

P.O.'d Virginia Consumers Put Howell On Road To Top

by David L. Aiken

No, Virginia, the revolution has not come — yet. But Henry Howell has been elected lieutenant governor in that legendary Byrd-land across the Potomac, and that should provide almost as much fun.

There may be those who conceive of Virginia as a land of horse farms, apples, and old-line courthouse politics eternally (almost) dominated by Harry Byrds — like H.B. Senior, now dead, who started the whole thing as governor, and Junior, now in the Senate.

To those who entertain such notions it is nearly inconceivable that a man with a reputation as a firebrand populist would win a thumping victory over the nominees of the two major parties.

Well, those people are about half right. Out in the countryside, they still ride horses, grow apples, vote for Byrd, and look upon Henry Howell as a "radical demagogue," as the Loudoun Times-Mirror editorialized.

And Henry himself hasn't started to pull any punches after a career of outspoken candor. He may have a slightly gentler manner on the podium, compared to his unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor in 1969. But he's still taking jabs at the "big boys" who have always been his favorite targets.

One major part of his appeal is that his history of fighting against corporate conglomerates on behalf of consumers is beginning to pay off, as homeowners and shoppers increasingly realize they're being shafted.

Howell reminded voters in this campaign that he was an intervenor against increased utility rates when VEPCO and C&P Telephone asked the notoriously pro-utility State Corporation Commission for boosts.

His opponents, Democrat George Kostel and Republican George Shafran of Arlington, said the state's attorney general had been in charge of arguing against these proposed increases (as part of his official duty), so Henry's participation wasn't significant. But voters had never heard of either Kostel or Shafran setting foot in the SCC hearing room.

When voters start receiving refunds from the telephone company for a boost in some charges that the SCC approved two years ago, but which the state supreme court declared to have been illegally granted, they might give a little credit to Howell as well as Atty Gen. Andrew P. Miller, but they won't thank Kostel or Shafran.

Similarly, if Virginia ever decides to regulate the rates of Blue Cross-Blue Shield, voters might just remember that Howell was calling for that in his campaign, even though others had proposed it earlier and a legislative study commission is now considering it.

The same applies to a long list of other economic proposals that Howell campaigned on — repeal of the state tax



on food and drugs; modification of the present "right to work" law to permit unions to collect money from non-members who benefit from union contracts, and a state minimum wage law.

While Howell was stumping on the pocketbook issues that he has always stressed, Kostel and Shafran were bickering about which of them opposed school busing more, and which of them was running second behind Howell.

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PBS PURVEYS PABLUM

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DAY CARE THAT DOES CARE

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Fight For Union Consciousness Loses

By Lilla Pearce

The issues dividing Federal trade unionists were clearly laid out in a bitterly contested D.C. area election last month. The Vela slate, representing a clear commitment to change vs. the Travis slate, dedicated to a return to "fundamentals." The prize: leadership of NCAD (National Capital Area Department), a council of union locals belonging to AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) and representing more than 20,000 workers in Washington's government agencies.

Xavier M. Vela, president of Local 1534 (State Department, AID), and the other candidates on his slate, have been active in a new and vital movement among trade unionists in Federal agencies such as OEO, HEW, the Library of Congress, HUD, the Patent Office, and many others. They ran on a platform which stressed the need for new approaches to labor-management relations in the government, focusing on the importance of organizing employees, gaining exclusive recognition and negotiating. And they lost.

Major Travis and his cohorts have been on the scene for a long time. Drawn largely from defense-related agencies, they may have been ahead of their times in the thirties, but they have now become staunch defenders of the status quo. They fought a campaign which was largely founded on fear: fear of change, fear of activism, and fear of new ideas, with a liberal dose of innuendo and red baiting thrown in for good manners. And they won.

The victors in this year's NCAD election, however, may find that the very issues on which they won this campaign will be the issues on which they will lose next time. The workers now entering the government are no longer interested in joining fraternal organizations which depend on cory chats with management to resolve their differences. Nor are they interested in social clubs which avoid dealing with the issues of war and repression on the grounds that they are not germane to the legitimate concerns of trade unionists.

The future strength of Federal trade unionism according to George Koch, former activist president NCAD, lies in the development of collective bargaining skills. When workers exchange ideas with management on an equal basis there are bound to be differences of opinion. The old guard has tended to avoid the conflict inherent in a collective bargaining situation, however, in favor of maintaining amicable relationships with management. This is fine for the respective administrators and union officials involved, but does little to further the rights of the average Federal employee.



Mike Vela

During the past year NCAD has been split into two warring factions. George Koch won the presidency by virtue of a three way race in which the opposition split their votes, a mistake which was not repeated in 1971. The majority of the voting members of his executive board, however, had strong ties to the old leadership and were not about to put up with the ideas of this young upstart and his committee chairman.

As former chairman of the education committee, I can testify to the energy with which Koch sought to provide the leadership training and skills necessary to the building of a strong and effective trade union movement within the Federal government. All previous NCAD records were surpassed in the number of

seminars and training sessions we developed on subjects as varied as steward training, collective bargaining, equal employment opportunity, and day care.

These efforts were not sufficient to convince the majority of NCAD delegates of our commitment to bread and butter issues on election day, however. The Vela slate had been identified by the opposition as "social activists". Our the opposition as a local's right to pass a resolution against the war, our commitment to due process for Angela Davis, our request for funds to defend the HEW 52, and our attempts to aid the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee were used by the opposition as evidence of our lack of dedication to trade union principles as they defined them.

Our mistake lay in believing that actions speak louder than words. We were not prepared to deal with the reality of many years of inbred fear and insecurity which characterize the Federal employee who lived through the McCarthy era, nor with the oral tradition which has subsequently been handed down from one generation to the next. We thought that the organized sector of the Federal government would be amenable to change, if they could be convinced that change was in the best interest of the workers they purport to represent.

From my point of view it is now apparent that the majority of the delegates to NCAD are more concerned with maintaining a comfortable sinecure which offers a modicum of status and a taste of power than in working for the

welfare of the dues-paying members of their locals.

The AFGE locals in NCAD pay a monthly membership fee and yet few delegates seemed to base their support for a slate on the services likely to be provided. Vela's slate would have won hands down if the election had been won or lost on the grounds of dynamic leadership potential.

Those of us who are working within the labor movement may have to resign ourselves to the truism, "You can't teach an old dog..." There are over 300,000 Federal employees in the D.C. area, however, and only about 14 percent of those employees are organized. Many of them are young and sympathetic to our goals. Very often they are turned off by what they know of the labor movement and rightly so. The basic principles of organizing and collective bargaining, however, are there to be used creatively by those who would translate their ideals into social action, which by definition includes bread and butter issues. The challenge which progressive trade unionists must meet is one of organizing and educating at the local level. For it is only by developing new leadership which can challenge and change the conception of trade unionism in the Federal government as a form without function, that the tremendous potential of the Federal employee as a force for social change can be tapped.

Lilla Pearce was a candidate on the Vela slate and is Chief Steward, AFGE Local 1826, Library of Congress

Volume I Number 2

Twenty thousand free copies of the first *Colonial Times* were distributed throughout the Washington metropolitan area. Reaction and response has been enthusiastic - we've had a lot of encouragement and a lot of healthy criticism. As a result we have a group of people that have come together to write, type, proofread and layout this second issue.

Marie Nahikian is working as our new business and advertising manager and will also be doing some writing. Marie has worked with College Press Service and is currently a staff member at the Institute for Policy Studies.

The best response we can get is subscriptions. If you like what you've read so far, please send along your support. We are in enormous debt and a bit shaky for our third issue.

There's a lot of other stuff you can do too. We need contributions to cover our publishing expenses while circulation and advertising revenues grow. We need fund-raising parties... meet the *Colonial Times* staff in your very own home! Hustle us an institutional subscription (only \$15 a year) at your local library or with your employer. Know of advertisers or a local merchant that will carry *The Colonial Times*? Give us a call 234-5509.

We need coordinators to write, solicit, and edit articles to insure good coverage in all areas of interest, e.g. consumer affairs, federal employees, area GI news, etc. We'd like to establish correspondents in city and suburban neighborhoods, high schools, colleges to keep us in touch with every part of the community.

Hawkers are needed to blitz the Washington area with street sales. Hawkers will make 15 cents on each paper. We want regular sellers in shopping centers, government office buildings and area high schools and colleges.

Colonial Times is available in bulk from several locations listed in this issue, or get in touch with us to pick up papers.

Let us have your classified, commercial and personal. Send us all kinds of information on cheap, free or otherwise upcoming community events that people need to hear about.

And, finally, write us a letter or let us hear your response to the thing we're writing. Send us suggestions and leads on things we should be doing.

Look for issue number three in about three weeks. With a growing staff, we expect to make a bi-weekly deadline starting with the fourth issue.

Child's Play?



NO!

Protecting the rights of Federal Employees is serious business.

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Hot News: People's Panel Indicts U.S. On All Counts

Movement Builds For San Diego

by Steve d'Araizien

Washington was old home week for radicals here, as leaders of the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice and members of the now-dispersed May Day Tribe, old SDS personalities and Chicago 8 Defendants, radical religionists and academic leftists gathered here Oct. 22-26 to embrace as comrades, enjoy a Chinese meal together and then sit in the hard wood pews of the First Congregational Church and listen to as much of the over 30 hours of depressing testimony as they could stand.

The event was billed as the People's Panel, a mock Grand Jury investigation of the crimes of the American government. It was the first part of Phase I of the Evict Nixon campaign sponsored by the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice.

Inside the packed church Sunday night (October 24th), beneath a pulpit which one observer described as being designed by General Motors and which more properly would have graced the nose of the Metroliner, and clasped between a set of graceless, modernistic, stained-glass hands, the audience listen-

would redistribute our vast wealth, made possible by a highly advanced technology of production, for the welfare of the total population... We conclude that we have found the institutions of the American system unfit to govern; and the presuppositions of the American social and economic system unfit for the expression of fundamental human rights.

The crowd responded as expected: "Yip, yip, yip, yip..."

"And we are going to evict Richard Nixon," intoned Chicago broadcaster Stan Dale.

Clap, clap, clap, clap...

Unlike the indictments returned by the government in other political trials, this one followed logically from the testimony. The indictment is basically a summary of the evidence followed by a perhaps clichéd conclusion, but a cliché, after all, is only an overstated truth, and the nub of it all, that the government is unfit to rule, is no longer controversial among an increasing number.

The 37 witnesses were people who, in a decent society, would be setting the tone, rather than making discordant noises. They included Prof. Arthur Kinoy of Rutgers Law School, Dr. George Wiley of National Welfare Rights Organization, international law specialist Richard Falk of Princeton, Laos expert Fred Branfman, Harrisburg defendant Eghal Ahmed, Yale law professor Frank Donner, former SDS leader Lee Webb, and Dr. Howard Zinn from Boston University.

The Panel's role was defined by its moderator, Fr. Paul Mayer, who said, "Some will raise the question of what is the power of this People's Panel? It is the power of the truth. A people armed with the truth can confront the power of death and darkness. The question that we ask is whether the decision-makers represent the hopes and dreams of the people of the world."

The legitimacy of the Panel was evaluated by Prof. Kinoy, a leading civil rights attorney. "This is no matter for me," he said. Referring to Patrick Henry's conception of government, he said, "Not only is the fourth branch of government the people, but we reserve for the branch the word sovereign. The power that you exercise is naturally legitimate power."

This is the "most impressive and relevant panel I've ever appeared before," commented pacifist writer-editor David Dellinger. He called the Panel "a key to building the second American revolution."

Dellinger attacked the economic foundation of the American system: "Our society has been based on this contradiction, that there could be no sharing in the economic sphere." Six per cent of the world's population controls 66 per cent of the world's wealth and 180 corporations control 77 per cent of this country's industrial output, he noted.

"There is no democratic control in this country because the people who have control of the wealth can control the political sphere."

"It is no coincidence that Nelson Rockefeller presided over the massacre at Attica," Dellinger said. "I would indict Rockefeller for murder, but all I would do is take away his power, I would not recreate his crime."

The Panel's initial focus was on the Indochina war. Fred Branfman, who spent four years in Laos as a volunteer for International Volunteer Services, said that on the basis of his interviews

with over 1000 refugees, he concluded: "Every Pathet Lao village was bombed. People were farming at night, living in tunnels and caves during the day, for months, years." This, in spite of an official U.S. denial that villages are bombed. Seventy to eighty per cent of those killed are women and children, Branfman said.

crimes against humanity by waging an aggressive war and by pursuing a genocidal policy. He defined genocide as "intentionally destroying a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group, creating conditions of life calculated to bring about its destruction in whole or in part."

"Clearly the leaders who have par-



photo by Bruce Pellerin

National Welfare Rights Organization leader. Beulah Sanders, testifies before

the People's Panel.

Although in November, 1968, after years of anti-war demonstrations, the bombing of North Vietnam ceased, "Not one less bomb has been dropped. They went into Laos." In fact, under Lyndon Johnson, the bombs fell at a rate of 60,000 tons a month; the Vietnamizer Nixon is dropping 96,000 tons a month.

Don Luce, the former director of IVS who, as a reporter, discovered the 186 Con Son "tiger cages", described the impact of that revelation — 200 more tiger cages. Under Vietnamization, police have been increased from an initial 16,000 to 113,000. A hundred thousand political prisoners are being held.

Bart Osborne, a former CIA agent, described his role in fingering NLF suspects for assassination under the Phoenix program. He described the use of torture by Americans. Both practices are contrary to international law, he said. As Luce pointed out, "American money made it possible."

While the war continues, support for it diminishes rapidly. Tran Van Dinh, former South Vietnamese Charge d'Affaires to the U.S., said he had recently received a letter from a friend, "the cream of South Vietnamese society." His friend was very fed up with the war. "The U.S. is very much alone with Mr. Thieu," Dinh told the audience. And Richard Boyle, a freelance writer, described the recent mutiny of 15 soldiers at Firebase Pace. The men refused to go out on a suicidal patrol. "The army is close to revolt. No one wants to be the last to die."

Prof. Richard Falk, a specialist in international law, said the U.S. is clearly in violation of international law by using tactics that fail to discriminate between combatants and non-combatants and by using weapons that are inherently cruel. Falk said the U.S. is committing crimes against peace and

anticipated are responsible. It doesn't matter that participants might have believed it beneficial to fight. What matters is that they knew or should have known what would happen. Sufficient condition exists to impeach Richard Nixon "for high crimes and misdemeanors," he said.

