



Staff and volunteers at the June 12 Rally Committee headquarters

By Dave Lindorff

On June 12, several hundred thousand people are expected to pour into Manhattan from all over the U.S.—and from as far away as Europe and Japan—to stage a massive rally for peace and disarmament, issues which will be under discussion at a month-long special session of the United Nations General Assembly. That the rally will occur is a tribute to the massive popular sense of fear and outrage that the Reagan administration has evoked through its belligerent foreign policy and unprecedented arms buildup. It is not, however, a tribute to the leadership of the local peace movement, which has spent the past three months in vicious infighting. Clearly, there are several major issues involved—bilateral versus unilateral disarmament, whether to include other causes such as ending racism and American imperialism within the disarmament movement, the degree to which the movement might be weakened or strengthened by an appeal to the American middle class—but instead of debating these issues of ideology and strategy, the local leadership has become involved in narrow personality and leadership quarrels and the most destructive kind of sectarian “turf-building.”

While local peace and environmental groups around the country are busy organizing bus caravans to the UN, thus assuring that no matter how fouled up organization politics have become, the rally will happen, New Yorkers themselves might be forgiven if they don't know anything about the UN special session or the rally itself. The groups in the city charged with the task of organizing the rally have been so busy battling each other they've barely had time to print fliers.

In fact, while the rally site in Central Park has already been selected, the “coalition” is so badly split that Mayor Ed Koch—who has balked even at taking a stand on a nuclear freeze—may have the role, through his parks commissioner, of deciding which groups will have the right to the rally permit. As things stand now, two “coalitions” have asked the city to consider them the legal heirs to the origi-

# War in Peace

## *The Fight for Position in New York's June 12 Disarmament Rally*

nal permit application that the pre-split organization filed in January.

On one side is the June 12 Rally Committee, which lists as “endorsers” some 80 national organizations and 150 local groups from around the country, but which is primarily being run by a few groups such as the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Greenpeace USA, the American Friends Service Committee, and SANE. On the other side is a smaller and less well-funded group of organizations called the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, which seems to be led primarily by the Brooklyn-based National Black United Front (BUF), and which includes groups like the South African Military Refugee Aid Fund (SAMRAF), Black Veterans for Social Justice, and the Brooklyn Anti-Nuclear Group (BANG).

Viewed broadly, the Rally Committee appears to be composed primarily of groups from the traditional peace movement, which has always been white and middle class. Its call is equally critical of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, makes no mention of big power intervention in the third world, much less U.S. intervention in Central America, and tiptoes past the issue of racism implicit in the American arms build-up. (Its own left wing and the groups in the third world and Progressive People's Coalition had wanted the linkage between the U.S. military budget and services for the poor—most of whom are third world peoples—clearly stated.) Its rally slogans are: Freeze and Reverse the Arms Race, and Redirect Resources from the Military to Meet Human Needs.

The Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, where black organizations seem to have the central role (though it includes a large number of small leftist organizations and sects whose memberships are primarily white), is much further to the left politically. It is calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament by the U.S., an end to U.S. military aggression in Central America, and an end to racism in America.

What complicates this simple formulation is that the Rally Committee also includes a number of organizations like the Mobilization for Survival and the War Resisters League, which are publicly upset with the split and with the behavior of the Rally Committee leadership, which they feel contributed unnecessarily to the divisions by a lack of sensitivity to black and third world concerns and by undemocratic methods.

A second complication is that the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition by no means represents the whole black or third world community—even in New York. Even if many other minority organizations like the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and the Hispanic Labor Committee are annoyed with the way some third world concerns and BUF as an organization have been treated, they haven't flocked to join the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, either because its politics are too radical, or because they don't want to contribute to further splits. And at the same time, the Rally Committee is not without black support, though most of the major black organizations that have lent their names to

the effort are based outside New York and have not been actively involved. Also, some of the more radical organizations within the Rally Committee, like Mobilization for Survival, are coalitions themselves and include minority political groups like the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party.

Late Monday, there was evidence that a serious effort was finally being made to close the rift that had developed between the two factions of the disarmament movement. At a long meeting at the Metropolitan Community Methodist Church in Harlem, ministers from BUF and some of the religious groups within the Rally Committee met and, according to Richard Dietz of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, agreed “in principle” on two major black and third world demands: one-third minority representation on the coalition leadership; and the addition of slogans condemning racism and superpower intervention in the third world. These were issues that had led to the split earlier.

It is not certain that all is well yet. More negotiations are set for Wednesday and Thursday, between the Rally Committee and both BUF and the Afro-American Coordinating Committee, a coalition in which BUF is a member. Politics within that coalition are still complex. The role of the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition is still unclear, as is the reaction of the more mainstream peace and environmental groups in the Rally Committee. But the ministerial agreement is the first positive sign in weeks. Another good sign that these negotiations are serious is that a worrisome press conference scheduled for Tuesday by the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition was hastily canceled Monday at the last minute.

