

# THE ALMANAC

by Derek Shearer

As we settle into a protracted economic crisis, it has become increasingly difficult to understand what is bringing it about. The sanguine "post-scarcity" economic theories of the '50s and '60s have gone the way of 39-cents-a-pound hamburger meat. No one that I know of has come up with a comprehensive overview of the new economic realities, but there are several lucid, non-technical writings that can help explain the current situation.

One of the best of this genre is a 50-page paperback called **Why Do We Spend So Much Money?** written by economist **Steve Babson**, with illustrations by Nancy Brigham. The book grew out of a program in political economy at the Cambridge-Goddard Graduate School in 1971-72. Written in question-and-answer format, the book deals with food, housing, transportation, health, inflation, and other basics of domestic economics. It is ideal for union educational work, courses in high school and college, home study groups, and community organizing efforts. The books are produced on a nonprofit basis. Single copies cost 90 cents plus 20 cents postage. Ten copies or more cost 80 cents each plus postage (65 cents total postage for 4-7 copies; 75 cents for 8-10, and 2 cents for each additional book over 10). (Write: Popular Economics Press, 5A Putnam Ave., Somerville, Mass. 02143.)

**Ben Seligman's** collection of essays, **Economics of Dissent** (Quadrangle, 1968—unfortunately not available in paperback) is a few years old, but still provides some particularly good, simple background to the current problems. For instance his essay "The High Cost of Eating" explains how the structure of the food processing and distributing industry contributes to exorbitant prices.

Moving from analysis to direct action on economic and political issues, I recommend **A Public Citizen's**

**Action Manual** (Grossman), by **Donald K. Ross**, an associate of **Ralph Nader**. All royalties from the sale of the book go to Public Citizen, Inc., an organization established by Nader to advance public interest issues. Unlike most Nader publications which are basically critiques of some area of the American economy or government, this book aims to provide practical information for activists.

The overall political perspective of the book is weak, and Ross' discussion of citizen action groups is too vague, but the book is incredibly useful on the nuts and bolts of specific political issues. For example, the section on evaluating pension funds can be valuable to employee groups, as can the section on how to enforce the Occupational Safety and Health Act. There are other good sections on sex discrimination and tax action. The best thing about Nader and company is that they are specific: they attack visible problems which affect everyday life.

The **Consumer Federation of America** publishes a very helpful newsletter on consumer affairs. The Federation consists of over 100 member organizations, such as consumer coops and labor unions. CFA does lobbying and other consumer-oriented work. Individuals cannot join the federation, but they can become Federation supporters and receive the CFA monthly newsletter with a \$15 or more contribution. The newsletter contains news of pending bills and appointments in Washington which affect consumers, plus analysis of consumer problems. (Write Consumer Federation of America, 1012 14th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.)

**The Sharing of Land and Resources in America** by New Republic writer **Peter Barnes** is another useful call to economic and political action. This pamphlet suggests a program for a comprehensive redistribution of resources in this country. It is available for \$1.00 from the New Republic, 1244 19th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

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It's almost a cliché by now that one of the problems with the American Left has been its inability to learn from the past. A number of new books have recently appeared which might help remedy that problem. **Radical**

**Visions and American Dreams** (Harper & Row), by **Richard Pell**, is an important and pioneering book on the culture and political thought of the **Depression**. Pell recreates many of the debates which consumed radical and liberal intellectuals of the '30s, such as how to relate to working people, the relation of art to politics, and how to make the economy more democratic—all important issues today.

Another new and useful approach to the American past is **Wilson Carey McWilliams' book, The Idea of Fraternity in America**. McWilliams' book is an intellectual history of the U.S. from the standpoint of the idea of fraternity—a concern that McWilliams finds sadly lacking in most liberal American thought. The scope of the book is broad—stretching from the Puritans, through the leading American writers and philosophers, to the Black Panthers. This book is a good place to start thinking about what we value in our national past, and what we want to change.

Along similar lines, I recommend the short essay "**The Case for Patriotism**" by **John Schaar** in **American Review** 17 (Bantam paperback). Schaar argues that the old sentiment of patriotism can be a valuable tool for the Left to combat the imperialist-nationalist tendencies that currently dominate American thinking. It's an original and very thoughtful treatment of an old, much maligned and misused sentiment.

Finally, an extremely valuable resource for studying American political history is a four volume **History of U.S. Political Parties** from 1789 to 1972, published by Chelsea House Publishers in association with R. R. Bowker Company. Each volume contains essays by various scholars and journalists, plus a wealth of documentary material including party platforms, speeches, and debates.

While the four volumes are valuable, they are also expensive—\$135—and only sold in complete sets. Encourage your local library to order a set. Community groups and study groups might be able to afford a set by purchasing as a group. The four volumes can be ordered through bookstores or directly from: R. R. Bowker Order Dept., P.O. Box 1807, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. ■

*News of political work, including publications, films, slide shows, etc. should be addressed to Derek Shearer, RAMPARTS magazine, 2054 University Ave., Berkeley, California 94704.*

## ROSENBERGS

(From page 41)

closer than most brothers. They often slept together in the same bed and they "never fought. We were civil," says Robby. "He always tried to build me up, said I was better. There was affection and kindness.

"There were certain code words between us. Michael was very earnest. He would ask, 'Do you think he knows about Mommie and Daddy?' That question would define a whole set of social reactions and initiate a strategy for responding to any given social situation. Michael's question had infinite implications." Michael, for his part, tried to protect his brother. "I would go apeshit if he went near the edge of the subway platform. I'd always want to hold on to him. I used to have him hold on to me, on the elbow when we walked in the street."

Robby developed his own protective mechanisms: "We learned how to be normal, I mean we red-diaper babies . . . I remember that it was better to keep quiet, and not say anything, and stay in the background."

Those were difficult times for Michael and Robby, but not nearly so difficult as they might have been without the Meeropols. "They decided that I needed a normal atmosphere," says Robby, "that I should be separated and protected." It took courage on their part, "and it was a difficult task." The Meeropols gave the boys a more-or-less stable climate in which to grow up. And in spite of their unique situation, they led more or less normal lives.

And so they survived the 1950s with memories not unlike those of thousands of other "red-diaper babies." "I remember McCarthy," says Robby, "but his death, not his power and glory. I remember him being discredited. I remember the 1956 campaign, but not much before 1955. I remember Elvis Presley on TV, things loosening up. I don't recall the hysteria of the 1950s, but the aftermath, the legacy of fear." That, too, gave way in time, as Southern blacks began to stage marches, boycotts, and sit-ins for integration. A new Movement began to take shape—filling the space left by McCarthyism—and it appealed to the sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

## [THE EDUCATION OF MICHAEL]

The year 1963 brought the great march on Washington and Martin Luther King's stirring oratory: "I have been to the mountain . . . I have a dream . . ." It was also the tenth anniversary of the Rosenbergs' execution, and their sons were becoming young men. Michael Meeropol was 20, an undergraduate at Swarthmore College in Pennsylvania, and a fervent supporter of what was already called The Movement.

He was the archetypical son of the Old Jewish Left: "I was brought up on folk songs, played the guitar and was sent to a *shule*. . . I didn't learn Hebrew but Yiddish, and was taught about the tradition of Jewish rebels, like the Maccabees, and also songs of the resistance, like this one:

*Never say that there is only death  
for you.*

*For leaden skies may be concealing  
days of blue,*

*For surely all for which we yearn  
will yet arise,*

*And our marching steps will  
thunder, we survive.*

In a *shule*, radical Jews could remain Jews and be radical too, without sacrificing one part of themselves.

This Old Left heritage is still very important to Michael Meeropol. "I cut my eye teeth on *The Great Conspiracy Against Russia*," he says. "That was at age 11. Then I went through Elisabeth Irwin, a rad school. I was pro-Soviet on the Cold War and was Vice-President of a New York City chapter of SANE. . . . It was not an easy transition from Old Left to New Left."

In 1960, he graduated from Elisabeth Irwin and went to Swarthmore, where almost immediately he became involved in radical politics: "[We] were unashamedly Leftists from the start. We didn't hide. People used to call us the Swarthmore CP, and we'd smile at that. Everyone knew we weren't members of the party, but we supported the Russians.

"Our life style was that of ordinary college students. We liked to get laid, get drunk, have a good time. I didn't smoke grass, and as far as I know, there wasn't any at Swarthmore when I was there."

Though he did not experience the cultural upheaval which later rocked

American college campuses, he was very much a part of the political explosion in its earliest stages. But for him, political activism carried certain special risks which it did not have for others: "My biggest fear was never jail, but arrest and the ensuing publicity and exposure. I thought that who I was—the son of the Rosenbergs—would come out. When I finally was arrested, I enjoyed myself.

His arrest came when he was still an undergraduate at Swarthmore. There was to be a civil rights demonstration in Chester, Pa.: "I was embarrassed about not going and doing passive resistance. So I decided to picket instead. . . . But we were all arrested anyway—those committing civil disobedience, and those picketing—and thrown in jail together. I had separated myself from the sitting-in but the police made no such distinction. We were all the same to them.

Michael graduated when he was 21 and went abroad, to Kings College, Cambridge, still struggling with the question of his identity. There he lived in a room situated above E. M. Forster's college quarters and studied economics with the British Marxists Joan Robinson and Maurice Dobb. In the early '50s, many radical academics had fled McCarthyism, taken new names in England, and gone to work in British universities. "I thought that it would be an excellent opportunity to change my name [back to Rosenberg]. I would be in a strange country, no one would know me. England offered a perfect opportunity, a new name for a new life, but again my parents dissuaded me. Now, looking back at it, I'm not really sorry that I didn't change my name."