Attention then turned to domestic repression with testimony focusing on prison conditions, welfare repression and the oppression of women. As the movement grows, so does the police apparatus that seeks to control it. Frank Donner, a Yale law professor, described domestic intelligence as "a growth industry," with 20 Federal agencies and local and state police groups engaging in political surveillance.

"You have to understand the intelligence mind. It conceived of the imminent threat of bloody overthrow. The problem is seen as bad men. If only they'd go away," Donner explained.

"The real purpose of surveillance is to restrain dissent," he explained. Nixon's nominee to the Supreme Court, William Rehnquist, has said, "There's no Constitutional issue in placing someone under surveillance," Donner said. We shouldn't have to be heroes to engage in political activity."

Lee Webb, now a professor of economics at Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, described the growth of the "police-industrial-education complex." As in national defense industry has found a lucrative grab bag in supplying police departments with the latest gadgetry—helicopters, closed circuit t.v., radio equipment, and computerized command and control systems.

"We are dealing with people who are looking ahead, who see a real threat, who see a movement developing of people who want radical change," Webb said.

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photo by Bruce Pellerin

ed as the 20-member People's Panel, a Chicago radio broadcaster, a pacifist, a student wounded at Kent State, a homophile candidate for Congress, an Asian scholar, a Harrisburg defendant, a theologian, a Young Lord, a former POW in North Vietnam, a high school student, a brace of women's liberationists, a Vietnam vet, and Mrs. Georgia Jackson, the mother of slain Jonathan and George, returned its indictment:

"We find a fundamental bias in the American system toward males, toward Caucasians, toward corporations, toward heterosexuals, toward the police and military agencies, and toward American power against the rest of the world. This racist, sexist, capitalist, and imperialist bias prevents the restructuring of the economy into a system that

Consuming



Safeway Boycott Turns Away 7000 Shoppers

Car Repair Survey

ECOLO-G

by Laun Horowitz

Starting with this issue *Colonial Times* is conducting a series of consumer self-defense surveys. We are asking our readers to relate their experiences with area merchants and businessmen. We will report the results in hopes of helping as many of you as possible to avoid rip-offs, cheats, and incompetents. It's old fashioned, but maybe we can help show the business community that honesty is the best policy and will pay off in the long run. Representatives of the Virginia Citizens Consumer Council will tally the surveys and prepare reports.

Our first survey is on automobile repairs.

FILL OUT AND RETURN TO COMPLAINT COMMITTEE, VCCC, BOX 3103, ALEXANDRIA VIRGINIA 22302

1. What auto dealers, garages, mechanics etc. have you used personally for work on your car whom you would recommend to others?

Name of firm:

Why would you recommend them?

When was your last contact with this establishment?

2. Which dealers, garages, mechanics have you personally used that you would urge others to avoid?

Name of Firm:

Address or location:

What Happened?:

Did your desire to save the environment lead you to buy Ecolo-G detergent instead of Tide or some of the other high phosphate brands? If so, according to the Federal Trade Commission, you may have fallen for some bullshit that in its own way is pollution too.

The FTC has announced its intention to issue a complaint against the manufacturer and its advertising agency for falsely claiming that Ecolo-G is safe and not hazardous, that no special precautions to avoid harm need be taken when using it, and that the U.S. Government has found the product helpful in stopping water pollution and has approved its label.

The way the FTC sees it, Ecolo-G is a hazardous substance, as defined by federal law. To avoid harm, users should take special precautions to avoid swallowing the product and to prevent its coming in contact with the eyes and skin.

Furthermore, the Ecolo-G label has not been approved by a U.S. government agency which has the authority to approve or disapprove detergent labels, but the product is required by the FDA under law to prominently warn users on its label of the hazards involved in using it. The label shown in the Ecolo-G ads does not clearly show this warning.

The label, including the phrase, "Stop Pollution," furthermore has not been approved by any U.S. agency which has found the product helpful in stopping water pollution.

In keeping with the FTC's practices, the firm will be given a chance to sign a "consent order" agreeing to discontinue these practices. A consent order, however, is by no means an admission of guilt or, for that matter, an admission of having engaged in the practices. In effect it says, "We don't admit that we've done anything you don't like, but we promise not to do it in the future."

FDA's partial clout may be better than none. You judge.

On the evening of October 26, five minutes after a news announcement that U.S. Steel had been indicted by a California grand jury for polluting San Francisco Bay, WTOP radio ran a commercial for U.S. Steel describing how U.S. Steel was helping farmers produce better.

After five weeks, the Washington Safeway Boycott, with the help of 60 volunteers, has turned away over 7000 customers at 35 Safeway stores.

Three large and colorful banners proclaiming "Bread and Justice" and "Don't Shop at Safeway" have been on the street facing rush hour traffic for two weeks.

Behind this success is a small but reliable number of individuals who have been on the picket line five, six and seven times during this period. Every week more groups lend their endorsement and active support to the boycott.

Recently we have been endorsed and supported by the Washington Urban League, the D.C. Statehood Party, the D.C. Democratic Central Committee, the Vista Alliance, Americans for Democratic Action, La Raza Unida in Washington, four neighborhood centers around the Martin Luther King Co-op, activists from the United Methodist headquarters, students from four colleges, and many others.

Among those who have responded to our call for action is a group of 30 to 50 seminary students who intend to present Safeway Division manager Basil Winstead with a petition demanding a stop to their scab grape marketing practices. This action will be followed up with informational picket lines at Safeway markets every weekend for the duration of the boycott.

John Gibson of the Washington Urban League has been working with our office on a strategy for hitting Safeway markets in the inner city. One of our problems has been the fact that Safeway has a virtual monopoly on the downtown food market. Inner city residents are sympathetic to the Safeway boycott because this corporation has been abusing the Washington consumer for years.

At a meeting of fifteen community leaders chaired by Ed Nesbit of the Center City Community Corporation, it was agreed that UFWOC would maintain a picket line at Safeway stores around the Martin Luther King Co-op on North Capital and H Streets. It is our hope that a city-wide boycott strategy can be worked out that will force Safeway to stop exploiting farm workers and to stop exploiting Black Washington.

There is a map on the wall of the boycott office with a red dot marking the location of every Safeway store in the Washington area. There are 168 of these dots with a Safeway in almost every neighborhood. Downtown Washington is covered with red.

Safeway is three times larger than Giant, its nearest competitor. With such control of our city, Safeway can afford to raise prices without fear of losing customers. (Of the major chains in the area, Safeway is the second most expensive.) It can afford to sell foods heavily laden with pesticides and other poisons.



Our tactics for forcing Safeway to recognize its corporate responsibility to farm workers will be as follows:

1. Our extensive picket lines will be maintained on Saturday morning and afternoons, the peak shopping hours. We will stand in front of Safeway markets asking customers to shop at a nearby competitor.
2. Demonstrations aimed at the rush hour traffic will be held on Thursday and Friday afternoons at Safeways on such roads as Connecticut and Wisconsin Avenues. Smaller actions aimed at the rush hour will be held on other week days.
3. Active support will be solicited from organizations, churches, unions and schools. As much picketing, demonstrating, and organizing will be encouraged as possible.
4. Other actions or similar actions at different times will be taken to meet boycotters' time schedules and to keep our adversary off guard.

Reprinted from *Action!* a newsletter for farm worker supporters in Washington, 7332 Piney Branch Rd., Takoma Park, Md., 20012, tel. 587-0510

Logan Circle Fights Back

story and photos by Pat Stickle

"Dear Owner: The property that you occupy is one of those properties which will be considered by the (D.C. Urban Renewal and Housing) Committee as part of a property rehabilitation area. Occupants are urged not to move at this time. . . ."

Surprised residents and property owners in D.C.'s Logan Circle area (where 13th and P Streets and Rhode Island Avenue intersect) received this notice three days before the Commit-

Community Organization (MICCO), working with the Model Cities Commission and the community; funds for the renewal actions were granted to RLA by the federal government.

The Logan Circle neighborhood was only one of several areas designated for urban renewal actions in the third year plan, but it presented special problems. Somehow, communications had broken down. As one resident stated: "We had . . . no knowledge of the scope of the

Some laughter met Cicero's comment that greater socio-economic integration of the Logan Circle area was one of the plan's objectives. Both residents for and against urban renewal of their neighborhood described the most disputed street, the 1300 block of Vermont Avenue, as being as integrated as any place you can find.

Remarkably on the area's distinctive Victorian and Edwardian architecture, Cicero explained that rehabilitation could prevent the further deterioration of the area's homes. Historic preservation as well as the Pittsburgh plan, whereby building facades are bought and restored, were also being studied for the area.

A major objective of the plan is to increase home ownership, Cicero explained. Through the program's special financial plan, residents could improve and re-finance their homes. Because of the area's location, they probably could not do this through a bank. Another consideration in selecting the area was that its high home ownership would minimize the need for relocation there, and facilities for relocation are sparse: in D.C.

James Woolfork, RLA's Shaw Area Director, called meetings for tenants and property owners 2 weeks later to discuss the rehabilitation program. There was a slide show on urban renewal plans, speakers from community groups, and what some residents believed to be a skill for RLA. Woolfork, like Cicero, repeatedly apologized for a breakdown in the system of community information. He described the rehabilitation process in general terms and the special financial plans for homeowners, landlords, and tenants. He emphasized the possibility of further deterioration of the homes if they were not approved for NDP 3. MICCO was also supposed to be in contact with the community before NCPC met again. Several days before the hearing they distributed a one page questionnaire in the Logan Circle area. Follow-up came a week after NCPC's meeting on the area and the day after the City Council hearing. At the NCPC meeting on August 2, Thomas Lodge spoke out against RLA's plan. Representing many of his Vermont Avenue neighbors, he enumerated their many objections to rehabilitation and at the same time submitted a counter-proposal. Basically, the citizens saw no need for RLA's program to be done on their homes which they themselves have al-

ready been restoring for years. Rehabilitation only means providing a decent standard of safe and sanitary housing; restoration goes beyond that standard.

Lodge and the neighbors for whom he spoke wish to continue restoring their homes at their own speed and, if they should decide to dispose of their property, they want to do it without RLA's interference. In addition, few are eligible for special grants or re-financing their present mortgages, and they do not want to incur additional debts through any plan.

These residents were annoyed by District agencies such as the Department of Licenses and Inspections which had only caused 'loss of time, money, and patience.' Lodge later added that he had 'an underlying mistrust of RLA's past actions in the city' and he cited the 'destruction' of Foggy Bottom and South-west Washington as examples.

He proposed that certain already restored homes be dropped from NDP 3 and that other properties in need of rehabilitation be added. 'We're in favor of those who want it; we aren't trying to keep anyone from getting it.'

Some Logan Circle residents wanted their homes to be rehabilitated. Mrs. Henry Letcher spoke out in favor of the plan, while still 'sympathizing with the 1300 block of Vermont Avenue. Why do it to that block if they don't want it? Everyone there has his house clean and beautiful. Why not start with less livable areas?'

In 1946 Mrs. Letcher and her husband purchased the remarkable Victorian house at 1 Logan Circle. There they set up the Letcher Art Center which hosted art activities of all kinds for 20 years. 'It did so much for people in the community. It gave them hope, it gave them some progressive feeling, some interest in the community. And it gave them skills. Without economic security, people get in trouble.'

When her husband died, Mrs. Letcher had to let the school go. 'We want to keep the house for the community and for residence, but rehabilitation is beyond an individual's means. The banks are afraid of the neighborhood, so we definitely welcome RLA.'

Half of her large house is now divided into apartments occupied by Mrs. Letcher's son Henry and his friends. Using their artistry and imagination, they have filled the rooms with bright designs, music and incense. But half the house is unused. It needs plastering, electrical work, new plumbing, heating, and kitchen equipment. 'We need RLA,' said Mrs. Letcher. 'The government will be repaid because we will use our home to develop citizen resources.'

1316 Vermont Avenue, on the other hand, has already been restored. Since buying the large Victorian house in 1963, Thomas Lodge and his mother have spent \$20,000 in repairs and restoration. 'We've put in more work than may be necessary. It's gone beyond rehabilitation.' The house is elegantly furnished and decorated with chandeliers and Mrs. Lodge's paintings. Once a muddy site for abandoned cars, the backyard is now a patio with a fountain.

As a result of Lodge's protests and suggestions, NCPC proposed that part of Vermont Avenue be dropped from NDP 3 while other properties—such as Mrs. Letcher's—be retained in the plan. Some recommended properties, however, were not added.

NDP 3 is still under consideration by the D.C. City Council before being presented to the Department of Housing and Urban Development for federal approval. Lodge adds, 'Maybe they wanted to start on the easier houses. Maybe they wanted a showcase to use for convincing people of their good work. But I was of two minds really. If the plan had gone through, I would have cooperated.'



Half of this Victorian house is divided into apartments; the other half is unused.

tee's meeting to study the rehabilitation proposal. "Those who move before approval and official notices may disqualify themselves for benefits for which they may otherwise be eligible," the letter continued. Rehabilitation? Benefits? Despite at least five federal and community organizations "intent on helping the community," the area's residents did not expect—or understand—their inclusion in the third year Neighborhood Development Program (NDP 3) for the Shaw School Area.

The Shaw community covers the area bounded roughly by Florida Avenue, NW; North Capitol Street; M Street, NW; and 15th Street, NW. A major objective of the program, according to the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) is: "By staged program of urban renewal action, eliminate physical blight and deterioration, such as substandard building, incompatible uses and environmental deficiencies, and by so doing, establish an environment in which . . . the socio-economic problems confronting the residents of the Project Area will be ameliorated and increased opportunities provided for employment and education, health and social services."

In rehabilitation areas, such as the Logan Circle area, owners would be required to repair their properties to meet the plan's standards, ranging from pruning bushes to wallpapering. Where an owner is unable or unwilling to "rehab" his property, the Rehabilitation Land Agency (RLA) could purchase the property and sell it to a non-profit corporation for rehabilitation. For homeowners and landlords who qualified, RLA would make loans and grants available.

General plans for renewal of the Shaw School Area were approved in January, 1969, by NCPC and the D.C. City Council. Neighborhood Development Programs for the first three years were developed by the Model Inner City

plan, of loans, grants, condemnation procedures, or of the philosophical or practical reasons for the proposed rehabilitation. . . . We were in a state of ignorance and confusion because the lines of communication had either broken down or had not been utilized."

NCPC's Urban Renewal and Housing Committee met on June 29 of this year to consider NDP 3 and "community review" of the plan. When Mr. Salvatore Cicero, the Commission's Project Director for Shaw, called for statements, questions ranged from why residents had heard nothing of the plan until the last minute, to when rehabilitation would begin, to whether they would lose their homes. Cicero claimed that his agency had worked with the community to study the proposed urban renewal areas, and that RLA had made a survey to evaluate community needs. Which homes had been surveyed? Of about 85 homes, they had covered less than two dozen.



