

HARBINGER

"Something that comes before to give an indication of what is to follow"

Welcome To Lake Monticello

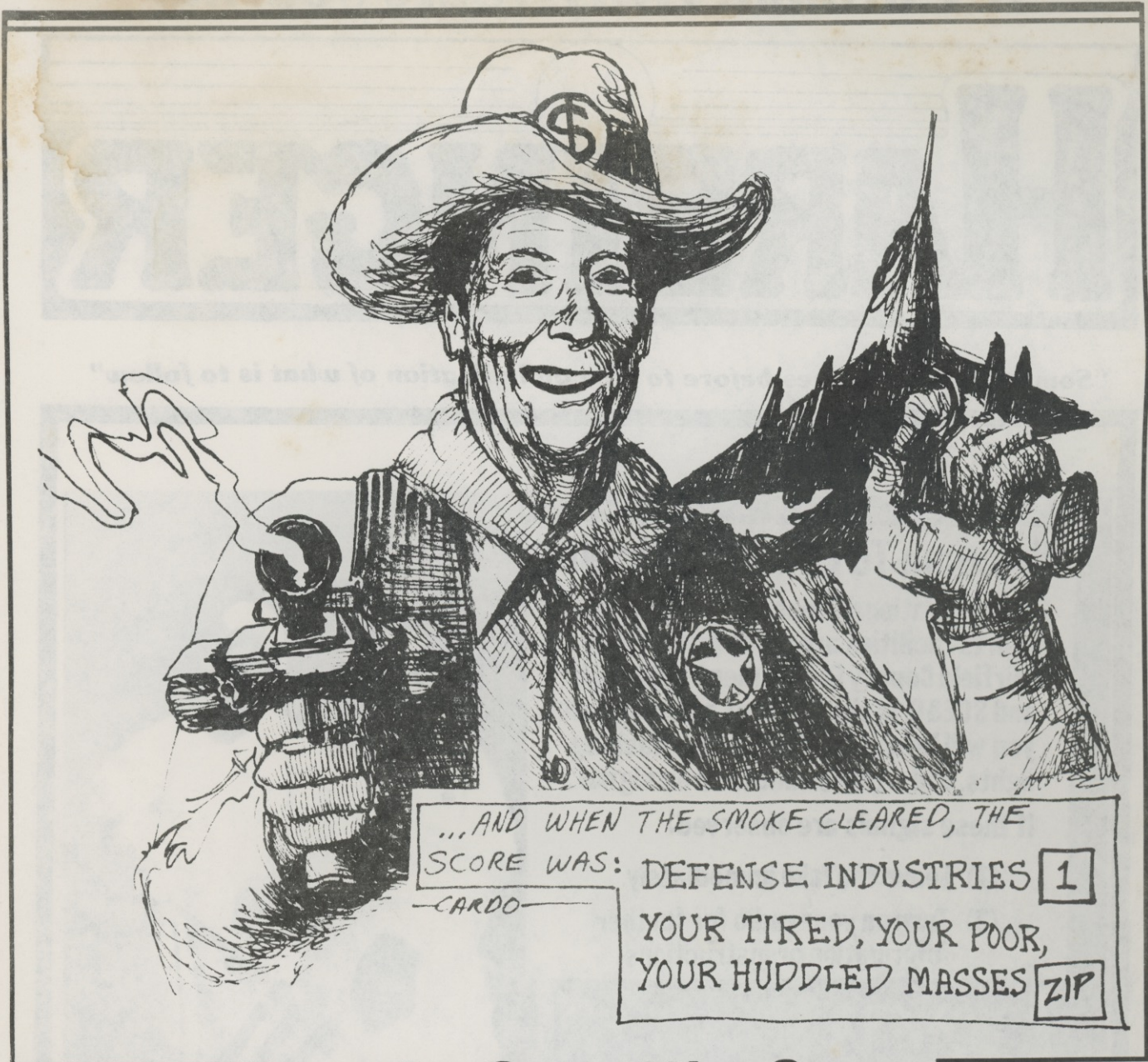
The recreational areas, and various land sports facilities are made possible by Fairfield County Government Agencies, and SCE&G. In the event of an emergency, you will be notified by flares, flashing lights, and a three minute siren signal.

If these signals are observed:

- (1) Leave the lake immediately.**
- (2) Turn on your radio for further information or instructions.**



Nuclear Family Moves to Columbia



Ronnie Gets His Guns

Ronnie has got his guns--a \$222 billion grab bag of exotic hardware, acronym-filled readiness programs and fat pay raises.

The rest of the nation got the shaft--a \$36 billion cut in social programs, poverty programs and art programs.