In the mid '60s, he returned to America to continue his post-graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin, and his political beliefs reflected the growing impact of the New Left: ". . . I awakened to the bankruptcy of the American Communist Party. I didn't know that before. I was very excited by the Peace and Freedom Party, and by the Black Panther Party, which was rapidly expanding at that time. I wanted to see a genuine third party take shape and offer a real alternative, and so I helped organize the Wisconsin Alliance. I went door to door in my neighborhood talking to people." But

while he moved away from his earlier adherence to Old Left politics, he had reservations about the thrust of the student movement in the late '60s. "In 1968, for example, when my friends in SDS were occupying buildings at Columbia, and protesting in the streets of Chicago during the Democratic Convention, I wanted to form a third party to get on the ballot. My kind of work must have seemed extremely tame. [Personally] I wanted to become a columnist for the student newspaper because I felt that I could convince people that radicalism is rational. The biggest argument against the New Left was that it was irrational. I always felt that if you had some kind of respect for the people you were trying to persuade, you would have a much better time showing that it was rational. In 1969 Weatherman said very honestly, 'There's no chance of convincing them so let's not try,' and I must admit that the extreme racism of the Nixon period, and the reaction to the POWs coming home, sometimes made me feel that the majority of the American people are so rotten they deserve Nixon, and rising prices. It's a terrible thing to think, and for anyone, like myself, who believes in socialism and progress, it's almost a confession of complete failure. Because if you aren't going to reach the American people, there's no way out.

"We had createin Madison—and it's still true of the city—a semi-liberated territory. But instead of reaching out, radicals flailed out. All the trashing at Madison was a catharsis, like jerking off."

Michael recalls the bombing of the Army-Math Research Center in Madison. The explosion killed a researcher and demolished a building which for years had been the target of student protests because of its involvement in counter-insurgency planning. "First of all, I was sorry that the guy was killed. I think that most bombers have tried not to kill or injure people. I was also worried about the negative reactions that might have ensued. I had mixed feelings. I didn't like trashing or blocking traffic because you simply prevented ordinary people from getting to and from work, from shopping, or travelling. But blowing up Chase Man-

hattan or Army Math—that was a real pin prick in the Empire. It hurt."

Still, for all his sympathy for the New Left, Michael admits that he never "made the cultural transition from the Old to the New Left. 'I've always been scared shitless of psychedelics. I thought that there was so much repressed in me that if I took LSD I would let it all out violently and suddenly. I'd rather let it out slower, and under more controlled circumstances. It was a deliberate, conscious decision on my part . . . There must be a lot of self-hatred inside because I survived. I don't know specifically what's inside, but I assume that there's a lot of stuff that my body has done a good job of hiding. And since I'm functioning in the world without difficulty, I've felt there's no need to delve into it. Let sleeping dogs lie. That was a conscious decision I made.'"

#### [ROBBY AND THE NEW LEFT]

**I**n 1960, Robby Meeropol became a teenager, and he was part of the generation which helped to transform American politics in the decade that followed. He was just young enough that he scarcely remembered the Red Scare and McCarthy, just old enough that his political education came after the election of John Kennedy to the Presidency. He felt much less identification with the Old Left of his parents than his brother did, and he made the transition to the New Left easily and naturally. In large part, it was a cultural question. Where Michael related strongly to Jewish culture, Robby resisted it: "I kept on thinking, 'Why be Jewish? Why be anything?' I think it is a silly tradition to divide people into all those lines. When I was growing up, we always seemed to live across the street from synagogues—there was 149th street and Riverside Drive, 161st and Broadway. I can remember one Saturday morning watching the people come out of the synagogue. They were so arrogant. I'd have to step out of the street for them. They probably assumed I was an Italian kid because I was so dark, a street urchin, and probably Catholic to boot."

In some ways, the Meeropols eased Robby's subsequent transition to the New Left. "They were *National Guar-*

*dian*, rather than *Daily Worker*, readers. They were looser and into theater and arts. I went to Elisabeth Irwin, and Lincoln Farm in the summer. I was around Left Wing people. I remember the March on Washington in 1963, getting into folk music. I knew some people who formed the Westchester Viet Cong. They had a scenario; they'd camp out in the woods, and at two or three in the morning they'd vandalize army bases. They did spray paint actions."

Robby went from Elisabeth Irwin to Earlham College in Indiana. There he helped to found the Earlham Peace Committee, supported the National Liberation Front, organized demonstrations against the Vietnam War, and made cultural contact with the generation of the '60s. "At Earlham College, one of the first persons I met was a head. I got into the New Left, and youth culture very quickly. It was a process of becoming separate from my parents. My friends and I decided we were going to be out front. The Old Left whispered, 'We're progressives.' We were going to shout, 'We're revolutionaries.'"

After two years, Earlham seemed too small a world for him, and Robby transferred to the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. He joined the student political party called "Voice" and later SDS. There he was arrested in 1968, "after Chicago," he recalls, "and mostly because of Chicago. There were some valid criticisms but Ann Arbor radicals made all kinds of excuses about not going to the demonstration. We had a sit-in to protest clothing allowances for welfare mothers. When I was arrested, I had a trapped-in feeling. I was 'in their clutches.' I had the feeling that they can really seek out and find you."

In the summer of 1969, he became involved in a living collective in Ann Arbor called "The Commune." "There were originally seven people, then five. We lasted for two years, became a real institution. The commune came out of the Women's Movement. There were more women than men, and women's politics predominated." He calls that period "the crazy times" for the Ann Arbor movement. "There were large demonstrations, recruiter actions, including a major one against Dow



Chemical. Another day another action. The recruiters were locked in their rooms, windows were trashed, people split before the police came. I was largely in fear. By 1970, I believed in the million groovy kids theory. It was really insane. I never went into Weatherman, but many of them were friends. The physical violence part was too scary for me. [Yet] I didn't think, as many Weathermen did, that the revolution was going to be made here and now in the streets. After the SDS split I found the organization stifling, and I dropped out. Looking back at it now I can say that the New Left wasn't a hassle for me. I think that one of the reasons I got involved with the New Left was that it was scary to dredge up all that stuff from the past which was connected with my parents, with the trial, and I didn't want to know about it. So I tried to apply my political feelings to the present, and fell into the New Left entirely."

[COMING OUT]

It is 1973: Year of Watergate, and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are 20 years in the grave. Their boys are men now, with families, careers, and lives of their own. They both married early and had children: "I think it's more than a coincidence," says Robby. "The desire to create the family, and to reestablish that which had been destroyed was very important." They both are part of larger communities as well. Michael works with the Union of Radical Political Economists, which he regards as a kind of political family. Robby, his wife Elli, and their daughter Jennie share a large, three-story house with three other adults.

Over the years they have gradually come to terms with their past, and the memories of 1953. What was once a closely held secret, they learned to share. "There were two people I was going to tell," says Michael, "who interrupted me before I could get it out, which was a great relief. Once I wrote it out on paper and showed it to a friend. My wife was the first person I told directly. It took forever to get it out. My heart was going like a goddamn bass drum. I finally closed my

eyes, said it to myself once, then said it out loud. My wife said 'Who?' It was anti-climactic. But ever since it's been easier. It's as easy as snapping fingers."

Robby found it more difficult. "Elli was the first person I told I was the son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. She knew already, of course, and most of my best friends knew without me having to tell them. I didn't want to tell them, and I still have that hassle. I want them to *know*, but don't want to *tell* it."

There were pressures to make a public stand even before this year. In the late '60s Michael offered his help in getting Morton Sobell released from Alcatraz, where he was serving a 30-year sentence, but soon afterward Sobell was paroled and Michael's assistance wasn't needed.

Then E.L. Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel* appeared in 1971. It is a novel about the children of two spies executed for passing the secret of the atom bomb to the Russians, and it has become a best seller in radical circles. It is a work of fiction—not based on the actual lives of Robby and Michael Meeropol. The execution, for instance, occurs in 1954, and one of the children is a girl who enters a mental institution and commits suicide. Daniel—the elder son—doesn't follow his sister to the grave, but he becomes a cruel sadist, for example, burning his fair buxom wife with a cigarette lighter. Michael dislikes Daniel, whom he does not resemble at all, but he admits, "I could have been Daniel or worse." Even so, he enjoyed the book. "One of the things I liked best about the novel is when Daniel talks about his parents liking to screw a lot. That makes me feel good. Children are supposed to not imagine the idea of their parents screwing at all. When I was growing up as a pre-teen and a teenager I had that reaction, but I don't feel that way now.

"In the novel, Daniel knows every-time they screwed. In fact, I was too young to know. Julius and Ethel didn't have any problem walking around naked in front of us. So far as I remember, they weren't Puritanical, inhibited people." Michael says that he found the book moving. "When I read some of the journalist accounts of the last days before the execution, it grabs me, knocks the shit out of me. I re-

member finishing reading Doctorow. Annie wasn't home at the time. I put down the book and picked up both my kids and hugged them for a long time."