People saw little need for rehabilitation in homes they had been restoring.

Washington Journalism Review

nixon eviction-phase 1:

"Blue Is Beautiful," But Media... Blah

by Stephen Klitzman

"Blue Is Beautiful" read the headline over the lead off *Daily News* editorial of October 28. No rhapsody about a clear autumn sky, the editorial praised instead the D.C. police for showing a "friendly father image" and being "beautiful" to the 298 people arrested on October 26 for sitting down at the end of "Nixon Eviction-Phase One."

The men in blue, you see, had finally learned after the mass arrests of May Day to hang loose and respect the Constitution.

Maybe they had. But if the cops learned something after May Day, the Washington news community didn't. Witness its coverage of "Nixon Eviction-Phase One."

With few exceptions Washington newspaper, radio, and TV covered the latest anti-war protest as they covered May Day, the Moratoriums, and the Mobilizations, i.e., as a local police problem rather than as a national political event.

News pages and broadcasts focused mainly on police logistics, procedures, and equipment, on the numbers of police, troops, and demonstrators, on immediate confrontation, and on personalities rather than on background issues, policy arguments, and opposing viewpoints.

Editorial pages, meanwhile, focused on everything but the protest. Unlike May Day, when more editorial ink than blood was spilt, no editorial comment on any aspect of the five-day event appeared in either the *Post* or the *Star*.

The only editorial comment, in fact, to appear in the three major dailies was "Blue Is Beautiful"!

No editorial attention and little news space was given to the testimony presented during the People's Panel:

—that Vietnamization is not winding down the war, but continuing and expanding it through the use of Asian troops and a combination of air and electronic warfare;

—that US bombing over Laos is killing civilians, women, and children and creating thousands of refugees;

—that American money is subsidizing the militarization of South Vietnam's police force and that of other Third World nations;

—that there are now 20 Federal agencies along with state and local police forces which engage in domestic surveillance.

No editorial attention and little news space was given to the seven-point peace plan re-offered by the NLF or to Nixon's refusal to respond.

No editorial or news space was used to analyze the radical peace movement's new electoral year strategy and its causes, possible tactics and effects.

Instead the *Post*, *Star* and *News* told us numerous stories how the nation's capital was girding itself for another round of demonstrations: "Police are ready at White House"; "2000 federal troops are put on alert, then taken off alert while D.C. National Guardsmen remain on alert"; "Police don't expect trouble, but say there may be possible violence on Tuesday"; "Human Resources Department prepares to alert all city hospitals to provide emergency care if the number of injured gets too high" etc.

In comparison, the three days and over 30 hours of testimony on the People's Panel received two paragraphs in the *Post*, none in the *Star* or *News* and none on the air. The *Post* paragraphs were buried deep in stories about police preparations or Rev. Carl McIntyre's "March for Victory."

References to the seven point peace plan appeared in all three papers while WMAL (Ch. 7) was the only station to quote the Vietnamese saying that Nixon should respond to the plan and set a date. None of the papers explained the plan in detail nor the fact that Nixon had yet to respond.

Press "analysis" of the status of the anti-war movement was based on the "smaller turnout" and produced such insightful reports as the *Post* story (Oct. 28) which quoted Father Groppi calling

the poor turnout a "down for the movement" while "Dellinger countered by saying the demonstration was a 'definite up.' A final news conference at which organizers assessed the movement and discussed their plans for the electoral strategy was covered only by the *Star*."

Broadcast "analysis" on the other hand was superior to that of the press, despite the special time pressures of the media and TV's dislike for "talking heads"—people talking rather than acting.

In particular Catherine Mackin, NBC Network, Washington, filed an intelli-

follow-up reports on the status of the peace movement on local campuses.

That summarizes what coverage there was. As for its presentation, there were few overt examples of loaded or "biased" words, headlines, or photographs. Some stories tended to over-stress the age of the demonstrators; one story by *Star* writer Lance Gray used the adjective "youthful" three times, as in "dentim-clad legions of youthful demonstrators."

And the *News* should receive some negative notice for its headline "War Protest Here Was Wispy-Washy" over a



photo by Bruce Pellerin

Left to right: Faith Evans, National Welfare Rights Organization, Father James Groppi, George Smith, former Vietnam POW, bring Nixon a key to POW camps.



photo by Bruce Pellerin
Man in Blue

gent (and the only) network story on the electoral strategy noting it was the beginning of a new effort to "broaden the peace movement into something ordinary people can accept." Included in her story was an interview with Rennie Davis. (She also made the only network file on the sit-down arrest.) Mutual Broadcasting System's report was carried by WAVA News Radio, which did a good job keeping up on events. Finally, Angela Owen of WRC T.V. "News-4," presented some

story about how the rain canceled Monday's rally.

Then there's the editorial award which the *News* wins by default for "Blue Is Beautiful". This brings us to why there was no editorial comment in the *Post* and *Star*.

I knew Meg Greenfield worked on the *Post* editorial page, and I had read her essay on May Day. But when I asked her why the *Post* had no editorial comment on "Nixon Eviction-Phase

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A Letter The Post Didn't Run

The following letter was sent on October 15 to the editor of the Washington Post by staff members of the Nader-funded Corporate Accountability Research Group. The Post had not printed the letter when Colonial Times went to press.

To the Editor:

For the past two months an unchallenged falsehood has been promoted by the Administration and, through its compliant reporting, by the Washington Post.

Various officials, including President Nixon and Secretaries Connally and Stans, have described corporate profits in such terms as "unacceptable", "de-

clining", and "slim". Their assertions were reported as fact by the *Post* on each occasion — e.g., 8/17, 8/18, 9/9, 9/29 and 10/8.

Yet profits of manufacturing corporations are high and rising. For the second quarter of 1971, FTC statistics place manufacturing profits (on stockholders' equity) at 18.2% before taxes and 10.7% after taxes. The latter figure compares with 8.9% for the second quarter of 1970. The day before President Nixon instituted the Phase I freeze, *Business Week* correctly observed that "U.S. corporations are earning money now at about the same rate they earned it early in 1969, before the economy slid into recession." And it went on to

By printing uncritically the Administration's bald assertions that corporate profits were too low, your "official source journalism" lent support to the Administration's rejection of an excess profits tax in both Phase I and Phase II.

You never questioned the Administration's rejection of an excess profits measure of corporate profits as a percentage of GNP or sales revenues, instead of the standard, return on stockholders' equity. The "percentage of GNP" measure is irrelevant if only because corporations account for less than half of total GNP. (An increasingly large segment constitutes the service trades and government activities.) Only return on stockholders' investment ac-

curately reflects the degree to which profits attract new investment capital.

One might hesitate to criticize if this case were an isolated exception. Yet in your coverage of complex economic matters which affect everyone's welfare, the *Post* too often merely repeats the utterances of persons in high places. This is passive, shoddy journalism devoid of analysis and investigation.

Mark Green, Peter Petkas,
Craig Kubey, Irene Till,
Beverly Moore

Pablum Broadcasting Service

by Jon Freeman

During the first week of its new season, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) refused to air a segment of the award-winning Great American Dream Machine. PBS executives view this as a precedent for final control and censorship of all information transmitted to the nation's 212 non-profit public television stations.

The segment which PBS officials censored was a special report on FBI informers produced for the Dream Machine, a series which presents criticism of contemporary society. In the report, investigative reporter Paul Jacobs interviewed three men who claim they were encouraged by their FBI contacts to act as agents provocateur in incidents of bombing and arson.

J. Edgar Hoover, the Seattle Police and the FBI agents implicated in the Jacobs report all denied that any of the charges made on the program are true. These denials arrived only days before the segment was to be aired.

The original version of the program, including the FBI segment, was delivered to PBS a full two weeks before the air date by the production agency, National Educational Television (NET). PBS officials claim that immediately upon receipt, they submitted the program to their lawyer, out of fear that the charges "lacked significant documentation."

After a week of communication between the legal departments of PBS and NET, the top executives of the network and the production agency met in New York the Friday before the Wednesday night program was to be aired. NET officials claim that while the PBS officials were clearly displeased with the Jacobs report, they showed that they had the documentation in question, and left the meeting with a sense that the segment was on the air as scheduled.

PBS President Hartford Gunn claims that he was unsatisfied with the mere fact that the documentation was in NET legal files. He claims that he told NET officials that he wanted to expand the program, lifting it from its context in the Dream Machine, and to extend to the police and FBI officials an opportunity to refute (and dilute) the charges. By doing this he would eliminate the essential point of Jacobs' attempt to portray this story on the Dream Machine, making it instead a "special" rather than an integral part of the American scene.

Over the weekend, denial finally arrived from the various law enforcement agencies and officials. Realizing that these denials, from officials who had previously refused to comment on the charges, would give PBS the justification it would need to drop the segment, NET summoned Jacobs from San Francisco to substantially revise and re-produce the entire segment, taking into account the denials and the PBS criticism. On Tuesday afternoon NET wired the revised script to PBS for approval.

PBS responded that they could not make any decision solely on the basis of the script and announced that the segment would be canceled.

The public television system of the United States is an amorphous collection of semi-autonomous production, distribution and funding agencies. This incident of censorship carries with it crucial implications about the role of PBS within the system.

On the national level, and to some extent on the local level, public television is funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, a quasi-government-

tal body created by Congress to serve as a buffer between the individual parts of the system and the sources of funding. It serves to centralize fund-raising and distribution, doling out its congressional appropriations and foundation grants to those programs and agencies which it feels will best use the money to serve the system.

The original impetus for the formation of this Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) was the 1967 Report of the Carnegie Commission on Educational Television, produced at the request of the U.S. Office of Education and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters. In addition to this role as public television's "bank," the report called upon the CPB to provide the national system with an interconnection, an electronic network capable of distributing programs both for immediate and delayed broadcast.

Prior to the Public Broadcasting Act

of 1967, which created CPB, distribution of programs to the stations was the responsibility of the producing agent.

The sheer effort and financial resources required to establish a national distribution system deterred most stations from even considering the production of nationally oriented programming. Consequently, the national programming shown by non-commercial stations was predominantly produced by one agency, New York's National Educational Television (NET).

Many stations were displeased with the overall nature and tone of NET programs, which is decidedly liberal. The crux of the matter for many small stations was financial, not necessarily ideological. The alternatives they faced were reliance upon the limited amount of programming which they could produce locally with their limited financial resources, or broadcasting NET's liberal national fare, at the risk of raising the

ire of their local financial patrons, many of whom do not share NET's political perspective.

Other stations felt that they produced programming which deserved national attention, and desired a central agency which would coordinate distribution for all potential production agencies, independent of any particular agency.

The Carnegie recommendation that the interconnection system be an integral part of CPB was pushed to the way-side by the creation of the Public Broadcasting Service at the 1969 convention of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB), a trade association of public television and radio stations and production centers. The apparent reason for the creation of PBS was a desire on the part of station management to control the interconnection.

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The T.V. Environment: Garish or Splendid?

by Dorothy McGhee

Bill Adler and John Margolies, if you can imagine, take still pictures of television. They sit cross-legged in front of the box, holding their Leicaflex-SL cameras with 50mm Summicron - 12 lens about 20 inches away from the tube, going click - click. As craftsmen of this trade (and perhaps the only ones in the world), they shoot only color T.V. and only live or video-taped material. They're pretty crazy.

Their results, however, are not so crazy as frighteningly illuminating. Their exhibition, called the T.V. Environment, can be viewed at the Baltimore Art Museum through November 28. (Like television itself, the show is running simultaneously in Vancouver, British Columbia, Berkeley and Pasadena, California, and Tallahassee, Florida.) It is not recommended for the culturally squeamish.

With the aid of 12 large screens, a total of 1000 slides and a number of television sets placed at random around the room, Adler and Margolies have created a total, kinetic environment. On entering the room, you are suddenly surrounded by enormous television images flashing on the screens hung around the walls of the room. There are 12 categories of pictures which include shots of President Nixon, other products and commercials, beauty contests, game shows, test patterns etc.

To the right is the somber Walter Cronkite, with Vietnam war statistics in the background; and now the Lemmon Sisters, tonsils flashing; across the room is a shot of the Rosebowl parade, garish and splendid; over there is a leering Dean Martin; and, oh yes, that goddam Marlborough man on his cowboy which is actually a thoroughbred horse.

They're all around you: T.V. kings, queens, and nameless nonentities, familiar situations, cartoons, and advertisements, all in a merciless parade of images. In the background is the confused babble of four T.V. sets operating simultaneously on different channels. It's the apocalypse of American culture.



A T.V. image by Adler and Margolies

Now I reacted to this show with consternation, feeling engulfed by American tacky-tack, constant-instant culture. I kept checking over my shoulder to make sure the doors were still open. I remember thinking that I would probably have nightmares of being trapped in this room with slides of Doris Day and Tricia Nixon flashing incessantly before my eyes, and the sounds of late night movies and Captain Kangaroo going on and on.

The images flashing mechanically and precisely around this room are at once totally familiar and totally alien. You have seen them all before, yet you have never seen them quite in this way. The images collide with one another intellectually and emotionally in a way that isn't ordinarily obvious when a television is actually on and its muffled continuity can lead you from news to advertisements to situation comedy to drama without jarring you. I was unexpectedly confronted in this exhibi-

tion with the actual illogic or discontinuity of television which juxtaposes automobile ads with cowboys riding over Western ranges, FBI men banging in doors, with babies enjoying Ivory soap; Vietnam war shots with Spiro Agnew chatting with Ed McMahon etc. ad infinitum.

Adler and Margolies remind us, in their own words, that "T.V. is an incredible fusion of contradictions." Television operates outside ordinary logic or "objective" reality and continuity. It produces its own frame of reference its own actuality, time and space into which the viewer is hypnotically seduced. Adler and Margolies are interested in documenting the reality and culture

exactly the same yet completely different; something instantly fascinating and totally forgettable."

Looking around the room, it is clear to me that the older bureaucrats are already confused as to exactly who these freaky people are. Bill is slight in stature and drawn of face; he has long wirey hair thrusting out in odd directions from his head-much longer than when he was a highly paid copy writer for the New York advertising agency Carl Ally. John, a former associate editor of the Architectural Record, is rotund and has a generous handlebar mustache and a great mass of Afro-like hair which juts out into a perfect flat-top from the sides of his head. They



photo by Barbara Kaplan

Bill Adler and John Margolies at the FCC

created by T.V., and in trying to understand it.

