, to criticism, to denunciation. Prior to the election, Cardinal Sin, Bishop of Manila and a critic of the regime, had told people to accept election bribe money, but to vote for the candidate who respected "human rights and life." In February, the Catholic Bishops' Conference of the Philippines called the elections fraudulent. "According to moral principles, a government that assumes or retains power through fraudulent means has no moral basis," their statement said. It called for "active resistance by peaceful means."

The church's anti-Marcos stance grew out of their perception that Aquino was a credible alternative to both Marcos and a growing left. Many religious workers were joining or sympathizing with left wing organizations. A "people's church" was growing in the Philippines in opposition to the Marcos dictatorship and to the conservative stance of most of the hierarchy. Recognizing the increasing influence of radical clergy, and the growing opposition of their more moderate co-workers who played a major role in

NAMFREL, the citizens' watchdog group that was key in exposing election fraud, Marcos had threatened to "wipe out" "communist" members of the Catholic Church.

Aquino and the Left

Aquino's post-election tactics shied away from not only the violent tactics of the guerrilla New People's Army (NPA) and National Democratic Front (NDF), but from the street tactics most identified with the legal left organizations, including *welgang bayans* (peoples' strikes) and street marches.

Most of the aboveground and underground left had boycotted the elections arguing, correctly, that Marcos would never allow Aquino to win and, incorrectly it turned out, that the elections would only serve to legitimize his rule. Bayan, the leading coalition of legal left groups, with a membership of over 2 million, mainly peasants and workers, criticized many of Aquino's stands on the issues: especially her refusal to call for abrogation of the bases treaty, repudiation of those parts of the foreign debt that had not benefited the people and the nationalization of basic and strategic industries. They believed that she was missing an opportunity to educate the people about real solutions to the deeply rooted problems of the Philippines.

Aquino seemed to welcome the snub, running a strongly anti-communist campaign tempered only by a hand extended in reconciliation to guerrillas who promised to "renounce violence." Responding to Marcos's preposterous accusations that she was soft on communism, advised by communists, and had allowed the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) to be founded on her family estate, she issued a leaflet with pictures of Marcos embracing leaders of the Soviet Union and China.

Bayan, on its part ran a fairly low key boycott campaign. Recognizing the strong chord that the Aquino candidacy had struck throughout the country, there were few of the mass marches and demonstrations that had characterized the 1984 boycott of the national assembly elections (see *The Nonviolent Activist*, December, 1984) when moderates and the left had joined forces. A number of Bayan's most prominent leaders took leaves of absences to campaign for Aquino. Several of the human rights organizations within Bayan joined other groups to form TAPAT, to monitor and

protest election fraud and violence.

Bayan's mandate is to engage in a broad range of "nonviolent struggle on a nationwide scale such as massive rallies, demonstrations, marches, general strikes, *welgang bayan* and other forms of protest" to advance a new issue-based politics promoting meaningful change.



A Reagan effigy with a Marcos "jack-in-the-box" puppet is paraded in a BAYAN-sponsored election boycott demonstration. The demonstration was held at the Mendiola Bridge, close to the presidential palace. Photo by John Miller

While influenced by the CPP, its desire to remain legal pushed them to develop creative tactics.

Perhaps the most dynamic of these tactics, is the *welgang bayan*, or militant general strikes. The early strikes were conducted in key cities such as Davao City, where both Bayan and the NDF were strong. Workers left their jobs, students boycotted classes, and peasants joined marches in the city, paralyzing industry and commerce. Streets were blockaded and mass rallies held. Gradually they grew into province-wide outpourings against the dictatorship and often focused on specific local grievances. In June 1985, all transport and communications were shut down as people marched through the peninsular province to protest the construction of a nuclear power plant. Twenty-nine of 34 factories in the Bataan export processing zone were struck, as the workers joined the *welgang*. Key intersections were barricaded as armored vehicles and military helicopters monitored the situation. At

one point, the military blocked the march and searched and photographed the 20,000 participants. The strike lasted three days.

In September in Negros, a region facing starvation due to the collapse of the sugar industry, 21 strikers, mostly laid off sugar workers, were killed during a non-



The Reagan-Marcos effigy goes up in flames.

Photo by John Miller

violent *welgang bayan* that immobilized all the town centers in Negros. Over a hundred are still missing.

Aquino's general strike would have been much more passive as people were encouraged to stay home from work for the day. She also refused all offers of support from the left in organizing protest actions. Very few red flags were seen in the sea of yellow (Aquino's campaign color) during the post-electoral demonstrations. Such combinations were hallmarks of the post-Aquino assassination "parliament of the streets" organized by center left anti-dictatorship coalitions. This was in part due to caution; Bayan did not want to give Marcos an excuse to attack the protesters, an "anti-communist" action the U.S. government might have supported. Aquino also wanted to see if she could topple the regime with her own supporters and without the left of which she was so wary.

