WHAT HAPPENED ON JUNE 15?
ON JUNE 15th, 1955, there was a full-scale dress rehearsal of the Civil Defense organizations in the United States, Canada and Mexico. “Operation Alert” began at noon and lasted until 2 P.M. the following day. In the nation’s capital President Eisenhower and 15,000 key Executive Department personnel rushed to secret shelters within 300 miles of Washington. However, members of Congress and the Supreme Court remained undisturbed and unprotected at the capital. State and municipal Civil Defense authorities and the public were asked to cooperate by going through the motions involved in a real attack, including a ten minute mock air raid drill. The nation responded with varying degrees of enthusiasm.

In New York City a hypothetical hydrogen bomb equivalent to five million tons of TNT was exploded over North Seventh Street and Kent Avenue in Brooklyn. During the mock nuclear attack from 2:05 to 2:15 P.M. 2,991,280 New Yorkers were “killed” and 1,776,899 “injured.” Less than half the population of the city remained to suffer slower destruction from the deadly atomic mist enveloping the city and its environs. According to the New York World Telegram: “Within a nine-mile radius of Ground Zero . . . devastation . . . would have torn out the entrails of the city.” In the Bronx and Staten Island chances of survival would be fairly high. But “in Manhattan, Brooklyn and Queens survival would have been almost a fluke.”

Among the fluke survivors were, presumably, the Civil Defense high command, busy organizing the salvation of the city from their “supreme headquarters” in Queens. Certainly no survivor was the man painting a flag pole atop the Abraham and Strauss store in Brooklyn. He didn’t have time to lower his bosun’s chair in the ten minute period and merely sat quietly holding his paint brush at “parade
rest” to mark the period of the drill. At the Yankee Stadium upwards of 20,000 baseball fans were gathered to watch the Bronx Bombers clash with the Detroit Tigers. They remained in their seats while a ten minute intermission was observed in the game.

The city of Peoria, Illinois, considered the whole affair ridiculous and refused to cooperate. In many other cities across the country there were people who did not cooperate with the local Civil Defense authorities by taking shelter during the drill. Some were like the balky woman in New York to whom someone shouted: “You’d move if this was a real one!” Her defiant reply was: “I wouldn’t have to. I’d be killed.” Others refused to cooperate for the additional reason that they object to war of any sort as a means of settling disputes. Pacifists in Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia and elsewhere refused to take shelter, carried posters and distributed leaflets arguing the folly and immorality of the whole proceeding. Civil Defense officials in those cities paid no attention to them.

It was otherwise with the group in New York. The major pacifist organizations in New York cooperated in a full day’s program of activities for June 15th, in order to raise clearly the question of pacifism and civil defense. They held a meeting for worship followed by a luncheon at Community Church. During the drill in the afternoon a number of persons from these groups planned a protest in City Hall Park against the whole war program of which Civil Defense is a part. As a major aspect of this protest four representatives were to walk across the park during the drill to present to the Acting Mayor in City Hall a letter signed by Dorothy Day for the Catholic Worker, Ralph DiGia for the War Resisters League, Kent Larrabee for the Fellowship of Reconciliation and A. J. Muste for Peacemakers. The letter said: “Such . . .

publicized civil defense tests help to create the illusion that the nation can . . . shield people from war’s effects: We can have no part in helping to create this illusion.” In the evening a meeting was held at which two speakers, Alfred Hassler of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and Dr. Bernard M. Cooke of the New York Office of Civil Defense presented the opposing viewpoints, with Horace Stubbs, clerk of the New York Quaker Yearly Meeting, as moderator.