Now, I am the East Coast pseudo-intellectual type who refuses ordinarily even to watch T.V., much less own one. I go for weeks without seeing the tube. Whereas my instinctive and intellectual reaction to television is hostile, Adler and Margolies are honestly fond of and intrigued by it. Sometimes they talk about television with the loving forbearance one would have exercised toward, say, a mongoloid cousin or slightly eccentric aunt. (Margolies claims he loves most in T.V. what others consider "low and vile," like game shows.) At other times, they approach open admiration as they speak of commercial television as "the contemporary cultural expression of values and symbols which we all share in common."

Beyond these intellectual concerns, Adler and Margolies think that the television image is beautiful in and of itself as an aesthetic object. Well, if Campbell soup cans, why not the image of a station identification pattern, or of a television talk-show panel?

Television Does Not Begin and End: It is the Great and Powerful Continuum

Ninety-six percent of the American people watch television, and, according to Adler and Margolies, nobody understands exactly what it is and to what effect it operates on people's heads. This is what they tried to explain last October to the Federal Communications Commission (that agency once intended to regulate the television industry) when, presumably at the initiative of Nick Johnson, FCC's token liberal culture freak, they were invited to give an exposition of their thoughts and work in the Commission's hearing room.

Adler and Margolies are announcing to a group of FCC bureaucrats that "the intention of commercial television is mass appeal, and its esthetic is the creation of something that must be

are both dressed in colorfully embroidered work-shirts and look more like a comedy team than serious lecturers.

But they continue undaunted by the many blank expressions in the audience. The lights go out and Adler and Margolies start a slide show of their pictures, unfortunately with only one screen, accompanied by a commentary that includes not only their conclusions about television but their many unanswered questions as well.

Adler and Margolies know that television has changed how and what we assimilate and they are still trying to figure that out. They feel that people don't read anymore and can't concentrate for more than several minutes on one thing because of television's influence.

People accumulate enormous amounts of eclectic information by watching television. Television, according to Margolies, "allows us to assimilate knowledge without trying to or wanting to. It's like opening the icebox and being hit by all the food at once." He feels that television viewers can learn



more in watching television for two hours than their great-grandfathers learned in a whole lifetime. We are becoming a nation of "dilettantes skimming the surface of the world." What, they ask, does that mean?

The T.V. experience, according to Adler and Margolies, is not just turning the tube on for a particular half hour or hour program and then turning it off.

"Television is always on", they say. Most people, they are convinced, turn on their T.V. when they come home from work and leave it on until they go to bed. Housewives often leave it on throughout the day. The TV experience extends for hours and hours and engenders a "peculiar consciousness" or "subliminal awareness" that allows you to do other things while the TV is on and yet remain "plugged in all the time".

These are the kinds of things they talk about when considering the television process. It's unclear whether the FCC workers are assimilating all of this, whether they realize the enormity of these unanswered questions. How preposterous it seems that the FCC should be daily concerned with "regulating" and making decisions about a phenomena which no one as yet understands. It's like trying to tailor the proverbial emperor's clothes.

Adler and Margolies are intrigued with the contents, as well as the style of television. They examine its products: its manufactured, merchandized heroes and symbols. Like Spiro Agnew, whom they consider "the foremost T.V. personality". They show a slide of "early" Agnew shortly after he came into office, chatting with Ed McMahon on the Johnny Carson show. And sure enough, as they point out, Agnew "still looks like he's from Maryland". Now here's a slide of Agnew with McMahon a few years later and "you can't tell who's Ed McMahon". And it's true, they now look identical, both similarly packaged and processed.

About the news, Adler and Margolies explain: "the news is that which is on television when the television is on". News doesn't happen in the world, it happens on television which now defines reality for millions of people. "Events take place on television and news is the reportage of those events".

It is ominously clear that the distinction between reality and television is becoming blurred. Margolies describes his experience during the California earthquake. He was awakened by the tremors which lasted only a brief period, and that was that. But then he turned on his television set, and the subsequent fourteen hour coverage of the event scared him to death.

Adler and Margolies think that it won't be long before a newscaster is elected president. They point out that in Los Angeles a newscaster has already run for mayor, albeit unsuccessfully, and a police chief has become a newscaster.

Some people, like Nick Johnson and some of the younger workers at the FCC, are alarmed at the things Margolies and Adler describe and at the questions they raise. But if Johnson brought them to the FCC in hopes that they would plea for some kind of "improved" broadcasting, he was mistaken. They like television just the way it is.

They honestly think that television is creating a culture that its audience likes and enjoys. They feel that it is an intellectual conceit to insist that television should be doing something other than what it is already doing. "Television is about giving people what they want", Adler and Margolies say. "The FCC shouldn't be figuring out abstractly what people want or inflicting high culture on them".

Adler and Margolies' endorsement of television goes beyond a camp affirmation for the crass and grotesque. With their aid, I've begun to appreciate some of what is happening in the great land of television and to its mass audience.

Yet they suggest that to want to improve television's mass culture is condescending towards it, is to inflict "high culture" on others. However, the mass culture of television does leave a lot to be desired for a lot of people, and it is not necessarily condescending to think so.

Variety and Strength

CORCORAN PHOTOGRAPHY WORKSHOP'S THIRD INVITATIONAL



Rachel Homer. polaroid snapshots. uneven light and darkness in our lives. BUT WHEREVER YOU ARE IT'S OK. ordinary everyday dark shadow-bright window, mottled-by-the-tree-lit porch, sun-streaked room. Men. Women. Women and children. bathrobes. floor strewn. toys and clogs and magazines. The lived-in world of mothers and young children, the very ordinary, used, lived-in, lived-with, Kraft parmesan cheese and spaghetti, carrots and cucumbers, people alone, people together, beautiful beautiful world of Rachel Homer.

Douglas Gilbert looks inside—to the young woman lying gracefully on the unironed (or bedworn) sheet, clean, clear. I SEE YOU VERY CLEARLY. to the restaurant dining room (and I wonder WHY—DO—I—THINK—THIS—IS—SO—VERY— BEAUTIFUL—AND—WOULD—I—THINK—THIS—ROOM—WERE—BEAUTIFUL—IF—I—WERE—THERE). from a little distance I see that it's a church, a chapel—that simple restaurant-room with its ROCK—OLA jukebox altar in the middle and glowing windows on each side and twin radiators (one under each window) and the long aisle of a table leading to the altar. Glory be to god for simple things.

He looks outside—to the sea—of corn (with its endless horizon and gently varied repetitious waves of slender leaves). to the sea—is that Chicago in the dis-

tance? to the sea—the penultimate. the vast expansive sea—sky—light.

I liked that man with the paint scraper in his hand. (and he likes having his picture taken).

William Eggleston's modest candid color photographs are a brilliant marriage of subject and technique. It's COLOR TV color. Nailpolish and hair rinse and color of the year color. Of a turquoise vinyl and imitation leopard skin and rhinestone hair pin and gold fur

-trimmed see-through shortie nightgown world where ladies sit under beehive hoods to get beehive hairdos. One woman raises her hand to stop the photographer (or cover her face). (too late.)

There's a photograph of a man in a white uniform (a waiter I think... or an orderly... or an attendant... or a...) He's standing at a public telephone in an empty corridor at night. I've seen that man a thousand times and the picture is hauntingly beautiful. It hangs

across from a cigarette machine All Brands 40 cents with seven bowling trophies on top.

We've seen all this before—but not with the authority and poignancy these pictures have.

The brown-toned photographs of R.M.A. Benson that I liked best were the ones that were clearly contemporary. That strong portrait of the woman seated, the two women and baby in the front yard of that big old morning glory vine covered Porch and Steps and expandable gate door. Aluminum chairs and comfort and sewing a hem in a sleeve and friendship. Reminds me of my friend Larry Spence who bought a house in the country so he could put a washing machine on the front porch and live trashy.

And I liked the photograph of the wide expanse of road and that beautiful dark graceful delicate tree and the small blurred figure running (away from something? to somebody? where? why?) I liked the tension in these pictures between the immediacy of the contemporary subjects and the nostalgia of the printing technique (palladium printing).

Well, Linda Connor, your pictures were a real problem for me. I spent more time with them than any others in the show, and I had a really hard time seeing them. I'm afraid I don't understand them. (Which makes me think that people's work should be reviewed by somebody who understands it).

I can say that I missed a sense of poetry in your pictures—except for that lovely photograph of the young girl and two soldiers in the romantic landscape. That hung together as a picture before I looked at the three pictures inside it individually (which are each very beautiful in themselves).

I know that part of the reason that I had trouble seeing your work is that I need for something very real to happen between me and photographs. I like people and pictures of people and I missed people in your picture. (I wanted, for example, to see more of the young girl with two women and coffee cups — without the moon surface in the background.)

I won't forget your pictures, but it's going to take me a while to see them.

Shirley True



This is the third show organized this year by the photographers in the Corcoran Photography Workshop—John Gossage, Mark Power, Joe Cameron (rear L. to R.) and Alan Appel (front). Their own photographs will be on exhibit at the Workshop during the December Christmas sale. In addition, Mark Power has photographs of Penobscot Indians in Gloomcap's Children, text by Peter Anatas, Beacon Press, to be released in the spring. John Gossage's photographs may be seen in a two-man show at the Pyramid Gallery, 2121 P St. N.W., after the first of the year. Alan Appel's pictures were recently part of the "Blue Lotus Roller Derby" at the Gallery Marc. That show is tentatively scheduled to circulate in a number of European countries.

The Capitol East



Story by Susan Dranitzke

The Capitol East Children's Center began September 21, 1970. That was the first day children came and the basement of the Capitol Hill Presbyterian Church became alive with their voices. The idea of a private, non-profit day care center for the Capitol East area began eight months before that when a group of about ten residents including myself met to discuss plans. Two representatives from Washington Pre-Schools were also present to offer moral support and later some financial aid.

After several meetings our goals became crystallized. We wanted excellent education all day in a free setting. We hoped children would learn to get along together guided and stimulated by caring adults. We wanted the racial and economic diversity of our community reflected in our school.

Before our school began, the only day care nearby was provided by the National Capital Area Day Care Associa-

tion centers. This is government sponsored and nearly all black and nearly all lower income. The private nursery schools were white middle income with scholarships for blacks. We didn't want this dichotomy and the consequences it carried for the children. Therefore we decided to have a sliding tuition scale according to parents' ability to pay. Here is our current scale:

I. Income: \$12,000 and up - \$15 per wk. for morning, \$15 per wk. for afternoon - total \$30 per wk.

II. Income: \$8,000 and up to \$12,000 - \$10 per wk. for morning, \$10 per wk. for afternoon - total \$20 per wk.

III. Income: \$4,000 and up to \$8,000 - \$5 per wk. for morning, \$5 per wk. for afternoon - total \$10 per wk.

IV. Income: below \$4,000 - \$0. We wanted equal representation of races as well as races and income levels.

Our staff was to reflect the same diversity though we had trouble finding male teachers.

We hoped the place would be totally run by parents after the first year. That is, parents would have control over everything from curriculum, and hiring staff to planning the kind of food their children would eat. We felt parents should have a say in their children's lives even if they couldn't be there with them all day.

Our group of workers formed itself into an interim board with the idea of having the regular board be elected by parents after the first of three proposed centers opened. We all had various skills to offer.

Judy Wolf, a lawyer, incorporated us into a non-profit, tax exempt organization. She drew up our by-laws, registered with the Department of Human Resources for them to pay tuition for several children, and got a liquor license

for our rock dance benefit.

Sharon Anderson helped work out a plan to tap INEW funds and helped from the City Wide Day Care Coalition of which we are a member. Kathy Smith led most of the meetings, wrote proposals for funds, and became the treasurer. Kate Madison put together and had printed a brochure describing the center. She helped find a site too with Kate Roman.

Kate Roman and Valerie Johnson surveyed the neighborhood as to the need for day care, then recruited children. Brookshire Wilson was in charge of in-home day care for children too young to attend the center. Since I am a teacher, I conducted the initial staff interviews and worked on curriculum and equipping the place.

The most difficult thing which confronted us that spring and summer was finding a suitable site and finding opening money. It was almost impos-

Children's Center



Photographs by Sidney Tabak

able to find a place which met health and fire regulations. There just is not adequate space, indoor and outdoor, in the city. We finally found a huge church basement. The minister, Bill Alter, was very receptive and helped us by making us feel wanted and by giving us free rein to use the basement, kitchen and church court yard. In contrast, three other local churches which we approached for space were hesitantly most interested in our rent money than community service.

Money has always been the main problem. We decided to put the money we got from our tuition into staff salaries and spend a small amount from Washington Pre-Schools on equipment. Most equipment was made by parents. We raised other money by obtaining small grants from successful rock dances at St. Marks Church, 3rd and A Sts., S.E. They raised \$40,000 each. Our third

The center has now been in operation for over a year. It serves about 45 children. Parents do take an active part in running the center. They elected their first board in early December, 1970. Some parents don't help at all, but they are in the minority.

Parents run the breakfast, build equipment, do cleaning, maintenance and painting on Saturdays. They transformed the large grey basement into three gaily painted areas: a play room full of toys, books, art and science materials on bright shelves.

Despite the fact that the initial planners for the school were all women, men have now taken an equal role in running the center. They serve on the board, build equipment, spend lunch hours eating and playing with the children and arriving up nap time.

Our staff includes a director who teaches parent, Gloria Patton, two teachers, Clementine Hewitt and Sue Cal-

dwell, three assistants, Joyce Mitchell, Shirley Kaufman, Ron Rowe, and a part-time cook (Shirley Williams). Every one has had experience working with children and they are all very dedicated people.

The center is open from 7:30 AM until 6 PM. Two hot meals plus two snacks are served daily. The curriculum is flexible. Each "room" has various "interest centers" in which the children are encouraged to explore freely. Some of these are: science and nature center which has rocks, shells, seeds, plants, gerbils, a rabbit, fish, guinea pigs, magnifying glass, magnets etc. - arts and crafts: there are always paints (made by parents) and paints available. College materials, crayons, chalk, magic markers, clay etc. are on low shelves for the children's use. - manipulative materials (to help develop small muscle coordination) are also on low shelves. Some of these are puzzles, finger toys, lego blocks,



woodworking tools. - an area to be physically active: small climbing bars, swinging bag, old rubber tire, wheel toys, rocking horse - a quiet carpeted library corner - an area for dramatic play with puppets, dolls, a long mirror, dress up clothes, and housekeeping props.

Teachers make an effort to overcome racial stereotypes. They use to it that boys and girls participate in all the activities equally from housekeeping to woodworking.

The various community members, parents and staff involved in the day care center hope that the children will develop their full range of abilities and potentials. They are already learning a great deal by living and working together just as we, the adults, are.