The present situation developed last month following a raucous meeting of about 30 groups on March 3 at Riverside Church. At that session of the original rally committee—the last that was held—it became clear that certain organizations like Greenpeace, SANE, and the Riverside Church Disarmament Program were un-



# How the Freeze Is Political Big Business

The nuclear freeze movement has multiplied in the last few months with such astonishing speed that all across the political spectrum organizers are revising estimates of the impact they can achieve, on an almost-daily basis. Such organizers range from professional political managers with their eyes on the 1984 presidential race to local activists who have taken a dim view in recent years of "organized politics." They have found an immense reservoir of popular eagerness to contribute time and money to movements opposing nuclear weapons and the arms race.

The national nuclear freeze Clearing House for local and state groups, headquartered in St. Louis, says antinuclear organizations are active in 279 congressional districts, with between 17,000 and 20,000 people working for the cause on an unpaid basis nationwide. In 11 state legislatures one or both houses have endorsed a nuclear freeze, and voters probably will have a chance to register approval for a freeze on November ballots in Michigan, New Jersey, Delaware, Wisconsin, Arizona, Oregon, and, most significantly, in California.

The California freeze movement is among the most advanced and sophisticated in the country, bringing together professional political strategists with enthusiastic grass-roots freezers.

## Birth Back East

The California drive, which has garnered nearly three quarters of a million signatures, was born when Joe and Nick Seidita of Los Angeles noticed the extraordinary success of a non-binding ballot initiative in three state senate districts in Western Massachusetts in November 1980, organized by Randy Kehler and others. The initiative called for the president to propose a freeze on the testing and deployment of missiles and delivery systems to President Brezhnev, and it carried in 30 of 32 towns by two-to-one margins, even though Reagan carried the same areas two-to-one against Carter.

Acting on this example, the Seiditas began to campaign for a freeze resolution to go on the November 1982 California ballot. Their efforts were significantly enhanced by the presence of Harold

Willens, the Los Angeles millionaire who has been bankrolling and working for anti-nuclear causes for many years, and who also has been a major supporter of liberal politicians such as Eugene McCarthy, George McGovern, and, much to Willens's subsequent regret, Jimmy Carter.

Willens has been involved with nuclear war and the fight against it since 1945, when he was sent into Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as a Marine intelligence officer, a few weeks after both cities had been bombed. He became part of the group at the Center for Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, set up Business Executives Against the Vietnam War, and then the Businessmen's Educational Fund. He subsequently turned the Educational Fund into the Center for Defense Information and persuaded Admiral Gene Laroque to head it. CDI's monthly bulletins contesting official U.S. disinformation about the arms race have become an important resource for anti-Pentagon forces.

Willens supported Jimmy Carter in 1976 and was duly dispatched as a special U.S. delegate to the first UN Special Session on disarmament in 1978. When Carter failed to show, Willens was at first crushed, then infuriated: "The man for whom I had broken my ass... this man refused to show up." Willens took himself back to California and started organizing again. Last summer, he became active in building a freeze campaign after an early poll showed that if a movement stuck to the narrow issue of a freeze, it would go up 12 points right away.

Willens began raising money with the idea of getting an initiative on the ballot, and then worked on a campaign to win. He naturally consulted his rich friends in the so-called Malibu Mafia but more significantly sought the support of mainstream conservative business, religious, and educational figures. There was about \$50,000 in seed money, and Willens quickly obtained formal support from Dr. Jonas Salk; John Quinn, archbishop of San Francisco; Cardinal Manning of Los Angeles; Rabbi Joseph Asher; tycoons such as Brooks Walker, chief executive officer of United States Leasing Corporation; and a group of Nobel laureates.

## Astounding Response

The California freezers needed 346,000 signatures by April 22 to get their resolution on the November ballot. Within three months of the December 1981 kickoff, they had 500,000 signatures, and though active solicitation of signatures has been suspended, 40,000 names still come in each week, with the total now nearing 750,000.

As the signature collection gathered steam, Willens brought in direct-mail experts in the form of the West Coast office of Craver, Matthews and Smith, the Washington, D.C., liberal mail-shot outfit. They ran a test of 100,000 names, and the Craver, Matthews analysts were amazed. Traditionally, the break-even point on a mail shot comes at 1.25 per cent returns on total volume of letters sent out. The average return on the freeze mailings in California to date runs at 3.5 per cent, with some lists yielding up to 8 per cent. The average contribution returned is running at \$25. These returns represent a gold mine virtually unparalleled in the history of modern political fund-raising.

Even more incredible is the fact that the California freezers have had astonishing success in raising money for the initiative in other parts of the country. Di-

rect-mail responses outside the state are running at 2 to 2.5 per cent. One nondirect-mail example, again unprecedented, is the response to an advertisement that ran February 21 in the Sunday *New York Times*, asking easterners for contributions to the California campaign. The ad cost \$26,000. It brought back \$45,000.