Altogether 28 people gathered in City Hall Park just before the alert sounded. They were quietly seated on park benches. Some of them held signs saying: “End War—The Only Defense Against Atomic Weapons.” The moment the sirens sounded the mock alert, Civil Defense officials swooped down upon them, arrested them, crowded them into a single police wagon and took them off to jail. The official complaint charged that they “. . . did wilfully and unlawfully violate the provisions of Para. 101 Sub. 2b of New York State Emergency Act in that during an air raid alarm they did fail to obey an official order by a duly authorized person concerning the conduct of civilians . . .” This entailed possible penalties of a year in prison, a $500 fine, or both.
There are some people whose religious and humanitarian convictions against war are so strong that they will not voluntarily participate in it. They object to the use of military violence for any purpose, offensive or defensive. This does not mean that they are anti-social or insensitive to suffering. Conscientious objectors in wartime have distinguished themselves as stretcher bearers in the front lines. They have submitted themselves to medical experiments, sometimes resulting in death or disease for life. Before World War II Quakers in Great Britain refused to cooperate with civil defense preparations because it was part of a program of military violence and they felt that their energy should be used for promoting peace. When the blitz began, however, the Quakers organized volunteer disaster and fire-fighting units independent of the military. These later became models for the entire British civil defense set-up.

The group in City Hall Park on June 15, 1955, acted as they did for the primary reason that civil defense, especially in our nuclear age, is an intrinsic part of the military machine, the preparation for war, to which they conscientiously object. The New York State Defense Emergency Act is a war measure on the face of it. The Governor’s Memorandum of Approval to the Act contains this statement:

In the event of World War III, every person everywhere in the world will be in the front lines. The duty of defense rests on every citizen and the capacity for civil defense may provide the issue.

The right to conscript is written into the Defense Emergency Act, thus opening the way for the conscription of the civilian population.
A. J. Muste, whom *Time* magazine once designated as "America's number one pacifist," pointed out in an article in *Peace News*:

The fact that Eisenhower used his speech to the nation at the conclusion of his three-day sojourn in a "hide out" to urge everybody to pressure Congress to adopt the Administration's Reserve Forces Bill, which is Universal Military Training only slightly disguised, gives strong support to the pacifist contention that the major aspect of the demonstration was its contribution to war preparation.

The pacifists who took part in the City Hall Park Protest felt, therefore, that it was just as inconsistent with their pacifism to join in the Civil Defense drill under the New York State law as it is for conscientious objectors to submit to service in the armed forces. If the question is asked, How can they object to taking part in those activities which have the ostensible purpose of saving human life? their answer is: "We trust we shall always be prepared, as Quakers and other pacifists have repeatedly demonstrated, to do our utmost to minister to human need and suffering, regardless of the nationality, race or faith of the sufferers. But we cannot conscientiously do this as a part of a military set-up and under a war-conscription Act." In the same fashion, it may be recalled, the great majority of conscientious objectors, recognized as such under the Selective Service Act, insist upon alternative civilian service under civilian auspices and cannot conscientiously render non-combatant service in the Armed Forces.

What pacifists believe our people should concentrate on now is not preparation for war but the abolition of war. There is plenty of testimony from the most authoritative sources that this is indeed the only path to salvation and genuine security. For example, in a statement issued July 9, 1955, by nine top scientists, seven of them Nobel Prize winners on both sides of the iron curtain, and including Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell and Hideki Yukawa, it was pointed out that "the best authorities are unanimous in saying that a war with H-bombs might possibly put an end to the human race." The statement goes on to say:

Here, then, is the problem which we present to you, stark and dreadful, and inescapable: shall we put an end to the human race; or shall mankind renounce war? People will not face this alternative because it is so difficult to abolish war . . . They can scarcely bring themselves to grasp that they, individually, and those whom they love are in imminent danger of perishing agonizingly.

The preparation for nuclear war not only threatens the best aspects of our way of life, but that very life itself. The Federation of American Scientists have reported that: "... future accelerated H-bomb test programs by several atomic powers will ultimately reach a level which can be shown to be a serious threat to the genetic safety of all people of the world." As an editorial in the *New Yorker* magazine put it:

... to fight a war with H-bombs is to lose everything the war is designed to win, and to continue to prepare to fight such a war is to make the earth's atmosphere inimical to life. (That goes for frogs and fruit flies, as well as man.) In 1945, war was a mere scourge. Now in 1955, war is the end of the line, the way out for one and all, finis.

The world has always been one physically. It is one genetically. And on the thermonuclear level it will soon be one politically or it will
perish. Only two nations today enjoy absolute sovereignty, and even they are not enjoying it. They are stuck with it. The other nations have discovered that sovereignty slipped away somewhere along the line, leaving them to partake of the sovereignty of others. The two remaining giants, with their arms race and their "deterrent" phase of terror, have only a little while to go before they must compose their differences—unite their hopes and fears—or kiss their genes goodbye.