Roots of the Downfall

While the February 7 election was the immediate cause of Marcos's downfall, the cracks in his rule appeared long before then. Inappropriate development schemes and the wholesale looting of the

treasury by Marcos and his allies sent the economy into a dive, from which it will take many years to recover, disillusioning many of his middle class and business supporters and giving the poor less to lose if they spoke out. The assassination of Cory's husband Benigno Aquino paradoxically also gave many courage to speak out.

The NPA grew from an insignificant force at the time Marcos declared martial law to one that effectively controls 20% of the countryside, creating a space within which the rural poor could organize. Labor activism was also on the rise with radical unions gaining support and pro-Marcos ones in decline.

Even Marcos's staunchest ally, the United States, had begun to pressure him for reform. Many in the U.S. government felt that Marcos was harming, rather than helping, U.S. interests, because of his close identification with the U.S. government. The severe human rights abuses of the military were creating more rebels than they were killing or capturing. The economic decline not only increased opposition, but provided an unfavorable climate for U.S. multinationals. The U.S. pressured Marcos to reform the military (i.e. turn them into a more efficient counter-insurgency force); end monopolies controlled by his cronies and provide for political stability by holding vice presidential elections. Marcos, counting on a divided opposition, called the February 7 election to prove his political legitimacy.

The rest is history, but the ouster of Marcos opens one of the most difficult chapters in Philippine history.

The Challenges Ahead

The Aquino government faces a multitude of problems, in part because it reflects the coalition that brought her to power. It includes former Marcos figures like Enrile and Ramos; conservative businessmen and traditional politicians, like Vice President Laurel and Jose Conception, Minister of Trade and the founder of NAMFREL; and several nationalists. The first two groupings are strongly pro-U.S.

Keeping this coalition together will be a challenge. Its members have varying views on how to restructure the economy, deal with the insurgency and relate to the U.S. Conflicts within this group will affect Aquino's ability to govern. Her ability to harness "people's power" to support her will be critical. The good will

and mostly spontaneous outpouring that toppled Marcos will not last forever. The U.S. government will be pushing for solutions in its interest and not necessarily those of the Philippine people.

On the issue of political prisoners, Aquino went beyond her campaign promises by ordering the release of all political prisoners; a commission has also been set up to investigate human rights abuses under Marcos. However, recalcitrant local officials and military commanders are thwarting her orders in many parts of the country and many prisoners remain behind bars.

Overhauling the military inherited from Marcos is a necessity if the new government is to live up to its promises to end human rights abuses. So far, Aquino has only replaced some overstaying generals and colonels. The replacing of Marcos-identified local officials is in progress, but many are resisting. A number of powerful local landlords have their own armies and will wield considerable influence even if they lose their local positions.

Secretary of Defense Weinberger, as the first top level U.S. official to visit the Philippines since Marcos's departure, offered aid to a "reformed" military as the solution to the guerrilla insurgency. Aquino, for her part is suspicious of military solutions; after all, her husband was killed by Marcos's armed forces. She has offered a six month ceasefire during which negotiations with the NPA would take place. An offer the NPA and NDF have said they are ready to accept. The U.S. will most likely oppose legalization of the CPP and NDF.

Aquino is sticking with her stand on the U.S. military bases, the largest outside of U.S. territory. They will be allowed to remain until 1991 at which point she will consult with the Philippine people and regional allies. We can expect that the U.S. will exercise all kinds of subtle pressures and inducements in order to retain these bases.

Solving the severe economic problems

of the country is also a major challenge, and those most affected by the severe contraction the economy experienced under Marcos and great inequalities that predate Marcos — peasants and workers — are not represented in the government at all. Divisions within Aquino administration are significant. Put simply, part of the government favors an export oriented economy, while others would steer the economy toward meeting the needs of Filipinos first. The U.S. and international lending institutions like the International Monetary Fund are pushing the government toward austerity and making sure the Philippines' massive debt is paid.

In the end Aquino, the church, and the rebellious section of the military were able to topple Marcos, one of the most resilient dictators in recent history. Using largely nonviolent tactics, they, with their Haitian brothers and sisters, have shown how dependent authoritarian regimes are on the passive consent of their subjects, and how important a unified military is in obtaining the "consent" of the governed. The U.S., caught short by the swiftness of events it could not control and could only marginally manipulate in both countries, felt the need to announce a back-dated policy for dealing with authoritarian regimes.