Ray Gun's healthy \$32.6 billion boost in defense spending comes on the heels of Carter's last \$15 billion boost to the defense establishment. Ronnie's cuts in social programs follow a Carter trimming of \$15 billion overall.

Ray Gun's Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, long known as a fiscal conservative, made a complete about face when he took over the reins of the military and

gained a budget projected to cost \$1.3 trillion over the next five years. One Pentagon official quipped Weinberger's nickname should be changed from "Cap the Knife" to "Cap the Shovel."

The new budget largesse will give the sabre rattlers the largest chunk of the budget; nearly 56 percent. In keeping with conservative economic theory this money will "trickle down" to the needy--corporations like Martin-Marietta, IBM, Boeing and Lockheed.

One of the star pieces of hardware is sure to be the revived neutron bomb, which carries a price tag of more than \$2 billion. South Carolina residents should be

happy to learn a lot of the money will be going to our very own Jim "Tooth Fairy" Edwards' Department of Energy. Some will trickle down to Rockwell International. The price tag for the bomb does not include an estimated \$32 billion for refurbishing the Savannah River Plant to produce the tritium needed for the bomb.

Shades of B-1--the budget includes \$2.4 billion to build a new manned bomber to replace the cancelled B-1. Again the figure doesn't tell the whole story. The proposed B-1 bore a price tag of \$92 billion. The Reagan budget includes only "development" funds at this time. The total price tag is anybody's guess.

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Harbinger

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Elton Manzione Lynn Manzione

Brett Bursey

Harbinger is a non-profit, educational corporation. Our offices are at 18 Bluff Road, Columbia, South Carolina, 29201. We welcome your comments and criticisms.

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HOOF 'N MOUTH



Editor's note: Hoof in Mouth will be a regular feature of *Harbinger* bringing you quotes from the great and not so great and presenting things they said and perhaps wished they hadn't.

"We've stopped looking at our warts."
Ronald Reagan on the new sentiment allegedly sweeping the country in favor of a strong military.

"The people have no rights."
Budget Director David Stockman on the rights of citizens enrolled in federal aid programs.

"We both believe in God."
Secretary of State Alexander "I'm in Charge Here" Haig on what the U.S. has in common with the Argentine military government which is suspected of murdering some 15,000 civilians.

"Remember I never set out to be in politics. It took a lot to get back into politics this time, and it would take a lot to get me in again."

U.S. Secretary of Energy James "Tooth Fairy" Edwards.

"If I hadn't seen my name on it I wouldn't have known it was about me."

Senator Strom Thurmond commenting on an article by David Bruck reviewing Thurmond's death sentences handed down when he was a judge.

"We need to protect those countries with clean water and working mothers."
Columnist William Safire on the U.S. vote opposing restrictions by the World Health Organization on marketing of baby food formula in Third World countries.

"Anybody who knows me at all knows I am not for sale or rent."

Ernest W. Lefever, Reagan's appointee on human rights when questioned about a \$25,000 contribution received by Lefever's policy center from Nestle Corporation just prior to the center's issuance of a pamphlet supporting sales of infant formula in Third World countries.

"The state owns the water to begin with, why should we have to pay to buy it back."

Director of General Service Michael Copeland protesting the raising of city water rates for water supplied to state agencies.



Photo by Chico

Dread And Alive

Reggae artist Peter Tosh brought the spirit and determination of struggling third world people to South Carolina Saturday, August 1, when he performed with his band Words, Sound and Power at Charleston's Guillard Memorial Auditorium.

The Rastafarian's appearance, long-awaited in the state, was the only S.C. appearance in his 52 city American tour.

Tosh performed such songs as "Get Up, Stand Up" (co-written with Bob Marley), "Equal Rights", "Bush Doctor" and songs from his new album *Wanted: Dread and Alive*.

Observers at the concert expressed belief that Tosh may be the one to fill the shoes of Bob Marley, who died last May.

Reggae music continues to reflect strongly the political and social themes common among oppressed people. The Rastafarians of Jamaica have long asserted that Western Civilization will fall because it is dishonest and deceptive. Reggae lyrics are an assault on what they consider a crumbling structure and a call to unite.

Bonzo Plot

Harbinger has learned of a two decade old plot in which a former co-star in one of Ronald Reagan's early movies was shot to death shortly before the actor-turned politician began his rise in politics.

An investigation has determined the co-star was killed after developing a strange disease shortly after appearing in a box office smash with Reagan. The co-star Judy (aka Cheeta, aka Bonzo) reportedly developed a disease known as rabies in animals (sometimes called right-wingism in humans) shortly after appearing with Reagan.