DAY CARE COALITION

The High Cost of Caring



photos by Sidney Tabak

In May 1970, seven very different neighborhood groups formed the Community Day Care Coalition to lobby the District government to seek federal funds for quality day care.

Most of the groups had approached OEO, HEW, OCD, etc., and had been told there were no funds currently available for day care.

Some had approached private sources with the same results.

The seven groups (Cardozo Day Care Association; D.C. Citywide Welfare Rights; Capitol East Children's Center; Kenilworth Courts Day Care Association; Northwest Family Centers; Southwest Day Care Association and Citywide Learning Centers [Cardozo based]) were brought together by Edward Cohen and Donald Green of the Fund for Neighborhood Development, a non-profit community service consulting firm.

Cohen and Green, in 1969, developed and presented to the Social Services Administration (the old Welfare

Department) a proposal for obtaining funds for day care, through Title IVA of the Social Security Act.

The proposal involved the federal government providing three dollars for every one raised locally.

District officials, acting with their usual bureaucratic caution, questioned the plan's legality, despite Cohen and Green's assurances that basically the same plan had been accepted as legal by at least two other regions of HEW.

When reviewed by the Department of Social Services, the proposals from the various Coalition members for nine child care centers were said to be "excellent," but impossibly expensive.

The CDCC proposals — which include a bi-lingual center for Cardozo? in-home infant care; before and after school care for elementary pupils; and work training for secondary pupils — would have an annual cost of \$3,000 a year per child.

This \$3,000 also includes compre-

hensive health care, nutrition and consumer workshops and counseling.

The average payment by the District government for day care is less than \$1,200 per child per year.

Both private and federal government studies show that quality day care is impossible for less than \$2500-\$3000 per child per year.

The District's \$1,200 barely provides "custodial" care.

The Coalition obtained the services of Sallyanne Payton and Jim Hamilton from the law firm of Covington and Burling to negotiate with the District government, cooperating private agencies and Region III of HEW, on the legalities of the funding proposal.

One of the Coalition's member groups, The Capitol East Children's Center, opened its facility in September of last year, without federal money. The large number of middle-class families involved in the Center enabled it to absorb some tuition costs. But it ope-

rates at a deficit of close to \$5000 per quarter.

The Coalition did receive a planning grant of \$40,000 in April, 1971. The local share (\$10,000) came from the Metropolitan Urban Coalition.

Part of this money was used to open an office and hire a small staff, including an associate director of programming. This position was filled by Jeanne Walton, who has been active in the Washington's Teacher's Union, the Morgan Community School and the Angela Davis Defense Committee.

The Coalition is trying to find an executive director, but because of the lack of funding employment can only be guaranteed until this December.

If the Community Day Care Coalition is funded it will represent a precedent-setting commitment on the part of the District government to programs truly developed by the community.

by Sharon Connelly Ambrose

People's Law Institute Starts Fall Term

As the new academic year begins, the People's Law Institute is renewing its singular contribution to education in the Washington area, that of teaching the public at large about the law.

Contrary to prevailing doctrine, fostered principally by greedy lawyers out to preserve their status and fees, many (indeed, most) legal hassles encountered by the ordinary citizen do not require the services of an attorney to remedy. A lawyer should be a last, not a first, resort. Therefore, the People's Law Institute is offering, without charge, courses designed to teach people their rights under the law, and ways to assert them.

In addition to teaching individuals their rights, the PLI also teaches people to serve as counselors, much like draft counselors, only in many areas of the law. PLI's policy is to teach any course desired by a community or community organization, whenever and wherever requested.

Eleven courses are planned for this fall, to begin as soon as sufficient students are registered. These courses are:

1) Street Law and Criminal Procedure (how to survive in a hostile environment populated by police, magistrates and others in authority who are out to get you);

2) Juvenile Law (the special problems juveniles face in trying to make it long enough to attain "adult" status and deal with the hassles covered in the first course);

3) Prison Law (doing political and legal support work for past and present prisoners);

4) Legal Research (including library research and investigation);

5) Welfare Law (representation of welfare recipients at board hearings; a function which may be fulfilled by non-lawyers);

6) Landlord-Tenant Law (with special emphasis on tenants' rights and how to secure them through organization and application of pressure);

7) Women and the Law (including discrimination and the law of "domestic relations");

8) Military and Draft Law (keeping people free from their draft boards and freeing them from the military, both psychologically through organizing and physically through counseling);

9) Veterans and the Law (legal and political support work for vets);

10) Students' Rights (representing students at school hearings and the multifarious problems faced by primary and secondary school students because of administrators, teachers, police, etc.);



11) Consumer Law (laws protecting consumers against rip-offs and how to make use of them).

PLI will also offer courses to lawyers and law students in such areas as military and draft law practice, drug law, law and psychiatry, prisoners' rights and women and the law. Since PLI began last spring, largely by lawyers associated with the local National Lawyers' Guild chapter, thirteen courses have already been taught, to over 160

students, the general public and community organizations like PRIDE, RAP, UPO and VISTA. Courses are now beginning in D.C. Jail and Lorton Reformatory.

PLI is for the people and is receptive to any and all suggestions for its improvement. To register for a course, or suggest one, or to give (or ask) advice, call 387-5760 or 652-3682. Leave a message if no staff member is there.

D.C. Radical Therapy Center

Since opening in August, we have continued to meet at 1856 19th Street (the Job Co-op) on Sunday nights for a women's group and an open group, and on Tuesday nights for a men's group. From the larger mixed groups, we began to see the real need for an alternative to traditional mental health services. Many of us have had bad therapy experiences and several of us have been hospitalized. Finding each other was our first source of strength. Recognizing our common opposition and beginning to realize that we had a lot to offer each other has kept us together.

Our groups have varied in size from large to minuscule with little idea from week to week who would continue coming. While we have had good experiences together, we who come regularly have also felt a lot of frustrations and lack of continuity.

We spent many of our first meetings learning to trust each other. We seemed to divide most quickly along identity lines—women, gay men, straight men, third world. Most of us feel we have come closer through these struggles and have found ourselves committed to both an identity group and a mixed group.

Another area that has needed our energies had been the fact of our leaderlessness. It is a hard struggle, even with those people with whom we are becoming familiar, and our good spirits of courage and energy begin to flag when newcomers question the possibility of a

leaderless group. But we have kept on working with each other and we feel we have grown closer through our collective efforts than we ever could have through the manipulations of some external magician-therapist.

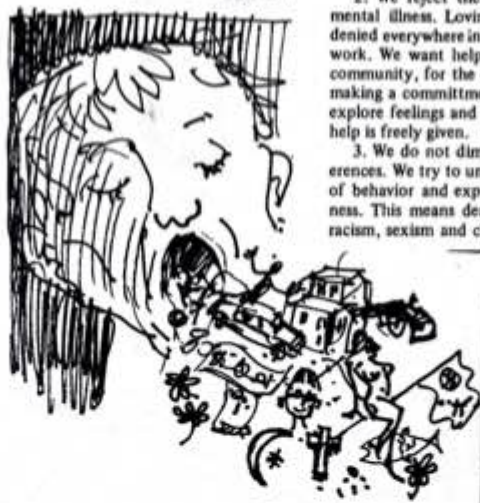
On October 24th, we met most of the day to reclarify our thoughts and feelings about radical therapy in general and what our groups had meant to us in specific. The day was full of good en-

ergy; we worked well together. Out of our talks, we derived a new form for the Radical Therapy Center, which is, as it always will be, changeable by those who care to come and influence us.

1. We have leaderless groups. Did you know that therapist also spells THE RAPIST? We want to rely on our own feelings and experience to help ourselves and each other, to make a cooperative search for a new way.

2. We reject the medical model of mental illness. Loving relationships are denied everywhere in society, schools, at work. We want help to come from the community, for the community. We are making a commitment to each other to explore feelings and make changes. Our help is freely given.

3. We do not diminish personal differences. We try to uncover implicit rules of behavior and expose group coerciveness. This means dealing with our own racism, sexism and class chauvinism. We



A Review of The Crazy from the Sane

A REVIEW OF
THE CRAZY FROM THE SANE
BY PETER BREGGIN, M.D.
(LYLE STEWART, 1971)

Dr. Peter Breggin gives us a novel about the destructive evils of modern psychiatry. It is a scathing indictment that is hard to contradict. No one could make up such banal viciousness as the institutional thinking he describes.

Inevitably one must compare this book to Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. Both novels document the crushing of patients' initiative, the ignoring of the subjective experiences of people and the emphasis on conformity with the institutional model of the Great God Normal. Dr. Breggin brings his message with somewhat less literary brilliance than Mr. Kesey but redeems himself with a greater sense of immediacy and reality.

Whereas Mr. Kesey speaks of how psychiatry violates its patients, Dr. Breggin meticulously and powerfully follows the growth and anti-growth of an advanced psychiatric resident. In this thinly veiled autobiographical account, he not only details his own betrayal of his patients, but he has us agonize with him as he learns to isolate himself from his friends, wife and his natural feelings in the name of psychiatric objectivity and "good therapeutic technique".

The social and professional pressures that operate on him are spelled out beautifully by Dr. Breggin. It is this third person account (albeit told in the third person) that makes this book stick with me and penetrate so deeply into the interstices of my innards—in contrast to the more flashy account of Mr. Kesey and his loveable but too stylized McMurphy.

Writing this book must have been fun. Not that the subject matter is the lightest in the world, but shooting fish in a barrel certainly gives one a sense of power. That is what Dr. Breggin

was doing. There are few areas that are so open and so flagrant in their injustices as institutional psychiatry. I doubt that the care of the mentally ill is any more corrupt or morally indefensible than thousands of other areas, ranging from welfare programs, to broadcasting, to missionary societies etc. But nothing makes quite such good, gory reading as the evils of the snake pit, particularly if the writer knows his subject and has enough details to write in living color.

The system is so clearly circular and self-justifying and has always been so. In the official guidebook during the Inquisition on how to detect and

deal with witches, the same circularity was exquisitely described. If a witch denied being a witch, that was sure proof that she was one. Furthermore, if you tried to kill a witch, you could not; therefore, death of the accused was the greater glory of the innocent. The terms have changed, but not the reasons nor the reasoning.

Dr. Breggin certainly fires us up to act, but, alas, he not only offers no solutions, but there are no promising directions either. By default the most hopeful approach seems to be to abolish all mental institutions. The difficulty with such an approach is not that it would create a minor chaos. I doubt if there would be real panic in the streets. There might even be some short term gains from such a stroke. I would foresee, however, that within a few years the same problems would surface for the zillionth time.

The problems would not cease to exist, they would just vanish and become visible again only when the new foci for crystallization had been selected. Anthropology and history both have compiled impressive lists of social means for eliminating the social misfits — "misfits" either because of a lack of capacity or because of an excess.

Mental hospitals exist in such profusion today simply because society

wants them to exist. There must be a place, it dictates, to deposit the undesirable, the ones that make us anxious. How else can we remain pure? If it didn't want mental hospitals, society would provide other ways of caring for the aged, the alcoholics and the emotionally crippled.

By the same token, if society wanted better hospitals, it could have them. At the present time most psychiatric hospitals are run by a combination of foreign trained (which frequently but does not necessarily mean inferior) and domestically trained but inferior doctors. The pay scale used to



Author Peter Breggin
— photo by Helen Carey

be terrible. Now it is merely bad. The really sad fact is that even the good psychiatrists (and other professionals) who are willing to devote their energies to such a bottomless pit are simply not tolerated in most mental hospitals. They disturb the status quo too much by trying to put the patient first.

It is now almost an accepted fact that every social institution replaces its original reason for existence the instant it is organized. The new governing reason is to perpetuate itself. Mental hospitals and organized psychiatry are no exceptions. I could even live with the patients' welfare coming second, but, unfortunately, the patient is not an institution and there are many insti-

tuations-within-institutions that preempt the patients' rights and welfare. Departments, wards, housekeeping, personnel, sanitation etc., all come before the patients. As a matter of fact, some enterprising patients take a leaf from their keepers and become institutions in themselves with the governing principle of their lives being to continue as patients. This kind of motivation can be readily understood by the establishment and is not only tolerated but encouraged.

To expect any social institution to be different is, in my opinion, to indulge in a very naive, infantile and dangerous fantasy. Dr. Breggin does not counsel us on what we should do — strive for Utopia, or sweat to improve reality, I may be doing an injustice to suspect the former is his message. I myself prefer the latter — not because it is so wonderful but because it is the best we can do.

The issue is freedom. Every time we set up the machinery to bring about justice and reform we are also setting up our future enemy. The more effective the reform is, the more self-serving it will become and the more difficult to reform in turn.

The fight for freedom and dignity is never won in mental institutions any more than in any other types of institutions. Constant examination and re-examination are in order. The most exasperating thing is that we make ourselves blind, no matter how hard we try. We owe a debt to Dr. Breggin for unmasking some of the hypocrisy in such a forceful way. And may he be as open to hearing his critics as he wants to be heard in this novel. Crispus Atticus

Crispus Atticus is a pseudonym for a practicing Washington psychiatrist who has had extensive experience with Navy psychiatry and at our local asylum, Saint Elizabeths Hospital. Author Peter Breggin is a practicing Washington psychiatrist.

Tuesday 8pm: Straight men's group
Wednesday 8pm: Women's group

At the moment, those of us who are gay have not formed a gay identity group, but there is a growing need for one. Other nights of the week are open to other groups and we hope to keep growing organically as we expand our numbers.

One problem that we face in the immediate future is finding a new location as the Job Co-op (SAJA) loses 1856 19th Street to R.A.P. on December first. We will keep you posted. If you have any ideas, let us know at the Radical Therapy phone: 462-4960 (ask for Michael).

Responses to Arts Farts

Colonial Times:

"Colonial Times is radical newspaper without radical rhetoric: it attempts to go to the roots of our problems in a manner readable by anyone on to our analyses." Is Arts Farts an example of going to the roots of our problems? You who claim the word "radical" in spite of disavowing rhetoric embrace a "liberal-bourgeois" view of art.

"It (Colonial Times) also covers cultural events. . . . Yet to split art from politics is to be part of the problem and to say 'And then there is art' is to say that art has no relevance to anything other than itself. That is a part of the problem: the split of art from life, art from the general population, art from relevance. That is what makes art part of the problem, not part of the solution.

The assumption that art should define its purity by being unrelated to any other segment of experience is a perfect expression of the alienation of one experience from another which describes both a false reality and the effective conspiracy under which we live (the present power structure). The analogy is that the artist is completely free to create art and the government is completely free to run the war.