On the basis of the California tests, direct-mail strategists now estimate they could develop a national freeze organization of 225,000 members, with immediate annual income of from \$5 million to \$7 million.

This kind of talk has professional political managers and strategists agog all over the country. In California, direct-mail shots until ballot time in November are likely to yield revenues between \$500,000



Harold Willens, millionaire L.A. freezer

and \$1 million. Much of the money will be spent to develop a media campaign, including half-hour campaign films to be run on TV.

The media campaign is the province of Bill Zimmerman, who ran Tom Hayden's 1976 senatorial campaign, and who has done some excellent media work on California initiatives in the years since.

## Mott's Peace Plans

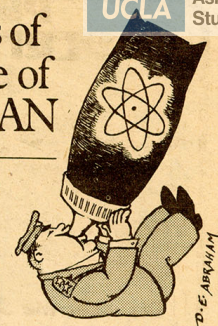
While the California freeze initiative was gathering speed, the national nuclear Clearing House was establishing itself, setting up headquarters in St. Louis, with offices in Washington, D.C., soon to come. Its emphasis is on local work. The national nuclear freezers will be joining soon with a group being put together in New York by another millionaire philanthropist, Stewart Mott, through the Fund for Peace, which he supports. The Mott plan, still somewhat vague, is to have a toll-free 800 number which would be freezers could call for further information constantly deployed in commercials, on TV talk shows, by speakers, singers, etc., across the country. An operator would take their names and addresses, send them a packet of material, and ask for a contribution. The most significant aspect of this would be to create a large data bank of names for further direct-mail shots.

Already, perhaps as a sign of the success of the freeze campaigns, there is considerable tension between the California high command, in the form of Willens and his associates, and the national freeze people and some local California freezers. Mott is now trying to recruit other philanthropic and antinuclear groups into supporting the advertising-solicitation project. He also wants to create a Washington lobbying organization.

More immediate than the 800 idea and complementary to the California campaign is a move to establish Political Action Committees by freeze groups. The first of these, Peace PAC, has just been set up by the Council for a Livable World. Peace PAC will support candidates in races for the House of Representatives this fall. The council already has a good hotline service on nuclear arms and the military

## Annals of the Age of REAGAN

Alexander Cockburn & James Ridgeway



budget (202-543-0006), and has seen its membership shoot from 12,000 a few months ago to nearly 50,000 today. It has raised \$260,000 in Senate race seasons, and this year is hoping for \$1 million.

Friends of the Earth is the most straightforward environmental group supporting a nuclear freeze. It also has a PAC, which backs candidates who support a freeze as well as those who have sound environmental positions. SANE also is developing a PAC.

The freeze campaign has raised tensions within the environmental movement, where the old-line organizations have long sought to steer clear of potentially divisive matters, such as defense and "national security." But as we have indicated with the California freeze explosion, it's a case of join the train while it's at the station or spend a long time alone in the john. The Sierra Club is debating the issue, as is the Audubon Society. (Both of these impeccably respectable organizations were recently charged by Assistant Secretary of Agriculture John Crowell with harboring Communist agitators. Crowell later apologized for his intemperate and indeed absurd accusations.)

## Reagan's Heartland

A way for environmental organizations to get into freeze activities was shown in the opposition to the MX missile. The coalition against the MX, which included such formidable politico-social entities as the Mormon Church and the ranchers of the Sagebrush Rebellion, offers vast opportunities to the freeze movement, since the politically conservative Mormon Church might normally be construed as Reaganite heartland. The church was politicized in a novel direction by the MX debate, and is now pondering the morality of supporting nuclear war. The role of other churches—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Catholic—has been very important in most areas of opposition to Reaganism.

Also possibly figuring in an overall coalition is the Fair Budget Action Campaign—a large group of unions, social-action organizations, church groups, and so forth, which calls for a limit on military spending, and which is sympathetic to the freeze.

Freeze activists and organizers have a series of deadlines in mind: the UN Special Session, which opens June 7, with accompanying protests and rallies; the congressional campaigns this fall, with battles over specific resolutions such as the Kennedy-Hatfield call for a freeze; and ultimately—at least in the minds of the professionals—the presidential campaign of 1984, where the media and direct-mail apparatus can be harnessed on behalf of a candidate. Hatfield says he does not want to run for president. Dale Bumpers has so far failed to quicken the common pulse. John Glenn briefly rose, spoke, and subsided once more. No one has ever heard of Reubin Askew. Gary Hart has comforted himself ineptly in recent meetings with newspaper editors. Walter Mondale lacks the backbone, determination, charisma, and steadfast dedication to principle of a Jimmy Carter. Mondale, of course, has already spoken out against a freeze. And this leaves, guess who? (Clue: it's not Larry Pressler.)

