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DieHard



Letters

TROTSKY ON TRAGEDY

The Editor
Washington Free Press

Kelly Monaghan, in an article entitled "Kaleidoscope" appearing in the February 29 issue, makes the statement, "Chayefsky is too smart to believe that tragedy has any relevance to the modern world."

I think this view reflects a failure to identify the subject of contemporary tragedy. Leon Trotsky, in Literature and Revolution, made the following observation:

"As long as man is not yet master of his social organization, that organization towers above him like Fate itself. . . . The tragedy of restricted personal passion is too flat for our time--we live in an epoch of social passion. The stuff of contemporary tragedy is found in the clash between the individual and a collective or between hostile collectives represented by individuals. Our time is once again a time of great purpose . . . man attempts to free himself from all mystical and ideological fog and to reconstruct society and himself. . . . This is larger than the childish play of the ancients. . . . or the monastic ravings of the Middle Ages, or the presumption of an individualism which wrenches the human personality from its social environment, exhausts it utterly and then hurls it into a vacuum of pessimism. . . ."

Trotsky's definition puts both Kafka and Arthur Miller in their proper perspective.

Sincerely yours,
Ben Lamberton

C.O. DEFERRED FROM WHITE HOUSE VISIT

Dear Editor:

A performing musician, I recently auditioned for a local Service band, whose sole purpose is to entertain and give concerts. I am a C.O. claimant who, lacking the guts to become a "draft resister," tried to find a way to function within the service without compromising my principles. I was told: "You were our first choice for the job, and the best player, but you cannot get security clearance to play in the White House because of your C.O. claim." Of course, this does not mean that my local board would sustain my claim for C.O. status, if my student deferment runs out. The implication is that anyone is good enough to kill and be killed in Vietnam, but a pacifist is too dangerous to be permitted into the White House.

If you find this incident of interest, feel free to print it. If not, I guess it is one of the less tragic of the offenses made against mankind by the Selective Service and our military establishment.

Yours truly,
George R. Seaman

HOGS BUTCHER YIPPIES???

Dear Washington Free Press,

In Jerry Rubin's "And in America We Are All Learning to Become Viet Cong" the second scenario involved some predictions for Chicago this summer. About the President calling the troops back from Vietnam to restore order to Chicago and being nominated "under the protection of tear gas and bayonets." Maybe. But more likely his response to increased pressure from our "Viet Cong" will be more similar to his recent response to the Vietnamese Viet Cong. Consider the following scenario:

Chicago: August, 1968

In a peculiar sort of way it was really beautiful. They were pouring into the nation's (or Sandburg's) Hog Butcher. Some came by plane into the world's second busiest airport (that's funny, didn't it used to be first?). More came by road--driving or hitching--from the East through Meredith Wilson's Gary, Indiana, Gary, Indiana (somebody's sweet (Smelly?) home) on the "Main Street of the Midwest" and from the West through the nation's breadbasket. But they all came for the same purpose--to let "them" know where they stood and that they wanted some changes made, and they wanted them now. That's what was beautiful about it.

But "they" had their answers, too. And that's what was not beautiful about it. Big Dick Daley wasn't going to take any shit around (hell, he wouldn't even let anybody sit around). You guys mess around at all, and we use the guns. That's what he said.

So there it was, way out in the middle of nowhere--Chicago, one huge festering infection all by itself. A manifestation of the ills of a society, a showcase for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (that means riots, baby)--two societies emerging and conflicting. And now added on to it two more conflicting groups arguing about where the whole fucking country was going.

It was bound to explode. Dick Gregory even predicted it a long time ago. How could it be avoided? It sounded like a fight at Madison Square Garden (or maybe at Chicago Stadium)--Dick Gregory vs. Big Dick Daley, Stokely Carmichael vs. Hubert Humphrey, and Dr. Spock vs. Lyndon "Bird" Johnson. Wow, it was like a lost of "not-to's" for a Washington cocktail party.

And, surprise, it did explode! The Convention was like a monkey house--inside the Ampitheater and outside in the streets. Woodlawn was worse than Detroit and Watts put together. You could see the flames in Mayor Egan's Aurora. Daley's cops at first, then Kerner's men, then, at last, LBJ's riot-trained National Guardsmen. To bring an end to insurrection in the streets (before it got to the other side of State and Adams anyway), to end the challenge to law and order, to let them know who was running the show.

And then the President left in Air Force One. Curiously, so did Daley. But the fighting went on, the flames got higher--you could see them from atop the Washington monument. Then, all of a sudden--BOOM!!!

Lyndon turned to General Wheeler who was sitting next to him in Air Force One with a questioning look on his face--what, pray tell, could that have been? General Wheeler leaned over, with a slight smirk on his face (and a gleam in his eye), and explained--"We had to bomb the city to save it."

Tom Riddell

MATURE VISION MISSING

Editor
Washington Free Press

Your March 7 edition was a fascinating introduction to the rhetoric of both the New Left and the Black Power thing. In Stokely's Oakland speech and in Jerry Rubin's, "and in america we are all learning to become vietcong," there was little content, unimportant as that might seem these days, amid the nebulous and glittering generalities. Unfortunately, once past the inflammatory titles of these two articles, a discerning reader searches in vain for any proposals for what is to occur after the Movement and the Establishment confront each other at Armageddon. I can't see a nation of two hundred million, such as the U. S., being governed by the principles presented by Mr. Rubin, particularly when one considers how extremely conservative the United States really is. I am very much in favor of each man doing his thing, but I certainly don't want to be governed by a new generation whose concerns as enumerated by Mr. Rubin, "... who say 'fuck' on television;... who see property as theft;... who have nothing material to lose but their bodies;" seem to me to be as forced and as petty in their own right as the Establishment kinds of hangups presently being catalogued and criticized by the Movement. Why do Rubin, Carmichael, et. al. feel so defensive that they have to justify their positions? They're as caught up in rationalization as the straights they're putting down. "In the place of a matured social vision there will always be those who will gladly substitute the catastrophic and glorious act of martyrdom and self-immolation for a cause,"--Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual.

Michael Holden

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SCLC Poor

By Frank Speltz

(March 10) "Everybody's talking about the poor, everybody's talking to the poor, but nobody's listening to the poor. That's the purpose of this campaign, to make the poor visible, to make the poor audible."

The SCLC organizer added, "We hope to begin exploding the 'myth of the self-made man.' The fact is that 50 million people are statistically eliminated by the system. This is not a Negro campaign -- it's a poor people's campaign."

Present plans call for Martin Luther King's Poor People's Campaign to begin April 22, although he may still be in Biafra, where he is flying next month on a "mission of reconciliation." Although his Nigerian trip is given as the official excuse for postponing the campaign, local organizers privately admit that they are far behind their original timetable and would have been hard pressed to mount an effective campaign beginning April 1.

SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) has rented an old storefront office at 1401 U St., N.W. for the duration of the spring. At present five full-time organizers are in town: Bill Moyer (a former American Friends Service Committee organizer who worked with King in Chicago and has now joined SCLC), Tony Henry (an AFSC organizer from Chicago and on loan from that organization), "Big" Lester Hankerson (an SCLC organizer), Henry Bromley (SCLC), and J.T. Thompson (SCLC). The last three are all from Georgia and have been SCLC organizers since the early '60's.

Their role in Washington is a dual one: to line up national and local support and funds for the Campaign, and to handle the national coordination of the project.

Andy Young (King's heir apparent in SCLC) was in town last week drumming up support among various church groups.

He at least succeeded in adding several full-time organizers to the campaign: the Board of Lutheran Planning has promised one person; the National Council of Churches is sending David Robb (from the Congregationalist church at 10th and G Sts., N.W.); Burke Dorworth of the Presbyterian Church is coming on board; and Young also talked to the Inter-religious Committee on Race, which is expected to come through with someone shortly. The Episcopal Church and the Catholic Archdiocese are "likely" to make one organizer available each.

Other support came from the National Association of Social Workers and the local Health and Welfare Council, who have both gone on record in vigorous support of the campaign, so long as it "remains non-violent." George Wiley of the Poverty Rights Action Center (an alliance of welfare recipients) and MLK have pledged mutual support in the campaign. The United Black Front will "not interfere" with the campaign, because "we have the same goals." Stokely Carmichael is confining his criticism to SCLC's insistence on "doing the big thing now," according to an organizer. "He feels we should be organizing a local power base before whitey wakes up and takes that possibility away."

The A. Philip Randolph Institute has quietly pulled out its support. Bayard Rustin (organizer of the 1963 March on Washington) told King last week in Miami that "SCLC is wasting its time. National non-violent demonstrations are no longer politically effective."

One local organization, reported to wield considerable local power, has publicly gone on record against the campaign. Several weeks ago, Mr. L.B. Johnson of the United States Government (1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.) urged King to cancel his plans. Moyer wryly comments, "The Federal and local governments have more people working on the campaign



around the country than the entire national SCLC staff." SCLC has 60 some full time staff.

The campaign has three "initial stages," which is as far as the advance planning is going. SCLC is very sensitive about charges of paternalism. "We're not organizing a neatly packaged, closed-off demonstration. We merely want to be the catalyst that brings sev-

eral thousand poor people to Washington in a highly visible, no-nonsense way. Once they get here, the rest is up to them.

Moyer continued, "The first stage will involve training and transporting as many poor people from across the country as time and money will permit. Once here, we hope to help them set up a "New City of Hope," probably on the Mall. We are asking

the Boy Scouts of America to provide us several hundred of their National Jamboree tents. We are organizing doctors, teachers, etc., to provide the kind of medical and educational and social services only the upper classes can purchase today. What better place to dramatize the inadequacies of the present system than the Mall?

"As they get settled and organized, and as their numbers grow, they will engage in phase No. two: extensive and unusual lobbying all over the Federal Government. This will be a fantastic learning experience for them to take back to their local communities. It should also be a good learning experience for Federal officials.

"The third stage will evolve if and when the poor people sense that the government is not going to meet their demands for such things as a guaranteed annual income, extensive free health care for all, much improved schools, etc. It will be the product of meetings held within the New City of Hope. It will begin with such activities as Dr. King preaching a Sunday morning sermon on the injustice in the system from the steps of the Supreme Court. Where it will end will be between the poor people and the government.

"One of the reasons we have gone to such lengths to emphasize the non-violence of the campaign and to train the people coming in the discipline of non-violence is that we want it to be a lesson to all America: when the police and the National Guard enter the picture with their violence, we want it to be abundantly clear to America who started the violence. The day has not yet arrived in this country when people are afraid to come to Washington to petition their government to redress their grievances."

Moyer added that the local SCLC staff is very anxious to speak to local groups about the campaign. Their number is 462-7000.

PRIDE CONTINUED

By Frank Speltz

(March 7) "The Labor Department is leaving no stone unturned" in its investigation of the PRIDE controversy, aired fully for the first time in last week's FREE PRESS. "We're doing everything we can to unearth the facts in this situation," Adolph Slaughter of the Labor Department emphasized today.

Last Friday, March 1st (the day the FREE PRESS article appeared) Mark Battle and Slaughter called Rufus "Catfish" Mayfield, Emory Mavins, and Leroy Jones to a "private" meeting at the Office of Community Renewal, 1145 19th St., N.W. As the meeting began, Mary Treadwell, Marion Barry, and Carroll Harvey, directors of PRIDE, were informed of the meeting by someone in the Office of Community Renewal. This is not a surprising occurrence, considering that Carroll Harvey is a member of that office's staff on loan to PRIDE.

The PRIDE directors called Battle and Slaughter and demanded that they be included in on any meeting about PRIDE. Battle and Slaughter (What's in a name?) retorted that this was a "private" meeting and that they would be glad to meet with the PRIDE directors at

some other time. Twenty minutes later the three from PRIDE arrived at the meeting on 19th St. and demanded to sit in on it. Battle and Slaughter finally had to leave the meeting and confer with Barry, Treadwell, and Harvey in the hall for several minutes. After some time, the meeting resumed without the three PRIDE directors, although everyone in the room was "visibly disturbed" by the incident, according to one participant.

The Labor Department refused to make any comments on the validity of Mayfield's charges, preferring to "wait until all the evidence is in." None of the PRIDE directors were available for comment.

Friday, March 8, Catfish Mayfield turned the tables in the press conference game: he showed up uninvited to a PRIDE press conference about new projects. Carroll Harvey asked him to leave, in vain. After listening for an hour, Catfish left.

Until the establishment of a drug treatment drop-in center in D.C., Paul Kane, Neo-American Church Boo-Hoo of Yonder's Wall, will see anyone with drug problems, bad trips, etc. at the Wall. He may be contacted by phone at 337-9307.

F "that four letter word"

By Art Grosman

The theater of the absurd was played out Monday night at the first and probably the last meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee for a Sane School System (AHCSSS).

The gathering of about 80 parents, teachers and students listened to a series of rather boring lectures on morality and the use of "that four letter word" in the school system of the District of Columbia.

The AHCSSSers had formed to protest the use of an article titled "The Case for Retiring our Most Overworked Four-Letter Word" which was used in two sociology classrooms at McKinley High School. The article was first published in Avant Garde Magazine. The two teachers who used the article were reprimanded.

ed by the administration, and one of them was relieved of his teaching duties.

After an hour of speeches, the AHCSSS chairman, John M. Thornton, presented a written motion to again condemn the two teachers, call the school board to condemn the use of all obscene material in the classroom and conduct a witch hunt to purge all DC schools of four letter words.

Then the Committee made the disastrous decision of opening discussion of their proposal to the floor. The crowd had become insulted and outraged after hearing AHCSSSers like John Immer tell the students present that they were not wise enough to determine what material would corrupt their minds.

One student attacked the Committee members of being hung up on "that four letter word" if they thought that it was a sexual stimulant.

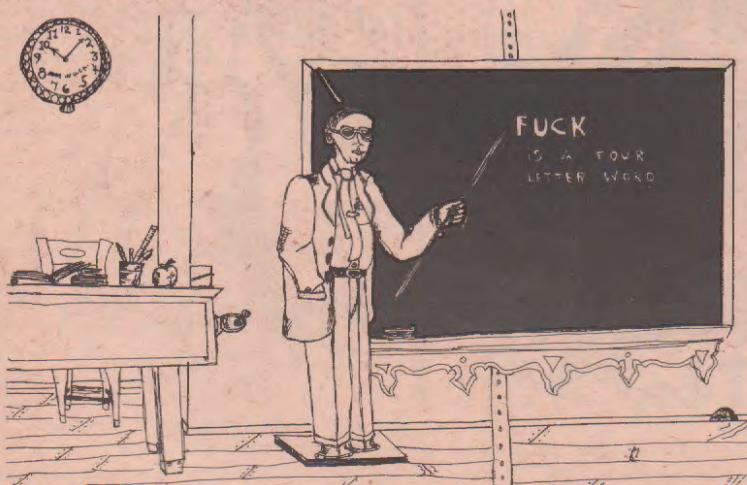
A McKinley teacher accused the Committee members of not having even read the article in question, and he assigned them a big ad hoc "F" for their efforts.