In an effort to keep the strange development under wraps and to prevent spread of the disease the entity most noted for Reagan's rise to his current high position was put to death.

Washington insiders, however, speculate the effort to halt the spread of the disease may have been futile and point to recent Reagan policy decisions as indicative of the progressive brain deterioration often associated with the ailment.



P.ass T.hy L.oot

Letters

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor:

Federal Judge Charles Earl Simons' extravagant show of indignation over the federal prosecutor's abrupt retreat from the flimsy and ill-conceived case against activist Brett Bursey is an astonishing exposure of judicial bias in a supposed impersonal system of justice.

This customarily cool and clever actor in his judicial role and robes completely lost his cool at being denied the red meat snatched from his maw and paw.

Bursey's sudden release from federal prosecution, although cause for rejoicing, should not obscure the fact that the indictment was a penal action from its origin. It may be presumed that the decision to quash the indictment stemmed primarily from the risk of public exposure of its tawdriest aspects that a trial would have brought about.

As for Judge Simons, the affair seems a clear example of the difference between a sitting judge and a hanging judge.

L. C. Bryan II
(Federal Retiree)

Echoing a phrase made famous by his mentor Richard Nixon in 1972, PTL (aka Praise the Lord) head Jim Bakker replied "I am not a crook" when informed the Federal Commission had evidence that the evangelical organization had delayed or diverted hundreds of thousands of dollars slated for foreign religious projects.

Bakker, who hustles millions per year through broadcasts on more than 500 stations, is suspected of diverting or delaying more than \$700 thousand in donations made to expand his religious crusades into South America.

Documents and testimony indicate that between 1977 and 1979, PTL took more than \$271,000 raised for religious broadcasts in Korea and used it to pay bills at the Charlotte headquarters.

Three former PTL vice presidents testified that much of the money was used to build the partially finished Total Living Center, a \$100 million Christian retreat in York County.

Bill Perkins, a former PTL vice president said he told the FCC, people were sending money to Bakker to be used in missionary work. "What we were really doing was

raising money for missions and using that money for the Total Living Center "

Bakker denied commitments of \$450,000 to Brazil and said he had never raised money for a Brazilian project over his TV network. The FCC, however, produced a videotape of a Bakker broadcast in which the miniscule minister sought money for the project's director Bob McAllister

The FCC is also investigating a six month period during which the PTL Club failed to keep track of where contributions were supposed to go and instead deposited the money in a general fund.

Former PTL vice president Jim Moss summed up the situation. "I think all the money went into the TLC, they just poured it down a rathole," Moss said.

Bakker has repeatedly tried to thwart FCC efforts on the grounds they interfere with the constitutional separation of church and state. The recent investigation, however, hinges on Bakker's application for a license to operate station WJAN in Canton, Ohio.

Reportedly Bakker's next sermon will be on the commandment "Thou shalt not steal."

We Wonder Why?

Irish Republican Army members fighting to overthrow British rule in 1980 Ireland are called terrorists, while Americans who fought to overthrow British rule in 1776 America are called patriots?

The Moral Majority thinks they really are?

Abortion is called murder by the same people who call the death penalty justice?

Abortion is called "freedom of choice" by the same people who call war a waste of young lives?

When Russia supplies countries with arms, money and men it's called "Soviet expansionism" but if the U.S. supplies countries with arms, men and money it's called "guarding our strategic interests?"

Proponents of nuclear power push it as a cheaper form of energy and then seek a rate hike to pay for the nuke plant?

When they're talking to the PSC about a rate hike SCE&G is on the verge of bankruptcy, but when they're talking to the NRC about their ability to run a nuclear plant they're in the chips and a model of financial stability?

If a woman's breast is caressed in a movie it gets an "R" rating, but if it's cut off with an axe the rating is "PG"?



Photo by Sue Bowman

HAIG IN 1984? Washington Anti-War Demonstration May 3.

Hypocritic Oath

A new doctor, first coming into the profession is administered the oath of Hypocrates, or the Hypocratic Oath. For years those less than fond of doctors have used the natural pun, based on the oath to indicate their dislike--the Hypocritic Oath. Recent actions by the American Medical Association's House of Representatives makes one wonder exactly what oath was taken, particularly by the delegates.

In an overwhelming voice vote the House rejected a call to have the association's investment in the tobacco industry halted. The battle boiled down to a test of power between newly graduated doctors and old-liners, with the entrenched powers winning out.

Dr Donald Winston of Houston, who represented the newly graduated doctors who proposed divestment, said tobacco represented "the No. 1 cause of preventable death and illness in the United States."