## The California Initiative

The California freeze initiative poses a simple paragraph: "The people of the state of California, recognizing that the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people, and further recognizing that our national security is reduced, not increased, by the growing danger of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, which will result in millions of deaths of people in California and throughout the nation, do hereby urge that the government of the United States propose to the government of the Soviet Union that both countries agree to immediately halt testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."



able to work with a few organizations to their left within the coalition. As it happened, one of these organizations was Reverend Herbert Daughtry's Black United Front.

A week earlier, a temporary executive committee composed of Daughtry, Cora Weiss of the Riverside Church Disarmament Program, Art Van Remundt of Greenpeace, and José Soler of the Hispanic Labor Committee had met to develop an agenda and a proposed slate of organizations for a permanent executive committee to work on the rally. Meeting at the United Nations Church Center, these four people had drawn up an agenda for the March meeting and a proposed slate of 13 organizations, of which five were black or Hispanic. Today, Greenpeace leaders claim that this proposal was only the work of two of the four people at the meeting (Soler and Daughtry), but this is clearly not the case. For one thing, the written proposal includes a dissent from Daughtry, who said he wanted the slate expanded to 15 to include Greenpeace and the Riverside Church Disarmament Program. (Those two groups had inexplicably declined inclusion in the slate they helped to formulate.) For another thing, at the March meeting, there was an uproar because the document, while calling for the naming of a minority coordinator by black and third world groups, also said the third world caucus should provide that staffer's salary. This was something Daughtry and Soler had not agreed to, since they felt that the coalition should collectively fund the rally staff.

Weiss, after first claiming that she could "not remember" the five-page document that she, Daughtry, Soler, and Van Remundt had produced February 26, and which had become such a bone of contention in March, stated later that she had helped develop it, but that she "couldn't support it at the March meeting because some of the 13 groups on it said they wouldn't serve" in that formulation.

Of course, some of the groups on Greenpeace's alternate slate also said they wouldn't serve, and in any case, for two out of four executive committee members who helped to draw up a slate to later disavow it seems to be the height of bad form. Moreover, it took the break-away rally committee, which Van Remundt and Weiss helped found, almost a month before they could get a black organization (PUSH of Chicago) to agree to work actively with the organization and to send a part-time staff member. This was because black organizations in New York, such as the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, have been reluctant to step into a conflict between BUF and the committee.

Daughtry claims he left the February meeting "assuming that we had all agreed to a proposal." But the day of the March meeting, all 37 other organizations attending received a special delivery letter from Washington-based Greenpeace proposing a different slate of 13 organizations. Included on it were both Greenpeace and the Riverside Church Disarmament Program (which had been shying away in February), as well as the Hispanic Labor Committee (which hadn't been consulted). While the two lists shared six names, BUF was notably absent from the Greenpeace slate.

Greenpeace apparently had two concerns which led it to take such divisive action, and both highlight the differences which have led to a split in the rally organization. One is a matter of operating style. In their alternative slate proposal, Greenpeace wrote, "A streamlined decision-making body is needed," adding, "The rally committee is autonomous and is not bound by prior campaign structures or earlier commitments." This was a direct challenge to the time-consuming democratic (but sloppy) process that had been followed to date. It also implied a threat to compromise positions on rally demands and slogans that had been painfully hammered out by the UN Disarmament Session Coordinating Committee (of which the old rally committee was a part) in January: for instance, the vague call for nuclear disarmament that does not mention the U.S. or USSR, thus avoiding the question of uni-

lateral versus bilateral disarmament. (Even the current Rally Committee call smooths over this issue, calling on "all nuclear states and our own government in particular to adopt an immediate freeze on all further testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems," which begs the question of whether the U.S. should implement that freeze unilaterally.)

The other concern involved political strategy and goals. In their own special-delivery missive, Greenpeace's Van Remundt, a native of the Netherlands, wrote, "The crowd should consist of as broad a cross-section of the American public as possible. To achieve this result the rally must appear favorable to the new mainstream constituencies and this should be reflected in the sponsorship of the rally..." If anything was ever a code-word for excluding urban minorities and organizations, it is "mainstream constituencies." Van Remundt, coming from Holland's very homogeneous society, might be excused for his clumsy phrasing or politics, but then the unanswered question is why Greenpeace—a major power in the coalition—would have sent him to such a touchy American political meeting.

Mark Roberts, national campaign director for Greenpeace (an organization known more as a militant defender of endangered seals and whales and an opponent of nuclear power than as a peace organization), now says, "A significant issue was trying to attract middle America. I think it's fair to say that if anything significant is going to happen on disarmament, this rally can't be too far left." In fact, adds Roberts, "I personally would like to see more right-wing and conservative groups involved, since they are also concerned about the arms buildup because it causes deficits."

Of BUF he said, "There were problems with BUF's wanting to move more to the left, which made us and other mainstream groups less apt to work with them." Moving to the left in this context means wanting to include the issues of U.S. intervention in the third world and the connection between racism and the arms buildup as rally slogans, but the committee had already democratically decided in January to stick to two slogans: End the Arms Race, and Shift the Budget To Fund Human Needs. Intervention and racism were to be mentioned only in rally literature.