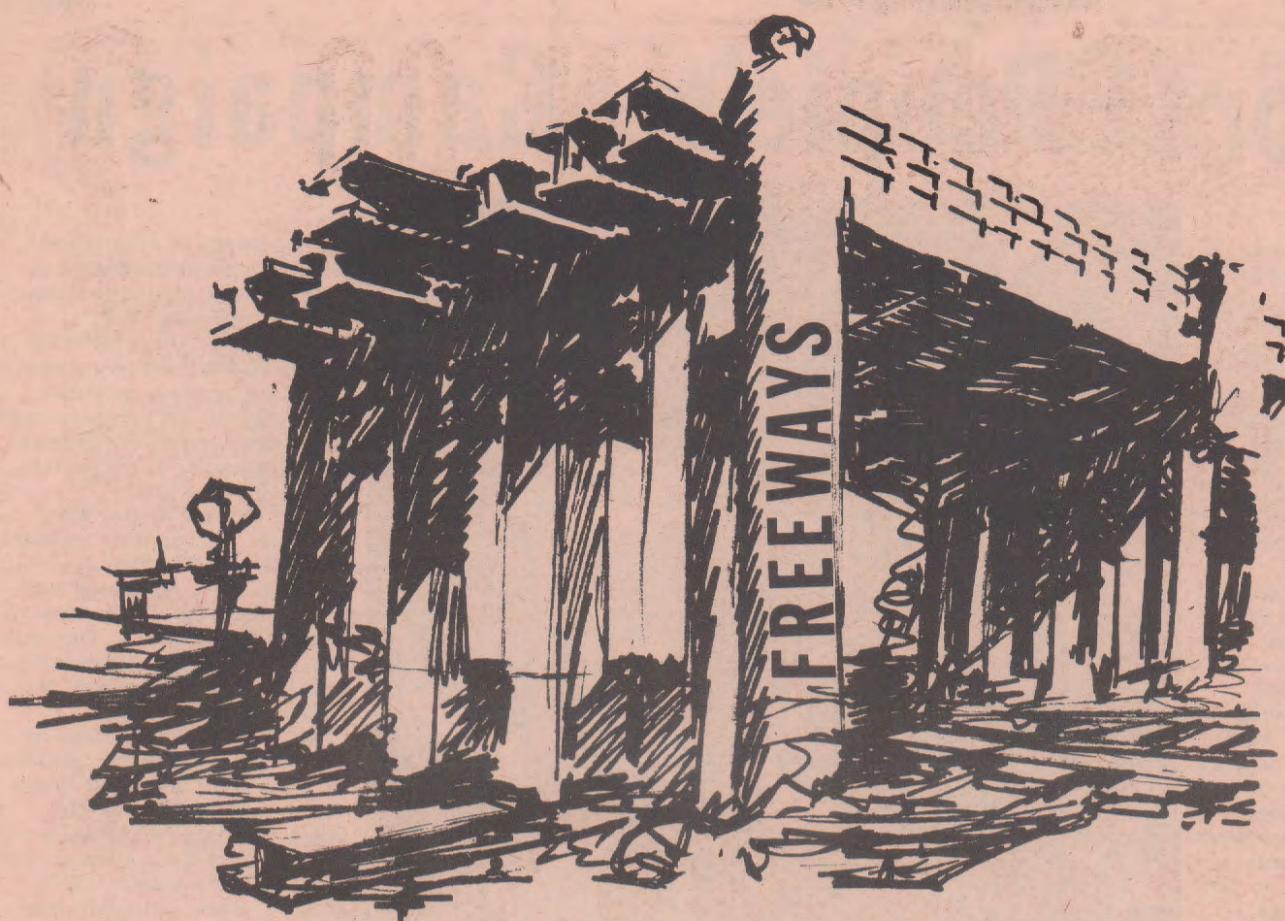
Another mother said that while it might not be good to learn about "that four letter word" in school, at least the lesson was "telling it like it is." A student then took the microphone and accused the Committee of being embarrassed by "that four letter word" because in their day girls wore their necklines on their chins and their hemlines where their boots began.

John Immer then tried to give an explanation of how the Committee was trying to protect the morals of our children, but he was quickly accused by another mother of being the President of the Federation of Citizens Association and reminded that they only recently found it proper to vote for DC home rule.

Speaking of morals -- "that four letter word" which was the cause of so much havoc was not uttered even once during the meeting so this reporter, a product of the DC school system, after being warned only to speak to the proposal, had little to say except "Fuck the proposal."

The meeting ended.





Racial slavery was a system whereby white men grew rich through direct exploitation of black men. It is doubtful that that system, defunct for a century, was nearly as oppressive or as pervasive as modern indirect exploitation of black men by the white man. The most striking example of this modern form of slavery in Washington, D. C. is the Transportation Plantation.

Simply put, there are fields on the Man's Plantation: (1) Freeways--"taking black men's homes to make white men's roads" (2) Buses--"urban poor subsidizing suburban rich" (3) Subways--example: Columbia Heights-Cardozo line scrapped and postponed in favor of a Southwest and a Connecticut Avenue line (4) Bridges--used as leverage in "aiming" freeways at D. C. ghettos (5) Parking Lots--Boon for real estate speculators who work hand-in-hand with the free way proponents (6) Taxicabs--Zone boundaries set to benefit upper class white areas and penalize automobile-bus-poor ghetto dwellers. Below are detailed accounts of the problems the people of this city face in the freeway crisis.

By Julian Bush and Frank Speltz

The February issue of *Progressive Architecture* draws an interesting correlation between urban renewal and "urban revolt." "New Haven has one of the highest per capita urban renewal allocations in the country (\$390 per person compared with New York's \$46 per capita)." It points out that during the 1950's New Haven's urban renewal was directed toward highways and traffic routes to speed the movement of suburbanites to the downtown. This did little for the Negro except "move him." Last summer HUD's "model city" exploded with black unrest and revolts.

General James Gavin emphasizes this point in the February 24th issue of *Saturday Review*: "Inside this underculture of the poor . . . the goals and aspirations of American society appear as one vast fraud. . . . Each magic program that remains unfunded drives them tighter into their world. A new superhighway is to be built; immediately all the neighborhoods with power in city politics lobby to make certain the highway does not disrupt their lives. In the end, the highway goes through the ghetto, where the residents have no political punch. This recently happened in Washington, D. C., where Congressmen shifted a planned federal highway from the northwest--where most of them live--to the northeast, where the residents are mostly black and in poverty."

Alan Boyd, Transportation Secretary, put it more graphically: "All the traffic surveys say it (the freeway) should be built along the Wisconsin Avenue corridor, but the people

who live along Wisconsin Avenue or have businesses there have much more political clout than the people on the other side of town." A decade ago, the freeway was planned to run along the District shore of the Potomac--gradually Congress shifted its course eastward until "political clout" evaporated.

Recently, two separate events brought the freeway program to a grinding halt: the first was Alan Boyd's decision to veto the plans for both the Three Sisters Bridge and the North Central Freeway. Three Sisters Bridge would have facilitated the dumping of thousands more Virginia autos upon downtown, causing clamor for more freeways to handle the increased flow of traffic, increasing parking lot rates, and subtracting even more riders from the Virginia bus lines. The freeway would have dislocated traffic and dumped countless more autos on downtown congested streets. The second event was the unanimous opinion of the United States Court of Appeals halting all planning and construction of \$182 million worth of bridge and highway construction in the District of Columbia. This decision was based on an 1893 D. C. statute requiring public hearings before approval of highway projects.

Fact: The Federal Highway Act stipulates that the "initiative" for new highways must come from the community's citizens.

Fact: In all of D. C., in all of Prince George's County, in all of Montgomery County, there is not one civic association or community organization that supports the freeway, let alone having "initiated" its building.

Fact: The real initiative came from the Metropolitan Area Transportation Commission. This quasi-legal body is an all-white middle class group with a majority of its members residing in Maryland and Virginia.

Some interesting sides are being drawn in this battle:

(1) The "road gang"--Washington's many lobbyists, consultants, engineers, and trade association officials representing cement, tire, gasoline, and automobile industries.

(2) The Highway Users Conference--Its chairman happens to be Harold Wirth, Washington lobbyist for Firestone Tire and Rubber. "If these people around Boyd had their way, there wouldn't be a paved street in Washington." Recent Wirth lament.

(3) Assistant Mayor Tom Fletcher, recently of San Diego and its freeways.

(4) Representative George Fallon (D. of Baltimore), chairman of the Public Works Committee.

(5) Representative John Kluczynski (D. of Chicago), chairman of the Subcommittee on Federal Highways.

(6) Representative William Natcher (D. of Kentucky),

and chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee for the District of Columbia. He has threatened to cut off D. C.'s subway program unless the highway program is continued.

(7) Leonard Doggett, parking lot magnate and chairman of the Board of Trade.

(8) Redevelopment Land Agency, eager to play some more urban renewal games in Northeast.

(9) Real estate brokers and speculators.

(10) D. C.'s Republican Party, conspicuously silent on both the freeway issue and the bus fare issue--it stands to gain a great deal from the wholesale upheaval and division of the heavy Negro Democratic population in Northeast.

Arrayed against these powerful forces are the following men and groups:

(1) Every citizens association in the Metropolitan Area, ranging from John Immer's conservative Federation of Citizens Associations to Stokely Carmichael's United Black Front. This includes many suburban groups.

(2) The Emergency Committee on the Transportation Crisis, headed up by Sammie Abbott (a former union organizer) and Reginald Booker, black militant (vocal member of the United Black Front). This group provided the shock troops for the many skirmishes with the government.

(3) Northeast Neighborhood Council, a middle class Negro association.

(4) Democratic Party (especially the Northeast Young Democrats).

(5) Catholic University and Gallaudet College (for the deaf), both of which stand directly in the path of the freeway.

(6) CHANGE--a Cardozo area anti-poverty agency, whose members remember the battles of the early '60's, when their "political clout" was being measured. CHANGE is also irked about the cancellation of the subway line through its neighborhood, and wants a complete study of the transportation picture made in D. C.

(7) The Upper Northeast Group Ministry, an alliance of 22 clergymen.

* * * * *

Wednesday, Feb. 28 the combined forces met with Robert Kennedy's staff for 2-1/2 hours to try to get him to throw his weight into the anti-freeway battle. Immediately afterward they tried to see Congressman Kluczynski, but he was "out."

Reginald Booker of the Emergency Committee announced six demands:

(1) All freeway items must be removed from the D. C. budget as illegal after the court ruling.

(2) White suburbanites must be removed from the Metropolitan Area Transportation Commission and they must be replaced with D. C. black representatives.

(3) Highways in D. C. must be planned for the convenience of D. C. residents--not for non-taxpaying suburbanites.

(4) All homes already taken by the D. C. government in the path of the freeway be used to meet the critical housing needs of the city. The city should not increase its role as a slum landlord.

(5) The city should give priority to building the subway system first--then explore the need for any additional highways. If any transportation system is needed by the ghetto, it is rapid transit (subway). The ghetto is the only area of the city densely populated enough to make rapid transit pay.

(6) The city should fire the director of the Department of Traffic and Highways for having overstepped his authority in authorizing the freeway destruction to begin.

The group pointed out that Nashville, Baltimore, San Francisco, and Los Angeles have experimented with the freeway and suffered for it.

The freeway would seem in their eyes to be a tool of the white power structure for destroying the political and economic power of black people in Northeast, by setting up barriers to divide the community, and by massive dislocation of contiguous neighborhoods. The power of eminent domain can only be used when private property is needed for "public use," not for "alien (suburban) use."

Ken Kennedy (Northeast Neighborhood Council, Democratic Precinct chairman, and real estate broker) pointed out that Congress has passed a resolution that no more freeways can be built west of 12th St., N. W. The wholesale destruction of black people's homes is "reminiscent of the way our government treated the Indians in an earlier era." Joe Hariston branded Interstate Route 95 a "gun aimed at the heart of D. C. Where will it strike?"

After the inconclusive press conference, the anti-freeway forces struck again at the City Council meeting March 5, disrupting it until Chairman John Hechinger finally and reluctantly announced a March 13 public hearing on the freeway. No time or place has been announced at this date.

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By Lee Webb

By picking Chicago as the site for the Democratic National Convention, Lyndon Johnson brought the long awaited collapse of the Democratic Party one step closer. Although his choice of the Chicago International Amphitheatre was based on the \$800,000 Mayor Daley offered the Democratic Party to hold its convention in the Windy City, black and anti-war activists were astounded by his blunder. Houston, Dallas, Miami -- any other city but Chicago would have produced only minor and hardly annoying picketing and civil disobedience. Chicago, which besides Berkeley and New York is one of the three strongholds of anti-Johnson forces, has added value (for our point of view) of being geographically central to the Northeast and Middle Western States where the most vocal, popular as well as militant anti-war and black movements are concentrated.

Johnson's blunder made Chicago not only the expected site for greatest left demonstration in modern history, but also picked out the Democratic Party as the prime target for movement organizing. In the face of horror of Johnson's expected renomination, the movement's political and tactical disagreements could be put aside for the duration of this national action.

WHAT'S HAPPENING IN AMERICA

While war and racist domination of the Democratic Party and its policies grow day by day, resistance and rebellion to those same policies grow more rapidly. Even our liberal friends' allegiance to the Democratic Party is crumbling in the face of its war policies abroad and tacitly racist policies at home. Vietnam and urban revolt have unmasked the "liberal" image of the Democratic Party, and exposed to the light of day the selfish and short sighted politicians, the Southern oligarchs, the northern ethnarchs, the corporate managers who pull the controlling strings within the Party. The middle class and its intellectuals, blacks, the working class, Spanish-speaking people, whose loyalty to Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson was proven time after time realize now their interests are at the bottom of the list of Democratic Party priorities.

Johnson and the other rulers of Democrats are heading on a collision course with the mass base of their own party. Blacks in the north watch Democratic-controlled police departments arm for war, assisted and advised by a Democratic controlled Federal Government. Congress cuts welfare, inadequate war on poverty

programs are cut back, federal informers infiltrate civil rights and community groups, black men fight a white man's war in Asia. Students feel the university being absorbed into the war machine. They are made sick by genocidal war in Vietnam and attack on free speech at home. Selective Service forces each student to choose between killing innocent Vietnamese or fleeing the country or spending five wasted years in prison.

Steel workers, autoworkers, laundry workers, and farm workers watch food, automobile, medical care, clothes prices -- everything -- rises faster than hard won wage increases. Their wives remind them that they have less to spend on family needs now in 1968 than in 1966. Taft-Hartley Law injunctions are threatened against unions striking for desperately needed wage increases, and their union leaders still call for COPE donations to finance Johnson's reelection campaign.

Even the middle classes -- the housewives, architects, lawyers, teachers, clerks, government employees watch their taxes rise to pay for this war. Inflation takes its toll on their paychecks as well. Social reform at home, with medicare, increases educational opportunities for their kids, better urban transportation, are tossed into the trash-pile by the Democratic Party until the end of a war that has no end.

Mass dissatisfaction to Johnson's policies at home and abroad from all sectors of the population are hastening the end of the "liberal coalition". The "liberal labor, Negro coalition" is unable to solve social problems. Both at home and abroad violence and repression are its only recourse. Discredited policies that can't be defended in public debate are forced onto a reluctant American people by means of the Democratic Party.

WHAT CAN WE DO

Undermining the loyalty of traditionally loyal blacks, working class, intellectuals, and middle class to the Democratic Party is the only way to resist the renomination of Lyndon Johnson. Beginning with the Spring Days of Resistance, April 21 through April 30, the anti-war, black and student movements should concentrate on the Democratic Party wherever possible. Exposes of Democratic Party officials, Democratic politicians, war contractors, must harass them out of their anonymity and make them publicly accountable for the war in Vietnam and American racism. Whatever the context, draft resistance, rent strikes, welfare rights organizing, Dow demonstrations, black united fronts, the basic connectors to the

Democratic Party and specific party officials in each area must be pointed out.

A massive summer organizing program must follow up on the successes of the Spring Days of the Resistance. Thousands of full time organizers must be recruited. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, blacks, white working class, housewives must be contacted and brought into local activity. Power structure research on the Democratic Party must be intensified, and demonstrations, vigils, marches on Democratic Party offices and their State Conventions must be held.

Culminating this nation wide spring and summer offensive of organizing, demonstrations and educations around the Democratic Party issue, will be a Mass Action at the Democratic Convention itself. The first five days will see 10,000 to 25,000 demonstrators concentrating on a different issue each day. Welfare, unemployment, racism, Vietnam War all will be issues around which a day of confrontation and education will be built. During these first days the targets will be Chicago draft boards, the City Hall, Dow Chemical and other war contractors offices. Also military recruiting centers and military bases in the Chicago area. Nation-wide network and newspaper coverage will be supplemented by our own 12 page daily newspaper.

Violent confrontations with the expected thousands of police, National Guard and U.S. Army will be avoided if possible. Demonstrators will be briefed that police provocateurs must be expected within the demonstrators ranks urging and trying to start fights with police, and these police agents must be thrown out of their ranks.

New tactics are necessary to seize the possibilities inherent in these plans. Although popular opposition to the war in Vietnam has accelerated in the past two years, the anti-war movement has been unable to give it any political or organizational direction. Our early experiences had not prepared us for a political context in which the majority of Americans supported our demands on specific issues, particularly the War in Vietnam. By concentrating only on "radical" programs, we have left a majority anti-war sentiment to be manipulated and confused by the anti-war Senators as well as Lyndon Johnson. We have not tried to weld it into an irresistible political force.