The Philippines had their independence taken from them by the United States at the turn of the century. Before nominal independence was granted to them after World War II, the U.S. forced the Philippines to rewrite their constitution to allow U.S. bases and unfettered economic access. After Marcos declared martial law, the U.S. signalled its concern for freedom in the Philippines by increasing military and economic aid many-fold. It is time for U.S. interventionism to end in the Philippines. The bases must be withdrawn, military aid ended (or used to compensate victims of Marcos's military), and the foreign debt forgiven. ■



WRL/West Campaign

Counter-Recruitment Ads

By Jim DuPont

This article is for those of you whose stomach rolls everytime you hear "Be all you can be," or see a soldier's smiling face in an advertisement promising adventures in distant lands and high tech job skills.

Teenagers are exposed daily to these sophisticated advertisements by the United States Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. Young people come to believe that the military services will deliver on their promises of job training, educational opportunities and other benefits.

But now, throughout the nation, anti-war groups are balancing recruitment propaganda by placing counter-recruitment and draft resistance advertisements in youth-serving media. Included in this growing movement are programs in the Northeast by the Clergy and Laity Concerned and on the West Coast by the Campaign for Honest Military Recruitment, a coalition of the War Resisters League and the Veterans Speakers Alliance.

This article will explain what the Campaign for Honest Military Recruitment is doing in the hope that other groups will use this information to start similar projects.

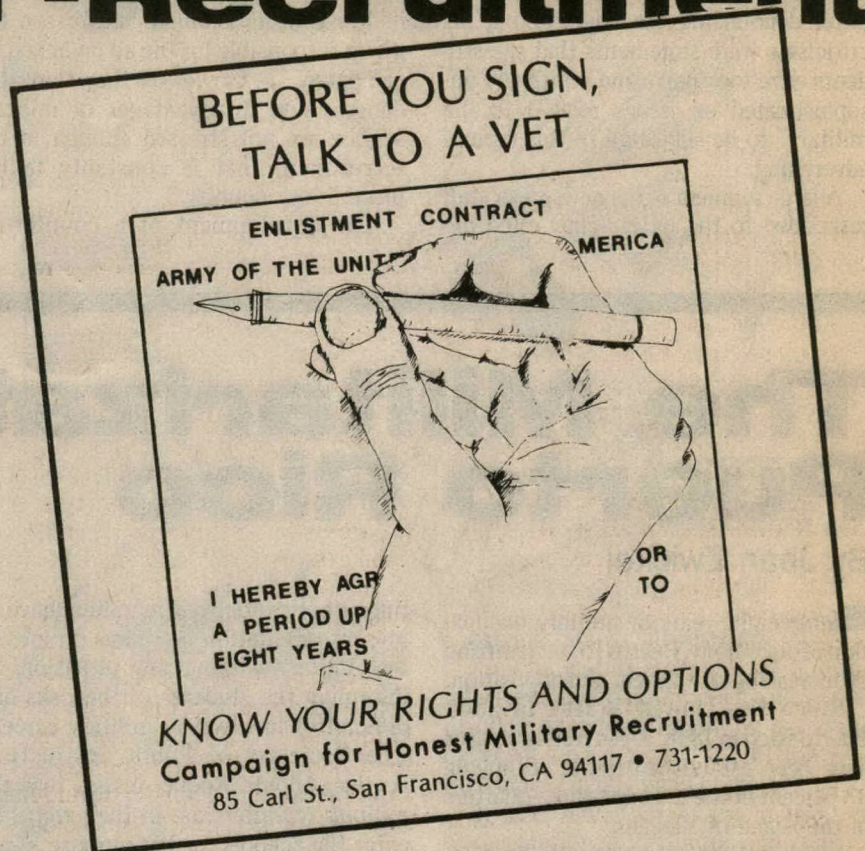
Campaign Ads

The Campaign ads are designed to give teenagers messages which fall into four categories:

- the military can kill or maim;
- the promise of job training skill is a farce;
- sexism and racism are magnified in the military
- an enlistee may end up fighting in Central America.

Besides conveying a counter-recruit-

Jim DuPont is a Vietnam veteran, labor organizer, and writer who is active with the WRL/West draft and counter-militarism task force.



ment message, each ad is designed to help outreach efforts. A phone number and address appear in each ad, accompanied by the phrase "talk to a veteran before enlisting." In addition, military veterans and other war resisters have given presentations to classes as a follow-up to the ads.

The Technical End

The technical parts of producing the ads are fairly simple. Non-artists produced the first set of ads by cutting pictures out of magazines and by getting pacifist printer friends to do the typesetting. And presto we had an ad—for free. The only cost was a few dollars to have camera-ready copies of the ads produced, so we'd have a stockpile of ads to send out. As we got more sophisticated, artists agreed to produce ads for us, again for free.