For his part, Robby thought that *The Book of Daniel* gave "a feeling of what it was like to be poor in New York in the '40s," but there his appreciation of the novel ends. "It's being taken as a sympathetic account of the Rosenberg case. That's awful; that's worse than J. Edgar Hoover's *FBI Story*, which no one imagines is sympathetic to the Reds." Doctorow, he feels, "has a strange head about sexuality. There are no normal sexual relationships in the book. Doctorow is 'bombastic' about sex; he's either hysterical or sensational or sado-masochistic. Also, Doctorow seems to be saying that you can't be political and also a humanist, that people are sacrificed to the cause."

If *The Book of Daniel* moved Michael and angered Robby, Louis Nizer's best-seller, *The Implosion Conspiracy*, produced no such mixed reviews. Both of them were horrified. Here was a book, advertised as the definitive work on the Rosenberg case, and so filled with inaccuracies—which they, from their own memory, knew to be inaccuracies—as to turn it on its head. For example, says Michael, "Nizer claims we were used by the Committee. That's a dastardly thing. He defames the Committee. We were protected, very few people came to see us; we weren't paraded around to stir up emotions, to sensationalize. I only went to three rallies, and once to deliver a letter to President Eisenhower, but we were never treated as pawns by any political group." Then again, Nizer sensationalizes his account with information of dubious authenticity: "Nizer had Julius practically stripping Ethel in jail the first time they meet, and getting on top of her. I don't think that happened. So far as I know they simply embraced. Nizer's book defames them in a way that invades Robby's and my privacy, destroys a lot of our psychological foundations by saying we were neglected while they became such active spies, and that we were used miserably in the campaign to save them. Both of those statements are bald-faced lies, and both are crucial."

The time was right, the issue important enough, for them to make their first public stand in defense of their parents. It was not a decision taken lightly. Robby in particular had always been reluctant to "come out," as they call it. "I thought that exposure would turn me into a television character, and I didn't want to be 'medium cool.' When I was little, exposure was very, very threatening, and secrecy became a way of life."

But the Nizer book seemed to demand a response. It was an instant best-seller, received largely favorable reviews, and Otto Preminger reportedly acquired the screen rights to make it into a movie. It could not be ignored, and there were other factors as well which pushed Robby and Michael to make a public stand.

There were, for example, the effects of time. These men, Robby and Michael Meeropol, are quiet intellectuals, family men, but you sense that they have come as close to death as soldiers from the front: they have felt it touch them. There is a core of anger there, though it does not often emerge: anger toward the men who killed their parents and who are still very much in power. Nixon himself had a hand in whipping up the hysteria which claimed their lives, and not long ago he considered appointing the Rosenberg trial judge, Irving Kaufman, to the Supreme Court. He did not, and Kaufman—now a federal judge—continues to sit in the Foley Square Courthouse where he tried and passed sentence on Julius and Ethel Rosen-

berg. Irving Saypol prosecuted the case, and was rewarded with a judgeship; his aide, Roy Cohn went on to become Senator Joe McCarthy's right-hand man and, after that, a successful New York lawyer. In recent years his business dealings have come under official scrutiny, but he remains free and anxious as ever to justify the anti-communist crusade he helped to mold. These are men who profited directly from the Rosenberg execution, who rose to power, wealth and prestige while the bodies were still warm.

Both Robby and Michael knew that at some point they would have to take a hand in setting the record straight. Then again, the 20th anniversary of their parents' execution focused their feelings: "For a while I felt that the case was for the historians," says Michael, "but now I've the sense that it's the present, that the battle is on again." Watergate, moreover, seemed to create a propitious atmosphere: "It made it possible for us to say, 'Look, we've been saying all along that the government has been lying and forging. You didn't believe us then, but why not listen to us again.'"


Now they have gone public and come out, as it were. They are planning to republish their parents' *Death House Letters* for which each of them intends to write a new introduction. (Robby's may include a critique of the Doctorow novel.) They have hopes of being able to re-open the case. "You know the government had to execute them," says Robby. "If they didn't execute them, they would have had on

their hands two people jailed for life. They would have had an active organization, fighting the case all the time. How long could the government have covered it up under those circumstances? If it came out, it would have been worse than Watergate."

If the Rosenberg parents never had the chance to clear themselves, the Rosenberg sons have now dedicated themselves to the task. They have a broader purpose as well and some special rewards. "It's energizing," says Robby. "It makes me feel I'm integrating different facets of my life. It's given me an opportunity to do valuable political work which is also personally satisfying. In this respect, I feel I'm lucky. Dedicating my life to this isn't an abstraction. I can make a difference. That's a feeling I often don't have. It seems essential to connect things, to bring together the different pieces of history, and my life."

These men are not poor, helpless victims and they do not want to be pitied, sentimentalized, or cast as orphans in an afternoon soap opera. Nor do they want to be known exclusively as the Rosenberg children. Both the accusing and friendly finger of recognition are unwelcome.

Yet they have undertaken a task which will undoubtedly bring them recognition and notoriety. They have done it out of a sense of responsibility—to their parents, to history, and to themselves. "I want to show that they were innocent," says Michael, "that their trial was part of American Cold War policy. They can also teach us about simple honesty. You don't have to go out and court danger to be a hero. They had no choice; they were pushed into their role by circumstances. [After we filed the Nizer suit] an article about us said that we'd been silent for years. I took that as a kind of rebuke. Now I've a desire to jump in with both feet to make up for lost time."



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## COVER-UP

(From page 20)

(another Havana gun-runner and casino operator) and Giuseppe Cotroni, identified in the Senate Narcotics Hearings (p. 1002) as "head of the largest and most notorious narcotics syndicate on the North American continent."

### [OVERLAPPING CONSPIRACIES]

In this dark area of gun-running to Cuba, the careers of Sturgis, of Ruby, and of Oswald begin to overlap. First-hand accounts linked Ruby himself to Cuban gun-running (14 H 330-64), and to Robert McKeown, arrested in 1958 for gun-running with his friend, former Cuban President Carlos Prio Socarras. (Prio Socarras helped organize the Cuban exile demonstrations at the party conventions in 1972, when his Miami office was only two doors away from Bernard Barker's.) And Carlos Bringuier claimed he suspected Oswald of trying to infiltrate—as an informant either for Castro or for the FBI—the Louisiana training camp of the Christian Democratic Movement, a Miami-based exile group close to the DRE, which the Kennedy Administration was cracking down on in late 1963 (10 H 35, 43). Bringuier noted that five days before Oswald's first contact with him, the FBI had raided an illicit arms depot one mile from the camp. These arms were stashed in the home of one of the McLaney brothers, prominent casino operators in Las Vegas, the Bahamas, and in pre-Castro Havana.

Since 1963, U.S. narcotics officials have referred to the existence in Miami of a small but tightly organized "Cuban Mafia" in narcotics, "for the most part previously little-known underworld members employed and trained in pre-Castro Cuba by the American Mafia, which then controlled gambling in Havana" (NYT, February 1, 1970, p. 57). Certain U.S. business interests collaborated for decades with the narcotics-linked American Mafia in Cuba—as they did with similar criminal networks in China and later in Vietnam—for the Mafia supplied the necessary local intelligence, cash and muscle against the threat of Communist take-over. Some

of those Cuban-Americans recruited by the CIA (presumably from the Cuban-American Mafia) are now suspected by federal and city authorities to be "involved in everything from narcotics trafficking to extortion rackets and bombings" (NYT Magazine, June 3, 1973, p. 46).

And behind the bureaucratic screens of "security" and "intelligence" there appear signs of a more sinister overlapping of conspiracies: in the gun-running and gambling background of Frank Sturgis and his allies, and the common responsibility for narcotics intelligence of E. Howard Hunt and John Caulfield in the White House, G. Gordon Liddy in the Treasury Department, and Egil Krogh (supervisor of the White House "plumbers") as Director in 1972 of the Cabinet Committee on International Narcotics Control.

The grey alliance in pre-Castro Cuba between business, intelligence and Mafia led to a central role in the post-war heroin traffic of the Havana connection, which later became the Miami connection. This Miami connection is typified by Bebe Rebozo's business associate "Big Al" Polizzi, who was named in the 1964 Senate Narcotics Hearings as "one of the most influential figures of the underworld in the United States" and "associated with international narcotic traffickers . . . and illicit gambling activities" (p. 1049). Polizzi and Rebozo collaborated in the construction of a Miami shopping center, where Rebozo also employed a former Mayor of Havana under Batista who headed up "Cubans for Nixon" in 1968. In addition, Polizzi and the Rebozo family have been recorded as signing legal petitions in support of each other, in 1952 and again in 1965 (Newsday, October 7, 1971; Village Voice, Aug. 31-Sept. 6, 1973).

Another piece in the puzzle is provided by the Keyes Realty Company, a Miami business with underworld connections, which has helped both Rebozo and Nixon in various land deals, including the Winter White House. Keyes Realty and its lawyers were named in the Kefauver Crime Hearings (Part 1, p. 716) for their role on behalf of organized crime in bribing Dade County's Sheriff Sullivan to run Miami as a wide-open gambling town.

In 1948, Keyes Realty, and its lawyers, with the help of a wealthy Cuban banker called Agustin Batista (a cousin of the dictator), collaborated in the transfer of southern Key Biscayne to a shadowy Cuban investment group (the Ansan Corp.) in which an Internal Revenue investigator suspected the presence of funds belonging "to Luciano or other underworld characters" (IRS Report of Feb. 20, 1948, cited by Jeff Gerth in the November-December Sundance, p. 38). The visible partners were former Cuban President Prio's investment ally and Education Minister Jose Aleman, who had defrauded his government of tens of millions of dollars (NYT, March 26, 1950, p. 92), his wife Elena Santiero, daughter of Luciano's Cuban attorney, and Batista's Finance Minister and investment ally, Anselmo Alliegro.