Even if one assumes that war may happen and that some measures should, and perhaps could, be devised to cut down the number of injured and dead, still the kind of drill put on last June has no realistic connection with saving life under the conditions simulated, viz. an H-bomb attack. For this contention there is also adequate support from authoritative, non-pacifist sources.

Thus, John Garrett Underhill, former Deputy Civil Defense Director of the District of Columbia, stated that the June 15 mock alert was ridiculous, "Not a drill, but a show." On the day following the drill a letter to the New York Times said: "Few activities or responses imposed upon our citizens during the drill would, in a hydrogen-bomb attack, contribute to survival. The best they could do is facilitate mass burial." In an article in the Christian Science Monitor, James K. Sparkman said that "today's civil defense becomes as dated as a moat and portcullis" in the face of intercontinental nuclear missiles which would travel faster than the most efficient warning system.

Senator Humphrey has accused the Administration of failure to tell the people of the real terrors of nuclear war. He accused the Government of gradually imposing the most rigid form of censorship that any people has ever experienced. This censorship and the gradual increase of the military domination of the American way of life are occurring not under a state of actual war, but of preparation for nuclear war. As the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette said in an editorial on the arrests in New York: "One would expect at most a mock arrest in a mock air raid." But the arrest was real. Evidently, if nuclear warfare itself means the end of life on earth, then even the preparation for it means the end of those traditional freedoms it is supposed to protect.
Evacuation is the only type of civil defense which has some conceivable bearing upon the protection of the people from nuclear weapons. The Federal Civil Defense Administration pamphlet *Six Steps to Survival* itself says: “The best protection against atomic or hydrogen bombs is—*don’t be there!*” On May 18, 1955, nearly a month before the June 15 drill, Mayor Wagner of New York City and Captain James Costigan, Acting Director of Civil Defense in New York, had stated before the United States Senate subcommittee on Civil Defense that the only hope for New York City was a “strategic evacuation of the City.”

Four years before, however, the House of Representatives Committee on Armed Services, in discussing the vital role of industry in the prosecution of a war, rejected evacuation in these words:

... while it might be possible to evacuate thousands of people, it would be clearly impossible to evacuate the factories where they earn their living. If the plants stay, the people must also stay. If the people stay, then they and their homes and our factories must be ready to fight back through a sound civil-defense program. This is the basic reasoning behind the civil-defense effort ... (House Report #3209, Dec. 19, 1950)

The only catch is that there is *no sound civil defense program*. As of June 15th, 1955, Civil Defense thinking apparently was that it is better to risk the lives of the civilian population than to immobilize our industrial economy through mass evacuation. But the civilian population does not realize it is being thus risked. Although many people have silent doubts, the public generally feels that such mock attack drills as that of June 15th are providing a sound defense. Pacifists feel that the people are deceived. They believe that such drills serve primarily to condition the public to accept and expect war, instead of demanding peace and working for it.

Pacifists were arrested on June 15 because in these circumstances they asserted the only power they had, the only power they felt it right to assert—the moral power of conscience, which the Bill of Rights recognizes as being higher than the power of the State. Theirs was not a frivolous act. As Bayard Rustin said in the William Penn Lecture of 1948:

*It would ... be a mistake to make simple the matter of resistance to the state ... Although there has not been complete agreement among those who have practiced civil disobedience, most leaders have generally adhered to certain very basic principles. The chief of these is that no individual has the right to rebel against the state. One has not the right to resist the social group of which he is a part. This is particularly true where decisions made have been reached after extensive democratic discussion. One has, on the other hand, a duty to resist ... and one’s everlasting aim is to improve the nature of the state, to disobey in the interest of a higher law. Hence, one does not have the right but the duty to rebel.*

It is only after all other methods have been exhausted that a man can conscientiously resist the State. But then it is indeed his duty to do so. In his essay on *Civil Disobedience*, Henry David Thoreau says: “Even voting for the right is doing nothing for it ... Moreover, any man more right than his neighbours constitutes a majority of one already.” In the famous trial of Socrates described in Plato’s *Apology*, the Athenian court offered Socrates the alternative of
Men of Athens, I honor and love you; but I shall obey God, rather than you, and while I have life and strength I shall never cease from the practice and teaching of philosophy... For I do nothing but go about persuading you all, old and young alike,—not to take thought of your persons, or your properties, but first and chiefly to care about the greatest improvement of the soul—I shall never alter my ways, not even if I have to die many times. For I will obey God rather than you... and so I bid you farewell—I to die, you to live; which is better, God only knows.