That describes where we all are now. We have almost no power to affect the course of all aspects of our lives. We have withdrawn into our personal spaces and we defend them in the name of individual freedom. Because we have withdrawn into that personal space, we cannot work together because to share that space would mean to surrender it. Our individual freedom then has be-

come alienation.

Today's art is a representation of that alienation. Each artist has defined a personal space where he works, and his ability to create in that personal space is judged as his quality. If he allows that personal space to be violated (if he is influenced) his art is less good. So the contradiction arises that in order to gain critical approval, the artist must be alone.

Radicals go to the root and at the root of our human situation is our powerlessness and our alienation. Art today is a symbol of that. Radical artists and radical art critics should begin there. Radical artists should not be a part of the problem but should be working to undermine our present alienation and powerlessness.

Artists are not "entitled to be obnoxious, egotistical and arrogant". Artists should not be an elite. I cannot conceive of a world without art, but surely the way we use art today is hardly connected to the basic impulse that provoked man ages ago to scratch images on walls or to mold clay figures.

A radical art critic should examine the uses of art and should hold the artists as well as the culture responsible for its use. A radical art critic should be challenging such statements as "Washington's commercial galleries, however, are performing a vital function for the contemporary art world" or "one hundred people viewing one painting are likely to have one hundred conflicting opinions of the quality of one work", not making them. Do the commercial galleries serve the people or the power elite? As a matter of fact, for whom does the artist work? And then, why

should we assume that people cannot come together around a work of art to make reference to it as a common thing that we share. Why should artists not express the common ground that we share rather than our alienation or even our hopes for reconciliation?

A radical art critic should be seeking out artists and art forms that are not a part of the problem, but a part of the solution and he should be denouncing art that reinforces the powers that stand in the way of change. Art is not the pure and free area that it is mythically represented by the Colonial Times. Art does not "also" exist; art is a part of life.

I have no way of knowing if Arts Farts is serious or a put-on, but it is too serious to be funny. If Colonial Times is serious in its intentions, I suggest that no more Q. T. Winkle be included. Art criticism should not be "the idiot's sport".

Sandy Walker

Winkle Replies

Mr. Walker:

My first reaction to your letter was that it was unworthy of a reply. Since I assume that it will be printed *in toto*, however, I feel it necessary to answer, if only for the benefit of those who might have occasion to read it and who might take it seriously.

First, allow me to state that I never claimed to be any sort of a radical art critic. In fact, the editorial manifesto which appeared on page two of the first issue of Colonial Times was an item to which I was not exposed until the first issue was released. For this reason, I feel no need to argue some of the more ludicrous aspects of your diatribe, such as my *liberal bourgeois* view of art. I cannot see any use whatsoever for your brand of slogan-mongering. I hope to answer some of your other remarks in

my reply to Ms. True's far more worthy letter. First, however, allow me a few observations on the tone of your letter.

The rather Orwellian proposition which you establish leads to a view of art that is chained to the dogmatic exposition of an ideological thesis. That is to say, instead of the rather substantial achievements of the current American artist, you would offer us the heroic tractor drivers and happy peasants bringing in the sheaves which dominate the art of eastern Europe and the communist world in general. Shall I await being dragged before a computerized revolutionary peoples' tribunal to be convicted of malthink and summarily exiled to Iowa for karmic rehabilitation? No, my friend, art and politics do not mix. Art and politics beget propaganda, and propaganda has little to do with art.

In anticipation of your cries of *Guernica Guernica*, I should point out that Picasso's noteworthy painting will stand the test of time not because of its political content. *Guernica* will be cherished long after the issues involved in the Spanish Civil War have been forgotten.

Political content is incidental. Indeed, what makes *Guernica* an important painting is not the agonizing depiction of how horrific the Nazis were for dropping bombs on a defenseless Spanish village, but the fact that it is an eloquent testimony to the great master Picasso's virtuosity. It is one of his more important paintings.

In a secondary fashion, the power (and also the weakness) in this painting stems from the assumption that killing defenseless women, children, animals etc. is the *great immorality*. Do you see what I mean? It establishes no moral truths, but merely reflects Picasso's own often inconsistent view of politics and morality.

Colonial Times:

The writer of Arts Farts misunderstands art, art criticism, artists, and farting. He confuses the aesthetic experience with art criticism.

His snide, flippant, contradictory statements and double-talk are insulting (as is the name of the column), but it is his refusal to accept responsibility for what he writes that really makes me angry. He changes his mind from sentence to sentence and in the end disclaims responsibility for the article altogether. This is hardly the kind of journalism you promised us.

For a man who purports to write of art, he has a rather low opinion of art criticism. He maintains:

It is the idiot's sport.

All criticism is unsound philosophically.

I deplore art criticism.

It is ironic that I have agreed to write a column of art criticism.

Why does the man agree to write art criticism when he has neither love nor respect for the work—when, for god's sake—he apologizes for it?

About aesthetic experience he says: It may not exist.

It cannot be indulged in vicariously.

But people do respond to art. That experience is by its nature different from the experience of reading someone else's response to, for example, a movie or a group of paintings. The writer confuses the aesthetic experience with art criticism.

About paintings he says:

They have charisma.

The best painting is a sublime riddle without an answer.

There is no correct way to look at a painting; the work should speak for itself.

The writer confuses the artist, the viewer, and the work. The three are separate—but related. And he makes of art



By Debbie

an object; he divorces the artist from his work. The consequences of this are as damaging to art and artists as is the separation of workers from the products of their labor.

Anything that an artist creates is an expression of who he is, what he cares about. The work of course speaks for itself—but not by itself. An artist gives us something or shows us something and we respond to that. The more available we are to the work the richer the interaction between us and the work. The best and most valuable works of art are those that are most available, accessible to us—those give us a lot to respond to. The experience would be even richer for everybody if the viewer could communicate directly with the artist and the artist with the viewer.

About sublime riddles: A picture, drawing, photograph may have mystery,

but art is not mysterious. And celebrating, talking about, responding to something (anything) somebody makes (including soups) does not destroy its mystery, charm, beauty, power, strength, or energy. On the contrary, responses that are shared with other people fertilize everybody's experience.

The writer says that questions of how and why a picture was painted are best left unanswered because sometimes people don't understand all the influences in an artist's life. I don't believe that people and critics are that dogmatic. It's all right to speak of what we know, allowing for ignorance of certain things, the possibility of incomplete or misinformation, error in judgment, and so on.

Of the critic's duty, he writes that it is to save the reader the inconvenience of visiting a really worthless show, or to direct the reader to one he feels is particularly good. But wait—your writer doesn't really believe this either, since "one hundred people viewing one painting are likely to have one hundred conflicting opinions of the quality of the work."

It isn't likely that such a statement is true, but so what if it is true? Any one of that hundred may write about or communicate his responses if he decides to. All that we readers ask is that he be honest about his responses and that he accept responsibility for what he writes. (This doesn't mean just signing his name as your writer was wont to do, but having respect for his work and his readers and dealing with their responses seriously.)

We are all art critics. Some of us care enough about responding and communicating our responses to write them down for other people to read, but this doesn't make the written responses any more valid or any more important than any other responses. By the same token,

not all written criticism is fatuous, conceited, small, and empty. Men choose to invest their energies and passions in different planes. There's room for all kinds of celebrations in the world.

About art and artists, Winkle says:

Art is a most sublime muse.

Artists may be obnoxious, egotistical, and arrogant. Forgive them.

They are entitled to this.

It is partially conceit that gives them the power to create.

Egotism alone has served as a more than adequate substitute for genius.

Art - and life - are more ordinary and simple and real than your writer believes. Neither art nor art criticism is mysterious, hard to understand, or hard to talk about. All the things everybody creates - makes new for himself - are art. We are all artists - all of us can sing, dance, make pictures, sew, draw, paint, love people, respond creatively to things and situations. Some of us have more permission and support than others for doing the things we want to do and for wanting the things we can do.

And nobody - for god's sake - is entitled to be obnoxious, egotistical, and arrogant. Artists are not a special breed. They are not an intellectual or cultural or emotional elite. Every child is a fine artist. Eskimo men all make beautiful bone carvings. The photographers I know are warm, open, lifeful people. And they're not exempted because they're artists from being responsible for themselves.

The final insult and disclaimer in the article is:

This is all horseshit. I do so enjoy slinging it around.

I wish the writer had more self-respect and respect for his subject and his readers than that. Spare us, gentle editors, from this kind of journalism.

Shirley Truitt

Arts Farts: Two Shows, Intriguing and Masochistic

by Q.T. Winkle

October was really a dull month for art in Washington. Of course, who would try to compete for publicity with the Kennedy Center or the Shah's bash?

Anyway, if you managed to avoid being impaled on Leni Stern's plexiglas stalagmites at Jefferson Place, and didn't fall asleep at Pyramid's Paul Reed show, another ho-hum show by a ho-hum artist, you may have found your way to the excellent show of sculpture by Finland's Kiviart at Gallery Marc. If you did not, it is a pity, because that was really worth seeing, but let's not dwell on the past. Jefferson Place and Pyramid have both come up with more interesting shows this month.

Paintings by Elliott Thompson Jefferson Place Gallery Through November 13

Unfortunately, I did not get more than a peek at this meritorious show, as the Jefferson Place Gallery, iconoclastically, closes at 5:00 P.M. What I did get to see, however, was most intriguing. Elliott Thompson, a painter of whom I had not heard previously, is, I understand, well into his middle years. He does color paintings. These are not particularly innovative, and are not at all unlike the effect of the work of Larry Poons in his stronger years.

The colors used are anything but subtle; he employs strong primaries mainly. In form, the paintings consist of short straight lines or jagged zig-zags (looking rather like drunken 'x's) superimposed in a grid fashion on a field which consists of either raw canvas, or canvas that has been uniformly stained with one primary color. These paintings exploit a discovery that is not in any way new. That is to say, if one sticks a bright primary on top of another bright complementary primary, the viewer will experience a phenomenon known in jargon as "simultaneous contrast."

In effect, placing a number of primaries on a complementary field causes the colors to activate one another, rendering the painting "kinetic," or, if you will, "Op Art." The lines seem to dance about on the surface of the canvas, and it becomes difficult (and in any event unnecessary) to focus on any single line. It is this effect that Thompson achieves well, and the best paintings in this show are consequently those that exploit this

phenomenon to the greatest degree, namely those paintings done on a colored field, rather than those on raw canvas.

These paintings, which synthesize both the constructivist and colorist idioms are, despite their lack of originality, effective, and that is really all that matters anyway. Thompson is no Noland, Albers, Reinhardt, or Mondrian, but he does his job well. These paintings are technically quite sophisticated (if one can pardon the minimal ooze of matte medium which was used to seal the masking tape, and is evident around the edges of each little line), so I would judge this to be a pretty good show.

Paintings by Lowell Nesbitt Pyramid Galleries Through November 24

Lowell Nesbitt is a young painter from Baltimore whose work consists primarily of grisaille renderings (that is, renderings in shades of grey) of architectural details, rather garish flowers, and nudes of somewhat moribund coloration. In the past few years, Nesbitt has achieved a not inconsiderable degree of success. His paintings have ended up in a surprising number of important collections. He shows regularly with a chic New York gallery; his paintings sell, and sell with alarming regularity, for comparatively high prices. He even has paintings in several major public collections, like, for example, New York's Museum of Modern Art and Washington's National Gallery of Art.

When first exposed to Nesbitt's work, my immediate reaction was that his paintings were vulgar and ugly. They demonstrated with great lucidity an utter lack of ability to draw. For a figurative painter, this can be the ultimate handicap. His more effective paintings were those done in grisaille, since he is absolutely incapable of mixing a color that is not bilious. Occasionally, however, he manages to grind out a painting that is pretty good. These are never his flower paintings though, since they are, to my knowledge, always in color, and anyway Georgia O'Keefe did the same thing one hell of a lot better one hell of a lot earlier.

His success really bewilders me. Either there is something that I am missing (which I sincerely doubt), or there are a



Nesbitt: "His success really bewilders me."

lot of critics, curators, dealers, and collectors who do not know a good painting from a bad one. Oddly enough, however, his paintings are captivating in a masochistic sort of way, although I find that I lose interest in them after about a minute.

The highlight of this show is a painting of the Manhattan Bridge seen from

underneath. An interesting composition. There are also some terrible drawings which are utterly without merit. I do, however, urge you to visit this show, and possibly come up with a different opinion. If you find that I am all wrong about Nesbitt's work, do let me know. I would love to know what I have been missing. I find him terribly depressing.

scribe enthusiastically to any of them. Nobody, however, ever said that looking at art is or should be easy, any more than listening to serious music. For those not willing to make the effort there are a host of Norman Rockwells and Andrew Wyeths who are eager to please.

Communication between artist and viewer is nice, but it is really not a valid ultimate goal. The quality lies in the work itself, and not in how easy it is to achieve rapport with the artist. Any artist who works with such a motivation is just not a major artist.

A critic need only concern himself with major art. The true artist creates for his own pleasure, in much the same way that a mother conceives and gives birth to a child. One can easily become intimate with any individual without ever having met his parents. Thus, I must view your comments regarding accessibility of art as not entirely crucial.

Sublime riddles are part of the game. Play it successfully, and you can participate in a bountiful and inexhaustible source of pleasure. In some instances, it is better to view art as Oriental view whatever they choose to view: "He who speaks does not know; he who knows does not speak." No amount of talk in any way alters an object.

Without considering the way things ought to be, art is big business. Sophocles could not get a play produced on Broadway if he did not have the proper connections. Isn't that a drag? If you want to do something about that, then it is up to you, not the artist, to make the extra effort.

Artists, hopefully, are busy putting what they have into their work. They do not have time to be nice, unless that just incidentally happens to be the way they are. Artists were not meant to play politics, to kiss asses, or do any of the other things that men of commerce indulge in as a matter of course. At the moment, major critics create major artists, and wouldn't it be nice if that were different but it ain't.

You have my apologies for implying that artists are egotistical etc. Maybe your eskimos are not, but I could name a list which would include almost every major artist of the last millennium, all of whom were absolutely insufferable. As for children, well, prodigies, you know, only appear about once a century.

So why don't we just worry about those things that are worth the effort, and not spend valuable time on carvings which can be purchased at any airport in the Northwest, or Brentano's, if you are not up to making the trip.



Jefferson: "... a pretty good show."

Winkle Replies to Ms. True

Ms. True:

Thank you for writing. I have boundless respect for you. You have written a letter that is eloquent, even literary. You have provided a point of contention, an issue, something one can sink his teeth into.