Later control of this Key Biscayne real estate passed to men near Hoffa and the Teamsters' Pension Fund, and Meyer Lansky's conduit, the Miami National Bank. In 1967, some of this land was sold at bargain rates to Nixon and Rebozo, by a man named Donald Berg; after Nixon became President, the Secret Service advised him to stop associating with Berg because of his background. Nixon delayed registering the purchase of one lot for four years, until the final payment had been made on a mortgage to Arthur Desser, associate of both Jimmy Hoffa and Meyer Lansky.

Recently, Nixon's links with Desser, Keyes Realty *et al.* have been less prominent. But one of the Watergate burglars, Eugenio Martinez, was a vice-president of Keyes Realty until 1971, when he and Bernard Barker set up their own realty office, Ameritas, in the same office building. Some of Barker's real estate ventures, according to Jack Anderson's column (June 26, 1972), have involved Bebe Rebozo. Funds for the Watergate operation were channeled through Barker's bank account in a Cuban-owned Miami bank, Republic National, whose president had formerly worked for Agustin Batista's bank in Cuba. (The first president of this bank had earlier chaired the board of the Miami National Bank and another director was from the law firm of Keyes Realty.)

In 1961, Agustin Batista and his



brother Laureano, leader of the Cuban Christian Democratic Movement (CDM), employed Sturgis' friend Hans Tanner in the CDM's "Project 26"—yet another effort to assassinate Castro (Tanner, p. 143). Tanner's account also describes how Nixon himself, out cruising in the Miami River, shouted "Good luck" to a boatload of CDM guerrillas training, supposedly in secrecy, for their diversionary role in the Bay of Pigs (p. 2). In 1965, Nixon intervened legally on behalf on the CDM's imprisoned political leader, Mario Garcio Kohly, who had been arrested by the Kennedy Administration for his anti-Castro activities in October 1963 (William Turner, *Power on the Right*, Ramparts Press, 1971, p. 156).

The Ervin Committee has yet to call Hunt and Sturgis as witnesses, to hear about their alleged illegal activities over the last decade. Some Congressional committee should learn more about these men's Cuban activities, such as those which in September 1963 brought strong U.S. government warnings to Sturgis and death to his friend Rorke. It is almost certain that a full inquiry in this direction would uncover past alliances between intelligence networks and organized crime for mutually advantageous operations

—including the attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro. And the disturbing evidence of a cover-up in Dallas suggests that such assassination efforts have not all been aimed abroad. ■

## SUPERPOWERS

(From page 36)

new directions—toward China and Southeast Asia.

This is a specter which haunts the Pentagon, and which makes Japan a U.S. military-planning priority. For the Pentagon recognizes the military potential inherent in Japan's formidable economy. And if the Japanese embark upon a vigorous policy of rapprochement with mainland China, and if China responds favorably, the U.S. will find its military position throughout Asia subject to grave question.

Does this mean that the Pentagon is *expecting* Japan to revert back to the militarism of the 1930s? Of course not. But it does mean that no strategic planning by the U.S. can afford to ignore that long-range possibility, especially with the growing economic discord between the two countries. There is, moreover, another factor which the U.S. cannot control: namely, Sino-Soviet disharmony.

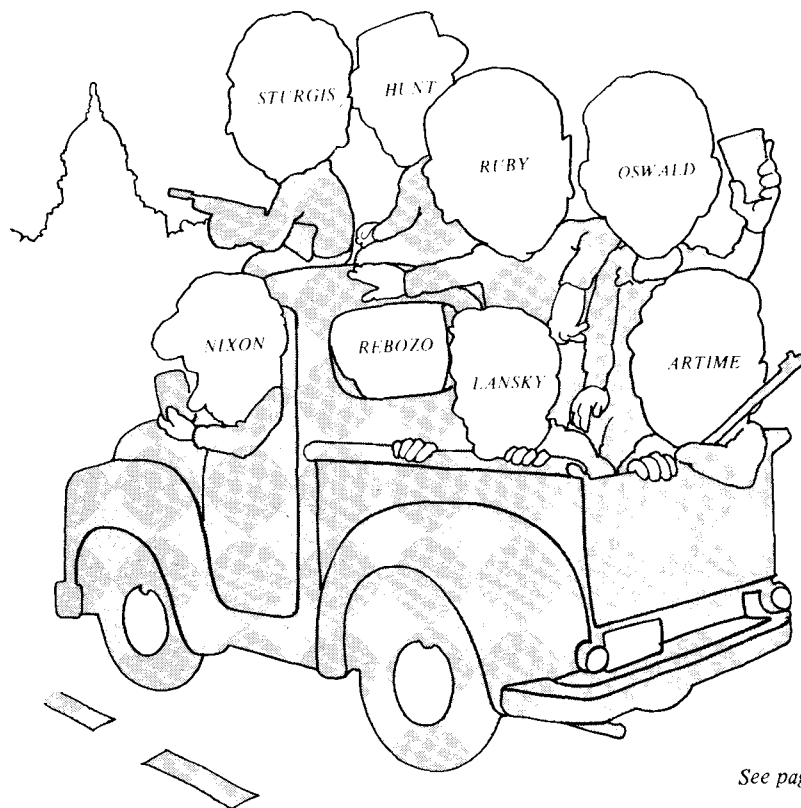
It was China's decision to embark

on an independent nuclear path which originally fomented the dispute between the two Communist giants, and now China not only possesses a nuclear capability but on June 27 detonated its first hydrogen device. Russian pronouncements, meanwhile, have taken on an ominous tone. In a major position paper in *Pravda* on August 26, the Soviet Union directly accused China of having nuclear ambitions for the sole purpose of dominating all Asia. Moreover, the tenor of the *Pravda* piece was that China was moving toward an understanding with the U.S. to isolate and threaten the Soviet Union. In my opinion, the *Pravda* position could just as well have been aimed at the U.S. as at China, for a U.S.-China entente would be directed at containing both Russia-in-Asia and Japan. The *Pravda* statement added, "The longings of the Maoists for hegemony are suggested particularly by the activities in Southeast and South Asia, such as their old idea of creating a military-political grouping of Southeast Asian countries under the aegis of Peking."

Indeed, the statement may even have been calculated to exacerbate the strained relations between the U.S. and Japan, for it suggests that the U.S. may not deter China from such ambitions, with obvious effects for Japan. Exacerbate relations, that is, unless the U.S.—to compensate Japan for loss of Southeast Asian markets—were to desist from measures which Japan believes hinder its industrial growth.

Can the U.S. have friendship with both Communist powers without forcing Japan into one or another camp? Judging by the August 26 statement in *Pravda*, the Russian leadership is in no mood to regard any friend of China as a friend of the Soviet Union—least of all the U.S. But then if the U.S. cannot have detente with both, it must have it with one or with neither. If with neither, Washington will be forced to go far toward accepting the Japanese position. But if with one, Japan will have to make accommodations.

Suppose, for example, that the U.S. were to conclude a detente with Russia. China would then have inducement to reach an understanding with Japan—at least after China has hardened hydrogen weapons bases and



See page 14

ICBM's in convincing number and range. Then again, if Washington reaches an accord with China, Europe would almost certainly press for U.S. withdrawal from the continent and the Mediterranean in order to ensure that nuclear war, if provoked, would not be fought on European soil.

There is, of course, another possible alignment—namely, between Japan and the Soviet Union. By its very nature and the threat it would represent to China, such an understanding would have to carry with it an agreement that the Soviet Union (and preferably the U.S. as well) would use nuclear weapons in Japan's defense. Such a Triple Alliance would enable the U.S. to ease its economic pressures on Japan if the Soviet Union would invite Japanese imports—on the one hand, to ease economic constraints upon the U.S., and, on the other, to accelerate industrial development and the military capability of eastern Siberia in a tripartite containment of China.

Personally, I believe this specific triangle unlikely, although its possibility is apparent. Upon the Nixon visit to Peking, Japan moved promptly towards normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China by severance of relations with Taiwan and formal diplomatic recognition of mainland China. An aping of U.S. moves? Perhaps, but far more likely implementation of policy which Japan had long desired but which, in an earlier setting, would have put her prematurely at odds with the U.S.

#### [A WORLD IN DISARRAY]

What is clear is that post-World War II power relations have gone beyond bipolar confrontation of East versus West. There is now no East, no West, in a simplistic arraying of massive antagonists. It is as though the Koh-i-noor had splintered in the cleaving. Or the prism of world relations had become a kaleidoscope, each national viewer vying to freeze the shifting patterns of its rotation into something to his advantage, real or fancied, unsuspecting that his view was still tinged with past colorations irrelevant to the new realities.

This is a situation of immeasurable danger: one in which the new, un-

stable equilibrium can be upset by a single act of miscalculation or ill-temper by any leading country. No statesman, of whatever country, can possibly know in any final sense what objectives in the form of alliances, the statesmen of other countries—of any other countries—really want or may grow to want in a condition as fluid as that of the post-Vietnam world. And it is truly fluid, to a degree unknown since the Middle Ages.