Of course, Roberts's political analysis is not the only one available. The stated position of the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition reads, "Our view is that the political level of the disarmament movement must be raised and that third world people must be involved in the leadership process. Many of us were involved in the movements of the '60s and we remember all too well the attempts of the most conservative leadership, usually backed by huge sums of foundation money, to limit the political slogans to the most basic, to refuse to link one issue with another, and in the most treacherous fashion, to make the movement 'safe' for politicians to come in and lead it." Adds Joe Morrison of SAMRAF, one of the groups in the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, "Some of these groups see June 12 as just an event. We see it as part of a movement. If we water down the coalition too much, it can be diluted to the point that we haven't changed anything."

In any case, BUF and Daughtry were clearly the issue at the March meeting. After some initial arguments over the slate proposed by the four-member temporary executive committee, and the substitute slate proposed by Greenpeace, the mainstream groups on the one hand and the third world and left groups on the other both held caucuses and returned with modified versions. Each time, the third world caucus tried to include both Riverside and Greenpeace, while the mainstream groups came back with slates that excluded BUF, and that tried to compensate by including other minority organizations like the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists and the Hispanic Labor Committee. The problem was that since

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# "I LOVE YA!"

## —Uncle Steve

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<b>SONY</b>	<b>TECHNICS</b>	
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SL 2000 764	RBM 225 DOLBY 148	
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<b>JVC</b>	RBM 260 DOLBY 214	
HR 7300 \$595	RBM 270X DOLBY & DBX 285	
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<b>RCA</b>	SL B101 BELT MANUAL \$ 57	
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Continued from preceding page

those groups felt—rightly or wrongly—that they were being used as tokens, they refused to participate, which left the mainstream peace and environmental groups without a representative slate.

In the end, a slate was approved including BUF, Greenpeace, Riverside, and the Hispanic Labor Committee, but it was not clear that all 13 organizations on that list would agree to serve, which left things still somewhat up in the air. Further complicating matters was the overheated rhetoric of the day's events, which included inflammatory and baseless charges of racism by a number of people, reportedly including some BUF members, against such veteran activists as Cora Weiss and Bella Abzug and a speech by one black activist from the Black Veterans for Social Justice, a BUF ally, to the effect that a nuclear bomb dropped on New York might be welcome because whites and blacks would be equally dead. The level of discourse descended one notch below even that point when the same individual threatened to invite to the rally "all the pickpockets and rapists" if the Greenpeace slate was chosen.

No one left the March meeting feeling terribly good, but many participants say they felt the worst was behind them. Then came the bombshell—a letter sent to four of the groups that had played a compromise role at the March meeting (War Resisters League, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Peace Council, Mobilization for Survival), inviting them to join a new corporation that would put on the rally.

The letter, which claimed to represent a group of 13 organizations (including the most well-endowed and powerful), amounted to a bolting from the coalition by its signers: the American Friends Service Committee, Clergy and Laity Concerned (CALC), District 65 of the UAW, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends of the Earth, the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, Pax Christi, Progressive National Baptists, Riverside Church, Disarmament Program, SANE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists. (It later became apparent that not all the groups on that list had approved

the decision. Names like SCLC were added based upon the support of individuals who may not even have known they were part of a breakthrough movement.)

The new group left no question as to its intention to run the show. Calling the March meeting a "dramatic disaster," this new "peace company," (they never did incorporate), which added to the confusion by appropriating the name of the original rally committee, calling itself the June 12 Rally Committee, invited the other four to participate, saying, "We believe the fragments that remain after the last meeting are not sufficient to save June 12." In a revision of history, the Rally Committee now speaks of trying to negotiate with the groups which have "dropped out," an attitude which seems hardly conducive to reconciliation, since those groups, probably more accurately, see the Rally Committee as the splinter faction.

The rest of the original coalition was shocked by the sudden split and particularly by the incorporation plan. A week later, the War Resisters League sent letters to the members of the new Rally Committee asking them to reconsider. They challenged the description of the March

meeting as a "disaster" and, more importantly, noted that the letter, supposedly from 13 organizations whose headquarters are as far-flung as New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Atlanta, and San Francisco, followed the meeting by only five days, suggesting that it had been in preparation beforehand. "We don't know quite how to put our sense of astonishment at the ease with which democratic form and content seem to have been overlooked," they concluded.

What was the problem with BUF that made these mainstream peace and environmental groups feel they had to quit rather than work with Daughtry, who represents one of the most active mass black organizations in this city? Some outside observers have characterized the organization as anti-Semitic. That may or may not be true; certainly anti-Semitic statements have been made in years past by members of BUF. But that issue was never raised at the various coalition meetings, so BUF could not address it. Still, it was raised privately by some leaders and must have played a role in the coalition's breakdown.