Johnson's choice of Chicago as the site for his renomination has given us another opportunity. The October 21st "Confront the Warmakers" demonstration at the Pentagon has taught us many lessons, especially mistakes not to make. A disciplined and well planned organization is essential for the Chicago effort. Besides

legal help with expected arrests, a housing committee, a project newspaper, a representative and effective steering committee, fund raising, research staff, all are prerequisites. Johnson's present plans call for Federal troops as well as National Guard and Chicago Police to "keep the demonstration orderly." Our own organization must be able to meet these circumstances. An enthusiasm for military or violent confrontations with military/police must defend itself against strong arguments that such battles play into Johnson's hands and are of little political value to the movement. If necessary, we will have to fight this issue out in a fraternal fashion with our military confrontation enthusiasts.

EVERYONE COME

In addition to working out those tactical problems, only broad participation from all sectors of the population will give the demonstration the visibility and the power it needs. The streets of Chicago can absorb 40,000 demonstrators and no one will even know they are around. Johnson directed police tactics and publicity can easily isolate 40,000 or 50,000 demonstrators as irresponsible fringe elements. But 500,000 demonstrators changes the entire context qualitatively. Half a million demonstrators will overwhelm the city, and cannot be ignored. They, not the Democratic Convention, will be the political reality of Chicago.

Besides the need for numbers, the radical sectors of the anti-war and black movements must be joined by the housewives, lawyers, white workers, federal employees, etc. Only a real outpouring of popular sentiment against Johnson and the Democratic Party can shake the pro-war and pro-racist forces. Serious efforts must be made to contact and bring into involvement all those sectors not yet involved in anti-war activity. Liberal types must not be given the opportunity to duck out of their responsibility by predicting a Pentagon-repeat on the streets of Chicago.

PROBLEMS

The problem of getting broad mass participation in local activities leading up to and including the Mass Action has been aggravated by initial publicity. The fight between the National Conference for New Politics and the National Mobilization for the right to organize the Chicago effort as well as other minor organization rivalries raised the spectre of a "Pentagon repeat" in the minds of radicals as well as the less active. These doubts increased on hearing the talk of some anti-war leaders who called for gas masks, shields, motorcycle helmets, and even guns re-

Con't. on Page 6

CHICAGO

Con't. from Page 5

quired equipment for the demonstrators confronting the police in Chicago. Organized in mobile battalions, coordinated with walkie-talkies, and a commitment to winning a fight with the Chicago police would be necessary preparations for an attempt to prevent the Democratic Convention physically from renominating Lyndon Johnson.

The destructive effects of such publicity, sensationalized by the press, were only temporary. Cooler heads quickly prevailed. These experiences and pragmatic organizers hand was additionally strengthened by reports from within the Democratic National Committee which were discovered indicating that Lyndon Johnson and his advisors, far from being frightened of a Pentagon repeat, were counting on it as a key part of their reelection plans. Johnson, it was revealed, plans to run against the left (that is blacks, beatniks, draft card burners, and traitors) in '68, just as he successfully ran against Goldwater and the right in 1964. Violent conformations with Chicago police and the National Guard who will protect the "democratic process" from anti-democratic elements (us), would fit right into his "crime in the streets" campaign cry. Johnson might also try to use the pitched street battles as excuse for more general repression of all dissent.

A WORD ON THE YIPPEES

Rock bands in Chicago are exciting. Who could miss Big Brother and the Holding Company. However, its implicit strategy of provocation and confrontation, its hard to see behind the flowers and light show, raises grave warnings for all of us. It is a dangerous anachronism of a different era (the Pentagon was so many years ago). We now face the life and death necessity of a massive, effective, well organized political challenge to Johnson and the Democrats based on expanding the anti-war and anti-racist movements deeper into middle class, black, student, working class areas. Such a political movement is becoming a matter of life and death to Americans now as well as the Vietnamese. So let's keep the YIPPEE carnival a rock band and flower concert and forget the tactics that will get 12 year old flower children and us all impaled on bayonets.

IMMEDIATE JOBS

Although concerned about tactics and plans for the Chicago mass action, we must not forget that it is only the culmination of a nation wide organizing plan. As SDS leaders and others have pointed out time and time again, national demonstrations are so often one-shot affairs that build nothing permanent at the local level. A program aimed at exposing the Democratic Party undermining it must reverse the traditional priorities. Neighborhood, city, towns, metropolitan areas are the sites for the real work in hitting the Democratic targets. Many of us, in fact, do not plan to make the journey to Chicago in late August, but to concentrate on the local work.

No new organization is planned to do this work. Except for the thousands of full time staff being recruited to work on parts of this program, locally across the nation and a full time office in Chicago, hopefully existing student groups, women political, black, trade unions, community organizations, and anti-war groups will see

the need in making the Democratic party the target of their organizing. There are hundreds of different ways of making connections to the Democratic Party in the draft resistance, consumer organizing, community organizing, elections, anti-secret research movements on campuses, and all other forms of movement work already going on.

THINGS TO DO

1) County or City Democratic committees or Mayors who head Democratic parties should be presented with our draft cards.

2) State Democratic convention might be met with a 1,000 ministers demanding to talk with delegates about morality of war and napalm.

3) Lawyers can prepare briefs and start suits challenging the undemocratic and unrepresentative structure of the local Democratic Party, and demand that the State Convention be called off.

4) Student groups could stage public debates with university officials or faculty members active in Democratic affairs.

5) Big contributors to national or local Democratic party might be targets for sit-ins.

6) The underground press and movement journalists might concentrate on exposing business patronage and personal connections of the Democratic national committeeman and woman from their state.

7) Vigils at the home of the city and state Democratic Party chairman should be organized.

8) Faculty and students can hold Teach Ins on the Democratic Party, focusing on its connections with war contractors to local racketeers.

9) Religious groups and women should demonstrate at homes of manufacturers of napalm, chemical and biological weapons, and anti-arson bombs.

10) Community groups should organize neighborhood war crime tribunals.

11) Community assemblies should be convened to draw up lists of grievances against the Democratic Party.

12) Neighborhood or city wide counter-platform committees should hold hearings on urban problems, attempting to find solutions to problems Democratic either create or avoid. Results of such deliberations might be basis for demonstrations at homes of states delegates to Democratic National Convention.

13) Flying squads of students and anti-war activists should confront every Democratic candidate from Lyndon himself to City Council candidates, state senator, or county assessor demanding he come out against the war in Vietnam and racism at home. No public appearance of Democratic Party officials should escape them.

WHY CREATE A DEMOCRATIC PARTY

The war and racist policies of the Democratic Party are vulnerable in only one place-and that is in their own members, their own "base". The contradiction between the needs and interests of the blacks, working class whites, and intellectuals who make up the Democratic Party and the policies of the Democratic Party leaders accelerates, and gives the movement a great opportunity.

Amongst the long-time Democratic base, there is a new consciousness of unrepresentation. The war, ghetto repression, inflation, strike breaking by the federal government have shaken Democratic voters confidence. Unlike Roosevelt's New Deal which offered the poor and powerless some real help, through the CCC, WPA, NLRB, Social Security, Unemployment Compensation Insurance present Democratic Party policies are hitting these same groups hard economically and

materially. Corporate profits rise while wages go down. The Democrats, the ruling and governing party, are more concerned only with keeping the electoral base under control, and are unable to grasp its own dilemmas, its needs, and a strategy for its own liberation.

Twenty five years have passed since the beginning of the New Deal and the "victory of the common people over trusts and monopolies" yet America's domination by the corporations has increased year by year. The only major change has been the arrival of the military-national security managers as co-partners with the corporations. The Democratic Party intimacy with these groups increased, and it has replaced the Republicans as the Establishment party. The Democrats are the party of the powerful, and the powerless need not apply, (only vote for it).

--Top corporations, banks, insurance companies expand and prosper under the ample umbrella of federal fiscal and monetary policies.

--Lax enforcement of anti-trust laws, "sympathetic" regulatory agencies benefits middle size firms.

--Government contracts guarantee sales and profits to key war industries.

--U.S. foreign policies open new markets throughout the world for corporation's exports and investments.

--U.S. military is always prepared to protect investments and exports abroad through intervention in other nations affairs.

--An \$80 billion defense budget solves any economic problems left over.

--The military is happy with its rising budgets and increasing prominence in public affairs.

--Smaller businessmen, unable to compete for the rewards of the big time, are satisfied with lucrative state and city contracts.

--Southern politicians are protected against insurgent black majorities by lack of Federal protection of blacks Constitutional rights. Their high Congressional seniority solves local political problems by flooding their districts with Federal installations and contracts.

--Northern political machines overwhelm local opposition by their control of Federal welfare programs. Patronage from Washington and their own city, lines their pockets.

--The ambitious and unprincipled from all walks of life try for a shot at public office. The path to power and wealth is through public office.

Such are the rulers of the Democratic Party. To end the misplaced allegiance of the powerless and unrepresented to the Democrats we must expose these rulers and who really benefits from Democratic policies.

We must expose who runs the Democratic Party at the local, state, and national level. We must expose the big contributors, like Engelhard, Harriman and others. We must unearth the war contractors who benefit from war and racism. The Democratic Congressman who supports Johnson to get a Federal Judgeship for his cousin. The Washington DC law-

yers who want a shot at a Federal job. The President's Club members who but public favors for a \$1,000 check. The white politicians who "represent" majority black districts, and the black Congressmen and Democratic officials who "Tom" for LBJ. And the wealthy industrialists who "fight for" their working class constituents.

CONNECTIONS TO MAKE

We must point out the Democratic ties of all those who are perpetuating the beneficial to them, war in Vietnam and racism in America. We must expose them!

THE WARMAKERS, those who won, manage or work for the big war contractors, like North American-Rockwell, Boeing, Brown and Root Construction Co., etc. There are tens of thousands of such firms. The Democratic official or contributor may also be a supplier, purchaser, lawyer, or consultant to such a firm. Others with vested interest in war are the hawkish fraternal, veterans patriotic groups.

THE PROFITEERS, those who (related to firms as above) get their hands on federal subsidies, government contracts, tax credits, friendly rulings from a "regulatory" agency, or benefit overall from swollen profits of war induced boom. Find out if company has anti-labor record or history of poor products and consumer fraud.

THE RACISTS Southern and Northern politicians, businessmen, etc. who are either publicly racist or who economically or politically benefit by keeping blacks, Spanish speaking, or other minorities under control. Look for Democrats who control ghetto real estate, banks, retail stores, etc.

THE CORRUPTERS The Mafia connected politicians who encourage loan sharks, heroin, and criminal control of communities by their silence and inaction. The city, and state officials who hire by favoritism to their friends, or nepotism to their family. The grafters who use public position for their own benefit. All of these stay in the Democratic fold for the protection always available to the faithful.

THE POLITICIANS Office holders or party officials who wheel and deal the favors or public office. Always looking for the compromise, without principles or ethics. Do the bidding of any powerful interest that will pay the price. Counts on his constituents never seeing his voting record.

Just as student groups have made the campuses a hot spot for Dow, military recruiters, and secret research, the entire community must be off limits to the Democratic Party. Just as exposure, confrontations, education, debates gained mass support on campuses for action against the military recruiters, educations, confrontations, vigils, etc. must be the tactics that explain the real rulers of the Democratic Party, and their interests. A broad base of popular support among blacks, students, middle class, and white working class must be the strategic goal.

Only by a massive effort at the neighborhood, city and state level can the misplaced allegiance to the Democratic Party be ended, the social base of a third party created, and the forces mobilized for Chicago mass action at the Democratic National Convention.

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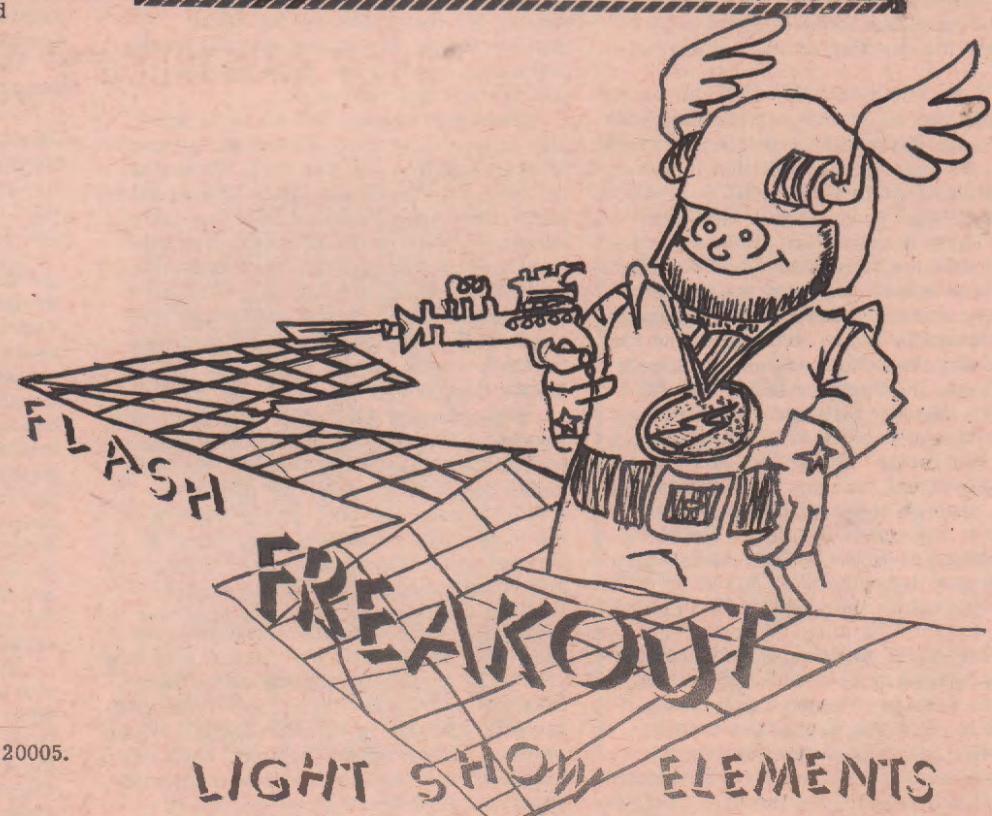
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GINSBERG RAPS AT GU

By Barton Heyman

It was groovy at Georgetown University. 800 seat house stuffed with 1,000 center stage at podium Allen Ginsberg-surrounded after intermission with people on-at top of surrounding stage "Witchita Vort ex Sutra" "Exorcism of Pentagon". Talked with him after-Jesus he must get tired of all the questions but that's who he is, he knows who he is - I guess that gets in his way the same as all of us - He is a fine poet - a brilliant Mind - you naturally wanted to talk to him - We spoke of acid - he takes it a couple times a year - suggests that you wipe away or "release your attachment" to Images - Good or Bad - If you feel as if you could feel better he suggests getting outside - digging mountains, cutting down on meat - breathing exercises in the morning-om-om-Hare Krishna participate in community. He formally exorcised Joe McCarthy's grave in six languages. His mind is into a number of things and he's able to relate various levels and realistic into an energy-mix-blend-told us -as rather related-Carbon Dioxide increasing with air burners-defoliated trees - machine increase - five degree Temperature Increase by year 2000 - Polar Ice Caps Melting Cities - will flood - Scientists say that earth has been bombarded 130 or so times by radiation-nuclear-cosmic-nothing escapes. But undersea and some vegetation on earth surface-so It has happened many times - Coming soon at your local Theatre APOCALYPSE (Apokalyptein - to uncover) See Blood in the hands of the Whore of Babylon - Father Church Ginsberg asked how many smoked pot - approximately 93% had - most also believed that Romney was indeed Brainwashed about Viet-Nam - Ginsberg asked "Who ordered Relocation Camps?" Nobody present had the slightest idea. Do Universities teach what is useful for survival - and at whose expense?

"You are supposed to govern - so govern!"

Watching him fed my head - it was a real Head's Salad - the next day fragments of the feeding still floated through - say oh - overmind run that through again. He wrote Wichita Vortex Sutra driving through Kansas - smoking pot - in a Volkswagen - shooting the shit - digging the Plainssillo-highway-The poem came through pretty much as it is now.