Old-liners, led by Dr Clair Conard of Dodge City, Kansas, said the move would lead to other efforts to force divestment of stocks on social grounds.

"At that time we could take all our money and bury it in the back yard," Conard said. The board voted, instead, to bury the money in their pockets and retain the tobacco stocks, while most doctors will return home to tell numerous patients to quit smoking because it's bad for their health. Coupled with the AMA's historic opposition to progressive health care measures, last month's vote indeed made "Hypocritic Oath" something less than a pun.

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Wheeler Hill

The scar that won't heal

By *ELTON MANZIONE*

For decades the Wheeler Hill community provided the state with black lawyers, educators, doctors, chemists and ministers. In the late sixties it was a close knit community of mostly poor black people. Many had lived on the Hill all their lives in ragged little shacks with rows of flowers in front. It wasn't much, but it was home to the 400 or so families living on the Hill. People were born, grew up and died right on the same hill.

But Wheeler Hill was in "Gamecock Country" as it were, sharing its border with the University of South Carolina. Wheeler Hill soon fell under the expansive eye of then USC president Thomas Jones and the rape of Wheeler Hill began. Today there is little on Wheeler Hill. A few slender scraggly trees and newly-paved winding streets stand out in stark contrast to the few older houses which still remain on the Hill. What happened to Wheeler Hill between 1965 and today is silent testimony to the outcome of situations which pit the wealthy and politically powerful against the poor and politically weak. It is the story of what has happened to many similar Columbia neighborhoods in the past decades.



Photo by Sue Bowman



Photo by Sue Bowman

Back in 1965 a strange hybrid appeared on the Columbia real estate scene. The Carolina Research and Development Foundation was formed in that year to buy and hold property for future University expansion. In the intervening 16 years a lot of people have been trying to figure out just exactly what CRD is and why it was formed.

Several persons have speculated the original purpose of CRD was to aid the University in avoiding the ceiling on bonded indebtedness. The ceiling, established by state law, would in effect slow the University's property acquisition by tying it directly to the amount of tuition received. The private, non-profit CRD would face no such limit.

Harold Brunton, vice-president for business affairs at the University, has said publically the foundation was established to alleviate the need for the University to use eminent domain, or condemnation, when it found it necessary to procure property. But Brunton, testifying in a court case, said CRD was founded to allow the University to procure property for which the University had no intended use and for which funds were not available directly to the University.

Although Brunton has steadfastly maintained the University and CRD are separate entities the curious relationship between the two tends to belie his contention.

Nearly half of CRD's board of directors are University personnel, including Brunton himself, C. Wallace Martin, vice-president for development, and Doug Fitzgerald, vice-president. The corporation, which has more than \$5 million in assets, has no office except for a few file drawers in Brunton's office and a file in Fitzgerald's office. If you want to call CRD, you dial Fitzgerald. If you want to write, the address of record is the University administration building.

In addition to Brunton and Fitzgerald, the CRD board has included: Francis M. Hipp, chairman of Liberty Life, James M. Hagood of First National Bank, David Robinson, a prominent Columbia attorney, Arthur Williams Jr., president of SCE&G,

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Jack Tobias, President and chairman of the board of Palmetto State Life Insurance Company, Dr William Weston, a Columbia physician and William Bruce, chairman of Seibels, Bruce and Company. In addition Willis Canty of C&S Bank, John Lumpkin of SCN and William Bruner of First National have all served on the CRD board.

In its formative years these associations proved invaluable to CRD in establishing a line of credit.

In 1968, when Hipp was on the board, Liberty Life loaned CRD \$376,000 for the purchase of Woodland Terrace Apartments when the foundation's only asset was a lease with the University on the apartments.

In 1969, when Hagood was on the board, the foundation received a \$250,000 unsecured low-interest loan from First National Bank. A few months later the bank again loaned the foundation money for the purchase of Senate Plaza.

Harbinger has learned the two loans from First National Bank were in probable violation of federal banking regulations governing loans made to "interests" of bank directors.

Harbinger has also obtained a copy of a letter from Attorney General Dan McLeod to Brunton, indicating the University loaned CRD funds which were derived from the University athletic department, canteen and campus shop under an unsecured loan agreement.

In the letter, McLeod stated although the funds were not considered "state funds" under law, their exclusion from the law was made mainly to allow the University to retain the funds for use in accordance with other state law.

"Although not 'state funds' the monies are public monies and are subject to such legislative directives as the General Assembly may provide," McLeod said.