The whole of the Third World has learned from Indochina that it can pit itself, with high hope of success, in armed conflict against the developed countries, a lesson the U.S. should have learned from the Yugoslav experience. Time is on the side of the developing peoples. This may be the fundamental conflict of the new era we appear to have entered, a conflict extending not for years but for generations. America's rebuff in Indochina has shown that there is, in fact, no single western bloc susceptible to setback only by a monolithic eastern bloc. And the growth to outright antagonism of Russia and China has shown that no eastern bloc exists. The simplicity of the Two Bloc arrangement has given way to something much more complicated.

Moreover, what can be defined as attack has itself changed and today takes on altogether new meanings. With the dollar a dubious asset to, for example, OAPEC, and with consequent threat to America's energy resources, hence to its capacity to wage war, what the U.S. could until recently obtain merely by use of its printing press may not now be available to it at all. The effect is as though, in the Two Bloc system, the East had seized America's required oil reserves, or had openly threatened such seizure. The result is that the number of ways in which world war could start has been vastly enlarged beyond those of the Cold War system.

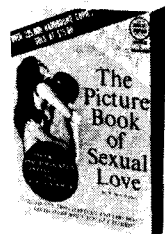
Instead of two supposed foci of power, military or economic, as in the Cold War system, there are now seven, namely the U.S., West Europe, Russia, China, Japan, Israel, and the Arab States. Any one of them can act independently, or in any feasible combination or alliance. The number of possible combinations of these power relations—dissolving and reforming in

ways determined by events—is, by the factorial law, the unmanageable quantity of 5,040. If we exclude Israel and OAPEC as, theoretically, not really capable of wholly autonomous action, we are still left with 120 ways in which the Big Five can combine, dissolve the combinations, and recombine in other ways.

There is not genius enough in the world to arrest this inherent capacity to combine or recombine. This, one must assume, is what the Tenth Congress of the Communist Party of China must have meant in its statement that the world is now in great disorder. What was not postulated in that communiqué is what all history of nations teaches: that great wars are fought to suppress the mathematical sum of ways in which autonomous powers can combine and recombine. The very essence of the strategy of nations is to reduce the factorial product to two—as in the Cold War—or, preferably, to one, as accomplished by Alexander the Great when he brought the ancient world under his sole rule.

American euphoria—that war dangers have retreated with the end of the Indochina War—is shared by no other people, and is unwarranted. Diplomatic initiatives which have followed U.S. withdrawal from the mainland of Southeast Asia have not stabilized the world. They have produced secret antagonisms secretly arrived at. What has really happened is that the U.S., and therefore the world at large, has moved away from aggression against peoples mistakenly supposed to be weak to attempts by the superpowers themselves to form new groupings which will increase their relative strengths, one against all others. This is the game the Big Boys play, and it has brought the world to grief before. ■

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## SELF-HELP

(From page 31)

each of the various women in charge had her own recommendation about the procedure, not necessarily shared by anyone else.) And finally, could this curiosity about our own and each others' genitals ever get a bit obsessive? (One woman I met proudly proclaimed that she had given more than 30 pelvic exams on one day alone.)

Various radical health experts share my initial enthusiasm as well as some of my doubts. Ellen Frankfort, the *Village Voice* health columnist whose *Vaginal Politics* has helped popularize the glories and woes of the Women's Health Movement, describes Self-Help as being "a little like having a blind person see for the first time—for what woman is not blind to her own insides?" But she also admitted in an interview that the cervical exam is "a Movement indulgence" with limited diagnostic ability. June Fisher, a radical physician trained at Stanford and a member of the Professional Women's Group of the Stanford Medical Center, questions Self-Help's exclusive concentration on the reproductive organs. "We're not just vaginas and cervixes," she says. Dr. Fisher realizes that "even if you practice good medicine in the system, you're still an agent of the *status quo*," but she still can't wholeheartedly agree with Self-Help's anti-doctor line. "You can't run away from doctors, like running to a commune," she insists. "We should ask instead why we don't have more understanding, humane gynecologists"—and try to do something about it.

Sue Reverby, Health-PAC's expert on women's health, adds that while any woman armed with a speculum "can certainly learn a lot about her own physiology, what to do about what you see is not as simple as some of the self-help advocates would have us believe. Self or group observations even for a routine infection are often not accurate ways to make a diagnosis." She tells how she'd diagnosed herself for a yeast infection, only to find out "two doctors and three slides later" that she'd been mistreating herself all along. "The speculum is a weapon," she grants, "but no substitute for an army and battle plan."

Despite occasional quarrels, femi-

nist health experts still give full sympathy and support to Self-Help's basic premise: that women have the right to control their own bodies and health care. This right, however, did not seem self-evident to a group of people in Los Angeles highly suspicious of Self-Help activities then happening at the L.A. Women's Center. Among the doubters were a mother of a junior high-schooler who came to the Self-Help Clinic for birth control; Sharyn Dalton, an undercover police agent who infiltrated the Women's Center pretending she was pregnant; Dorothy Jenkins, a high-school counselor and friend of a detective from the Consumer Affairs Department (of which the Board of Medical Examiners is a part), who attended a paramedics class; and, finally, the city attorney.

Through the efforts of these antagonists, the police raided the original Feminist Women's Health Center on September 20, 1972, confiscated abortion referral records, speculums, and yogurt (including somebody's fruit-flavored yogurt lunch). They arrested Carol Downer and Colleen Wilson for violating Section 2141 of the State Business and Professional Code—practicing medicine without a license. Wilson pleaded guilty to one of the 11 counts against her and the other charges were dropped. She got off with a \$250 fine, a 25-day suspended sentence and two years probation. Downer pleaded "not guilty" to the one count against her: diagnosing a common vaginal yeast infection and applying yogurt as a treatment.

Downer's lawyers, Jeanette Christy and Diane Wayne, built the defense around two points: first, that the statute is overbroad so that "a mother couldn't give cough drops to a child at the zoo without breaking a law if we are to interpret it as the prosecutor suggests"; and, second, that the "domestic administration of a family remedy" is excluded from the law. Since yogurt is a home remedy being applied in a home-like situation, the attorneys concluded, Downer was not, in fact, practicing medicine without a license. The case was further strengthened when the defense was able to prove that Downer was actually out of town on one of the days on which the undercover police agent allegedly received advice from her.

The final verdict submitted by the jury of eight men and four women—to the surprise and relief of the Defense Committee—was not guilty. Downer's reaction was enthusiastic, though with reservations. "Had we lost," she said, "it would have been a tremendous setback. The fact that we won buoyed up our spirits." Support poured in throughout the trial in the form of money (totaling \$5000, from Gloria Steinem and Robin Morgan among many others) and signed affidavits ("I use and will continue to use a speculum. . ."). Even the foreman of the jury joined in with a letter to Carol Downer that read, "You're not a downer, you're an upper!"

The trial turned out to provide a useful opportunity for Self-Help consciousness-raising. Members of the Defense Committee ran a Self-Help presentation two blocks from the courthouse, attended by press people as well as secretaries on lunchbreaks. Besides that, as one Self-Help aficionado put it, "The trial taught women all around the country about the yogurt cure. It was a big PR job!"

Still, most of the women closely involved with the case don't really believe that the Courts are the place to win victories for the Movement. They regretted having to focus on the question of "practicing medicine without a license" rather than on the more substantive issues of Self-Help, and the trial did prove emotionally and financially draining. "Putting a little yogurt into my vagina," said Z. Budapest, whose vagina indeed it was, "cost us \$10,000 and lots of energy and anxiety." Least encouraging of all, the women feel, is that having survived one bust doesn't necessarily protect the Feminist Health Center from other legal attacks. "If we get into midwifery or paramedic procedures," Downer realizes, "we'll run into trouble again."

[THE 5-MINUTE MENSTRUAL PERIOD]

The most experimental and probably riskiest procedure now being practiced within the Self-Help setting is menstrual extraction, a suction technique using a flexible, plastic cannula and a plastic syringe which removes the uterine lining and may, as its advocates proclaim, reduce

the monthly period “from five days to five minutes.” According to Laura Brown, interest in menstrual extraction often develops naturally out of the three-session Self-Help Clinic. Over the last two years, groups of women have been meeting regularly to extract each others’ periods and keep data on their findings (though none of the data has yet been made public). Its practitioners emphasize that the group setting is crucial to the procedure as is the participant’s awareness of its experimental nature. “We have the right to do it as consenting adults,” Laura Brown insists and adds, “The risks are far outweighed by knowledge gained about our own bodies.”

Lorraine Rothman recently redesigned the apparatus used for menstrual extraction by the Self-Help groups and claims that the new kit—to be called “Del’-Em” (patent pending)—will be safer and more efficient than the old set-up. Her basic contribution was to add a by-pass bottle, valve system and tubing to the syringe so that it can be pumped repeatedly without the worry that too much uterine material will collect in it at once or that any air will be pumped into the uterus to cause fatal air embolism. Rothman admits that she and the groups of women involved are still looking carefully for the short- and long-term effects: notably, pelvic inflammatory disease (possibly caused by bacteria introduced by the cannula into the vagina); perforation of the uterus; and eventual cervical incompetence (the weakening of the cervix’s potential ability to hold back the baby and the amniotic waters during pregnancy, thus increasing the possibility of premature deliveries). Severe cramping during the extraction can also be a problem, though apparently any woman can simply have the procedure stopped if it becomes too painful.