Fight w/ the Mind when necessary stay calm fight/ calm Fi/ Ca F/C i/

Chicago - expect who knows what? Paranoia in the canyons of the Mind/City-but go if you think you can keep it fun - but he swore that other unfun things may happen. Revolution Yes and we're in it - "We are such stuff as dreams are made on and little lines are rounded with a sleep."

Guns? Ginsberg said he didn't fantasize - or dream about guns in his own hands - Viet Nam's UNFUN - Cities in armed revolt UGLY (Depending on what you think life is for) Why give your energy to UNFUN? Let's have fun. The other day some cat pulled a Shiv on him - "Oh come on!" he said and dropped a six pack of Cokes and the cat split. Allen felt that the guy was probably a Junkie and blamed Anslinger & Sons on Repressive bullshit that force an addict to walk the streets w/a knife - who is the victim of whom?

What's happening? "We are reaching a new evolution of consciousness, we are leaving the Earth for Innerspace, we can dedicate who-what-we are for we are Gods. Man has killed numerous Species of animal - his individuality himself in the direction of a coming explosion-mental/physical-meta physical cycle of Biosphere-Consciousness before and after Explosion-Ginsberg has a righteous Mother Wit - at the end of the evening he composed a poem on request - a kind of Zen - NOW unconscious streaming - a collage of associative - dramatically or otherwise opposed for humor, recognition and wonder. Very nice - he wondered how much difference it made on his audience - all I know is he gave a lot of people some of himself - Their recognition of what it means is in the future whatever that is.

Here's a thought - Is it possible that various Jesus Cats found or made or produced or were Induced or somehow put a hole in the Biosphere and we are accelerating into contraction because of the Impossibility of assimilating consciousness pouring through - we race - particles define Themselves against a field of consciousness - can't find the means to harmonize it and are stuck with possessive Greedy Identification with little Colored Dots that seem the only "Reality" and so moved further away from the source until we pass through the Screen or Curtain over the void with Rockets with Bombs with Ripping Explosions to let out the Contraction but must in "Reality" be still and know that we are God but are being pushed by both sides NOW, the lining up of the Saint (Hitler-Johnson-John Brown-Stokely) opposed to the Devil Hitler-Johnson-John Brown-Stokely "Come on you Bastards, do you want to live forever" OH you are full of mischief you Schmucks! You keep poking holes in the Curtain to create the painting without knowing that the curtain is the painting, that's it Jim - there ain't no more.



Paradigm Latter Section of Long Poem "These States"

These are the names of the companies that have made money from Chinese war nineteenhundredsixtyeight Anno domini fivehousandsevenhundredtwentyeight Hebrew fortythousandsixtyeight post-Magdalenean. These are the corporations who have profited merchandising phosphorous or shells fragmented into thousands of flesh-piercing needles and here listed money billions gained by each combine for manufacture and here gains are numbered, index'd swelling a decade set in order, here named the office Fathers in these industries, telephoners directing finance, names of Directors, fate makers, and names of the stockholders of these destined Aggregates, and here are the names of their Capital ambassadors, legislature-representatives, those who drink in hotel lobbies to persuade, suggesting policy coining language proposing thoughtstructure mapping policy, done for a fee as troubleshooters to Pentagon, consulting Military, paid by their industries; and these are the names of the generals & captains of military, who now thus work for wargoods manufacturers; and above these, listed, the names of the banks/combines & investment trusts that control these industries, & their highest lawfirms, and these are the names of the newspapers owned by these banks & persons and these are the names of the airstations owned by these combines; and these are the numbers of millions of citizens employed by these businesses named; and the beginning of this accounting is 1958 and the end 1968, that statistic be contained in orderly mind, coherent & definite, and the first form of this litany begun the first day of December 1967 concludes this poem of These States.

ALLEN GINSBERG

my country tis of thee

(Allen Ginsberg, New York poet, read from his works recently in Gaston Hall at Georgetown University, the Jesuit university in Washington, D. C. After the formal reading, Ginsberg answered questions from the floor. The following is an edited transcript of the interchange that took place. Tape courtesy of Anne Groer.)

Question: What plans are there for the Democratic Convention?

Ginsberg: They would like to go to the convention city--Chicago--this summer--to hold a traditional American jamboree, perhaps internationally, a youth festival--lots of rock and roll. It should be peaceful, with lots of pot, like ban alcohol in Cook County. If not we'll have to sneak in and do it on the breathing exercises. We'll try to keep the delegates of the convention steady in their drunkenness, calm them down, maybe have some music, some flesh, some delights. Otherwise we'll have total paranoia in the city. Is that what you want? . . . Blood? That's what the government is preparing for. We gotta be well prepared. That's what the government is preparing for. . . . I think in terms of going there and having a good time, it makes sense, singing. Others think in more violent terms. I think it would be a good idea if some of us went there to try to keep it delightful.

ful. I don't know. You see it's a fearful thing to get into. They say in some cities some of the police are not stable, we've had some official reports about it--you know the report, in Newark. The report said that the police, and the state troopers and the national guard all used unjustified force after the riot, or rebellion or party or whatever it was going on there--the television show--had stopped, or after the pain had stopped, the national guard started again by shooting at Negro storefronts. . . . So we've got a very sad thing in the government itself acting in ways that are completely illegal, not abiding by the constitution. Like with LeRoi Jones, he was out in a car trying to pick people up--up in a car taking people to hospitals and like a whole bunch of policemen busted into his house and turned everything upside down while his wife lay trembling under a bed with a baby just like Anne Frank or something. Really scary. . . . especially after they beat him up and planted guns on him. . . . I don't know what to do about Chicago. I'm scared to go, but I want to go for moral reasons; I think I'll go because Ed Sanders wants to go. Let's see what we can do. God knows, maybe you can help.

Question: Is it true you married a man?

Ginsberg: We don't fuck anymore, but it's true.

Question: Do you think revolution is needed in America?

Ginsberg: Obviously one is needed. What kind of revolution would be needed I don't know. Apparently Dr. King keeps saying that the white power structure has been more willing to accept violence as a means of reform than non-violent action. I don't want to take care of or be in a violent revolution. I'm just not that interested. It's a drag. It's a bum scene, like they're making now in Vietnam. I'd rather die: it's too much trouble. Going out to shoot people on the street. Ridiculous. Throw rocks. Unless you're doing it already. It's so ridiculous what our government is made of now--a bunch of silly nuts. . . .

I'm wondering, How many people here have smoked pot, or how many people have not smoked pot? (many hands) A majority have not smoked pot? How many people trust Johnson, like the war the way its going? (almost no hands) How many feel that Romney's "brainwashed" term is accurate? (many hands) How many would not like to negotiate with the Vietcong? (no hands) Well that little tail is wagging a big dog, that's all I can say. The disparity between private and public --between what is being done by the government and what really goes on with intelligent people.

Question: Are you an out and out pacifist or are you just against the war in Vietnam?

Ginsberg: At the moment, I'm an out and out pacifist, in the sense that I just don't really get too angry any more. The world's too complicated and sick to get angry over. We are all facing planetary doom, and what is really necessary is total calm and awareness, and openness. The hysteria such as being displayed in our newspapers and television and by our leaders is like precisely the wrong medicine for this planetary crisis that we've got, which is beyond the war in Vietnam, ecological . . .

Question: What poet has influenced you most?

Ginsberg: William Blake influenced me most. Once when I was young, I heard Blake recite: "Sun flower, weary of time, that countest the steps of the sun, seeking that sweet golden clime." . . .

Question: What's your solution to the population explosion--barring any personal idiosyncrasies?

Ginsberg: What are we going to do? Give up our orgasms? Well, like good Catholics, I don't know what you think. But you won't give up your orgasms, most of you. Therefore, first of all, I would say, change family structure to what is suggested by Gary Snyder--matrilineal descent so that the child knows directly who the mother goddess is and is not confused if the mother is making it with several men.

In a large family, as we've had in many communities, especially in this soil, with some of our American forbears, the Indians. Very serious family forms. Very beautiful family forms. We obviously are changing, altering in family structure. . . . There's no reason to think it so strange that it might alter in a direction that some groups of people might want. And the tendency toward commune and community and enlarged family is a very definite tendency, although in most cases in the large cities there's a shade of illegality about it still. But we have government laws so we can change that if we want to have what we want. I would see different kinds of family structure. Couple of girls with one guy, couple of guys with one girl, 20 girls, 20 guys, all making it if they want. Children held in common, matrilineal descent, longhouse, cooperative artesanship, sharing of leisure, delight, banquets, incense, dancing. As for myself, I am not proposing to offer any children to the world--in this particular incarnation.

Question: Do you have any advice as to how to save the cities, which are dying?

Ginsberg: The main thing about the cities is that they need grass and trees as part of the environment. . . .

Question: I'm talking about the sub-structure.

Ginsberg: I'm talking about concrete pavement, sir. . . . What I'm saying is that in my neighborhood, the Lower East Side, where, like, today my wall is out of whack with water, rain coming through, too expensive to get plumbers, and like landlord is a problem, with the Puerto Ricans and the Negroes, people taking knives on me the other day when I came in. A big knife is like that. I said, "Oh, come off it." I dropped six coca-cola bottles, scared him off like that. He was a junkie, a refugee from Giordano and Anslinger, just trying to get his thing, cause he can't go to a doctor, therefore he's set by the whole society in such a desperate position he winds up with a knife in his hand, scared to death. . . .

The white man is dead.
The American flag burned to ashes at Hiroshima.
Money is another name for shit.
Got is that Vietnamese baby killed yesterday by napalm.
The revolution is a daily process, and it is like falling in love.

* * * * *

I am not a free man. I am a detail in a machine. I am useless to my society. I am given many gifts, and asked to show respect. I am not free because the color of my skin is white, and white is the color of the oppressor.

History has chosen us--born white in middle-class America--to reverse centuries of America. History has chosen us--the inheritors of the best money could buy--to vomit up our inheritance. Rip off that white skin, tear off that American mask, flush those credit cards down the toilet bowl!

We are the sons of the men who slaughtered the Indians, forced the blacks to the South as slave labor, carried the red-white-blue to the dark corners of the earth. America's Past haunts her Present: what do you do with the blacks now that they are no longer needed to work the fields? how can a country which industrialized by teaching men individual competition, greed and money-worship now re-distribute its wealth? how does it feel fighting for suburbia in the swamps of Vietnam?

Established America offers her youth nothing to believe in. We are offered a "no thank you" deal--that deal is "Preserve the American Status Quo." Go along with it and you find yourself in a tiny minority in the world. You become a pawn, not a king. All the structures have been built, all the roads mapped, all the institutions created, all the adventures over. You adapt, conform, be sociable, stuff yourself with food. Yesterday America needed industrialists and pioneers--today she needs soldiers, bureaucrats, and a mass apathetic public.

Yes, America demands something from her youth: respect. In every country the youth confirm or reject the lives of their fathers. America tests herself and her youth in a classic manner: the test of war: sons, die for your fathers. Heroic and noble it can be to die defending one's homeland; but in Vietnam the foreign invader with his machine can find no nobility in death.

There is only one way to save America and that is by revolutionary upheaval from within. History is not over: history is experiencing the pains of childbirth. We white middle-class American youth must recognize our identity with the Vietnamese and the blacks; we must make our own revolution in America.

Ours will be a revolution against privilege and a revolution against the boredom of steel-concrete-plastic. We are working toward a new revolutionary identity--as yet unnamed--but in the experimenting behavior, the wild, multi-colored looks and underneath all the hair struggles a search for a new meaning in life, for a personal apocalypse. Those

ELVIS PRESLEY

KILLED

DWIGHT EISENHOWER

of us 35 years and under are just the first fragile searchers: it will be our sperm which will produce the generation which will complete the revolution.

* * * * *

All the "isms" from capitalism to socialism to communism are dead. It is revolutionary to see life as a trip, not a drag. Elvis Presley killed Dwight Eisenhower. YOU are the revolution.

* * * * *

"What is your program?" they ask us. Our program? "America's worst enemies should be her best friends." "Abolish the Congress and turn the nation's elementary schools into the legislative bodies."

Our program is acting out of need, emotion, feeling, out of reaction to external conditions. Our program is:

Life.
Passion.
Hope.
Rebellion.
Romance.
Energy.
Daydreams.

All old concepts of revolution must be surpassed--life has passed them by.

Revolutionaries used to be known as "socialists." Socialism in industrialized countries bases itself on the liberation of the "working class," but automation has arrived in the middle of the night and thrown into doubt the whole future of work itself. The workers today are LBJ's most devoted supporters. The contractual relationship between business and labor union is America's bedrock of security, like the church-state separation and the two-party political system.

Socialism fails to deal with the new realities created by technological advance; socialism is helpless in the face of America's satisfaction of workers' economic needs. Two of the main conflicts in America today are racial and cultural, and socialism says little about either.

America and "socialist" Russia today are brothers under the skin, which says as much about old age as it does about economic systems.

Capitalism is on its death bed in the jungles of Vietnam, the ghettos of America, and in the heads of America's youth.

Communism? Communism's greatest force as an idea is its ability to serve as a projection of America's own desires. When LBJ describes the Communists he is really exposing the American id to the world. If LBJ were logical, he would order an immediate napalm drop on the White House!

We must create a new model for the good society, but that can only be done through action. The Left in America has a lot in common psychologically with the Christian Church: socialism or heaven lies in the future; you must wait for the objective conditions; we have the truth; it was written by the great men in the past: study it and you too can be a "revolutionary."

Sound familiar? The American economic system says: work hard so you can retire for a good life in the future! The American school system says: study hard so you can get a degree and become a big something in the future!

In America a revolutionary movement could be built around the idea: I want to live life now! Ecstasy now!

Now! has become our rallying cry.

And the message is: you are the message. Be your own leader. Start from scratch.

Make the revolution wherever you are, school, home, city, office building.

There is no right or wrong tactic or strategy. Things always turn out differently than you expect them to--always--not necessarily worse, but different. Error produces truth. Movements are built on failure. Debates are debates are debates are debates are debates. Do it--we'll see the results afterward. Everything is possible.

The American Revolution for whites began with music. Elvis Presley smashed McCarthyism and the Eisenhower years with his "Heartbreak Hotel." Teen-agers began to dominate the music market, and they got a taste of their own power. They set their own values. It was only a matter of time before they would go into the streets. Remember Fabian? He turned out to be a subversive after all!

* * * * *

Revolutionaries are great in bed.
Why should the devil have all the good tunes?
Tits may save America yet.
J. Edgar Hoover is a Communist.

Now, George Wallace, he's onto something. He's for "the little guy," he's for local control, he fights bigness. At times Wallace sounds like a rousing left-wing agitator. Yes,

Wallace is also an undercover movement organizer. He ties together--thinking, demonstrating, pot-smoking, the war, dirty beatniks, professors, sex, poor people, Negroes--all the issues into one package. Oh, if only it were true! Wallace helps us make the right connections.

America is already defeated symbolically. Myths enable a country to keep control: myths control consciousness and consciousness keeps the body prisoner. How many people today are willing to defend enthusiastically the private ownership of the economy, the two-party representative system, or America's military commitments? American myths are, like her moral position, written in blood. The battle for the minds of men has been won--it is for us to dramatize that, for us to begin the long, long struggle to take power physically.

We, the beatnik-New Left-hippie-yippie, are the inheritors of America's energy. Where are the young businessmen, where are the young Democrats, where are the young Republicans, engineers, fraternity boys, technologists of the future? They have failed to give our generation its meaning. They are just reading the menu and ordering. And they do not know why. They have no crusade.

America tries to teach us cynicism, realism, experience, rationality, patience, good sense--we come out with innocence, vision. We are a believing generation who trust our feelings more than logic. We are not cool, we are hot. We take chances; we expose ourselves. We are up front. We are actors, not spectators.

A revolution in consciousness has been the 1960's answer to the McCarthyism of the 1950's. Take any value--nation, work, money, race, drugs, career, property, ownership, family--and you'll find a cultural war between parent and child. This is the period of transition from one historical epoch to another's from West-Christianity-capitalism to the New World of the East--and we are a transitional people, born and raised in the dying era, and feeling the impulses of the new.

The New Left said: I protest.

The hippies said: I am.