I shall attempt to answer the major points which you propose in a more or less chronological sequence. First, it is idiotic to assume that any writer's reaction, be it favorable or negative, enthusi-

astic or disparaging, is, *ipso facto*, worthy of being viewed as unimpeachable testimony on any subject one way or the other. It was for this reason that I tried to define the critic's role. If I choose not to take this role entirely seriously, then that is my right.

Regarding my confusing the artist, viewer and work: the three are indeed separate, but not necessarily related. There are many schools of thought on this subject, and I feel no need to sub-

PBS

continued from page 7

Control of the CPB is vested in a board of 15 "eminent citizens" who are appointed to staggered six year terms by the President of the United States. PBS, on the other hand, is governed by a board whose majority is made up of public station managers. Through PBS the station managers assumed control of selection, distribution and promotion of the national program service.

PBS Director of Public Information, Edward Morris, outlines the backdrop for the Dream Machine censorship as follows, "this was the real crunch. We have begun to act like a network and make editorial judgements. It was the kind of decision we knew we eventually had to make."

PBS President Hartford Gunn, in his report to the member stations at the NAEB convention last month in Miami, said in reference to his decision, "there remains a larger, more pressing issue (than the question of whether he was right or not): the credibility of public television. For regardless of how we apportion responsibility and authority within the system, our ability to serve depends ultimately on our ability to maintain the public's confidence in the integrity of our decisions."

Shortly after PBS began its first full season in the fall of 1970, the Board of Directors acted to prepare for their "eventual" confrontation, and established the following policy, "... adherence to standards of fairness, objectivity and balance must be a joint process by the producing agencies and PBS, with the former having initial responsibility and PBS having final, overall responsibility for the program service..."

A strenuous debate is now going on, both inside and outside of public broadcasting about the role PBS should play in the nation's public television system. Implicit in the PBS Board policy is a rejection of the notion that PBS should be a mere "post office" for the system.

Morris refers to the need to exercise editorial judgements and Gunn speaks of the necessity to maintain public con-

fidence. The Carnegie Commission apparently disagreed. Its report proposed "that public television look to interconnection primarily as a device for the distribution of programs".

At issue is the way in which PBS has used the interconnection thus far. The Commission Report strenuously recommended against networking, that is, the transmission of a number of programs with the intention that they run on all stations at approximately the same time. It considered such uniform programming "incompatible in general with the purposes of Public Television".

PBS, however, seems concerned with building a large national audience through a nationally recognized line-up of prime time shows. It furthers this goal by spending large amounts of money for spot announcements on commercial networks inviting viewers to "Go Public Tonight". Similar advertisements are placed in newspapers across the country to reach those who do not normally watch television.

The Commission goal of transmitting large numbers of programs from which the individual stations could choose has fallen by the wayside, as PBS concentrates on its efforts to build a national audience.

It is of the "confidence" of this new national following for PBS that Hartford Gunn speaks. This was the crucial issue in the Dream Machine censorship saga. PBS could not take the risk of alienating these new viewers by letting anyone try to tell them that FBI agents provocateur are an integral part of the American reality, regardless of the American Dream. He would rather they know that censorship is an integral part of the PBS perspective on public television.

The beneficiaries of the PBS action are those smaller stations who were dissatisfied with NET's political perspective, and who need national programming as an alternative to dead air.

Local stations derive a considerable portion of their operating funds from local subscriptions and donations. By acting in loco parentis, PBS lifted from the stations any burden of blame, so that the conservative patrons would not be disturbed by liberal programming, and liberal subscribers could not accuse the local station of censorship. Some stations would prefer that PBS take total responsibility in this manner.

In Miami last month, the dispute over this policy raged full force. Among the persons challenging the PBS position, and perhaps the most notable, was the White House representative, Clay Whitehead, Director of the Office of Telecommunications policy.

Post Toasties

AND SOME COLD GRITS ON THE SIDE FOR THE COLONIAL TIMES

Colonial Times:

The "Rap Gets Bad Rap" article in your first issue might have gone beyond the critique that there is no provision for rebuttal in the *Post* (essentially the Agnew attack). It might have brought out some of the fine points of thought and people-manipulation involved.

The Washington writer working with any of the mass circulation media has virtually no more control over the product of his or her labors than a Detroit assembly line worker. In these large capitalist media corporations the editors are the shop foremen, deciding how, when and where the product is to be used. To appeal to the fairness of an editor against the supposed slanted views of a writer is like running to the police department for protection against wiretapping.

The struggling writer in the establishment finds that either he or she must internally censor an article to give it the right folksy apolitical slant, or the editor will heavily handily do it for him or her. For the writer, it is usually love it or leave it.

In the R.A.P. case, an editor made the decision to delay the timely article for nine months, to edit it extensively



and to rearrange it, and to write for Ms. Fields the first two unfavorable slanted paragraphs. That much of this was done behind her back makes her case a bit unusual, but in front or back the mechanism is the same.

Potomac magazine and magazines like it print and do what they must to make a profit. If for what they consider business reasons. It's profitable to hack away at writers' integrity or to be unresponsive to readers as well as those written about, then by the rules of their game they must.

Hopefully *Colonial Times* will play by a better set of rules.

Morgan Dodge and Mitchell Ratner

Whitehead was expected to address the convention about the Administration's plans for legislation providing permanent funding of public television, independent of the legislative processes in Congress. Permanent funding is considered crucial to free the system from Congressional pressure and control.

Instead of speaking about funding plans, Whitehead devoted his speech to the question of centralization. Calling for "mass communications federalism", he severely criticized the growing PBS control of the system, and warned that, "When the struggle is simply between the Washington center and the New York center, it doesn't much matter who wins".

What emerges from all of this is an apparent effort on the part of PBS to seize effective control of public television and to lead it away from the goals of the Carnegie Commission and towards a fourth network just like the other three.

There are two distinct reasons why station managers prefer this alternative. The first was discussed above: small stations do not want to have the responsibility of making decisions about national programming. This is far too risky, as they walk a tightrope between liberal and conservative sponsors.

The other is that large stations and production centers desire the widest possible audience for their programming. Prime time networking is one of the ways that his mass audience is created. Slightly less important than the ego-boost of a large audience is that the present system favors the large stations at sources of production, because network prime-time requires that programming be in the form of a series, which can be dropped into the season line-up.

Only the larger more stable stations can afford the sustained effort required to produce a series. The individual programs produced by small stations, no matter how good or valuable they may be, will be neglected because of the difficulties of promoting them. Those larger stations will therefore continue to receive the bulk of the public television national programming budget, allowing them to grow larger.

With the bulk of national program-

ing flowing from production centers in Boston, Los Angeles, Washington, San Francisco, and New York, PBS will represent what the elite considers to be important for America. The Midwest and south will continue to be ignored, or treated occasionally as a special treat, while the east and west coast megacities will provide the focus and content for the bulk of the program service. With PBS insuring that all is properly mellow, public programming is virtually assured to become the same sort of pap which now flows from the commercial networks.

There is little likelihood that this centralization and mellowing on national programming can be stopped, or that PBS can be dislodged from the power it now wields. Public television is a quiet, liberal reality, in which people don't really get mad at each other, and no one examines what the true motivations are behind the people who make decisions.

Consider the results of the recent censorship of NET. At this writing, NET has done little more than bitch to the press about the treatment which it has received at the hands of PBS. No legal action has been taken to challenge the PBS decision, or even define in the courts the extent to which PBS may exercise its role of censor. This reflects both the "politeness" of the Public television system and the raw power of PBS.

While financial control of the system has been vested in the control of CPB, real power is clearly in the hands of the PBS Board of Directors. By choosing the programs which it will distribute, PBS renders any CPB control over program funding irrelevant, because all programs which CPB funds may only be broadcast on public stations. The only way that CPB could regain control from the station managers would be for it to decide to set up and fund another interconnection, a project which would cost far too much money to be seriously considered.

Inertia alone would prevent such a coup. Any such action would cause such a stir in the public and in Congress, that rather than change the system, it would destroy it. Public television is now itself a part of the American Dream Machine, and with PBS at the helm, is likely to stay there.

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Media...Blah

continued from page 6

One," she replied, "I'm afraid we don't get into discussions on what we did or didn't write. Our discussions are in the paper." Could anyone else help us? "No, I don't think so." Thanks, but no thanks. Smith Hempstone, editorial page director of the *Star* was somewhat more helpful. "We just didn't feel the protest was worthwhile, just as we didn't think McIntyre's was worthwhile, even though he had a much bigger turnout. The issues have been so well worked out at *nauseum* people are just sick of it." So for the *Star* the lack of editorial coverage was due to reduced numbers and fading news value.

Perhaps also some lingering patriotism. "I don't doubt it," Hempstone replied when I asked him about the week-end testimony on the bombing of Laotian villages and the use of the automated electronic battlefield and whether it merited some editorial comment. "It just depends on whether or not you favor the downfall of the South Vietnam government. And we don't."

Nick Blatchford, editorial writer of the *News*, also had no doubt that American technology was replacing American manpower in Indochina. Nor did he think that a remote-control war was any less immoral than one on the ground. In fact he hoped "the forces of peace keep up" on that issue.

But as for the *News* it hadn't commented on the recent testimony because its editorial writer "didn't know about the seminar" (meaning the People's Grand Jury) and "didn't see a story on it" in the *News* (it didn't run one.)

As for "Blue Is Beautiful," which Blatchford wrote, the editorial attributed the small number of demonstrators to the fact that "peace is now public policy." Blatchford honestly believes it.

"Our discussions are in the paper"; "it all depends on whether or not you favor the downfall of the South Vietnam government"; "peace is public policy"; no wonder the "forces of peace" didn't fare so well in the editorial columns of the three city dailies.

As for the news columns, I spoke with a *Post* reporter who has been covering the anti-war movement for a number of years and who did a good job handling much of the *Post's* news coverage of "Nixon Eviction: Phase One." While he didn't explain why the press continues to cover anti-war protest as a police story, he did give an indication of how this practice operates at the *Post*.

When the anti-war movement holds a press conference or other event, said the reporter, the *Post* city desk is "conditioned" to think of it as a local police story and so they send a general assignment or police reporter, a "leg-man." Often, however, the paper should be sending a national affairs or State Department correspondent.

What happens when they don't, he continued, is that the general assignment reporter often feels unable to ask the right questions and so focuses on the local, "parochial stuff the city desk wants, such as how many, when is the rally, what's the effect on traffic, etc." at the expense of the policy material which just doesn't get covered.

For examples he cited two press conferences held during "Nixon Eviction: Phase One" where organizers discussed the re-offering of the seven-point peace plan, Nixon's response and at one of the conferences showed a film of the NLF and North Vietnam delegates explaining their position.

"In order to have done a good story on that, the desk should have sent one of our State Department people;

instead they send a general assignment man," he said. The reporter covering the conference didn't know what the seven-point program was and had to go back into files and dig it out. There he found that staffer Marilyn Berger had done several stories on it when it was first proposed.

"But the city desk wasn't about to ask her to cover the press conference," because an "invisible wall" exists between city and national desks on the *Post*, and city would hesitate to even ask national to send Berger, he explained.

"It's an internal problem, a built-in professional operation," the *Post* man continued, that "has made us look bad and our coverage of the anti-war movement poor." (He adds that the same criticism applies to the major *Post* coverage of the radical right.



- photo by Bruce Pellerin
Nixon Eviction Marchers

Why then do Washington editors and reporters continue to cover major protest as a local police story rather than a national political story? Why did they give so little attention to the testimony of the People's Panel, the seven-point peace plan, the new electoral strategy?

Some argue that anti-war activists are partly to blame. True enough, "revolutionary" rhetoric and style has stressed police confrontation and distracted attention from policy considerations. Semi-annual mobilizations and moratoriums may also have contributed to the stress on numbers rather than issues.

Finally, the movement's early emphasis on American casualties and troop levels may have helped create, as Joseph Lelyveld suggested in the *New York Times Magazine* (November 7, 1970), "a yardstick... by which the American public could now be persuaded that the carnage was winding down" in spite of the continued bombing.

Fair enough. Why then didn't Lelyveld's paper report testimony about the intensified bombing? Other than his magazine piece which made scant reference to the bombing testimony, the *Times* chose not to report even the little news the Washington papers saw fit to print; running nothing about the People's Panel, the election strategy, and only a short story about the arrest of the 298 which it reported incorrectly "occurred after an afternoon of demonstrations by members of the May Day Tribe."

Such non-coverage or mis-reporting of the peace movement or anti-war protest is nothing new. It stems from a variety of factors that have been cited in the past: reliance on and deference to "official sources"; a failure to seek alternative sources; biases and assumptions toward authority; the institutional point of view favoring wel-

People's Panel

continued from page 3

The political use of the Grand Jury was discussed by New York attorney Bill Shaap. Originally a shield between the executive and the people, the Grand Jury is now being used "by the old, the white, and the wealthy" to paralyze the movement with subpoenas, material witness warrants, contempt citations, and general paranoia. "I think that repression tolerance is on the wain and overt fascism is coming," Shaap said.

Sitting in the church, listening to the hours of testimony, was agonizing, not only because the pews were uncomfortable and you couldn't smoke and listening to speeches is inherently boring, but more because I realized the People's Panel was once more a case of the left talking to itself. The testimony, however well elaborated, was familiar to the audience and worse, the audience was pretty small. I wondered whether it would ever reach much beyond the sanctuary. As Richard Mauro said, "It's really far out that all these people were brought here and there's no one here to hear them." I hope the videotape that was made will actually be widely circulated.

A second agony was the feeling of frustration and powerlessness that comes from knowing the problems well, so well in fact that they are part of my dreams, but not knowing the solution. As Chicago Eight defendant John Froines said, "These Panels are just the first step. I don't know what the second step is... Everyone's confused."

In spite of J. Edgar's paranoia, we are no where near posing a credible threat to the ruling class, a power capable of forcing radical change. So Froines' emphasis was on the need to reach out to that 73 per cent George Gallup assures us favor immediate withdrawal from Vietnam. "We need a new kind of commitment to reach out to the millions of people who are not bad people, but who are confused, afraid, and manipulated."

He stressed the need to build local power around local problems like consumerism, pollution, and occupational hazard, "to go to the churches, the schools, and the factories." It's the same kind of thing the Newton faction of the Panthers are talking about and

fare capitalism and the two-party system, and against protest, socialism, communism, third parties etc.; indifference to the consequences of our conduct of the war on the people of Indochina; news stress on the topical, sensational and unusual at the expense of on-going processes and trends.

If the coverage of "Nixon Eviction: Phase One" proves anything it is that the factors which prevented public awareness when the war was winding up are in operation now when the war is alleged to be "winding down."