Menstrual extraction enthusiasts extol the virtues of eliminating the monthly hassle of having a period and emphasize its practical fringe benefits. One woman mentioned a swimmer she knew who extracted her period each month so that she wouldn’t have to miss any swim days. The Connecticut mother and daughter Self-Help team, Lolly and Jeanne Hirsch, have lauded the procedure in their Self-Help newsletter, *The Monthly Extract: An Ir-*

*regular Periodical*: “The technology of menstrual extraction on normal, healthy women is simplicity beyond imagination” and again, “We feel that women must know about and make decisions concerning the birthing canal through which all humans enter this world. It must no longer be the province of MEN ONLY.”

Despite the Hirsches’ euphoria and zeal about Self-Help, Ellen Frankfort related in an interview that at least once when the elder Hirsch tried to remove her daughter’s period, the extraction was unsuccessful. Jeanne, it turned out, had been unknowingly pregnant at the time, and had to be taken to the hospital for a vacuum aspiration abortion to be performed. (Lolly Hirsch, however, now categorically denies this.)

#### [THE ABORTION KING]

**M**enstrual extraction (known also as menstrual aspiration, menstrual induction and endometrial aspiration) is also performed as an admitted abortion technique in clinic settings. The most publicized of these seems to be the Women’s Community Service Center in West Los Angeles where young, female paramedics (usually under indirect, medical supervision) perform aspiration abortions for \$25 on women who are less than nine weeks pregnant (the cost goes up to \$40 from the ninth to twelfth weeks). The Clinic has been busted a number of times, but is presently functioning daily. Founding Father of the Clinic, and now “special consultant” and freelance Big Daddy is Harvey Karman, and it is mostly because of Karman that the Clinic has received extensive publicity.

A psychologist with a Ph.D. from the International University in Geneva (“UCLA wouldn’t give me a Ph.D. because I was researching abortion,” he claims), Karman is a self-taught abortion expert who performed underground illegal abortions for some 20 years and has been “busted more times than I can remember.” He is openly hostile to the medical establishment, though he doesn’t correct or discourage people who call him “Dr. Karman,” as most of his camp followers do—and there are many of them, mostly young women attracted by his

charismatic self-confidence and suave, if unctuous, good looks.

He recalls today that his earliest observations of the abortion procedure “convinced me that it didn’t have to be emotionally or physically traumatic.” Flexible, plastic instruments, he realized, could replace the steel ones then being used, thus eliminating both the need to dilate the cervix to introduce the cannula and the risk of perforating the uterus. Soon, for his own procedures, Karman began using the flexible, plastic cannula (now generally known as the Karman cannula) which served simultaneously as sound, suction wand and blunt curette. He thus did away with the old D&C (Dilation and Curettage) method and introduced his own menstrual aspiration technique, which he calls the “non-traumatic” concept. This method of terminating early pregnancies is not only less painful to the patient, but also simpler and less hazardous for the abortionist to perform, so that Karman has found that trained female paramedics can perform the procedure as successfully as doctors. Since they have often experienced abortion themselves, they presumably have the ability to empathize and the willingness to take the time.

Despite his free-flowing feminist rhetoric and his innovations in abortion procedures—widely used in all the feminist health centers—Karman is by no means embraced by the Self-Help Movement. “We have come to see that Harvey is a very dangerous person,” says Laura Brown, who at one time several years ago worked with Karman in his Los Angeles abortion clinic. Carol Downer, who also learned procedures in Karman’s Clinic, now claims (at least according to Karman) that she will not rest until she has ruined him.

Why such hostility? Unavoidably, Karman’s personal style is anathema to Movement women. His modish clothes and baby blue XKE seem more appropriate to the milieu of *Play It As It Lies* than to the vision of *Our Bodies, Our Selves*. But mostly it is Karman’s “hip experimentation on women” that outrages the Self-Help contingent. “His disrespect for women is blatant,” says Shelley Farber, one of the directors of the L.A. Feminist Women’s Health Center, pointing out how Karman’s first cannula patient, from

his own admission, "didn't even know she was one"; how he reportedly uses shockingly lax pre-operative preparations at his L.A. Clinic (lab work is never done to detect anemia and blood type, including Rh factor); and how he never pays any of the paramedics at the Clinic.

At this point in his career, Karman seems to be more swayed by the fame and glamor of his position than pressured to strict medical accountability. Among his recent publicity coups have been glowing articles in such publications as *Ms.* and *Playgirl*; a guest appearance at a "Sexafari" Conference run by Coyote, the new San Francisco prostitutes' union; and a demonstration of the menstrual aspiration technique on the dining-room table of actress Delphine Seyrig!

Highly defensive about criticism from the Self-Help Movement, Karman heaps generous credit upon himself for all the major women's health breakthroughs (including the "invention" of the plastic speculum, which he calls a "hot shot idea" he had more than ten years ago). Meanwhile, he badmouths the Self-Help founders for being "self-serving" and "ego-tripping." According to Shelley Farber, Karman has tried to pass off his activities as part of the Self-Help Movement, though his comments about its adherents seem rather unfriendly. "Menstrual aspiration attracts a lot of lesbians," he observed to me, "because, as one lesbian told me, 'My lover and I can give each other head all the time now. We don't have to skip a week or two each month.'"

#### [KARMAN'S "SUPERCIL"]

Typical of the internecine feuding between the Self-Help faction and the Karman faction was the controversy that erupted last year over another Karman-initiated technique: the "supercil" abortion method. This method, intended for pregnancies beyond 12 weeks, involves the insertion into the uterus of about 4 to 12 plastic coils, slightly larger than the standard IUD. The coils remain in the uterus for about 16 to 24 hours, gradually inducing miscarriage. If the uterine contents are not expelled spontaneously after removal of the coils, they may be taken out with a forceps.

Finally, the uterus may be evacuated by vacuum aspiration using a Karman cannula.

Karman and his trained paramedics have used the "supercil" method both on women in this country and extensively on rape victims in Bangla Desh. He has written about the method that it "proved remarkably easy to utilize and relatively free of problems"; also that there was "no significant morbidity" among women who underwent the "supercil" technique. However his claims appear extravagant—at least judging by the experience of 15 women who had "supercil" abortions under Karman's surveillance in Philadelphia on the weekend of May 13, 1972. That incident led to a series of bitter exchanges, and the threat of a law suit by the Karman people against the Los Angeles Women's Center.

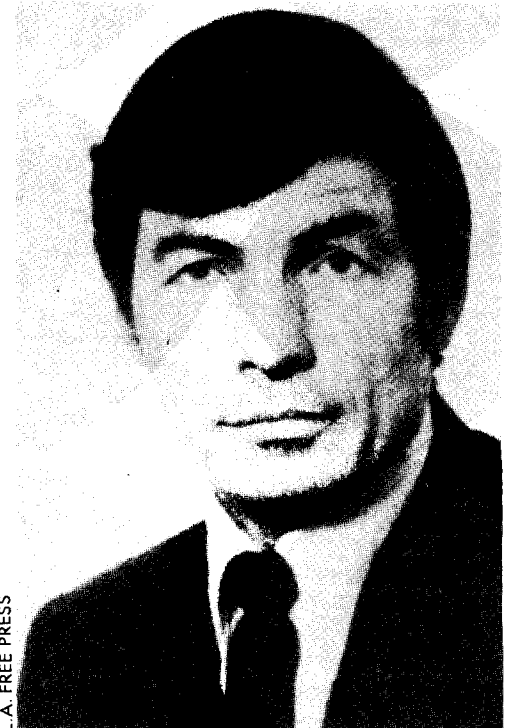
It started in Chicago when police shut down a clinic and stranded 15 women who had been scheduled for abortions there. Merle Goldberg of the National Women's Health Coalition stepped in and made arrangements to take the women to Philadelphia, where Harvey Karman was to give them "supercil" abortions. In addition, Karman was to supervise and train two doctors who had never before used the method, and a crew from the New York NET television station was to film the entire operation. By all accounts it was a nightmare. The procedures began soon after the women arrived weary from a 15-hour bus ride, and continued under the glare of TV cameras, the harassment of angry phone calls and protesters outside the operating room, and the threat of a clinic raid by the district attorney.

For whatever reason, 9 of the 15 women experienced complications during the one-week interval between the insertion of the coils and the follow-up exam. Thus the morbidity rate was 60 percent, significantly higher than the 26.1 percent rate for patients who undergo second trimester abortions by all other methods currently being used.

The Self-Help advocates were outraged, and members of the Philadelphia Women's Health Collective wrote it up in an article for the Los Angeles Women's Center newspaper *Sister*. Karman's attorney demanded retrac-

tion of the story. When that was refused, Karman and Goldberg threatened to sue.

In part, the issue was medical: Karman wanting to develop new techniques, and the feminists, opposed so long as they judged the methods unsafe. In part, it was a political and moral issue: the feminists protesting Karman's "hip experimentation" on



Harvey Karman

poor, black women, and Karman and Goldberg insisting they're exonerated because the women wanted the abortions and gave their consent to them. And finally, it was a locked-horns power struggle, all too familiar among radicals in the past, long before the feminist dream of a Movement of sisters without leaders or heroes. Is it to be Harvey Karman or Carol Downer and Lorraine Rothman who are crowned with laurels and entitled to wield the plastic speculum?