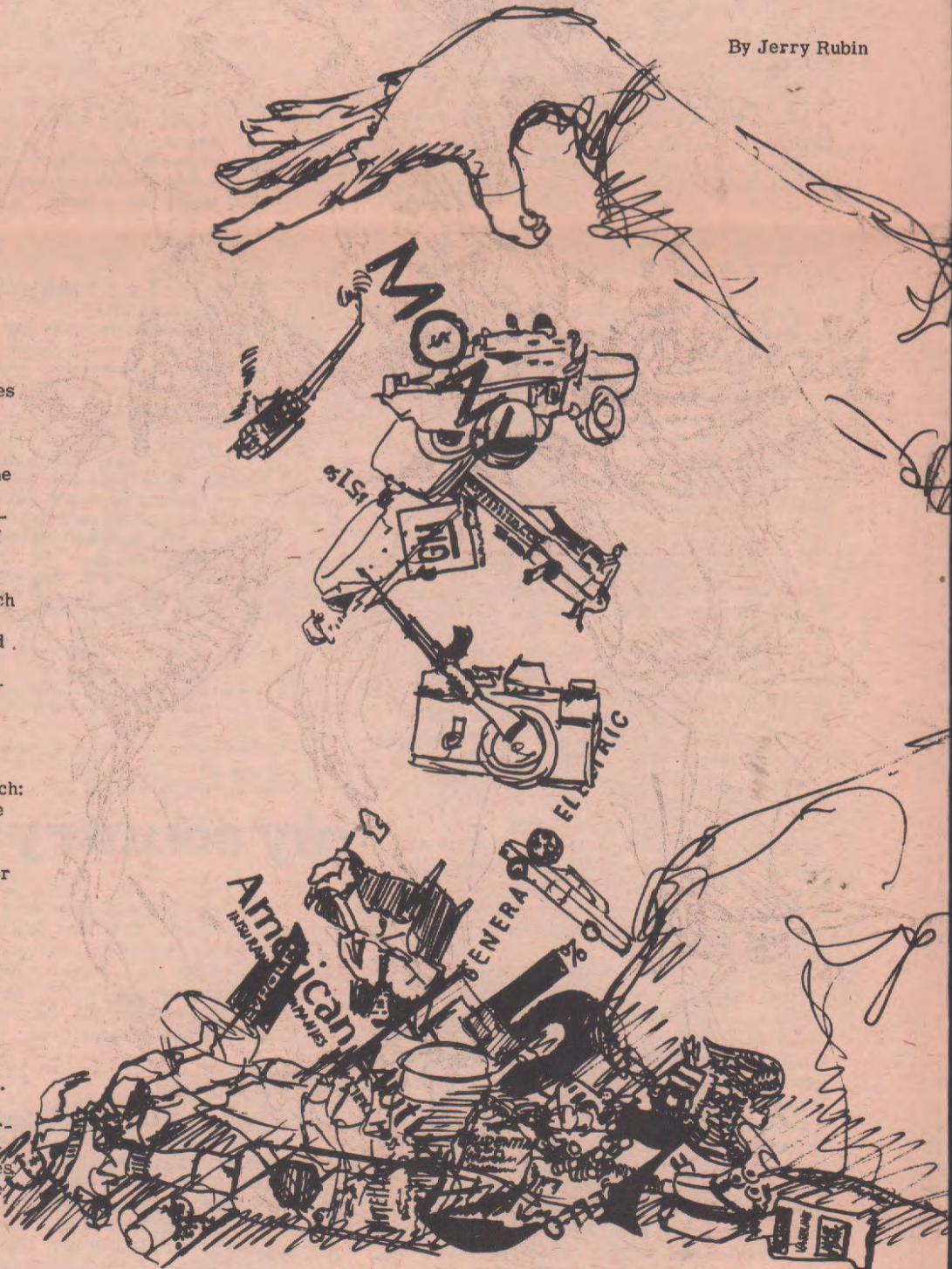
Kids in the pot-LSD culture are going to be different than the generation soaked in alcohol. Alcohol dulls the senses; alcohol is an escapist drug. Pot-acid deepens one's consciousness, increases sense perception, makes one feel: "Who am I?" Psychedelic drugs are participatory, communal drugs. Pot is the post-industrialism soft drink.

The youth of America are creating enclaves throughout the country. These enclaves are filled with people who see life as an art form; people whose life style has replaced "the career."

* * * * *

We have got to freak America out. "Ahhhhh!" she exclaims as she sees us. All systems have broken down in America: the military perpetuates war, the economy perpetuates waste and poverty, the political system perpetuates confusion. What has replaced the economy as the main vehicle for self-expression and collective upward mobility for blacks and many young whites? The movement! What has replaced the church and the nation as the country's moral authority? The movement! What has replaced the educational system as the country's school? The movement! And the movement must now develop into

By Jerry Rubin



ON FREE PRESS

the role of a shadow government.

It is because the American people are mystics that the old systems still retain some support. The American people are the freakiest mystics in the world today: they believe they are fighting the Russians and the Chinese in Vietnam; they blame the poor for poverty; and they tell us to use underarm deodorant! America is a spooky-house.

* * *

A revolutionary movement is a religious movement. A revolutionary movement enables people to see themselves as giants. The most important aspect of a revolutionary movement is its spiritual transformation of values, of the quality of life. Very few people are primarily interested in politics, except career-minded men. An excessive interest in politics can cut the movement off from the people, who are much more interested in music, sex, sports, romance, mystery, television.

Revolutionaries are starry-eyed idealists, optimists. Revolutions are based on the essential goodness of man. American society is organized on the belief that man is selfish and power-hungry. And so you get what you expect. Our movement is an affirmation of life, an affirmation of being.

America says to its youth: don't, don't, don't.

We say: do, do, do, do it again, and again.

America is trapped in a series of contradictions: institutions created to solve certain problems develop vested interests, and then they need the continuance of the problem to maintain their own power. The military needs war. J. Edgar Hoover has a vested interest in the Communist movement. Anti-poverty bureaucracies dig poverty. Cops dig crime. No one wants to eliminate his own job. American society divides and atomizes, and few people see beyond their own narrow functions. There is no general morality to appeal to, and if there were, who'd be around to listen?

A lot of liberal intellectuals--a dying breed--believe all they have to do is say it right, and change may come. Remember in high school when we used to memorize the four causes of World War II? Wow--that was weird. The intellectuals would be better off if they wrote their political programs on the tits of naked women and handed the pictures out free in Times Square.

If the entire faculty of Columbia resigned to put out comic books for kids, I'd believe those men were serious!

Because America has got all the answers. The answer is always implied and dictat-



ed by the question asked. From the Yippie's Little Red Book: He who asks the question has the power. America asks the following questions: "How do we stop Communism?" "Why restore law and order?" "WHY?"

America is a sports fantasy: sports have winners, losers, fans, scores, teams, tension, excitement, suspense, batting, myths, rhythms. Sports are not settled by rational debates. Our politics has got to take some cues from the sports arena. We must all become mythical ball-players. We have got to appeal to Americans where they are at psychologically.

* * *

Revolutionaries for Johnson!

More television time for George Wallace!

Long hair has replaced electoral politics.

The movement is crying "FIRE!" in a crowded theater.

* * *

"Who organized this demonstration?" asks the press.

LBJ!

"Who is your leader, who makes all you young people radicals?" asks the press.

LBJ!

We need four more years of LBJ. Do you know any kid in America who wants to be like LBJ when he grows up? LBJ's got bad breath! He's the movement's secret agent.

People do not come logically to where they are at. They use logic to justify. We have got to get underneath that logic, to the feelings and images that play in the unconscious.

Let's go through the streets of America handing out thousands of costumes, different costumes for people to wear--because costumes condition the man--enticing people to play different roles, to forget themselves, to participate.

Demonstrations communicate in numerous ways, and content is not the most penetrating. Take the non-violent sit-in at a draft board. On a political level it communicates opposition to the draft. But more vividly it communicates self-punishment, and it communicates pleading. Sit-ins are masochistic theater. Our movement reaches the unconcerned not through transfer of literal verbal information, but through images, emotions, attitudes, life styles.

Creating a crisis in America in which all old bets are off and life per usual is impossible is the only way to change a country whose industry is geared to destruction and whose people are sleeping. People will change only when the price of continuing becomes too high a cost to pay. Disruption increases that cost. Morality by itself is as effective as a Salvation Army Band--what makes morality effective is the willingness of its supporters to take risks and to disrupt. In the campaign to end the Vietnam war there is a natural tactical alliance between those people who alienate by blocking traffic and throwing recruiters off campus, those people like Dr. Spock who combine alienating people with respectability, and ingroup Establishment dissenters.

Our movement is educational guerrilla theater. Our tactics are crisis, surprise, scenery shock, abrupt change in frame of reference. . . . a Vietcong in your soup! all of a sudden your grandma turns into a napalmed Vietnamese child! Our role is to redefine the normal, re-define the acceptable in America. We teach by example. Draft resistance inspires more draft resistance. Pot is good for your health and LSD is great for sex.

Americans mix information over-load with dumb thought categories. Our movement must coalesce confrontation and disruption with the projection of cultural alternatives and a new vision.

A major purpose of demonstrations is to free the spirits of the people there. "Yippie!" first happened because that's the way we felt as we ran through the streets--"yippie!" Demonstrations should feel good; they should be beautiful, artistic, compelling events. Demonstrations are street events, and street events are rare in America. That's why demonstrations are important. They break us out of geographical and psychological isolation. Demonstrations are freedom-drugs.

Riots should be seen primarily for their effect on the people rioting. Riots break down oppressive tight life--boxes; riots are celebrations, participatory events. The rules of the game are re-defined in the instate. Power changes. History is telescoped. People get involved. They run through the streets, into the stores, and they pick up new identities. The streets during a riot become the ballfields and the people ballplayers.

"Is it OK to cry "FIRE!" in a crowded theater?"

"NO!" says the spokesman for law and order.

"YES!" says the yippie. "When the theater is on fire!"

Chicago in August will dramatize the breakdown of America. This country is an armed camp. The yippies will dance, vibrate faith in civilization, and demonstrate a dedication to root out the cancer in America. Chicago in August will be a theater and a school, and it will be a mass expression of the brotherhood and social support for yippies from all over the country. Chicago is LBJ's stage, and we are going to steal it!

The castrator of our youth today are the schools. America's schools teach obedience; America's schools convince the young that they cannot fly. The schools produce wounded, half-people by discouraging enthusiasm; by converting youthful emotion and curiosity into serious reasonableness; by glorifying the expert and scorning the hero; by dividing life into pieces called "subjects." Castration is performed through the school cycle: material is memorized for the right answers for the good grades for the degrees. This is homogenizing for the 9-to-5 success-career-job stupor of middle class life in which play is divorce from work.

A classroom setting is an authoritarian structure: teacher up front and students lined into rows. Break the chairs! Smash authority! Authority is the enemy. Experts are fuck-ups. Fuck rules and charts and diagrams and "the-way-we-do-things." The only real expert is your own heart and intuition.

The academic world teaches detachment. The movement teaches involvement. The movement must set as a high priority the closing down of America's schools and universities.

What is unique in America today is happening from the bottom up--no one knows enough to direct it. The ice is melting. The chickens are coming home to roost. It is a revolutionary condition when large numbers of people in a society find their needs and hopes irrelevant to the nation's institutions; their very existence is disruptive. The automated economy, the over-organized society condemns blacks and many young whites to irrelevance. Order them away to far-off lands; the Machine does not need them. One of the functions of the Vietnam war is to get rid of human fat within America the Fat Man. If there were no Vietnam war, America might have to create one.

The human relationships within the movement do not as yet represent the model for the new society; the movement grows out of an irrational society, and the scars on its breast reveal its birthright. We are rough on one another; ego-bruising is more common than not. Our unity comes not from inside harmony, but in reaction to outside pressures. On the other hand, the foundation of the movement is friendship; the movement is a series of inter-connecting friendship circles, and that is its strength.

The movement's veins and arteries are its underground papers. The movement's greatest need today is for alternative economic institutions, like cooperatives. Think of the millions of dollars movement people spend in dope deals; music; rock dances; poster sales. It is unfortunate that the profit goes to private sources, rather than to build community alternatives. The movement must begin to feed and support its guerrillas if it is to develop counter-institutions.

We are a danger to our government. It is tough to fight a war like the one in Vietnam with one hand tied behind your back, and we have one hand tied behind LBJ's back and one finger up his nose. The disruptive street demonstrations, the rowdy campus uprisings, the disaffiliation from the society by the youth, the riots, the outspoken defiance of the draft, the emergence of serious doubts by respectable politicians. . . all this creates a mixture that LBJ must deal with. America is isolated in the world. She has no allies; she cannot even create diversionary crises. She is lonely with her weapons. All alone. And it's cold.

America's last words will be inscribed on her tombstone:

"I thought those things when I was your age too."

"Have you bought a new car this year?"

"The law provides that you must stay off our property."

And dropping flowers on America's grave will be the dancing spirits of Jesus Christ, Karl Marx, Nguyen Van Troi, Simon Bolivar, Bonnie and Clyde, Che Guevara, Thomas Paine, Malcolm X. America was right--it was a conspiracy after all!!!

UNDERGROUND

By Peter Novick

KEEPING THE FAITH IN NEO-AMERICA

There is a church in Washington that has for its sacraments not the blood of Christ, but the most powerful psychedelic available. LSD is used by the Neo-American Church in individual worship in Washington, and in three hundred chapters across the country.

Why must they be driven underground? Although they proclaim to be an Established Order of Worship, they can not openly distribute their sacraments without risking Federal felony charges.

This hardly seems consistent with Freedom of Religion. Is this the America we were brought up to believe in? -where churches must learn how to evade the Establishment?

The Neo-American church is headed nationally by Art Kleps, who in his headquarters in Millbrook, New York, officiates the loosely organized chain of Neo-American centers. In Washington there are three church priests, or Boo Hoo's as they are called. JD, (known only by her initials) is the Boo Hoo of Washington and Primate of the Potomac; Don Mead, Boo Hoo of Georgetown; and Paul Kane, Boo Hoo of Yonder's Wall (the city's first psychedelic shop).

The Neo-American Church is a living experience. Enjoyment and beauty are actively derived from their sacraments. This does not make them any less a religion, and may even place them in the category of the religion most involved with the human mind.

Drugs are so intricately involved in every American's daily life, that a church oriented toward drug-produced religious experiences is not to be regarded as a novelty. Remember this the next time you imbibe and derive pleasure from coffee, tea, chocolate, pepper, mace, nutmeg, beer, wine, coca-cola, cinnamon, compoz, or contac. The Catholic Church once banned chocolate-as an agent of the devil, and inducing promiscuity! Drugs are not necessarily hideous corruptors of the moral fiber, but are as much a legitimate food for the nervous system as Vitamin B-12.

White Americans get high to see God. This has never happened in America before, and the Establishment at least can not remain neutral. The fact that the Neo-Americans aren't red-skinned pagan savages must shock them. Yet, LSD can not produce anything that psilocybin and mescaline can not produce; and the American Indians are Constitutionally as much People as white Americans. So, any proclamations from the Anti-Happiness League to the effect that Indians and Whites are somehow different, imposes upon either group the status of inferior citizens. (Is it that they consider taking drugs an inferior habit, or a special privilege to be granted to certain groups?) Until this past January, the Indians of the Native American Church have practised their peyote rights unmolested for thirty years-when finally the Texas state legislature banned all psychedelics-even for the Indians!

Hippies, mystics, or bishops, the Neo-Americans must be viewed from one basic standpoint: they are all Citizens of the United States practising their Rights as granted by the Constitution. All other standpoints of their harassment are secondary. This is particularly relevant when one considers God a function of the mind. What right has a government to tell you How you may Think?

Exercising my constitutional rights, over cerebral metabolic activity, I interviewed the leaders of the psychedelic community, JD, Don Mead, Paul Kane, and Nate Katz, the visiting Boo Hoo of Philadelphia.

"RELIGION IS BASICALLY A DIVINITY OF THE HUMAN MIND"

Don Mead: Best described as a man totally involved in his dedication to the religion he is in. Whatever may be said about the members personally, Don is the publicly oriented exponent for the ideology (or non-ideology) of the church. His intelligence and perception in the Washington area have won him a great many supporters from the established religious leaders in Georgetown and DuPont Circle. "Being a Boo Hoo is a very rewarding experience. It keeps you stoned, and I meet the type of people I am interested in knowing. More and more local churches realize that we are sincere and honest."

"EACH MAN IS HIS OWN GOD."