Fred Brannman's testimony on the bombing of Laotian villages based on four years in Laos and interviews with 1000 refugees is not credible enough to merit more than one paragraph in all three Washington dailies.

Princeton Professor Richard Falk and others testify that rather than winding down the war the Nixon Administration has dropped more explosives on Indochina than did the Johnson Administration and by expanding the bombing has created civilian casualties and refugees in Cambodia and Laos.

Immediately, red flags flash before the eyes of Washington editors and we read instead that Secretary Laird "always in search of new ways to document the declining US war role in Vietnam has found still another yardstick - cases of soft drinks and Wisconsin beer exported to Vietnam are down from 27 million in 1969 to 7 million in 1971 (*Post*, September 8, 1971).

it's slow, tough, frustrating work, something the movement has been talking about for a decade, but has never mustered the courage or commitment to do on a large scale.

The movement, or that part of it that met here, is talking ending the war and of staging off full-scale repression. In a strategy paper issued before Phase I of Evict Nixon, Rennie Davis admitted there may be contradiction in this program:

"How do we relate to the popular opposition to Richard Nixon, the individual, when we know that individual personalities and changes in the administration do not alter the fact that it is the system that must be changed?"

He proceeded to enumerate three propositions: (1) that Nixon must go (2) that "the most effective way to convince the next American President to get out of Vietnam is not to work actively for the Democratic choice, but simply to work against Nixon, and (3) that local organizing must be done from now until San Diego to help people understand that the problems of this society run much deeper than the particular, personality of Richard Nixon."

Admittedly, Nixon must go if the conversion of repressive tolerance (Herbert Marcuse's term for our peculiar system of democracy without significant choice) into fascism is to be prevented. If we get fascism, the movement will be exterminated. But, in blocking Nixon, will we get someone substantially better? Humphrey? Muskie? Too well I remember the SDS slogan in 1964: "Half the way with LBJ." Why? Goldwater was the great fear then. Isn't there a danger that in trying to defeat Nixon all we are doing is playing a negative version of electoral politics? Can we build communities and work to defeat Nixon or will we merely postpone the former for the immediate necessity of the latter? How do we break out of this trap?

Like John Froines, I am confused and I don't have any answers. Of one thing I am certain. San Diego 1972 will make Chicago 1968 look like a picnic.

(We thank the Boston Phoenix for permission to use this story.)

(Recently, however, both the *Post* and the *Times* have acknowledged a less "official" alternative source. On November 8, both papers reported, though neither commented editorially, on the release of a study of the air war by the Cornell Center for International Studies. The study, which corroborated the People's Panel testimony, concluded, among other things, that total bomb tonnage dropped in Indochina during Nixon's first three years - 2,916, 997 tons - exceeds that dropped during the Johnson years, 2,865,808 tons.

(Both the *Post* and *Times* may also have finally come to regard at least one kind of official statement with somewhat less reverence. When Secretary Laird returned from his recent three-day visit to South Vietnam and gave an "optimistic assessment" of Vietnamization, both papers ran a wire story on inside pages, the *Times* on its entertainment page next to an ad for Disney's latest movie, "Bedknobs and Broomsticks" - another sign that the Vietnam news market is contracting.

Washington editors and reporters, some of whom helped merchandize the Vietnam product while it still had some entertainment value and shock appeal, now find it worn and tarnished. They seek new products, new stories instead.

Information (in America is, after all, as A.J. Liebling noted: "subject to the same merchandizing rules as chewing gum").

Byrd Machine Sputters Out

continued from page 1

Howell bowed to the passions of his Norfolk constituents to the extent of publicly opposing "massive" school busing lest it disrupt children's education. Federal courts have approved desegregation plans in Norfolk and Richmond which involve some busing, and this has been a hot issue in those areas.

Howell did not, however, hammer away against busing as did Shafraan, who attempted to dissociate himself from his patron, Republican Gov. Linwood Holton. The moderate Holton incurred the wrath of racists around the state for his quiet and determined support of court orders which sanction busing.

Nor did Howell follow Kostel's lead in piously demanding that Holton support the reactionary proposal for a constitutional amendment to ban busing.

In recognition of his record in favor of civil rights, Howell won endorsement of the state NAACP and of the largest statewide black political coalition, called the Virginia Crusade for Voters.

Thus, he managed the incredible feat of garnering support both from blacks and from the working-class whites — many of whom could be called "rednecks" — who knew him for his positions on utility rates and sales taxes.

Howell's victory in the Nov. 2 election, with 40 per cent of the votes, compared to Kostel's 37 per cent and Shafraan's puny 23 per cent, is not really surprising in light of this broad support.

It's also understandable in light of the growth of urban and more liberal areas of the state, such as Northern Vir-



AUDREY MOORE
conservationist winner

ginia, the Richmond area, and the Tidewater area of Norfolk and Newport News. Howell's strength was heavy in all these areas. He even ran neck-and-neck with Shafraan in the Republican's home territory of Arlington, and came within 1,000 votes of Shafraan's total in Fairfax County.

Howell also had one crucial advantage from the start — people knew who he was. As a result of his statewide gubernatorial primary campaign and his

consumer campaigns, a remarkable 88 per cent of those questioned in a Howell-sponsored poll last summer said they recognized his name.

By contrast, only 12 per cent knew about Kostel, a delegate from the moderate-sized western Virginia town of Clifton Forge, while 25 per cent had heard of Shafraan, a wealthy Arlington realtor who has served one term in the House of Delegates and helped Holton set up his office along modern management lines.

Despite campaign expenditures estimated around \$200,000 for Shafraan and Kostel, they were not able to mediate their way to victory. Howell had simply been around too long.

There were, however, some faint glimmers that Howell's victory was not a freak aberration, at least not in the burgeoning Northern Virginia area.

There was, for example, the clean sweep of state senate seats in Arlington, Alexandria, Fairfax and Loudoun by Democrats, most of them moderately liberal, though far from populists. One, Clive DuVal of McLean, is also known for pro-consumer activity during his three terms in the House of Delegates.

There were some successful candidates who more nearly approach the Howell mold. Jim Burch, a 28-year-old executive of a private firm involved in anti-poverty programs, won a stunning (to him) two-vote victory in the race for one of six delegate seats from the House district in southern Fairfax.

Burch, who was a speech writer for Howell in the 1969 campaign, accepted the label of "populist."

In local races, one successful candidate described as a "female Henry Howell" was Audrey Moore, who out-

ed an incumbent Republican from a seat on the Fairfax County Board of Supervisors for the Annandale district.

Voters in this quickly growing area in the center of the county recognized Moore for her years-long fights on the side of "the conservationists." This is a catchall phrase country politicians use to describe those who oppose "the bulldozers" in their quests for more and more reasonings to construct more and more houses, apartments and townhouses.

Moore argued that Fairfax's "uncontrolled growth" may have "benefitted the land speculators," but had "driven up real estate taxes and created a tremendous burden on local residents."

She also was identified with consumer issues, through her activity with the Virginia Citizens Consumer Council.

The Byrd machine, it's clear, is going through its death throes, as a result of recent challenges by young liberals and Harry Junior's own defection from his father's Democratic party to run for the U.S. Senate as an independent last year.

As the old conservative organization decays, the vacuum it leaves will be open for bright faces.

Henry Howell is not likely to stop at the basically ceremonial post of lieutenant governor — in fact, when he appeared before a crowd of supporters on Election Night, he waved a check for \$100 made out to the "Howell for Governor Campaign."

This year's election certainly sets no trends that clearly hold statewide. But urbanized Virginia is at least up for grabs, rather than lying quiescently under the rule of the Apple King.

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"Monkeys, Apes and Man" National Geographic, 1145 17th St., N.W. Every hour on the hour, Saturday 10-4, Sunday 12-4. Free NOV. 14 "Passion of Anna" at Catholic U. Nursing Auditorium, 8 PM, \$1.00

NOV. 16

"Tarzan the Ape Man" GWU, Marvin Center Ballroom, 800 21st St., N.W., 7:30 and 9:45 pm, 50 cents

NOV. 17 and 18

"Hippo!"; "Antelopes in the Plains of Africa"; and "High Over the Borders" Museum of Natural History auditorium, 12:10 and 1:10 pm. Free

Nov. 19

"They Shoot Horses, Don't They" GWU, Lerner Auditorium, 8:30 pm. Tickets available from 6 to 8:30 pm the day of the film at the Marvin Center

Information Desk, 800 21st St., N.W. No tickets at the door. 50 cents "Women in Love" at Catholic University Nursing Auditorium, 8 and 10 pm. \$1.00

NOV. 21

"Camille" and "Mutiny on the Bounty" (double feature) Catholic University Nursing Auditorium, 8 pm. \$1.00

NOV. 17 - 23 Series of short documentaries, blue ribbon winners of this year's American Film Festival, shown at Catholic University's Cardinal Center, Wed., Thurs., and Mon., 8 - 8 to 10 pm Thurs., Fri., and Tues., noon til 2 pm. Free.

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It's called the Red Pages, and is a comprehensive directory of human resources in the Washington area. It is a community service project of the Washington Area Free University. There are ten basic categories into which the handbook is divided, which are Information Resources; Counseling, Aid and Referrals; Education and Religion; Ecology and Environment; Media; Entertainment; Political; Personal Services and Potpourri.

The staff of Red Pages is now

collecting information for the second edition, which will have listings of nearly all of the people, places, merchants who deliver services to those in the alternative culture at non-rip off prices or free. These may be persons who are into crafts, music, or any other services that are done on a personal basis. The only source of information is people who call in and give us tips on where the good deals are. We are mainly interested in getting the word out about things one wouldn't normally read about in any magazine or paper.

Red Pages researches every tip for verification of information and publication clearance. We have already started to compile about 700 listings and it's steadily getting larger each day. But only with your concern. If you can recommend a merchant that gives good service, please do yourself a favor and give us a call. We need to get information about stores, restaurants that are open 24 hours. Where you go for different types of counseling, especially in the Maryland and Virginia areas. What services are available for transients, the aged, mentally retarded and children. The deadline for information calls will be around the middle of November.

However, the only way we can get this together is for you to pick up the phone while you're reading this and give us a call at 387-5437. Tell us "what's really goin' on." The Red Pages can save you a lot of time and effort if you'll give us a few minutes of your spare time now.

Last of all we are looking for prospective buyers who want to have this guide handy near their phone. This 100-page booklet will also include information about D.C. regulations that affect our lives, the latest list of switchboards all across the country in case you're traveling anywhere, and millions of dollars worth of useful information. Red Pages will cost around 50 cents. If you have any questions or suggestions, call us anytime at 387-5437 or come by the WAFU office at 1724 - 20th Street, N.W.

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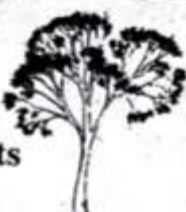
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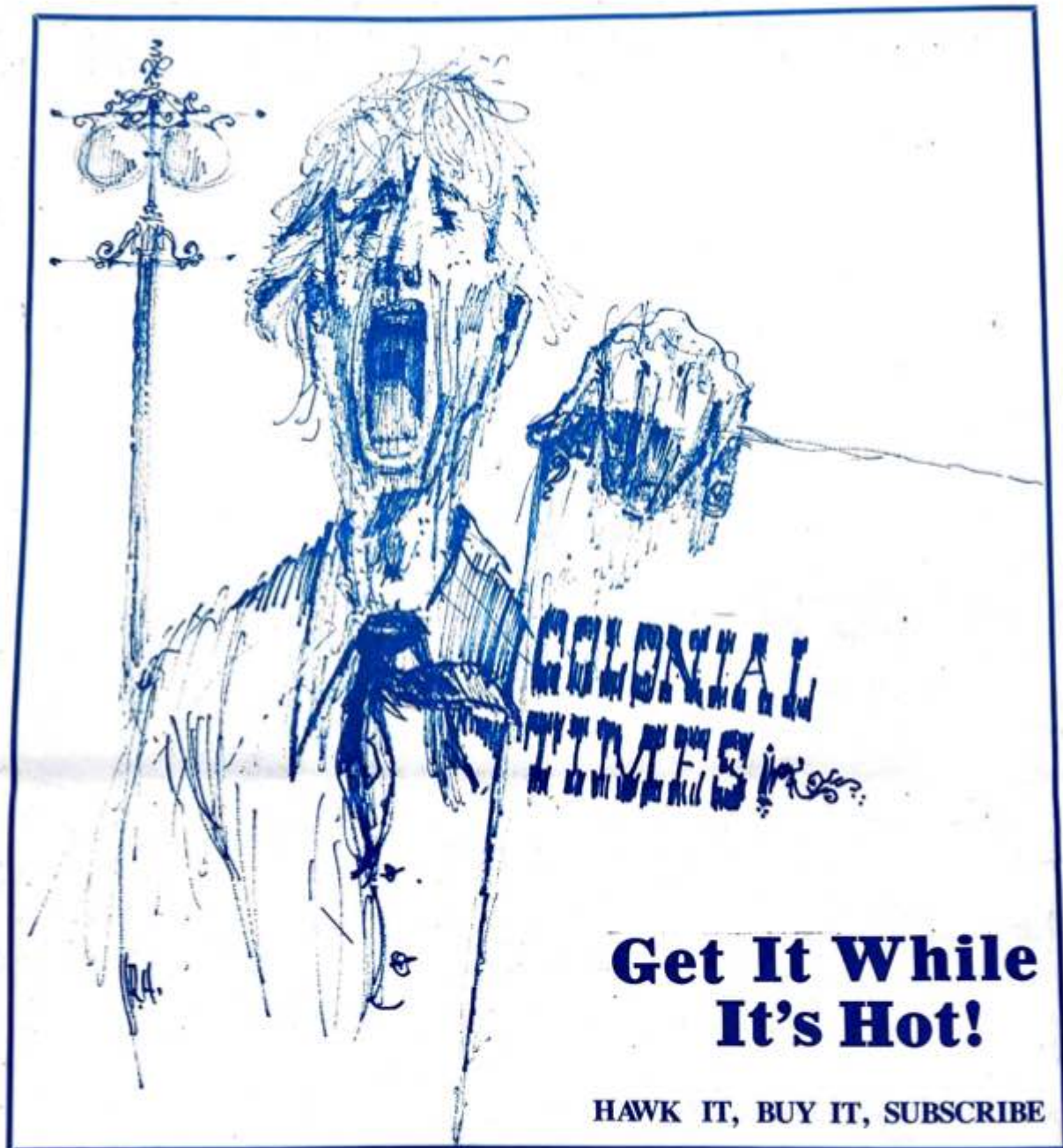
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