THE FACTS OF THE TRIAL

Approximately nine hours after they were arrested, the 28 pacifists were arraigned in Night Court. At that time Magistrate Louis Kaplan labeled the defendants as “murderers” and said: “These people by their conduct and behavior contributed to the utter destruction of these three million theoretically killed in our City.” He then assigned an exorbitant bail of $1500 each, although the crime with which they were charged was only a misdemeanor and bail in such cases is seldom more than $50. Within 48 hours over $35,000 had been raised and the defendants released on bail.

The trial itself took place five months later on November 16, 1955. The official complaint, sworn by Colonel Henry George Hearn of the Civil Defense Auxiliary Police, was directed against “Rocco Parilli and 28 others... acting together.” Rocco Parilli, a shoe shine man, was innocently getting a drink of water...
in the park near the defendants when they were arrested. His case was dismissed at the Night Court Hearing.

The manner in which Magistrate Hyman Bushel conducted the trial was something of a shock even to those well aware that the Magistrate’s Court is the lowest rung of the State judicial system and must handle many cases of admitted criminals. He constantly prompted the prosecuting attorney, Patrick Healy, on when to make objections, and made his hostility to pacifism obvious. When defense attorney Kenneth Greenawalt was attempting to bring out the fact that some of the defendants may have been praying when arrested, Judge Bushel remarked: “I wouldn’t care whether they were praying or playing pool.” At one time he asked the state’s only witness, Col. Hearn: “I suppose if they had urinated in the park, you’d lock them up too, wouldn’t you?”

He tried to insinuate that the pacifists were communists. “You haven’t got Molotoff as a witness here, have you? . . . Spell Molotoff’s name right. I want to make sure he (the court stenographer) spelled Molotoff right.” Later he asked A. J. Muste, the chief witness for the defense, “You read Karl Marx?” Mr. Muste replied: “. . . of course I read Karl Marx, and long before I read Karl Marx I read the Hebrew prophets and the Gospel.” Later he asked Mr. Muste if he had ever been in Russia and observed: “I want you to bear in mind we have a law called . . . the New York State Defense Emergency Act. That’s the Bible we’re trying this case by.” In spite of this constant harassment from the bench, Attorney Greenawalt maintained his dignity and produced an excellent trial record.

Several weeks before the trial, at a preliminary hearing, Dorothy Day, Ammon Hennacy and several other members of the Catholic Worker group had pleaded Guilty. They did this on religious grounds, with the view that they were guilty of breaking “a manmade law in order to obey the law of God.” They felt that they had made their witness of conscience against the madness of nuclear war when they were arrested in City Hall Park and wanted to express that witness further by accepting suffering under a bad law rather than becoming involved in a complicated legal process. However, they made it clear that they stood firmly behind such other defendants who wanted to test the law in the courts and continued to work with the committee in charge of defending those who pleaded Not Guilty.
The chief witness for the defense was A. J. Muste. He said that in the event of a real bombing “we would do everything in our power to save human life and relieve suffering—but not as a part of a military machine or under a military conscription act.” He established the fact that the group acted as it did because “the drill was part of war preparation under a military defense act . . .” He was able to suggest some of the pacifist alternatives to war. For instance, employment of the nation’s wealth to relieve the suffering and further the emancipation of oppressed people all over the world so that they would not turn to communism, instead of destroying our wealth by building weapons which are useless except to end the human race. He suggested that the elimination of racism in America would put America’s influence in the world far more in ascendancy than the arms race could possibly do.

Other defense witnesses included Eileen Fantino, who represented those of the Catholic Worker group who had not pleaded Guilty; Ralph DiGia, who expressed the motivation of some of those in the group whose conscientious grounds were ethical and humanitarian rather than religious; Kent Larrabee, who presented the Quaker viewpoint; Henry Maiden, who spoke as a legally recognized conscientious objector engaged in alternative service; and Jackson MacLow, who was the defendant whose primary concern was for the danger to life from nuclear bomb tests.