Next week he is presenting before the Dodd Committee in the Senate his presentation of the problems of drugs and alienation of youth. The Senate shall never again hear anything like his testimony-for Don has the unusual ability in modern America to tell it exactly how it is, how it has been, and how it shall be. The church is the most candid organization on the scene, and Don Mead the most candid of its members.

Magical mystery Tour playing on the incredible stereo/ Paul standing on his head/ Beatles in the far room/ Dylan now playing-Mr. Tambourine Man/ last year, two years ago come in focus.../ interview continuing (interview just starting)... Don explaining the organization of the church...

"There are three major groups in psychedelic religious experiences- the League for Spiritual Discovery (L. S. D.); Ashram; and the Neo-American Church. Of those, the church is the only one not concerned with live-in scenes. The church is not taken seriously by the members of the church. The United States Government and all churches are shared fantasies. We notice this. The Catholics, and all other churches think that each church is real and important. We put absurdity in ours. Anyone looking for a theology will not find it in the Neo-American Church."

The man, not the group, is the god. Each individual member, not the group of members, comprises the church. So, as they state that they do not take the church seriously, as Mead emphasizes, "But this doesn't mean that we do not take our religion seriously."

"I have found through personal experience that members take the religion seriously. Religion is not the church. Religion is basically a divinity of the human mind. Basically each person has the potentially religious experience in his own mind. It is the function of the church to bring this out. Unlike the Catholic and other Christian churches, each individual is as capable as the next to communicate with God. There are not intermediary priests that speak to the Deity."

"There are over three hundred Neo-American churches in the United States. Honestly I don't know exactly how many members there are in the Washington church. There are about 150, mostly FDA members. Anybody can join the church. Only three basic principles are necessary to adhere to. One: any individual has the right to produce visionary experiences any way he chooses.

Each man is his own God. No one should tell one how to control his own mind."

"The second principle: these are sacramental chemicals, not drugs. Third: we do not encourage ingestion by those unprepared or uneducated."

ST. STEPHEN AS THE FIRST BOO HOO

This hardly sounds like an organization that should command the wrath of the government or non-interested persons. Yet, passivity has hardly been the reaction from the public. Speaking in Oxen Hill, Maryland, JD was pelted with "rotten eggs and stones", while cries of 'Why don't you hippies take a bath or work?' resounded from the audience. (One could compare this with the stoning of St. Stephen, the first Christian martyr, but then again, it wouldn't faze the people who believe in St. Stephen, and it is already obvious to those possessing a divinity of the mind.) Nate Katz, visiting Boo Hoo from Philadelphia, has found the same warm reaction in the City of Brotherly Love. "Most places in Philadelphia won't rent to me. I get crank phone calls too. I don't know if this is because I am a Boo Hoo, because I have a beard, or because I'm Jewish. I was busted about a year ago, right after I became a Boo Hoo. (any correlation?) I was entrapped into selling marijuana to a treasury agent"

The Super-human Morality and Anti-Happiness League-At-Large has already invaded the private home of JD. As Don sums it up: There's nothing Sgt. Paul enjoys more than busting JD.

Each time he comes in, he must have the best orgasm of his life." If it weren't for the drugs that JD uses, Sgt. Paul would probably suffer from mental and emotional celibacy. (Ah, --he is hooked on drugs! After reading his favorite confiscated pornography, he merely visits MacArthur Blvd...)

"I take my ministry very seriously. Although we are treated as a joke by the Establishment

Press, we don't really mind. I have been interviewed by the establishment and they have been relatively fair. Anyone will misquote you to a certain extent, but they have been quite accurate. They are opposed to LSD, and this is their right, but they have been honest."

"In Jacksonville, Florida, I walked into the newspaper office and told them, 'I've seen god face to face.' It got a five-column headline; I was really surprised."

"I used to be Boo Hoo of Beacon Hill in Boston; I asked for this assignment. The Washington scene is small enough. If cleaned up, it can be of national importance. If we can clean up the speed users and put happy faces on the street."



NO GOD

"THIS IS A GENERATION QUESTION AND IT HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH LSD"

Harrassment isn't local to the Washington chapter of the church. "The Duchess County Policy (Millbrook, New York) are conducting constant harrassment..." Don himself received a speeding ticket while visiting Millbrook, a tactic some find recurring with incredible rapidity.

What do the leaders of the Neo-American Church think of the young people that openly seek psychedelic drugs? Don is "embarrassed by today's kids. They know more now than I did when I was their age. They are the most sincere, honest, and loving generation. They reject the morals of the present. This is a generation question and it has nothing to do with LSD. I can quite honestly say that I have talked to quite a few young people and have been made very happy by their conversations. The Establishment sees us as leaders of ideas, not pushers of drugs, which they are opposed to. I can't blame them for being scared. I would be scared too. Any animal gets vicious when it is cornered. We have the Establishment cornered. Police brutality is the natural reaction to fear -- fear of what they can't understand. We aren't trying to destroy them, but are just trying to live for what we stand for."

"...NOW WE HAVE PLENTY OF REASONS FOR LIVING."

"The past two generations have been given plenty of reasons to die for America: Vietnam, Korea, Peace, Security. Now we have plenty of reasons for living."

"The reason for opposition by the government is not drugs. We possess a much larger threat to them. We are merely more exposed to them because of our position on drugs."

"We do our best at spreading confusion. No one knows anything about the church, including Art."

What is the church's position on other drugs? It would be naive to assume that church members would use only LSD just because it is the publicly-known drug associated with the organization. Don Mead has rather set positions regarding stimulants and hard narcotics. But "Marijuana is a psychedelic.

I personally am opposed to amphetamine and opiate drugs. We must make people aware of what they are doing, and the dangers. Not passing laws. I wouldn't stop someone from shooting up speed, but I would talk to him a lot."

WFP: What do you do for relaxation? Mead: "Fuck... And I'm probably the most relaxed man on the East Coast. What do I like better than anything else? Anything else is my favorite thing. I want all the anything else I can get my hands on. It's my favorite thing... except for maybe DMT."

WFP: What do you think of Maharishi Yogi?

Mead: "Who?... Who?"

"My goal in life is to guide Art Kleps on a trip."

"...IT'S NOT MY RIGHT OR MY PRIVILEGE TO TELL OTHER CITIZENS HOW OR WHEN THEY SHOULD WORSHIP..." LBJ

"I GIORNI DELLA MIA AMICA NO SONO ECCO... MA IL GIORNO DELLA MARIA SERAMOS PARA NOI..."

ANON.

With many young people experimenting with legal highs, asbelladonna, henbane, and deadly nightshade, problems may arise in the dangers these drugs possess. Don states clearly his position: "Belladonna is a poison, and I can't see why anyone would ingest a poison. I wouldn't; it's not my bag."

"As for other psychedelics, I never yet met anyone who could smoke a pipe of DMT sitting up."

Although the church position is anti-alcoholic, Don and others do not disapprove of alcohol of the moral reasons of its being injurious to the mind, but only that they do advocate what they consider better sacraments. "When we are tripping, we drink a lot of alcohol." That night Don had a few beers, enjoying the relaxing physical effects.

"LSD HAD NOT AFFECTED ME WHATSOEVER... IT'S CHANGED THE UNIVERSE BUT LEFT ME INTACT."

To most residents of Washington, the acid church is exemplified by that mysterious, aloof, deimine, JD. JD is totally unlike anyone else in the Northern Hemisphere, being at least in one aspect, highly spontaneous. On church antics: "We don't hold black masses, a few slightly grey ones maybe. I like the best of everything: one of the most rustic homes in D.C., good food, a fine car, the best dope in D.C. for my friends. My friends are some of the best people in Washington... it's my own ego trip."

JD's title is Boo Hoo of Washington, Primate of the Potomac, and as such she has met with an unusually vast amount of police-state harrassment. She has twice been busted by Sgt. Paul, about whom she says, "He is on a supernarc trip... I feel sorry for him... he'd like to bust me every week, but I can't afford to let him have that little pleasure." But how can the Establishment cope with one whose "favorite fantasy is to walk down the street giving away free acid to the heads, flowers to the Georgetown ladies, candy and toys to the kids, winks to the young men, and smiles to everyone."

"I'm opposed to the use of drugs. Really, it's unhealthy to gobble drugs like aspirin or Enovid or nicotine, or caffeine daily... I'm a real health nut. I consider the boozy cops who arrest me to be practically dope fiends."

WFP: What do you think of LBJ?

"The straight people are worried about some great international dope conspiracy; there isn't any; just us happy people, and we are winning their kids away from them, and there is nothing they can do about it; we have got a better trip."

"LSD has not affected me whatsoever. It's changed the universe, but left me intact. My one ambition is to be impolitely interviewed by Paul Krassner of the Realist."

WFP: What would you have been if there were no Neo-American Church?

JD: "A free lance mystic. Don's my favorite maladroit. He came down here to be my guru; he's a beautiful, funny little boy...."

Accepting the fact that they are serious in their roles as ministers, the LSD patriarchy has closer contact with its members than do most religions.... It is not on an ordered set of obligations and commitments, but rather on the basis of friends, engaging in unlimited situations. "The church actively seeks new members. It is their policy and new applicants are encouraged. Five dollars goes to the national headquarters. SPIN has to be financed, books to be published." With these words by Don Mead, one enters into the realm of the paramilitary or disciplinary arm of the church - SPIN.

"AS LONG AS WE ARE BUSTED LEGALLY, IT IS PART OF THE GAME..."

Explained by Don, SPIN is the Society for the Prevention of Injustice to Neo-Americans. "SPIN is the church's secret non-organization; it takes care of informers for one thing. It is described in our handbook, and that is all that I know about it. I know very little about SPIN, and I'm one of the top people. It is responsible only to Art Kleps. There are no communications between the BooHoos and SPIN. The reason I know nothing about it is that I don't need to know about it. I personally am opposed to its type of philosophy. SPIN is a non-organization on purpose."

"It gives DMSOSTP and DMT to informers, police, etc. from that they never come back. SPIN is something we call in only if we have to. Most BooHoos disapprove on moral principles. As long as we are busted legally, it is part of the game, and we accept the consequences. SPIN is for when they get out of the pattern of legal arrests. Part of the measure is to protect ourselves against illegal harrassment. The informer situation in the Washington area is sad."

THE CHURCH IS YOU

No one may ever claim that the Neo-American Church is at all hiding the facts- they present their case openly, and let the public decide the only question that has to be decided: Whether or not you want to join on an individual basis. The question of suppression and imprisonment must never enter into the thoughts of non-members.

The religious freedom of each of us is bound to the church. They offer this nation the only test for Freedom of Religion at present, and are putting abstract theories to a definite test.

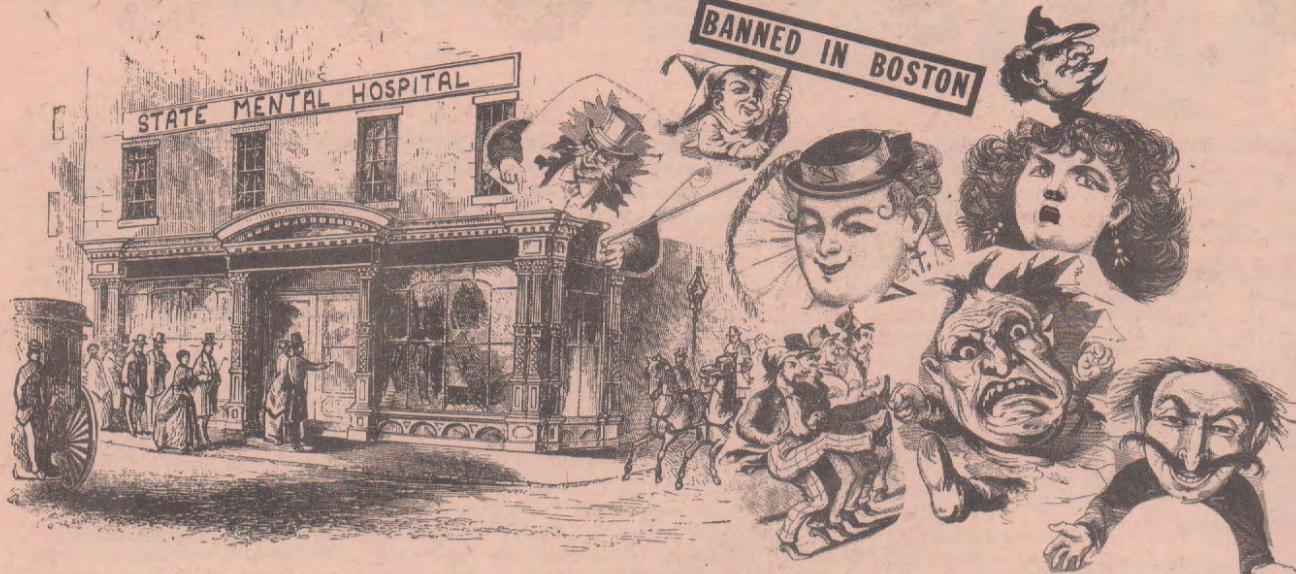
If we fail them in support for their organization, we are limiting our own free expression.

If the government fails them- we must investigate which of the two deserves our support: A church composed of individual humans exploring their own consciousnesses, or a government which blots out consciousness.

Yes, the choice has come to that.

NOVICK

"Titicut Follies"



by Suzanne Fields

Produced and Directed by Frederick Wiseman. Grove Press Distributor.

Banned in Boston. In fact, the *Titicut Follies* can't be shown in the state of Massachusetts. Yet it doesn't deal with sex or miscegenation. The *Titicut Follies* is a film documentary about conditions in a state mental institution.

Frederick Wiseman, Boston lawyer and producer of the film *The Cool World*, with the cooperation of some Massachusetts State officials, made this picture inside Bridgewater State Hospital. Now the state regrets its support and has brought legal charges against the film as a violation of the privacy of the inmates. The state's point is that there is no attempt to hide their experience of degradation. Perhaps a more significant question for the state to consider would be the inmates' rights to a public hearing.

The film opens and closes with the "Titicut Follies," a revue performed by the patients and personnel of the hospital. As a framework the vaudeville show structures cruel ironies and allows one to view the in-between scenes of hospital existence as a horrible burlesque of life--the kind of burlesque Beckett's characters play out in *Waiting for Godot*. The guards often seem like straight men taunting and baiting the inmates. In fact, the life spring of this community seems dependent on the farcical dimensions of this kind of interrelationship whether it be between doctors and patients, nurses and patients or guards and patients. The greatest folly of all, of course, is the fact that men are allowed to exist in such conditions. Rational man vs. madness. The sides get confused.

When the chorus in straw hats finishes singing its opening song, "Strike Up The Band", the scene shifts to an induction of a new patient, a young boy who is there because he molests little girls. He is stripped and then asked a series of impersonal questions impersonally. Was the questioner a doctor or a sheriff? In this context the answer is hardly important. The powerless must submit to reason and reason is understood to be in the hands of authority.

In contrast to the official costumes of the nurses, doctors, and guards, one is made very much aware of the nudity of all the inmates. It is not just a physical nakedness: the human body has been drained of dignity and the men hang limp with the lives they have lost. One of them rebels, refuses to eat for three days, and is force fed through the nose with tubes while guards stare at the camera and hold him down. There is little room for protest.

A young prisoner insists with ironic credibility that the hospital environment is driving him crazy--a review board hears his case, classifies his paranoia, and rec-

ommends an increase in his dosage of tranquilizers. There is black humor in his plea, "I want to go back to prison where I belong."

How does one diagnose the patient who compares the nuclear arms race with children stockpiling toys, toys which they will eventually want to play with? He cries out against the state and the army and then metaphorically says in his madness, "America is the female part of the world and she sucks crazy."

So patients live and die in Bridgewater hospital. The hospital provides a party for a birthday, and a priest for a last absolution, even mourners for a funeral. This is the *Our Town* for those judged insane and sentenced to a life in a state institution.

The film creates a new genre for film documentation. It is an artistic statement in which the form, structure, and mood are one with the documentary details of the life depicted. Problems of reality and illusion, sanity and madness, authority and submission are explored with rare power. There are none of the romantic trappings of *Marat-Sade* nor any of the shockingly sordid scenes of *Snake Pit*. Instead the lens of the camera serves as the eye of a personally outraged conscience and it reveals with poetic sensitivity and brutal realism the horror of the day to day existence in one mental hospital.