Surprisingly, the cost of placing an ad in a high school or college newspaper is not overwhelming. The average price per ad is \$40 for a 4-inch square. For the first six months of the Campaign, members paid for many of the ads out of their own

pocket and guilt tripped friends into contributing.

This effort gave us time to build a track record, design and produce ads, and place them in college and high school papers, before approaching foundations for funds. We found foundations very receptive to the idea and we received grants from the Limantour and Vanguard Foundations.

When applying for foundation funds our chances of funding were enhanced because the ads were used as organizing tools.

One thing to remember when producing these ads is that they have to get by school administrators. In the Campaign, this has produced two trains of thought. The first is that we should ensure that our ads get to the students by self-censoring or by keeping the message toned down.

The second idea is to take the risk of offending and produce controversy, hopefully developing publicity and a wider awareness about our activities.

Both ideas have merit and the discussion continues within the Campaign. In the meantime, none of our ads have been rejected.

Facing Controversy

But controversy has happened despite self-censoring by the Campaign. At one high school a teacher wrote a two-page letter denouncing the ads. Among his criticisms were statements that the students were too "naive and politically unsophisticated on issues related to the military" to be subjected to this type of advertising.

A large segment of the newspaper staff responded to the letter. They cited the

U.S. Constitution, the high school constitution, and a U.S. Supreme Court case in defending the printing of the ad. Also, they said, "the naivete of the student body is, in our opinion, the reason the group responsible for the ad launched its campaign. . . . Obviously they think the dangers and disadvantages of military service are not stressed enough in the recruitment that is constantly taking place in our country."

The development of a counter-re-

ruitment advertising campaign has one major drawback. It lacks the urgency of other peace work, such as stopping the bombing in El Salvador. So, it often gets put on the back burner.

But, the war machine stops without the warm bodies to run through the grinder. Opposing the lies and informing youth of the dangers of enlistment denies the generals and politicians their fodder. This work deserves attention. ■

The Militarization of Puerto Rico

By Jean Zwickel

Eighty-eight years of military occupation of our colony, Puerto Rico, is stirring up increasing resentment and opposition.

Since the United States invaded Puerto Rico in 1898, seven military bases have been established there, occupying 33 percent of the land and three-quarters of the island of Vieques.

Richard Falk, professor of International Law at Princeton University writes that as early as the nineteenth century, Puerto Rico had been envisioned as a strategic base to insure control of the Caribbean. The U.S. has since created "a vast network of military bases in Puerto Rico that have no real connection with the well-being of the Puerto Rican people or their national interest."

Not only are military bases being expanded, but the Puerto Rican National Guard has been federalized and has been involved in United States military maneuvers in Honduras near the Nicaraguan border.

Two great concerns currently sweeping Puerto Rico are the rapid increase in military recruitment and the nuclearization of the country.

Resistance to Recruiting

High schools are beginning to resent

Jean Zwickel is a WRL member who lives in Pittsburg, California. She has recently completed interviews with 35 activists in the Puerto Rican independence movement.

the authorization that recruiters have to present orientation programs on jobs in the military without any provision for informing the students of the risks and difficulties involved in military careers. The Secretary of Public Instruction, Awilda Aponte Roque, insists that the military recruiters are in their rights to enter the schools for the purpose of administering army tests and amassing information about the students.

One of the organizations recently formed in protest against recruitment is Compaz a committee of teachers and students in San Lorenzo. In one case, student demonstrations at Barranquitas High School managed to keep recruiters out for a time.

A bill has been introduced in the Puerto Rican House of Representatives to prohibit the recruiting of students during school hours. "Puerto Rico loves peace," the legislators in support of the bill maintain. They point out the tragedy brought to thousands of Puerto Ricans by United States wars.

An Episcopal Church offers counseling to conscientious objectors who find military service in violation of their religious beliefs and moral and ethical principles. "Proyecto Caribeno Para paz Y Justicia (AFSC) offers counselling, as well. Catholic Bishop Parrilla openly advises against conscription and registration, warning young men that they could well be pulled into a "Yankee" war against their Latin American sisters and brothers.

"Frente Unido Contra el Servicio Militar Obligatorio" rues the 1,300 Puerto Ricans killed in the Vietnam War and the thousands wounded physically and mentally. It claims that 30,000 Puerto Ricans have failed to register despite the Solomon Amendments.

Nuclearization

The nuclearization of Puerto Rico is the most frightening aspect of United States militarization. William Arkin, of the Institute for Policy Studies, lists fourteen areas of nuclear involvement in blatant violation of the Tlolocho Treaty for a nuclear free Latin America. Roosevelt Road, our large naval base, is being prepared for command and control of nuclear-armed submarines, and a vast communication system is being built up throughout the island.