In summing up, Kenneth Greenawalt expressed the view that the New York State Defense Emergency Act stands in direct violation of the rights of free speech, press and assembly, the right to petition, and the rights of freedom of conscience under provisions of both state and federal constitutions. He had been assisted at the counsel table by Harrop Freeman, Professor of Law at Cornell University, and Conrad Lynn, who had represented the defendants at their first appearance in Night Court.

December 22nd, 1955, Magistrate Bushel returned a verdict of Guilty, but suspended all sentences. He had earlier made it clear that he did not intend to “make martyrs” of any of the defendants. As Murray Kempton aptly wrote in the New York Post:

*A man cannot be a martyr unless his cause is just; and poor Judge Bushel had to give way to the irrelevantly nasty because the alternative was to recognize that there is a terrible injustice in putting people like this in prison and leaving the rest of us out. He feared . . . not their sin but their virtue.*

In his opinion Judge Bushel asserted that there was no doubt the defendants had, in fact, refused to take shelter. He expressed the view that, while the Constitution guarantees freedom of religious belief, it does not necessarily guarantee freedom of religious action when that action is detrimental to the welfare of the state. He plainly felt the defendants’ action was detrimental. He expressed abhorrence at the fact that some of the defendants had not been religiously motivated and concluded with a eulogy of Dorothy Day’s work with the poor and homeless in the Catholic Worker movement. As a final instance of Judge Bushel’s frequent disregard for the dignity of his position, he said in speaking of Miss Day:

*I hoped she hadn’t pleaded guilty. I would have found a way of acquitting her. I know a way to do it . . . I wish you didn’t plead guilty. The next time you come before me—if you do—you plead not guilty.*
THE LEGAL ISSUES FOR APPEAL

In the United States the rights of free speech, press and assembly, the right to petition, and the rights of freedom of conscience and freedom of religion are guaranteed by provisions of both state and federal constitutions. The defense contends that these rights of the defendants were violated by their conviction and their arrest, as well as by the Civil Defense directives and the State Defense Emergency Act under which they were convicted. It is on this general basis that an appeal will be carried, if necessary, to the Supreme Court.

Another issue is that all citizens are guaranteed equal protection of the law in the Constitution. If any man is punished for a certain crime, then all men guilty of that same crime should be punished. But although the defendants here were arrested and convicted, Rocco Parilli and the 20,000 baseball fans in the Yankee Stadium were not so convicted. Nor were numerous people throughout the city and the nation who ignored the drill. Furthermore the State Defense Emergency Act itself provides that a “clergyman or member of a religious order while engaged in duties for a recognized church or religious organization” is exempt from the jurisdiction of the Civil Defense authorities in air raid drills. Two of the defendants are clergymen, one is a legally recognized conscientious objector on religious grounds, and the majority are members of religious pacifist organizations. They were attempting to express the principles and carry out the duties of those organizations. The Supreme Court has said that “it is no business of courts to say that what is a religious practice or activity for one group is not religion under the protection of the First Amendment.”

A third issue lies in the Constitutional guarantee of the right to petition government bodies and officials for the redress of grievances. The arrest of the defendants prevented them from presenting their petition in the form of a letter to the Acting Mayor. Their petition called for redressing what was to them the horrible grievance of the nation’s preparation for nuclear war and acceptance of the deceit that civil defense drills could in any way protect the population.

Another basic issue was epitomized in an editorial in Commonweal shortly after the arrests:

Only in a “clear and present danger,” we have said, may the rights of free speech and free assembly be curtailed by the power of the State.

But now they have been curtailed by executive proclamation of a mock emergency. And if this can happen, what else may follow? If our traditions of freedom . . . may be so easily set aside, at what stage on the road to an authoritarian society have we arrived? . . . what meaning has the Constitution in America today?

The United States Supreme Court has very clearly established the need for the “clear and present danger” test for cases involving the suspension of civil and religious liberties:

But freedoms of speech and of press, of assembly, and of worship may not be infringed on such slender grounds. They are susceptible of restriction only to prevent grave and immediate danger to interests which the State may lawfully protect.
Justices Holmes and Brandeis have consequently said:

It is therefore always open to Americans to challenge a law abridging free speech and assembly by showing that there was no emergency justifying it.