Furthermore, the film exhibits a strange capacity to break down barriers between the viewer and the screen. The *Titicut Follies* smells of institutional disinfectant and the audience is forced to endure the smell for the duration of the film. When does an audience become a madhouse? Who makes the distinction? Who has the right to condemn?

When Beckett is asked about the subject matter of *Waiting For Godot*, he sometimes refers to a passage from St. Augustine. The reference is thematically relevant for this film. "Do not despair; one of the thieves was saved. Do not presume; one of the thieves was damned." According to Beckett the decision is an arbitrary one.

But the *Titicut Follies* is a documentary of a real situation and not theater of the absurd. It does not dramatize a philosophical position. It shows a specific horror. Mr. Wiseman implies that in allowing these conditions to exist, the audience is responsible for making the distinctions between viewer and inmate, thief saved and thief damned. With this implication, his film reportage rises to social tragedy. There but for the grace of some authority go they--whoever they may be!

The *Titicut Follies* was shown last September at New York's Lincoln Center film festival, and won first prize in West Germany's Manheim film festival. Last week in Washington psychiatrists showed it at Georgetown University. It can be obtained privately for educational reasons. Certainly *The Titicut Follies* should be shown publicly throughout the country.

DEMONSTRATIONS ARE A DRAG AND BESIDES WE'RE MUCH TOO HIGH

The Year of the Yippie officially got underway Feb. 27 with a predawn counterattack on the Suffolk County police.

The action was a punitive response to the terrorist 5 a.m. police pot swoop six weeks ago on sweetly sleeping Stony Brook students.

The YIP "high" command, after days of delicate around-the-clock closed-door planning sessions at an undisclosed nerve center, finally selected a scenario entitled Tit-for-Tat.

A YIP spokesman explained it this way: "During their raid the police made the students stand around uncomfortably while they played their game, which is called Ransack. So we decided to make the police stand around uncomfortably while we played our game, which is called Enjoy."

In order to assure that a large number of police would fall into their hands YIP strategists assigned an agent from their Second Bureau to "tip" the police about a YIP plan to infiltrate the campus disguised as peasants and seize Dormitory G and the radio station.

Yippies, clad enthusiastically, forced dozens of police to fall out with full gear in the early morning cold. The police were placed along the perimeter of the campus in strict shoulder-to-shoulder formation (YIP's gentle parody of the old linear civilization) while the Pageant

Players, The Fugs and Country Joe gave them character lectures. "Whoopee! We're all gonna die," Country Joe sang -- and the police clutched helplessly at their family-size nightsticks.

Stony Brook's President John S. Toll was stunning in his first performance as an anti-Yippie college president. His liberalism was right on the button as he stood artfully in the center of each discussion, letting half the ideas fall to one side of him, half to the other. "On the one hand, of course," Toll said, "but on the other hand I'm afraid I'll have to say no." "He's afraid he'll have to say no," the official YIP chorus repeated contrapuntally. "He's afraid-hay-hay-hay he'll have to say no-ho-ho."

Though two or three hundred Stony Brook students turned out in support of the YIP action, the student body as a whole revealed itself as singularly apathetic. No wonder Stony Brook is the pride of the state system.

The unusually large overground press distortions of the event indicate that YIP has touched a sensitive social nerve.

Meanwhile, more than thirty Stony Brook students and friends await trial for alleged violations of laws archaic as those against fornication and witchcraft. Their pot-smoking teachers remain silent.

K A



Underpants

The *Underpants* by Carl Sternheim. Presented by the Garrick Players. Directed by Mark Hammer. Sets by Robert Troll. Costumes by Oswald Ratteray. Lights by Lisa Isenstead.

The Germans have always been known as a fun-loving, humorous race. The history of the Western world has constantly been enlivened by German funnies: The Holy Roman Empire, the Canossa affair and, more recently, the Kaiser, Hitler and Auschitz. Carl Sternheim's early 20th century farce, *The Underpants*, is in this fine tradition. But lest you be overcome by hysterical laughter, the wily Prussian has tossed in some pungent, in-depth social satire. Sarcasm aside, *The Underpants* is as light as knockwurst and has all the verve and elan of a Volkswagen.

Which leads us to ask why the Garrick Players chose the play in the first place. Especially after showing some savvy by staging Arden's *Live Like Pigs*. The Georgetown theatre was opened, we are told, to bring "more good drama to the Washington community, including those who cannot ordinarily afford to see professional performances." Somehow, the idea of palming off this tired old sop as either good drama or as being capable of communicating to Washington's poor is slightly absurd.

The Underpants tells the none-too-exciting story of a petty bureaucrat's wife who, after losing her underpants during a parade, finds two eye-witnesses to the event arriving as lodgers and lovers. One is a voyeuristic, quasino, would-be writer with delusions of becoming a Nietzschean superman; the other a hypochondriac barber working out an Oedipal problem. The young wife's problems are further complicated by a lecherous old-maid neighbor who seeks to join vicariously in the girl's planned sexual misadventures.

While the wife is willing enough (her husband has neglected his connubial duties for a year on the advice of his account book), the flesh of her prospective lovers is weak. The writer is too interested in rushing to print and fame to consummate anything and the barber is more interested in soft sympathy than hard sex. Meanwhile the husband chucks about in blissful ignorance of the possible sedition in his own camp. Thus the stage is set for what we kindly refer to as Sternheim's satire of bourgeoisie German foibles.

Main problem is that Sternheim's characters operate on the same level of subtlety as those of the Teatro Pagan. The playwright provides them with everything but symbolic masks and labels to be worn around the neck. The farce genre demands a greater skill in character delineation.

The farce action, such as it is, is too often disrupted by after-dinner philosophical discussions and artificial character exposition. For example, Sternheim has the husband say: "This is order (speaking of the dull routine of his life). I like it. One even is it." As a result, *The Underpants* fails as both farce and social commentary. The sexual farce was done two centuries ago by the Restoration dramatists and done better. The satire is toothless at best and banal at worst.

But if the Garrick Players were dead set on doing an old German comedy (for reasons best known to themselves), why not do something like Piscator's *Soldier Schweik* which is not only very funny but has something to say?

To this unfortunate selection of play, the Players bring precious little.

The major stumbling block is the putrid Eric Bentley translation. I think we can absolve the cast from the charge (levied at them by another reviewer) of adulterating the script. Anyone who has winced at Bentley's butchering of Brecht knows better than to trust him with anything, no matter how minor or insignificant. If the script is heavy to begin with, the effect might have been ameliorated at the hands of a skillful translator, but Bentley's English has all the bounce of a lead ball rolling down a flight of marble stairs.

Mark Hammer comes up with some directorial nice-ties which show a comprehension of where the play should be going. Unfortunately, the actors don't often take the cue. Any sense of ensemble playing is totally absent.

Mickey Hartnett as the young wife finds herself lost in Bentley's deadly prose despite the best intentions. She does, however, bring to the part a pretty face and big breasts. Chris Sarandon as the writer shows force but little discipline. John Palmieri actually manages to make the husband believable against incredible odds and Charles Lynch brings the barber nicely to life at times.

So all is not black at the Garrick Players but the problem still rests with the play. *The Underpants* is as dull as . . . no adequate simile springs to mind.

LEIDOSCOPE

Homecoming

The Homecoming by Harold Pinter. At the National. Original production by Peter Hall. Re-staged by Rosemary Beattie. Designed by John Bury.

One tends to think of the National as one of American culture's sub-temples to the banal -- and with justification. Once in a while, however, something of value slips through the stage door and gets on stage. The fine production of Pinter's latest is a case in point.

Rosemary Beattie's re-staging remains true to the spirit of Peter Hall's original and enough members of the original English company are present to insure a purity of sorts.

The Homecoming is one of the few Pinter works about which the playwright has seen fit to divulge any information. "It is about love and the lack of love," we are told. The statement, of course, means very little in itself and I am afraid that if we try to use it as a key to the 'inner meaning' of The Homecoming, we will lose the essence of the play.

The Homecoming, I feel, is about what every Pinter play is about. Nothing. Except, of course, theater itself. On the surface, it tells the story of a son, on vacation from his professorship of philosophy at an American university, who returns with his wife to the North London home where he was born. The father, two brothers and uncle he has left behind greet him in typical Pinteresque fashion: with a strange admixture of antipathy and apathy. In what follows, there is a vague, half-formed sense of deep rooted hatreds. It seems that a vicious game of spiritual destruction has taken up where it left off. This time, however, there is a new player -- the wife. Driven by her own, never clearly revealed motives, she eventually becomes the family whore, losing something but gaining immense power. Her husband leaves her, seemingly having won his own obscure victory; in this grotesque game of chess he has lost the queen in a key move which brings ultimate moral defeat to his enemy.

There is more overt content in The Homecoming than we find in most of Pinter's earlier work. Yet, I feel that the richer plot is serving Pinter's traditional goals. The deeper level of human involvement and the more complex use of hidden motivations serve at once to make the play more realistic and to allow the playwright a fuller exploration of the basically abstract bases of his craft. In other words, The Homecoming is not more representational than most of Pinter; its theatrical abstraction is richer.

Naturally, we cannot divorce the script from the production in dealing with Pinter. In this play we have Pinter's fullest investigation of theater's abstract qualities. Here most clearly we see the way in which he has removed content and left only pure form.

I cannot remember a single Pinter play that focused my attention so succinctly on the actors' skill. And the performances are virtually flawless. William Roerick (Max) orchestrates Pinter's beautifully observed dialogue with the mastery of a truly fine actor. Likewise, John Church (Lennie) and Denis Holmes (Sam) spin out their lines like beautiful weavers. The attention to vocal detail is fantastic and the speech rhythms are flawless.

The surprise of the night was Carolyn Jones (Ruth) whose finely tooled performance, I must admit, came as a surprise. But that, I suppose was due to the fact that the last thing I saw her in was King Creole. She reveals herself in The Homecoming as an actress of considerable stature.

The cast and the director have fully realized Pinter's use of suspense and terror. The first confrontation between Ruth and Lennie is, I think, one of the most terrifying scenes in modern drama. And yet, it is impossible to say why. We are afraid of some nameless force which appears to be driving the two. On the surface, they merely converse, playing a caustic game of wits; in our subconscious they are fighting violently, physically. The scene is only one of the play's tours de force. Confrontation after confrontation overwhelm the audience.

Not only has Pinter provided a masterful script, but he skilfully allows us to observe the director's art. The so-called "stage tableau" is supposed to be one of the mysteries of the theater. While it must constantly form the audience reaction, it must never be obtrusive, it must never surface. Yet, in this production it has, as Pinter wanted it to. The effect is powerful. While the staging is simple and economic, it is forceful. We become aware of the characters' arrangement in space, each carefully timed movement, glance and cross becomes a stroke on the huge canvas of the whole production. Once you begin to groove it, it becomes breathtaking.

The National is the product of its audience. Affluent (at \$9.00 a shot they have to be), smug and comfortable,

they bring nothing to the current production and are affected even less. Vague attempts at understanding are made by a few, but intermission chit-chat tended more to coiffure than causality. Some people left after the first act, presumably to go in search of Neil Simon. Others played the game. "Have you figured it out yet?" The answer comes in a thick Southern accent: "Hell, I ain't even tryin'". Or, "Pinter's medium is different than Albee's, but they're both talking about alienation." It was depressing.

The Homecoming demands an audience that wants more than a play that bounces off the eyeballs and ear-drums. Go down there. Subvert. Sneak in if you don't have the money. But get in. See it.



It means nothing

There is a story about a woman who met Pinter at a party and who, after the usual bland pleasantries about his latest play, asked: "What does it mean?"

Pinter smiled knowingly and answered, "It means nothing."

This story might not be correct in all its details but the question is fielded frequently by the playwright and the answer is invariably the same: "It means nothing."

Strangely enough, most people, puzzled women and critics alike, have never believed that. They put it to artistic obscurantism or clever public relations or intellectual integrity or any of a number of equally absurd things. Critics, particularly, have been resistant to the idea that Pinter's plays mean nothing.

"They don't MEAN anything? They don't mean ANYTHING? Don't be absurd! How dare you stand there and tell me they don't mean anything? How dare you throw into question my validity? I mean, I can't write a critical, piercing article about nothing. Of course they mean something. If they don't mean anything, dammit all I'll MAKE them mean something."

And thus, the fraud that Pinter's plays mean something has been perpetuated. As we might expect, however, there is little critical agreement as to what Pinter is about.

Theater critics are as befuddled by Pinter as the art critics were by the appearance of early, totally abstract paintings. The difference is that, in the case of the old art critics, they came out with cries of "Rubbish". The present-day drama critics seem to have learned that lesson. They nod their heads sagely and mutter, "Deep, deep", and babble inanities in a search for allegory.

Why won't anyone take the man at his word? Is it so

By Kelly Monaghan

difficult to conceive of theater that means nothing? A parallel with abstract painting might be constructive at this point.

A painter has at his command certain tools: paints, brushes, canvas, palette knives, etc. And certain techniques. Using tools and techniques he can paint, say, a tree. All right, the painting is "about" a tree and the tools and techniques have been used as means to produce an end -- in this case a tree.

If a painter produces a totally abstract work, on the other hand, the tools and techniques become ends in themselves and the painting has no extra-artistic reference. (The tree is the extra-artistic reference in the case above. War might be considered the extra-artistic reference of Picasso's *Guernica*.)

Now let's turn to the playwright. He has tools: words, plots, characters, etc. He also has techniques: various styles (e.g. realism, epic, etc.), the many writing techniques involving character exposition, effective entrances and exits, and so forth. Generally he has some extra-artistic reference, even if it is just to tell a story to make money; he tells a real story. The more serious playwright will have what we might call a "message" for want of a better word.

But how does a playwright manage to be abstract? While Artaud's *Jet of Blood* is considered abstract, it is not truly a play. That is, it has no coherent plot in the usual sense. More properly, it is what we now know as a Happening. Beckett's Plays Without Words have also been called abstract, but they, too, are not really plays. Thus, it would seem that to be abstract in theater you must have meaningless non-people do meaningless (but perhaps symbolic) things in a meaningless (but, again, perhaps symbolic) order. Not at all. It is possible to have a play that uses all the tools of representational theater (i.e. plot, characters, etc.) and still remain abstract -- it "means" nothing.

And it can be done because Pinter has done it. In Pinter, the playwright's tools and techniques (like the painter's) are used as ends in themselves. They form a purely artistic statement without recourse to outside, concrete referents.

The plot of course cannot totally escape some form of concrete reference. By very definition, a plot must tell some kind of a story; but Pinter's use of plot is gratuitous. He has to have a plot and he chooses a framework (we might call it a canvas) that suits his artistic ends. He never writes about anything. Thus, The Birthday Party may tell the story of two mysterious strangers who invade the life of an innocuous young man and abduct him. That's what *Birthday Party* is "about". But Pinter didn't write *Birthday Party* to tell the story it contains or to allegorize any philosophical statement. He simply needed a plot. A painter needs a canvas. Pinter needed a plot. It doesn't go any further than that. *Birthday Party*, or for that matter, *The Dumbwaiter* or *The Homecoming*, is not about anything and it certainly doesn't mean anything.

If the above hasn't convinced you, don't let it worry you. But assume with me for a moment. Given a purely abstract play as outlined above, how does one produce it?

A bad painting of a tree is still a painting of a tree, but bad abstract art is nothing. In the same way, poorly produced Brecht remains Brecht, but poorly produced Pinter becomes nothing.

As the abstract painter must know what he is doing at every step, so must the producer of a Pinter play pay minute attention to detail. The tools of the theater become of the essence because they are the sole content of the play.

This simply means that all the elements contributing to a production of a normal play must be perfect. These elements should, in fact, be orchestrated. The actor's dialects, their speech rhythms, their facial expressions, their pause and timing, their movement on stage, the setting, everything must be carefully tooled parts of a fully realized and complex whole. Ensemble playing is an essential rather than a luxury. Brilliant timing cannot be left to fortuitous circumstances. Every succinct element must be directed to a total effect. The final product should be to the dramatic stage what the symphony is to the concert hall. The play should ebb and flow, there should be crescendos, andantes and arpeggios.