When he isn't congratulating himself for one or another women's health milestone, Karman is busy insisting that "I don't give a shit whether I'm a hero or not. I think the issue is people." Meanwhile, Carol Downer, whose own manner seems instinctively more modest, can't seem to avoid the adulation of her minions. "Everybody stand up and salute," said one of the



women at the Los Angeles Self-Help Slide show, when Carol Downer's picture appeared, then quickly added, "The neat thing about Carol Downer is that she's the only one who's not impressed with Carol Downer." Lolly Hirsch, never one to mince words, has her own panegyric to offer. In an article in *The Witch's Os*, she describes, "Beautiful Carol with the long, blond hair and the cool, low-key poise of a Goddess." And in a resounding manifesto in *The Monthly Extract* she pleads, "A woman who can surge to the heights must use every ounce of her talent, beauty, intelligence to *get there*; to forge a path for the rest of us to follow. Mediocrity is for men. We women must return to our former superior selves of the matriarchal times."

#### [SPREADING THE HAPPINESS]

**A**midst all this bombast, the more constructive values of Self-Help must not be overlooked. For though some of the Movement's advocates have gotten mired in infighting and man-hating, many others have gone beyond personality conflicts to explore new ways in which the ideals of Self-Help can benefit themselves and each other. Women in the Berkeley Women's Health Collective, for instance, have taken to heart the Self-Help credo that a patient must take responsibility for herself. If a woman who has been raped comes to the Clinic, a medic explains the various precautions available (treatment for gonorrhea, a morning-after pill) and the woman decides for herself what she wants. In the Wednesday Women's Clinic which the Collective runs at the Berkeley Free Clinic, trying to provide the "least alienating, most informative" gynecological care possible, they assign a woman from the Collective to accompany each patient throughout her exam. The woman from the Collective fills out a long pelvic "her-story" with the patient before her gynecological check and discusses each step of the procedure as it gets underway, always encouraging her to ask questions and gain more information about her own health.

These are some instances of the ways in which women activists have used the teachings of Self-Help to

challenge the ethos of the medical establishment and shake up the rigid doctor-patient relationship. Others, like Sue Reverby of Health-PAC, believe that activist energy should focus not on the doctor-patient relationship but on the institutions that control the health system. "I'm more interested in how clinics function," she says, "than in the relationship between the middle-class woman and her gynecologist." Reverby, who feels that "self-help on a limited scale will probably be absorbed by the health system," also believes that "there is a difference between control over knowledge and technology and the power to control policy making." "As the New York abortion experience has shown," she notes, "women paramedics and nurses in abortion clinics do not by any means assure quality care or women's control."

The kinds of actions blessed by Reverby and Health-PAC are struggles where women activists pressure the existing health system for the quality care which they know should be theirs but which has been denied them for so long. These efforts toward institutional reform include pressuring hospitals, drug companies, and malpracticing doctors; urging more women to enter the health labor force; and encouraging those in the labor force already to agitate from within. A couple of years ago, for instance, women staged a sit-in at Fordham Hospital in the Bronx to demand the immediate return of slides from a pap smear clinic held weeks earlier. Another recent example was a group formed in Chicago--Women Act to Control Healthcare (WATCH) which has been struggling to keep open the Chicago Maternity Center, a home delivery service and the only 24-hour obstetrics emergency service in all of Chicago.

Even Carol Downer seems to be shifting her emphasis slightly. At a recent conference to organize a comprehensive health plan to be called Community Health Incorporated, Downer attended as a representative on behalf of women's interests. Not necessarily any less convinced that happiness is knowing your own cervix, Downer seems to be building on Self-Help energy and starting to spread the happiness around a little. ■

#### CHILE (From page 28)

all forms of domination and exploitation. Freedom and respect were won in massive confrontations and through years of struggle and study; it is inconceivable that the workers will passively return to the old patterns of subservience and domination. They have experienced freedom and it is likely they will return to capitalism at the end of a bayonet. The industrial proletariat formed the core of socialist politics, but it was not alone. Several hundred thousand unionized peasants and rural workers allied themselves with the Left and provided active support, though their capacity for political mobilization was somewhat more limited. Lastly, there were the *pobladores*, the slum settlers, the urban poor—a large and heterogeneous stratum which was badly mauled by inflation and shortages. Despite the bitterness of empty promises and government vacillation, they were loyal to the revolutionary Left, awaiting the promises of the future.

On the other side of the barricades stood the upper classes and their many allies among the petit-bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat. Among these amorphous social forces, the truck owners showed themselves to be the most combative and effective. Doctors and dentists were on strike almost continually throughout the year. Nearly all the established "professional" associations had become full-time political vehicles for right-wing politics; lawyers, doctors, dentists and agronomists passed a series of political resolutions up to and including calls for the resignation of the Government. In a state of hysteria and impotence, the doctors expelled Allende from the medical association. In the hospitals of the poor, emergency wards were unattended; women in childbirth, children and old people suffered without medical care; but for the doctors, the defense of their class privilege had priority. All the clap-trap about professional ethics evaporated; what remained was the insolent and gratuitous sneer: "Let the workers go to their Socialist ministers for a cure." Probably the most dangerous classes in Chile were the dispossessed, but physically present and politically active, ex-landowners, ex-industrialists,

## PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

THIS IS ITTHONY 5:30PM DST JD

TO: MR. H.S. GENEEN—INTEL BRUSSELS  
FROM: E.J. GERRITY  
DATE: SEPT 29, 1970

CC F.J. DUNLEAVY—INTEL BRUSSELS  
GUILFOYLE—ITTHONY  
MERRIAM—ITT WASHINGTON

SUBSEQUENT TO YOUR CALL YESTERDAY I HEARD FROM WASHINGTON AND A REPRESENTATIVE CALLED ON ME THIS MORNING. HE WAS THE SAME MAN YOU MET WITH MERRIAM SOME WEEKS AGO. WE DISCUSSED THE SITUATION IN DETAIL AND HE MADE SUGGESTIONS BASED ON RECOMMENDATIONS FROM OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SCENE AND ANALYSIS IN WASHINGTON. THE IDEA PRESENTED, AND WITH WHICH I DO NOT NECESSARILY AGREE, IS TO APPLY ECONOMIC PRESSURE. THE SUGGESTIONS FOLLOW:

1. BANKS SHOULD NOT RENEW CREDITS OR SHOULD DELAY IN DOING SO.
2. COMPANIES SHOULD DRAG THEIR FEET IN SENDING MONEY, IN MAKING DELIVERIES, IN SHIPPING SPARE PARTS, ETC.
3. SAVINGS AND LOANS COMPANIES THERE ARE IN TROUBLE IF PRESSURE WERE APPLIED THEY WOULD HAVE TO SHUT THEIR DOORS, THEREBY CREATING STRONGER PRESSURE.
4. WE SHOULD WITHDRAW ALL TECHNICAL HELP AND SHOULD NOT PROMISE ANY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN THE FUTURE.
5. A LIST OF COMPANIES WAS PROVIDED AND IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT WE APPROACH THEM AS INDICATED. I WAS TOLD THAT OF ALL THE COMPANIES INVOLVED OURS ALONE HAD BEEN RESPONSIVE AND UNDERSTOOD THE PROBLEM.

ex-lawyers for U.S. corporations, etc.—all of whom felt they had nothing to lose and were willing to risk anything, to support any adventure, to recover their property. This stratum provided recruits for the fascist terrorist groups and were probably the warmest advocates of "Plan Jakarta"—physical annihilation of several thousand militants subsequent to a coup.

The depth and pervasiveness of class polarization divided the Church and, to a lesser extent, the Army. There were no "purely professional or non-political organizations in Chile. In the Church hierarchy there were approximately one hundred supporters of "Christians for Socialism" while one the other side, rightist priests were led by one Raul Hasbun, who directed ultra right-wing propaganda over the Catholic University television station. In the middle stood the Cardinal, attempting the impossible—to mediate and reconcile the conflicting forces. In a July exhortation to all Catholics, the Episcopal Council pleaded with both sides to avoid civil war, transform Chile into a modern and progressive society with justice for the poor through profound social change—all through dialogue and prayer.

In the Armed Forces, horizontal divisions replaced vertical ones as class divisions in society became more salient. These divisions were blunted, however, by the incapacity of the Government to offer support and encour-

agement to the enlisted men who remained loyal. The great majority of Navy and Air Force officers supported the coup against the Government. Largely drawn from the urban middle class, many were willing to tolerate nationalist and agrarian changes but shifted to the right along with their civilian counterparts as the process deepened. Prior to the coup, many officers met frequently with U.S. military advisers in Chile, openly expressing their hostility to the Government and their desire for its demise. Not surprisingly, under the cover of these private house gatherings, U.S. military officials encouraged their Chilean counterparts to act. No doubt the State Department's reported promise to a former official of the Frei Government of hundreds of millions of dollars of direct aid to a Frei-led Government subsequent to a coup, served to convince recalcitrant Air Force officers of the inefficiency of socialism.

Many enlisted men, sons of the popular classes, were against the coup—because of the improvements that accrued to their class of origin as well as the numerous benefits which the Allende government bestowed on the military. Yet the Government worked instead with their officers, men of the Right, without making any effort to link the workers with the ordinary soldiers. Indeed, during the early part of 1973, the generals were still divided between loyalists (about 40 percent for Allende) and putschists (about 60 percent) allied with the Right or in opposition to all political parties. By the end of August, however, the putschists clearly gained the upper hand, forcing the resignation of three loyalists (Prats, Pickering and Sepulveda), and thus further homogenizing the leadership of the Army General Staff in preparation for a coup. The coup was delayed mainly because there was considerable uncertainty among the generals about the degree of support for such a move among conscripts and enlisted men.