The broader problem, however, was explained on page 25

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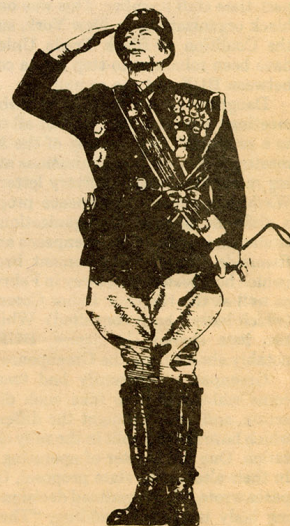
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**LINDORFF**

Continued from page 14

plained bluntly by John Collins of CALC, a group that was a founding member of the Rally Committee, now somewhat to its own chagrin. "What's happened here is that there's been an attempt to put together a disarmament campaign in a city that's nearly a third-world city," says Collins. "I think a lot of the difficulties arise out of the fact that the peace and environmentalist movements tend to be white and middle class and to a certain degree racist. Not in the sense of the KKK or that kind of thing. It's just that a lot of people in white groups don't know how to relate to and work with third world groups. Also, with the new upsurge in the disarmament movement coming from the political center, there's the danger that the center will turn around and say to the left, 'Okay, now we don't need you.' That's kind of what happened in the '60s [antiwar] movement and it ultimately suffered from a lack of political basis."

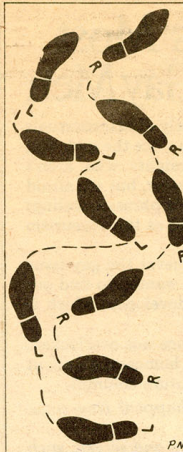
The current situation is in a state of flux. Groups like the Mobilization for Survival, War Resisters League, and CALC have joined or decided to remain on the Rally Committee to press for compromise, and are now directly involved in that process, and the Rally Committee claimed last week to be making efforts to negotiate with the other side in an effort to bring BUF into the planning committee. But BUF's Michael Amon-Ra claims the Rally Committee is doing everything it can to avoid recognizing the existence of the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition, trying instead to negotiate with the Afro-American Coordinating Committee (a group that includes BUF), and with BUF directly.

One reason for this approach, however, is that black activists within the Rally Committee have claimed that the Third World and Progressive People's Coalition is composed more of leftist groups of white radicals than of legitimate third world groups, and that the Afro-American Coor-

dinating Committee is thus more representative of the black community here. And some of the organizations within that Afro-American Coordinating Committee apparently are angry at BUF—which they invited into the rally coalition in the first place last January—for trying to make a power play of its own at the risk of damaging the rally effort.

Internal struggles within the peace movement are not generally revealed to the press until after they are resolved. One reason for this is that sympathetic journalists are not anxious to damage the movement. Another is that the antagonists within the movement feel the same way. Indeed, while I was working on this story, both I and *Voice* editor-in-chief David Schneiderman received numerous calls from members of the Rally Committee expressing concern over the impact of an article on splits in the movement. My own decision to write it, despite my full sympathy with the rally and its goals—or rather because of it—stems both from the certainty that the rally will take place (local activists across the country and delegations from around the world will see to that whatever the organizational battles here), and from my concern that the dispute over a permit could weaken that rally's impact. It is significant that once I began investigating, a number of activists within the Rally Committee were anxious to talk—some on and some off the record—in hopes that the publicity would force some resolution.

What cannot be allowed to happen is for this infighting to lead to a court battle over a rally permit, or worse still, to a splitting up of the rally by the Parks Department into two geographically and politically separate events. That would only benefit Ronald Reagan. It appears that the best hope is to let everyone know what the peace movement leadership has been up to—and both sides have behaved clumsily—so that the grass roots membership will pressure them to close ranks.



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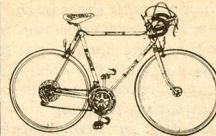
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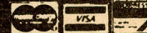
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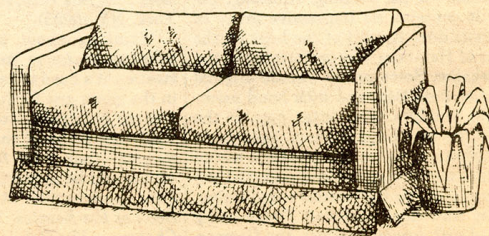
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## 12 Questions Straights Most Want Answered About Gay Men

Puzzlement galore. Whenever groups made up exclusively of heterosexuals discuss the gay phenomenon that's swept through America since the mid-'60s, they end up with more questions than answers. Straights who aren't homophobic want to understand this radical movement better, but are afraid to ask gays. The trepidation is that no matter how delicately phrased, feelings will be hurt; serious hetero curiosity will be misinterpreted as the voyeurism of an insensitive outsider.

During the last few months I kept a special list. Whenever the gay-issue came up among straights I asked what subject they most wanted to find out about. Eventually a kind of consensus set of questions developed, which is what you see in the adjoining box.