There have been mass protests against conscription and nuclear involvement. For example, on the Fourth of July, 1985, a colorful procession bearing the green and white flags of the Independence Party featured 25,000 people marching for Puerto Rican independence. Weeping mourners in black followed coffins draped with Puerto Rican flags. A masked "Reagan" embraced a skeleton bearing an atom bomb.

Both recruitment and nuclearization have served to increase the Puerto Rican people's awareness of their helplessness within the bounds of colonialism. They have also served to intensify activity in the independence movement. ■

The Alternative "Quality of Life Budget"

By David Croteau

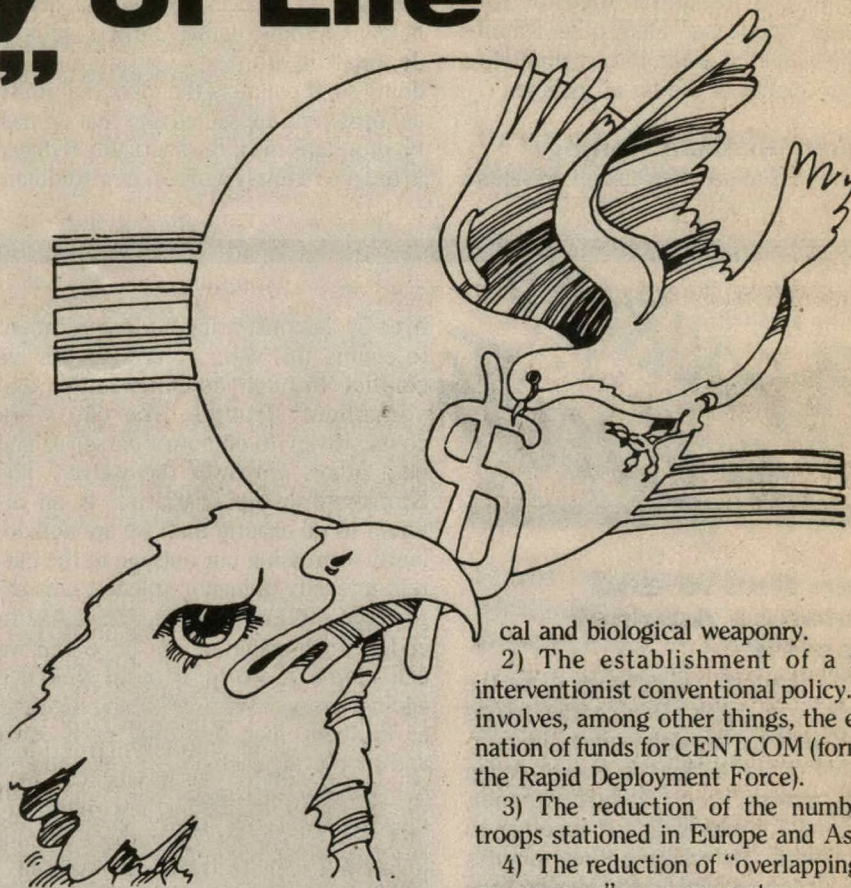
In April, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) released its "Quality of Life Budget" as an alternative to Reagan's FY 1987 budget. In this document, the CBC outlines economic priorities which, it contends, "would assure a decent quality of life for all Americans."

The Congressional Black Caucus was formed in 1970 when 13 black members of the U.S. House of Representatives joined together to "promote the public welfare through legislation designed to meet the needs of millions of neglected citizens." This is the most recent in a series of alternative budgets produced by the CBC, the first of which was introduced in 1981. Several peace and social justice organizations, including Jobs With Peace and the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, are publicizing alternative budgets largely based on the one produced by the CBC.

Not a Pacifist Alternative

The budget, unfortunately, is not one a pacifist is likely to embrace without criticism, since it allots \$255.4 billion for a "secure national defense." However, it does make strong criticisms of some Reagan military policies and advocates a large increase in spending for social services. While it advocates military spending, at least its request is \$64.9 billion lower than the Reagan request.

This alternative budget can be a useful document for organizers even though the CBC accepts some basic security myths (the need for "increasing readiness," the concept of deterrence, etc.). Because it comes from a "respectable" source, the U.S. Congress, it may help in getting the attention of people who would otherwise ignore a budget study originating from the peace and social justice movement. Care must be taken, however, not to



blindly promote the authoritativeness of congressional studies, and thereby inadvertently bolster the government's credibility as the sole source of "expert" information.