While the Armed Forces were deeply divided, the prospects for a successful rightist coup were dim. The Right instead relied on terrorism, combined with pressure inside the military, in attempting to force the Government to resign. The greatest fear among

prudent putschists was that the loyalist sectors of the Army would have sufficient support to arm the workers and turn the coup into a civil war, one which the Left could very well win. The right-wing military waited until it had purged its internal opposition before initiating action on more favorable terrain: a unified army against unarmed workers.

The class polarization also deeply affected the Chilean intelligentsia, a group which, in previous periods, commonly expressed concern for the poor and protested against injustice. But by the end of the Government's third year, university professors and even the majority of students allied themselves against the egalitarian aspirations of the working class. Three-fifths of the professors, and over half of the students, elected the anti-government rector of the University of Chile. Over 90 percent of the students are from the middle class; they provided the bodies for the downtown demonstrations, as well as joining ultra-right wing groups. As in Cuba in 1960, and Russia in October 1917, the "idealistic" students suddenly discovered the incompatibility of their class aspirations and a popular revolution.

The "progressive" intellectuals—those who voted for the Left in 1970—were disoriented by the intensity of the struggle, appalled and exhausted by the shortages, and uncertain of the role they should assume. "The workers don't need us, they act for themselves," were the words of a sociologist. Immersed in their own day-to-day personal problems, they played a marginal role in the workers' struggle. Only a small core of revolutionary intellectuals, and a minority of students, actively participated in the process through disciplined parties and in the day-to-day preparations to resist the coup—recognizing their role as auxiliaries to the workers' organizations.

[SMASHING THE DEMOCRATIC MYTH]

When Allende was elected in September 1970, a considerable amount of discussion and debate focused on the possibility of Chile following a distinct path toward the construction of socialism; the image projected was of a peaceful

transformation of the old structures, utilizing or modifying the existing legal, administrative, military and political institutions. Chile's parliamentary tradition was cited, along with its supposedly non-political professional army, as providing a basis for such peaceful change.

But Chile's parliamentary system was always profoundly anti-democratic. The elected bodies always clearly represented the interests of the ruling classes, while for decades excluding the majority of the lower class from meaningful political participation. This became even more true after 1970, as the system attempted to block any efforts by the working class and peasants to create democratic institutions that reflected their class interests. Congress and the courts were the staunchest opponents of any changes which could have the *cordones* or *comandos* assume any effective legislative power.

The myth of Chilean democracy was also a crucial assumption of Allende's Popular Unity Government. The strategy behind Allende's leadership was that the transition to socialism would be an incremental process; having acquired "part" of the government, the Left through time would gradually gain the other portion and eventually transform governmental office into social power. Unfortunately the historical experience in Chile showed otherwise; even before the coup the peaceful and legal transition to socialism had been brought to a stop. Every institutional road was blocked by the legal and illegal measures adopted by the opposition. The only radical transformations that occurred in the last year were the result of the independent activities of the working class outside of the Government, and in a few instances against the explicit directives of the Popular Unity leadership. For example, almost three-fourths of the industrial firms in the private sector were expropriated because of workers' initiatives, enterprises which the Government had no intention of nationalizing and which at one point Allende and the Communists tried to return to their previous owners—unsuccessfully, because the workers would have none of it.

As a result of the Government's incapacity to meet the obstructionist and illegal challenges of the Right, or

the demands of the workers, during the past several months governmental authority sharply declined. Right-wing and working-class actions increasingly defined new areas of power. The Christian Democrats, who a year ago pretended to oppose a military takeover, were insisting the Government be replaced by military officers. Senator Frei, the U.S.'s man in Santiago, refused to criticize the military putsch of June 29, or the continuing rightist terror, while his party's paper appealed to the most retrograde prejudices of the petit-bourgeoisie; on the editorial page of *La Prensa* appeared an article decrying the takeover of Chile by a "Jewish-Communist cell!"

Defying every Government decree, the Christian Democrats and their right-wing allies in the National Party and Patria y Libertad were seeking to assemble a parallel government while goading the military to seize power. In anticipation of September 11, a National Party congressman publicly acknowledged shooting at demonstrators outside of Congress, justifying his action as necessary to defend himself against "Communist dogs." The bourgeoisie openly defied all existing laws which did not suit their interest, all in the name of liberty and democracy. The workers, on the other hand, moved ahead and expropriated factories, attempted to organize themselves for defense, and rejected judicial decisions by bourgeois jurists. The same jurists who freed right-wing bombers and jailed peasant demonstrators were described in the U.S. press as an independent judiciary.

Within the industrial belts, the functioning of workers' defense committees and distributive networks were singularly hampered by the Government's unwillingness to accept a general rationing scheme administered from below. The Chilean workers were aware of the fact that all the expensive restaurants were full of middle-class patrons stuffing themselves with meat and chicken and pisco sours, while they in turn waited in line in hopes of obtaining a bone for soup. The workers' support of Allende was conditional and critical; but lacking any clear revolutionary alternative they pushed ahead, hoping he would rectify his course before it was too late. Despite misgivings about the Govern-



"The Senator from Washington, D.C."

ment, workers had no illusions what its overthrow would mean. They had already witnessed the barbarous treatment meted out by rightist military officers supposedly searching for arms caches in the factories.

#### [TIME RUNS OUT]

In the day-to-day struggles in the barracks, factories and fields, each side tried to gain tactical victories, accumulating forces which would weaken the other side. Each side attempted to impose its own definitive solution to the question of political hegemony; and in the process, each side could have been capable of paralyzing the economy and society. In the middle stood Allende, desperately trying to finish his term of office, appealing first for negotiations with the enemy, and then turning to the workers to defend him against the violent threats of precisely the same people with whom he had proposed a settlement the day before. The institutional noose fastened around Allende's neck by the combined political-military opposition was tightened every day.

First, a *Ley de control de armas* (arms control law) was passed, purportedly to disarm "all" armed groups. Administered by the Army, it resulted in massive searches and raids of factories; workers were herded out in the most humiliating and insulting fashion. Though arms were seldom found, the generals made their point to the workers about what they could expect after



a *golpe*. These operations with helicopters and blocked roads were clearly preparations, simulations of a real military takeover.

Throughout July and August, Navy commanders harangued enlisted men against the Government, and then proceeded to arrest those individuals who objected for being "insubordinate." Brazilian-style tortures, such as the forced ingestion of human excrement, were applied to enlisted men who had not responded with enthusiasm to the idea of a coup, to force them to admit that they were plotting subversive action. Meanwhile, to facilitate a harmonious takeover, the Navy officers were purging all anti-coup conscripts and enlisted men, as well as leftist factory workers in munition factories.

In the third instance, the right-wing generals exacted sufficient pressure to oust non-socialist but loyalist General Carlos Prats. Allende, faced with the choice of retiring six rightist Generals and perhaps facing an open military confrontation, or accepting the resignation of Prats, chose the latter. But so doing, he surrounded himself with even more conservative forces, and destroyed one of the few chances the Left had of leading a successful military struggle against the Right.

Along with the attacks on the workers, enlisted men, and loyalist generals, fascist groups stepped up their terrorist assaults against the small number of shopkeepers and truck and bus drivers wanting to go about their business. Workers' leaders such as Oscar Balboa, leader of non-striking truckers, were ruthlessly assassinated, and scores of quietly heroic bus drivers were stoned and shot as they tried to complete their runs. But the Government was unable to offer adequate armed protection, especially with generals sitting in the Cabinet, clandestinely plotting the Government's overthrow.

It was not legality, nor Chile's "democratic tradition," nor Allende's adroitness which restrained for a time the civilian and military *golpistas* from achieving their ends. They were acutely aware of the workers' organizations, their capacity for mobilization, their willingness to fight; they knew, too, that some workers were armed. They

were aware of the divisions in their own ranks; they had heard the enlisted men whisper that, "He is the best President we've ever had . . ." And the military officials must have already calculated the costs of the destructive civil war they knew that a *golpe* could provoke. In a textile factory, a young apprentice, a militant socialist, put it nicely: "The military may take over the government, but they can't run the factories—we'd blow them up first."

But time ran out. The petit-bourgeois violently resisted the expansion of workers' power, the socialization of the economy, the proletarianization of the country. The workers were tired of the black market, the shortages and exorbitant prices, the terrorist attacks. As one worker put it, "We lack bread, oil and revolution. We can do without bread and oil, but not without revolution." For many the uncertainty became unbearable; the time came for a definitive answer, and it came from the Right.

What will happen in the coming days and weeks? It is hard to believe that the workers will meekly submit to the dictatorship after having tasted a bit of dignity and freedom. But without massive arming of the working class, which can only come from sectors of the Army defecting to the workers' cause, there will be no civil war, only a massacre in the event of a mass uprising. If the workers are armed, they will fight. If not, the struggle will turn into a massive resistance—strikes, stoppages, and slowdowns in all spheres of production, and emergence of armed groups.

The military has shattered forever the peaceful democratic illusions of the Allende Socialists and the Communist Party. The revolutionary Left, MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), MAPU, and the militant wing of the Socialist Party will prepare the armed underground resistance. The struggle will continue with new leaders and new strategies. And in the wings, waiting for the military to finish with the bloodletting, is the mastermind of the whole sordid affair—Eduardo Frei. In due time, there will be "elections" to put him back in power—"democratically." His U.S. mentors will provide the emergency funds to "reconstruct" the society that he did so much to destroy. ■


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