If a reader believes that some further issue of importance was overlooked, please feel free to send it in. And of course, comments from homosexuals about specific points, or the list in general, will be printed in future columns.

1. *It looks like half the world's gone gay. How did it happen? How come the sudden quantum increase in numbers?*
2. *Why the infatuation with Grand Dames of the stage and screen, such as Judy Garland, Joan Crawford, Mae West, Bette Midler, Diana Ross, and Bette Davis?*
3. *Why do so many homosexuals dress in the self-described "clone look" while at the same time professing an aversion to being stereotyped?*
4. *S&M is highly visible on the homosexual scene. What is it in the gay sensibility that is so drawn to the s&m lifestyle?*
5. *Why are homosexuals attracted to certain jobs, careers, businesses such as ballet, modeling, hairdressing, fashion?*
6. *Straight men report that in their experience most gays believe gay impulses would come out in straight men if only they didn't repress their true nature. Straights want to know if that assumption is why gays make passes at heteros.*
7. *New York City is a dangerous place—everybody knows it. For example, these days women will rarely go home with a guy they've just met, whom they know nothing about, no matter how attracted they are. On the gay scene it's commonplace for a man to take home a complete stranger, with dangerous, often fatal, consequences. Why do homosexuals ignore the rules of safety everyone else lives by?*
8. *Although generally used to make fun of them, the lisp is actually present in the speech patterns of many gays—why the lisp?*
9. *Since there is nothing exactly the same in the heterosexual lifestyle to match the gay baths, truck/pier sex, and wide-open street cruising phenomenon, straights would like to understand the appeal of those scenes to gays.*
10. *A large majority of women report feeling varying degrees of hostility from most gay men. From the homosexual point of view, are the women's feelings accurate? If so, why?*
11. *It is bewildering to straight people to see older homosexuals with adolescent boys they are sexually involved with. Why are these kinds of man/boy affairs considered legitimate by a sizable number of gays?*
12. *Does the extraordinary proliferation of gay venereal diseases cause a homosexual to question his very homosexuality?*

## Beatle Bomb

Fast approaching the proportions of a bookbionic plague, the flow of volumes about the Beatles can't be staunched. Publishers have so many of these gossipy manuscripts in the works that in order for dedicated fans of the Fab Four to keep up with future output they'll have to read two tomes at a time—one for each side of the brain.

A fascinating Beatles book, *Rock and Roll Times*, that's been out since November, has somehow managed to do the near impossible—it isn't selling. Amazing, because it contains an impressive array of rare shots done in 1961 of the boys on the streets of Hamburg and performing in the Kaiserkeller. Some prints include original drummer Pete Best and fifth band member Stu Sutcliffe. The latter part of the book is no less impressive: a hauntingly tough photo essay on the Rockers, whose style and mores inspired and reflected the new type of music the Beatles were forging.

Why isn't *Rock and Roll Times* being grabbed up? Jurgen Vollmer, the German photographer who did the text and images, is well known in Europe for his movie stills. He moved to the States a few years ago and shortly afterwards put the Beatles project together. However, without specific contacts in the publishing business he failed to place the manuscript.

Last year he teamed up with bookshop owner John Weber and together they put out 3000 copies. "Almost all of them, unfortunately, are stacked up in a basement," Voller lamented. "We thought lots of stores would want to stock it, but without the promise of advertising and promotion, most turned it down and only a few shops took any at all. A half dozen here and there add up to nothing. Everyone who looks through *Rock and Roll Times*, is

very impressed but we don't have national distribution so it doesn't really seem to matter. I thought maybe after it was in stores an alert editor from one of the big publishing companies might pick up a copy, like it and want to buy us out."

So far that lucky break hasn't happened. Since it might be futile for a Scenes reader to attempt to purchase a copy at their local shop, Vollmer is making it available through mail order (\$12.45 includes first class postage. Square Times Publication, P.O. Box 1010, Ansonia Station, New York, NY 10023).

Thinking about the book industry's runaway desire to issue works about the Beatles, it's hard to resist thinking of gaps in the genre just for fun. (Unless of course a sharp publishing executive wants to actually issue one of these can't-fail profit-makers—then a fee for the brilliant concept would be appreciated.) Here then are some prospective titles: *The Compleat Book of the Beatles' Very Own Astrology Charts*... *The Beatles Exercise Book and Record*... "I Was the Beatles' Guru." "No! I Was the Beatles' Guru." *Fans' Drawings of the Beatles*... *I Slept with the Beatles—A Sexual Anthology* (Lennon once told me that when they toured "we were a traveling Satyricon.")... *I Beat the Beatles out of a Fortune Before They Realized There Was Such a Thing as a Lawyer*.

**Prehistory:** George Harrison circa 1961 without Beatles coif. Photographer Jurgen Vollmer, deeply involved in their Hamburg scene, shot stills of their lives that today represent important pop anthropology. It was Vollmer's hairstyle that John, Paul, George and Ringo took and evolved into the famous Beatle Cut.