If we look at theater in terms of form and content, we might say that Pinter has taken representational theater and abstracted its content leaving us with pure form. The demands of Pinter are exacting but not without reward.

Like the abstract painter, Pinter has no ulterior motives. If he wants you to think about anything, it is the theater itself. Not the building, or dramatic history, or what plays do, but theater -- the abstract framework of emotion within which both Brecht and Neil Simon can be effective. He does not want you to puzzle over ideas or cope with morals. He would like his audiences to experience the essence of theater. He wants to change you, not through polemics, but through a purely artistic experience. A well-produced Pinter play is a yard-stick to all theatrical experience.

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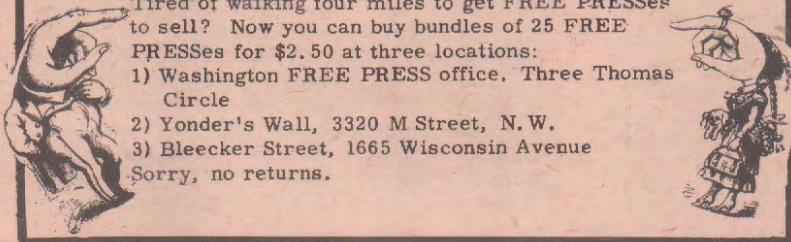
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ADVICE TO THE DRAFTLORN

DEAR GENERAL MARSBARS:

I am unclear about Canada: What happens if I renounce my American citizenship and then return to the U. S. -- can I still be prosecuted for my draft violations? Secondly, how long after I commit a draft violation can they still arrest me -- isn't there a statute of limitations?

T. B.

Dear T. B.

A man who is not living in the United States and who is not a citizen of the U. S. is not subject to the U. S. draft law -- that is simple. Therefore, if a man living outside the U. S. renounces his U. S. citizenship (and renunciation is confirmed by the Department of State) before he is required to register for the draft or before he violates a draft board order, he voids any further selective service obligation. If, on the other hand, he has refused to register as required or already disobeyed an order of the board, renunciation of American citizenship does not purge such offenses from his record.

A man can renounce citizenship by swearing an oath of renunciation at a U. S. consulate or embassy. Applying for or accepting "landed immigrant" status in Canada does not, of itself, void American citizenship.

Men who violate selective service law and return to the U. S. within five years will clearly be subject to prosecution. But the statute of limitations forbids prosecution of draft law violations more than five years after an offense is committed, except that the limitation does not apply if the offender is a "fugitive from justice," that is, is considered to have fled to avoid prosecution.

If a man leaves the U. S. after failing to register, failing to report for a physical examination or for induction, etc., he will clearly be violating the draft law by fleeing prosecution. Such a man would likely be subject to prosecution should he return to the U. S. at any time, even if he has become a citizen of another country.

Joy Almond

P. S. The above information is taken from The New Draft Law -- A Manual for Lawyers and Counselors by Ann Fagan Ginger, which is an

excellent compendium of information. It can be obtained by sending \$10 to the National Lawyers Guild, Box 673, Berkeley, California 94701. No counselor should be without it -- many registrants would benefit from possessing it, although somewhat technical in areas. Libraries and movement groups would do well to grab a copy while they last. Close commercial. J. A.

Dear General Marsbars:

I am a French citizen, living here in the United States. I am approaching the end of my first year in your country, and am in a dilemma about your military draft. I understand I must either register and serve if called up, or go home. Isn't there any other way to handle this problem?

Yves

Dear Yves,

An alien who has not been admitted for permanent residence and has not been in the U. S. for over a year, must register, and will be classified IV-C. I assume that is how you are now classified.

Once you've been here a year, you become eligible for induction -- you also become eligible for all the possible deferments and exemptions U. S. men are. Section 1622.42 even permits you another solution: You can, at any time prior to induction, file SSS Form 130, "Application by Alien for Relief from Training and Service in the Armed Forces." You will then be placed in Class IV-C again, but you will permanently lose your right to become an American citizen. (Take that).

Joy Almond

Dear General Marsbars:

I am black -- my family is extremely poor, due primarily to our color. I never had a chance to attend college, though my high school teachers urged me to. Now I'm 1-A and soon to be drafted. If my family were better off (read white), I would be classified II-S right now. If this isn't discrimination, I don't know what is. What do you think?

Leroy Jackson

Dear Leroy:

SSS Regulation 1622.1(d) provides: "In classifying a registrant there shall be no discrimination for or against him because of his race, creed, or color, or because of his membership or activity in any labor, political, religious or other organization. Each such registrant shall receive equal justice."

And yet 22.8% of the enlisted men in combat units in Vietnam are Negro. President Johnson once reported that "a recent survey revealed that only 27% of one age group of graduate school students past the age of 26 had served in the Armed Forces -- contrasted with approximately 70% of men of the same ages with educational backgrounds varying from college degrees to some high school training."

A good lawyer should be able to make a strong case of discrimination based on 1622.1(d) if the order to report for induction resulted even indirectly from your poverty, poverty due to race, failure to be in school due to poverty, your failure to remain in school due to poverty, or your family's financial straits.

Joy Almond

General M., where are you?

16th & Newton Sts. NW
CO 5-1311

SUNDAYS
10:00 A.M. Special Lenten Program
St. Stephen's "Tell It Like It Is" Sermons

3/3-Julius Hobson
3/10-Ruth Webster of CHANGE
3/17-Julian Dugas-Director of Licenses & Inspections
3/24-Petey Green

WHAT THE HELL IS GOING ON?

TUESDAY - MARCH 12

CONCERT of French music Albert Fuller, harpsichord; Aud. of the Museum of History and Technology, Constitution Ave. at 12th St., NW; 8:30pm, Free.

COFFEE HOUSE The Potters House; 8:30pm. Clark Mollenkoff, investigative reporter, will speak on organized crime in the US; \$1.00 includes coffee, 1658 Columbia Rd., NW.

SALES EXHIBIT Folk Art from the Appalachians, instruments from the exhibit will be demonstrated by Mike Seeger. Museum of History and Technology. First floor Rotunda, 8-10pm, through March 31.

BAROQUE AND BALLET Baroque Arts Chamber Orchestra of Washington, Dept. of Commerce Aud., 14th St. between Penn. and Constitution Ave., 8:15pm, Free.

WORKSHOP for adults in Music Education. Includes voice training musicianship and sight reading, stage presence for singers, technical training, set construction, design and lighting, costume design, and stage management. Every Tuesday at 8:00pm., Roosevelt High School.

LECTURE on Oriental Art, "Indian and Iranian Elements in Early Japanese Art" by Dr. Benjamin Rowland of Harvard Univ., Freer Gallery Aud. at 8:30pm.

ROCK BAND CONCERT The United States of America, a Los Angeles electronic rock band and light show, at 8:00pm and 10:00pm; Corcoran Gallery of Art, 17th and New York Ave., NW, for further information call Walter Hopps at 293-1700.

WEDNESDAY - MARCH 13

SEMINAR ON URBAN PROBLEMS Rev. Channing Phillips, Pres. of the Housing Development Corporation will discuss "The Housing Crisis in the District-The Problem and What Can Be Done About It?", at 8:15pm; Caldwell Hall Aud.

Catholic Univ., 4th and Michigan Ave.

FILM "Kites Around the World" 2:00pm at the Museum of History and Technology; 8:00pm, Museum of Natural History, Free. For further information call 381-5166.

WAR AND PEACE LECTURE Eric Ericson of the Washington Ethical Society, "Ethical Challenges of Modern Warfare", at 8:30pm; Nursing School Aud. of Catholic Univ., 4th and Michigan Ave., NE Free.

ART LECTURE SERIES Artists and critics of the 20th Century, today's lecture, "An Art Historian on the 20th Century", by Ulfert Wilke, art Dept. of Rutgers Univ. 11:00am Aud. of the Corcoran Gallery of Art. For reservations and further information call ME8-3211

DINNER THEATER See extended events.

THURSDAY - MARCH 14

FILM "Kites Around the World", at the Museum of History and Technology Aud., 12:00 noon.

OPERA The Barber of Seville by Rossini, Univ. of Md. Dept. of Music, Fine Arts Theater, Univ. Campus at 8:15pm. For ticket information call 454-2201 between 10:30pm and 4:30pm on weekdays. Admission, \$2.00, all seats reserved.

SEMINAR in contemporary theology offered by the Faith and Culture Institute, entitled "Verbal Symbols and my Life--Now", 7:15 to 10:15pm, Thursday evenings, Brookland Methodist Church, 14th and Lawrence, NE. Tuition \$5.00 for registration attend the class or call 546-7137.

FRIDAY - MARCH 15

OPERA See March 14

DANCE CONCERT Chorographers Concert, Georgetown Workshop, 15th and Wisconsin Ave., NW; 8:30pm. For ticket information call FEB-4744.

ETHICAL EVENING Happening

of Conscience, songs, speakers and poetry; Washington Ethical Society, 7750 16th St., NW, at 8:00pm, Free.

FLICK-IN at St. Marks Episcopal Church, 3rd and A St., SE. Every Friday evening for five weeks. This evening, "Nothing But a Man", the struggle of a black man to stay alive in a hostile society and keep his self-respect in face of a demanding wife. Free.

CONCERT American Brass Quintet, Library of Congress, Collidge Aud., 8:30pm. Tickets plus 25¢ service charge are available from Patrick Hayes, 1300 G St., NW.

SATURDAY - MARCH 16

OPERA See March 14th.

DANCE CONCERT See March 15

SOCIALISM DISCUSSION SERIES Sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance, This week's topic, the book "How a Minority Can Change Society", by George Breitman, Merit Publishers. 2-4pm, 15 7th St., NE. For further information call 546-2092.

FREE THEATER FILMS on the Draft: "Who Owns Tony Fargus?", "Monro"-a four-year-old is drafted, Jules Fifer; "Which Way the Wind?", fallout etc., "Where does Our Defence Policy Lead?" 8:00pm and 9:30pm, 1323 New Hampshire Ave., NW. Sponsored by the Washington Peace Center. AD4-2111

SUNDAY - MARCH 17

BALLET The National Ballet "Giselle", Lisner Aud., George Washington Univ., 3:00pm and 8:30pm. For ticket information call DU7-5544.

CONCERT Louise Parker, contralto and Doral Nold, pianist, National Gallery of Art, Lecture Hall, 4:00pm, Free.

PIANO RECITAL James Miltenberger, pianist; Phillips Gallery, 5:00pm, Free.

GREAT DECISIONS DISCUSSIONS "Dollars, Trade and Aid", What "Policies for World Prosperity?" Call UN Association, NA8-8330 or Mrs. Mary Jenkins, 522-0178 to join a group.

SEMINAR David Elsila, editor of the American Federation of Teachers' Journal and Charles Cheng, 1967 taxes for the Vietnam War

special assistant to the President of the Washington Teachers' Union, discuss "Education--Not In Doctrinaire", Institute for Policy Studies, 1520 New Hampshire Ave., NW at 8:00pm.

TALK "Judaism and the New Radical Theology" by Dr. Levi A. Olan, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, at 10:30 am, Washington Hebrew Congregation, Mass. Ave. at Macomb St., NW, open to the public.

11 MILE HIKE through Massanutten Mountains, George Washington National Forest, Va. Chartered bus leaves 12th St. and New York Ave., NW at 8:00am. Fare: \$3.50; send reservations to Bob, 5228 No. Carlyle Springs Road, Arl. 22203 (JA2-5962)

DANCE CONCERT See March 15. Today's times, 5:30pm and 7:30pm.

CONCERT Guitarist Charlie Byrd and trio at All Souls Church, 7:00 pm, 17th and Harvard Sts., \$3.50 for adults and \$2.00 for students.

MONDAY - MARCH 18

LECTURE "Sincerity in the Church" by the Rev. Dr. Hans Kung, eminent Catholic theologian. 8:00 pm, Catholic Univ., 4th and Michigan Ave. Open to the public.

TUESDAY - MARCH 19

LECTURE Radical Opposition Among the Navajo by Audrey Williams, Univ. of Md. At the Museum of History and Technology Aud., 8:15pm, Free.

TRAVEL FILMS "Ireland", at Mt. Pleasant Branch Library, 16th and Lamont St., NW, at 2:00pm Free.

WORKSHOP for adults in Music Education, see March 12.

EXTENDED EVENTS

MUSEUM OF AFRICAN ART Fredrick Douglass Institute of Negro Arts and History, 316-318 A St., NE. Continuing exhibition of traditional African derivation; also galleries depicting the contribution of the Negro to American history and culture.

Conducted tours for school classes and interested adult groups, by prior appointment. Lectures and displays in schools.

WAR TAX RESISTANCE March 15 - Americans who refuse to pay 1967 taxes for the Vietnam War

(23%) or for all US military expenditures (67%) will resist by handing in their tax forms and explanatory statements personally and publicly to the Internal Revenue Service. JOIN US! Sponsors to date: The Peacemakers, The Catholic Worker, The War Resistance League and the Writers and Editors War Tax Protest Group. For further information call Anne Brann 544-0878.

FREE UNIVERSITY at American Univ.; a wide variety of courses taught by people who feel they have something to offer. Open to anyone with interest. "We hope to raise sharply and deeply the basis existential questions--Who are we? What am I? What am I doing here? What is my life about? What is organic to my nature and to my connection with my fellow humans everywhere?... Our Free University would try to create innerspace, room for search, and to explore some constructive alternatives for our lives in our lifetime." For further information call Will Inman, 244-7437.

FREE UNIVERSITY FILM SOCIETY 10 movies; Sundays 2:00-4:00pm. Glover Room, American Univ.; 14 tickets for \$7.50, 7 tickets for \$5.00, 3 tickets for \$3.00, tickets at door \$1.25. For subscriptions or tickets call Pete Sageser 966-9506.

DINNER THEATER at Evans Farm Inn in McLean Va, until March 20, the Theater will present "How He Lied to Her Husband" and "The Man of Destiny" by George Bernard Shaw, on Mondays, Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Dinner served from 6:30 to 7:30 followed by the performance at 8:30pm, cost \$7.00 per person. Reservations by phone, 356-3048 or by mail, The McLean Arts Center, 1437 Emerson Ave., McLean, Va. 22101

EXHIBITION of the recent works of Frank Stella. The series involves a carefully determined structural imagery based on circular and semi-circular forms. In addition will be color drawings on graph paper. Washington Gallery of Modern Art, through March 31.

EXHIBIT at the Sign of Jonah, 2138 P St., NW. The woodcuts of Robert Hodgell, through March 16, from 10:00am to 6:00pm, Monday through Saturday, inclusive. Hodgell is best known through reproductions of his prints which appeared in Motive magazine.

Tax Resistance Action in Washington, DC Friday, March 15

JOIN US IN AN ACT OF COLLECTIVE TAX RESISTANCE. BRING YOUR COMPLETED TAX RETURN, FORM 1040, OR A STATEMENT EXPLAINING WHY YOU'RE NOT FILING, AND TOGETHER WE WILL RETURN FORMS AND STATEMENTS ACCOMPANIED BY EITHER NO MONEY OR AN INSUFFICIENT AMOUNT OF MONEY.

WE ACT BECAUSE FOR MANY VERBAL OPPOSITION TO THE WAR IN VIETNAM IS NO LONGER ENOUGH. RESISTANCE HAS BECOME NECESSARY. OUR CONSCiences DICTATE IT. THE YOUNG MEN RESISTING THE DRAFT HAVE SHOWN A WAY--WE WHO ARE NOT SUBJECT TO THE DRAFT MUST DEVELOP CREATIVE PARALLELS. TAX RESISTANCE FRONTS THE ADMINISTRATION DIRECTLY. IT LIBERATED THE TAX RESISTER BY SHOWING HIM THAT HE DOES HAVE CHOICES.



Total Refusers

Partial Tax Refusers

Telephone Refusers

JOIN US!

PUBLIC MEETING BEGINS AT 11 A.M. LOCATION TO BE ANNOUNCED ACTION AT IRS, 12th ST. & CONSTITUTION AVE. BEGINS AT 1 P.M.

SPEAKERS:

DR. ARTHUR WASKOW OF THE INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
DAVE DELLINGER, CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE

SPONSORS:

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE, RESIST, CATHOLIC WORKER
WRITERS & EDITORS WAR TAX PROTEST

FOR FURTHER DETAILS CALL 582-0606 OR 544-0878