The Military Budget

The military portion of the "Quality of Life Budget" was prepared by Rep. Ron Dellums (CA) and Rep. Patricia Schroeder (CO), both members of the House Armed Services Committee. The alternative budget focuses on seven general goals as follows:

1) Reducing the risk of nuclear war. The CBC budget falls short by making the assumption that "some existing nuclear weaponry may be necessary to deter nuclear war." However, it opposes any first-strike capability and suggests the elimination of all new funds for 21 additional MX missiles, for 21 Trident II missiles, or for the production of additional sea-launched and ground-launched cruise missiles. It also calls for the elimination of funding for the development of chemi-

cal and biological weaponry.

2) The establishment of a non-interventionist conventional policy. This involves, among other things, the elimination of funds for CENTCOM (formerly the Rapid Deployment Force).

3) The reduction of the number of troops stationed in Europe and Asia.

4) The reduction of "overlapping and unnecessary" weapons systems.

5) Reform procurement practices to end "waste and abuse."

6) Full funding for programs for military families.

7) A major "conversion investment and employment program."

The budget also rejects "three fundamental tenets of the Reagan military build-up: first, that we need nuclear first-strike and war-fighting capabilities; second, that our forces should be used to impose our views on Third World nations; and third, that we should prepare to refight World War II in Europe."

Social Justice

An important component of the "Quality of Life Budget" is its strong support for programs that contribute to human welfare. Internationally, the CBC budget calls for increases in development assistance programs and for food, refugee, and economic assistance programs to the world's poorer people.

Domestically, the budget provides support for strong health care programs, Medicaid and Medicare, and outreach

David Croteau is a WRL national staffperson.

and support services for the victims of AIDS. It also supports education and training programs, and calls for the federal government to "assure a reasonable income and nutritious diet for low-income Americans." Many other features of the budget also aim to contribute to a higher quality of life for all people.

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings

The CBC alternative budget presents a

blueprint for social justice in the new era of Gramm-Rudman-Hollings. Even with a substantial amount of money going to "defense," the alternative budget still manages to reduce "the federal deficit below Gramm-Rudman targets without decimating domestic programs." In doing so, it counters the myth that military programs are sacred and that domestic programs must be drastically reduced in order to comply with Gramm-Rudman.

The CBC budget is a long way from being a "perfect" alternative. However, the thoroughness of the document does make it worth our attention. Copies of the budget may be ordered from the Black Congressional Caucus, H2-344 House Annex #2, Washington, DC 20515, telephone (202) 226-7790. ■

RESOURCES & EVENTS

Men Call to End Violence Against Women

"Brotherstorm" is believed to be the first national men's call for action to end men's violence against women. In coordinated public actions in over a dozen cities across the U.S. last summer, thousands of men gathered together to march, rally, and observe three minutes of silence to recognize women who have died or suffered and survived male violence. In some places, women also participated in the actions.

The events took place last June 22, to coincide with the Tenth National Conference on Men and Masculinity being held in St. Louis. The focal point of the actions was the observance of three minutes of silence to represent the fact that a woman is raped in this country every three minutes. The time of silence was observed by similar Brotherstorm actions in many cities, by the Sisterfire Women's Cultural Festival in Washington, DC, and by a Berkeley anti-apartheid rally of 50,000 people.

The inspiration for this action came, in part, from Women Take Back the Night Marches, just as the emerging men's anti-sexist movement as a whole has been inspired by and arisen out of, the feminist movement and the challenges posed to many men by feminist women. The original Brotherstorm flyer, in part, states: "We call upon all men to take responsibility for our actions by acting to end this massive invasion of women's

lives by demonstrating our commitment to ending this war. ... We can resolve conflict through communication and nonviolent struggle. We can work cooperatively to empower ourselves and help others empower themselves. The Brotherstorm demonstration is an attempt to do exactly that: we are nonviolently expressing our outrage at the current intensity of men's violence; our sorrow that millions of women have had to endure such suffering; our hope that we can create a world without violence against women. We are walking together as brothers, men nurturing each other and supporting each other as we undergo our struggle to change. We challenge all men to unleash our creative energies in a storm of understanding, compassion, and love."

A national planning committee is al-



The Brotherstorm action, St. Louis, 1985
Photo by Diane Henshel

ready in the process of organizing the second annual day of actions against men's violence against women for this summer. Although it is still unclear whether this will coincide with the Eleventh National Conference on Men and Masculinity being held in Atlanta from July 3-6, an appeal and a challenge is being sent out to any groups and individuals working in the peace and justice movement to respond with ending men's violence actions of their own this summer. In particular, people working with the War Resisters League around the country have the opportunity to plug into an important and radical new movement of resistance, in which the ties to militarism and the draft, in particular, can clearly be made. It is hoped that all men of conscience, as well as women, begin to more actively demonstrate their commitment to ending violence by joining such actions this summer.