# SCENES

By Howard Smith

## 30 Days Hath...

Peculiar are the ways to pay for peace. This time you can help without money. The War Resisters League (WRL), one of the organizations most intent on rolling back the frontiers of international warmongering, is about to put the finishing touches to its 1983 calendar (the 27th annual). This publishing venture is WRL's main fund-raiser outside of direct grants. A project like this is always done early in the year so it'll be finished and on sale by early September.

Editor Maris Cakars dropped Scenes a note asking readers to help out. "We are looking for quotes that reflect a sense of concern with peace, human injustice, radicalism, socialism, anarchism, pacifism, rights, labor, etc. It's the first time we've done this type of calendar. Thoughts from presidents, kings, queens, and the like are okay, but so are ones from the unknown, the slaves, the people who flashed through history without leaving their names behind. The objective is to create 365 days of sayings for fun, for speeches, for posters, or just to treasure. Anyone who mails me a substantial amount out of which I use at least six, will get a free calendar."

Maris emphasized the short deadline—entries must be sent to him by May 5: 781 Carroll Street, Brooklyn, New York, 11215. Here are several examples he included:

"We can't have education without revolution. We have tried peace education for 1900 years and it has failed. Let us try revolution and see what it will do now."  
—Helen Keller

"If there is ever another war in this country, it will be between capital and labor. I mean between greed and manhood. And I'm ready now to march in defense of

American manhood as I was when I was a boy in defense of the South."  
—Frank James  
(Jesse's Brother, ca. 1895)

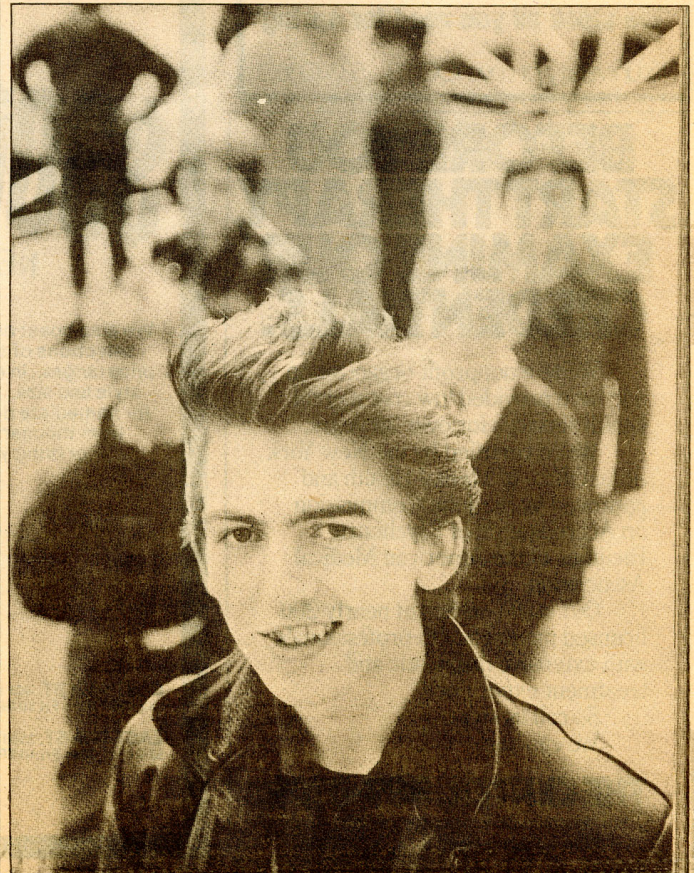
"It is through disobedience that progress is made."  
—Oscar Wilde, in *The Soul of Man Under Socialism*

"I can hire half the working class to kill the other half."  
—Jay Gould

"Freedom is like taking a bath. You have to keep doing it every day."  
—Flo Kennedy

## Scenery

Figures like this make hard-core bohemian practitioners of culture realize just how out of touch they are with mainstream America—*Dukes of Hazzard*, with TV ratings so high the program should be renamed the *Kings of Hazzard*, has spun off all types of licensed products. \$200 million worth just in 1981. ●●● A perfect fit was the inspiration for artist Robert Stepanek's clever decision to create his hand-screened deck of 52 Iranian Hostage playing cards: \$15 plus \$2 postage. (70 East 3rd Street, Apt. 18, NYC 10003) The two jokers are Carter and Khomeini. ●●● Don't sit on a bench complaining about the mess. Volunteer help is wanted by Friends of Washington Square Park for a spring cleaning going on now. Chip Fisher, 475-7022. ●●● Best morning radio talk program is the excellent *Senior Edition*. No need to be scared off by the title. Sharp interviews, news, and commentaries have very little to do with the old folk except for once they are treated like people too and given solid information that doesn't necessarily pander to their supposedly dated interests. Five days a week, 10 a.m. until noon on WNYC-AM, 830 on the dial. Very addictive format.



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