Mr. Justice Murphy might have been referring to this particular case when he said:

From time immemorial despots have used real or imagined threats to the public welfare as an excuse for needlessly abrogating human rights. That excuse is no less unworthy of our traditions when used in this day of atomic warfare or at a future time when some other type of warfare may be devised.

The fifth basic issue is that, contrary to Judge Bushel’s opinion, religious acts as well as beliefs are protected by the Constitution. The Constitution does not, in fact, mention “beliefs” at all. It uses the expression “free exercise,” that is, both beliefs and the acts which implement and fulfill them. It is clear, furthermore, that the terms “free exercise” were intended to include conscience and conscientious action, in particular, conscientious objection to war. The defendants’ actions sprang from a deep conscientious conviction that the whole civil defense program on June 15th was wrong, not merely ineffective, but morally deceitful and destructive. The question of whether or not the nation gives itself over singlemindedly to preparation for war is of profound importance to everyone. And as the Supreme Court has said:

But freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to things that touch the heart of the existing order.

When they were arrested, the defendants were being coerced to conform to the prevailing war hysteria.

Possibly the most significant legal issue which this case has raised clearly is the need for definition of the word “conscience.” In the terminology of civil liberties “freedom of conscience” has been used more or less interchangeably with “freedom of religion.” Conscience, broadly speaking, is the inner guidance, distinguishing “right” from “wrong.” The law has not in all cases defined “conscience” as limited exclusively to religion in any accepted sense. Yet there is a tendency to take “conscience” to mean “religious conscience” and to consider any non-religious variety as somehow invalid. Judge Bushel made quite a point of this in his opinion:

However, not all defendants were motivated by religious scruples. I want to repeat this. However, not all defendants were motivated by religious scruples . . . this is the important part that I abhor . . .

But Ralph DiGia made it quite clear that the ethical and humanitarian grounds on which
he based his part in the action of June 15th are as deep and as inwardly coercive for him and some other defendants, as conscientious in this sense, as those more customarily accepted religious grounds of conscience which motivated many of the other defendants.

In the United States today the statute makes it impossible to be a legally accepted conscientious objector to war on non-religious, ethical or humanitarian grounds. The Supreme Court has not determined whether the Selective Service Act is valid in this respect. In Great Britain the law does provide for non-religious conscientious objectors. The United States Supreme Court did once declare:

*This conjunction of liberties is not peculiar to religious activity and institutions alone. The First Amendment gives freedom of mind the same security as freedom of conscience . . . Great secular causes, with small ones, are guarded . . .*

Chief Justice Holmes carried this one step further:

*If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate . . .*

Should it prove possible in appealing this case to obtain a clear definition of conscience to include religious, moral, ethical and humanitarian grounds, then a precedent of immense importance for Constitutional law will have been established.

**CONCLUSION**

We live in an age obsessed with physical power. In action, we have denied the power of spirit. We have atomic and hydrogen bombs, bacteriological and chemical weapons, guided missiles: we have power to destroy all life on earth ten times over. So great is our obsession with physical power that we are prepared to endure extreme centralization, increased conformity, thought control, and the loss of our freedom and dignity, in an effort to achieve and protect that power. We are afflicted with irresponsibly specialized minds. The scientist feels himself competent to make weapons but incompetent to judge whether they should or should not be made. The scholar thinks that something really ought to be done, but that, after all, repairing the world's ills is "outside his field." The question is, do we have the wit to prevent ourselves from being sucked into the whirlpool of self-destruction? The action which these 28 people took on June 15th, 1955, points the way to the only solution—a solution outlined by *Life* magazine shortly after the atom-bombing of Hiroshima:

*Our sole safeguard against the very real danger of a reversion to barbarism is the kind of morality which compels the individual conscience, be the group right or wrong. The individual conscience against the atomic bomb? Yes. There is no other way.*

PROVISIONAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE  ROOM 825  5 BEEKMAN STREET  NEW YORK 38 NEW YORK

Bayard Rustin secretary
A. J. Muste treasurer

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