For more information contact: Jon Cohen, 726 Westgate #3N, St. Louis, MO 63130, tel. (314) 721-4489, or Michael Rudnick, 220 5th Street, Providence, RI 02906, tel. (401) 272-9262.

— Jon Cohen

WRL Member Sentenced to 100 Days

On March 20, Sam Diener, pro-feminist, public draft non-registrant, and member of the WRL National Committee, began serving a 100-day sentence for a 1983 sit-in at the world headquarters of General Dynamics in St. Louis.

Sam was arrested with ten other student protesters on November 10, 1983 while attempting to establish a public dialogue with General Dynamics' officials regarding the criminality and suicidal nature of producing and profiting from the genocidal cruise missile and Trident submarine. The trial judge, Mr.

Goeke, a long-time member of the military, refused to allow Sam to use a defense based on international law or the "necessity" defense. He was convicted of trespassing and sentenced to 100 days in jail and a \$500 fine.

Sam appealed the decision in order to continue publicizing the importance of acting to stop the production of nuclear weapons. On November 7, 1985, Nora Ryan, a lawyer working with him on the case, presented his arguments at an appellate hearing. It was the first time an appellate court in the state of Missouri had been asked to rule on the right of anti-nuclear weapons demonstrators to utilize "justification" defenses. Sam's appeal was turned down.

Letters of support can be sent to: 1100 Spirit of St. Louis Blvd., Chesterfield, MO 63017. Donations to support his legal fees and ongoing local resistance work would be greatly appreciated.

Please send to: War Resisters League Legal Defense Fund, c/o WRL, 438 N. Skinker Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63130.

—Jon Cohen

Subscribing to Propaganda

The United States Information Agency (USIA) distributes a Russian language propaganda magazine called *Amerika* in the Soviet Union. But what the government says about us to the Soviets remains somewhat of a secret since the USIA refuses to allow Americans to receive the magazine! Joe Felmet, a WRL member in Winston-Salem, NC, has sued the USIA, asserting that denial of access to *Amerika* violates a right derivative of the First Amendment to receive information promulgated by the U.S. government and distributed to civilians of other nations. The USIA has

said that Felmet may read the magazine only at the agency's premises in Washington, and that even then, he would not be allowed to take notes or make copies. As far as he can tell, Felmet thinks that there are 18 such propaganda publications distributed by the USIA.

French Gandhians to Hold Conference

The Community of the Ark (the Gandhian movement in France) is organizing a conference in English for those interested in finding out more about non-violence and community life. It will take place on September 2-11 at an Ark community founded by Lanza del Vasto northwest of Montpellier, France. For more information contact: Jane Prentiss, La Borie Noble, 34260-Le Bousquet D'Orb, France.

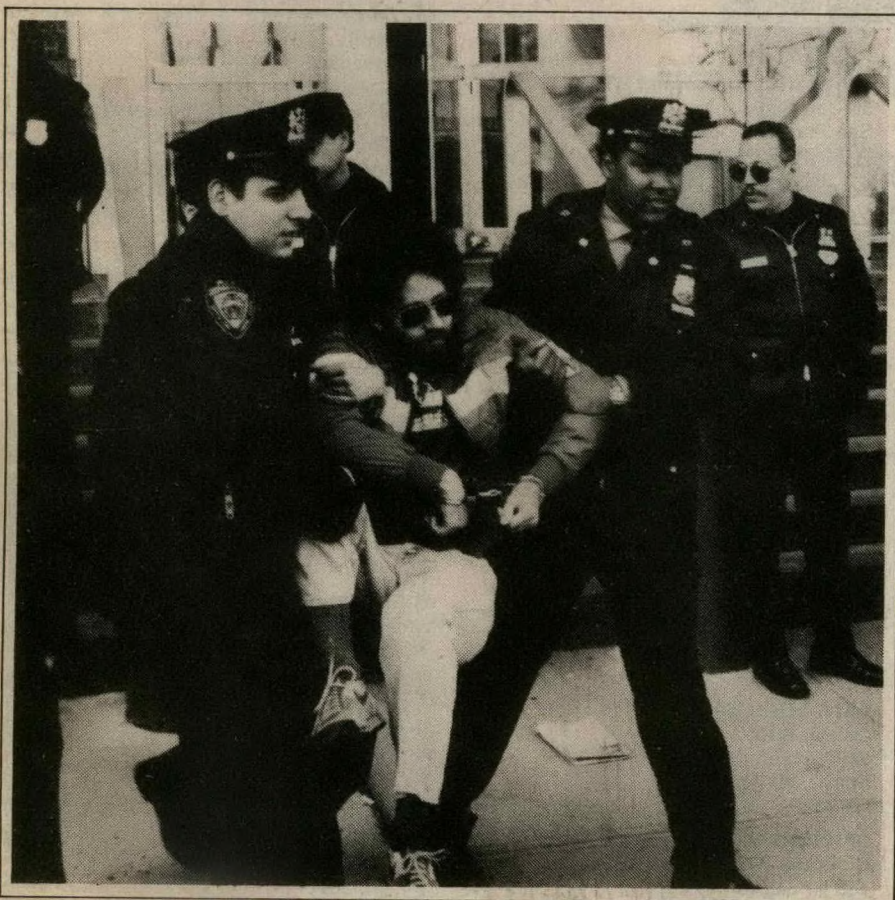
How to Handle a Military Recruiter — Duck!

There was nothing unusual about a visit from military recruiters to Perryburg High School in Ohio last fall. They appear periodically, representing the courage, skill, and competency of the U.S. Army. It was unusual, though, that as the two recruiters demonstrated how to disarm a man with a pistol, one soldier accidentally shot the other in the stomach! The high school assembly gathered for the event was not impressed. Neither were the soldiers' superiors. They were disciplined for "negligence in obtaining proper prior approval for establishing the demonstration, carrying a loaded weapon in public in disregard of basic safety considerations, failing to ensure the weapons were safe before usage at a demonstration, and failing to ensure that the safety and welfare of the public and members of the demonstrations team were protected."

As a result of the incident, new procedures were developed that specify that "weapons involved in such demonstrations either be inoperable or simulated weapons." Maybe all of the military's weapons could be made this safe.

International War Tax Resistance Conference

An "International Conference of Military Tax Resisters or Peace Tax



Nuclear Test Protest—WRL Executive Committee member, Charlie Scheiner, is carried by police after being arrested with nine other demonstrators in front of the U.S. Mission in New York City. The demonstration was held two days after the March 22 U.S. nuclear test which took place despite the Soviet moratorium on testing. Thirty people held a legal vigil while ten people, including representatives from WRL, FOR, and the Nuclear Freeze Campaign, stood in front of the U.S. Mission steps holding signs and leafletting passersby. Photo by Tony Yarus

Campaigns" will be held September 18-21 in Tübingen, West Germany. It is sponsored by "Live Without Weapons," a West German-based Christian peace organization and the national Peace Tax Initiative. Groups and individuals from over 20 countries have already registered for the conference. To register, or for more information, contact: Ohne Rüstung Leben, Klaus Waiditschka, Kornbergstr. 32, 7000 Stuttgart 1, Federal Republic of Germany; tel. 711-221891 or 711-293388.

Bike for Peace '86

An international group of 40 cyclists will join in an effort to promote world peace by embarking on a six week, 1,400 mile trip, starting in Kiev and ending in New York. The cyclists will include people from the U.S., Canada, the Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia. For more information, contact: Teamworks/Bike for Peace, 125 Main Street, Westport, CT 06880.

Vegetarian's Delight

In 1981, under direction from the new Reagan administration, the Department of Agriculture proposed that catsup be classified as a vegetable for school lunch purposes. Now the Department has come up with a new claim: nuts are meat. It proposes to allow nuts and seeds that are "nutritionally comparable to meat" to be substituted in school lunch, summer food services, and child care programs.

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WRL/New England
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San Francisco, CA 94117
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Southern California WRL
c/o Janet Johnstone
541 North Gower
Los Angeles, CA 90004
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COLORADO
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Fort Collins, CO 80521
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Detroit, MI 48208
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MISSOURI
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St. Louis, MO 63130
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NEW YORK
Long Island WRL
311 Terry Road
Hauppauge, NY 11788
(516/265-5494 or 724-8730)

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(212)228-0450

OREGON
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Eugene, OR 97401
(503/343-8548)

PENNSYLVANIA
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Philadelphia, PA 19146
(215/545-4626)

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Dallas WRL
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Dallas, TX 75215
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Houston Nonviolent Action/WRL
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Utah WRL
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(801/278-1440 or 359-8276)

WASHINGTON
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(206/272-9525)

WEST VIRGINIA
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Morgantown, WV 26505
(304/296-6289)

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2058 Gilman Circle North
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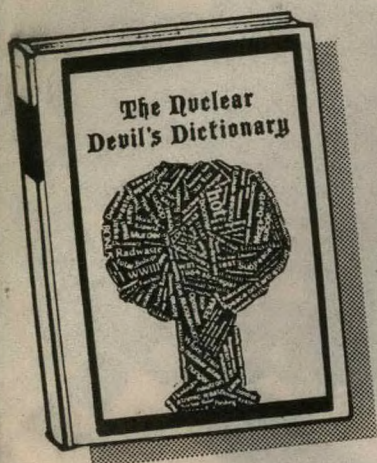
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