Addressing the loans made by the University to CRD, McLeod said "the authority to loan public monies must be found in an authorizing statute and, in my opinion, there is no such statute with respect to the University."

Throughout the years of its existence CRD has also displayed a close relationship with the Columbia Housing Authority. David Robinson, the CRD director also acted as counsel for the Housing Authority, and was at one time its director and is generally considered the founder of the Authority.

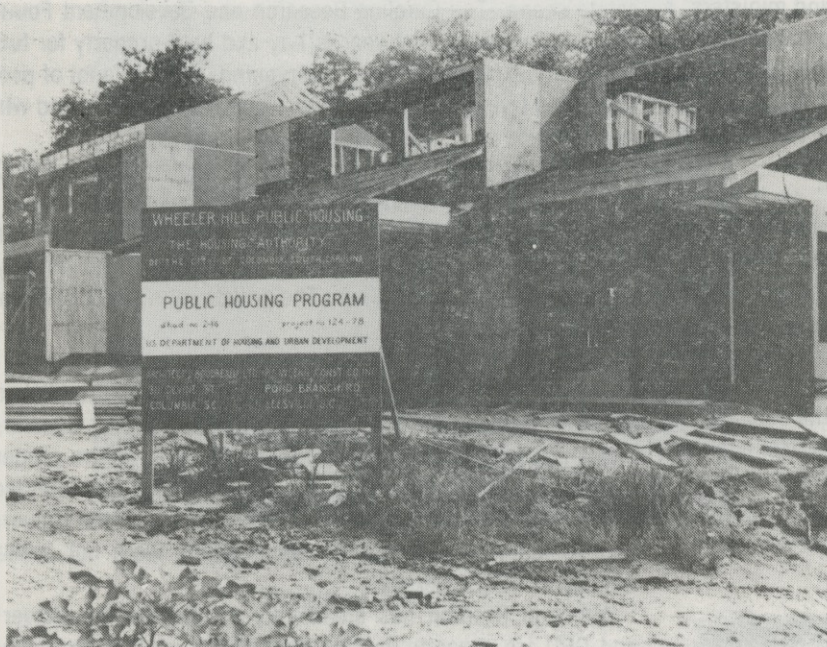


Photo by Sue Bowman

According to Charles Ruark of the Richmond office of the FDIC, federal regulations prohibit the "preferential treatment" of directors.

"The law is very specific when it comes to a bank dealing with its officers," Ruark said. Ruark explained federal law requires bank directors to meet the same criteria as any other borrower

Tom Looper, a state banking official, said there was no applicable state law, but agreed federal law would prohibit bank officers from getting preferential interest rates.

"I think an unsecured loan would probably be construed as a violation of the federal regulations," Looper said.

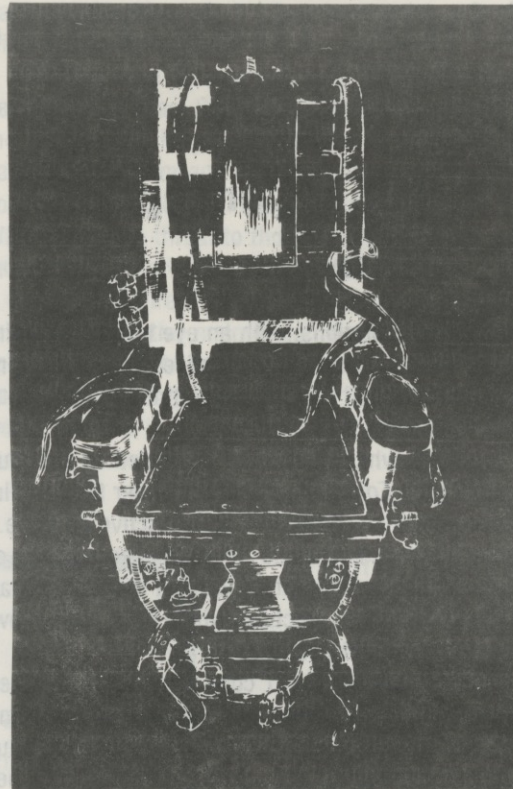
"CRD buys the land, evicts the tenants and then the University applies for Federal funds listing CRD as the owner and saying 'no one is being displaced.'"

C. Wallace Martin served as vice-president of the University, on the CRD board and was once the chairman of the Authority. Former Housing Authority chairman John Chase also served as a vice-president of USC.

Early Urban Renewal projects, of which the Authority was the administrator seem to display a particular affinity for the area around the University. Projects around Pickens Street, the Coliseum, the ETV Center and Wheeler Hill itself were all originally undertaken under the aegis of Urban Renewal. Several sources noted the University and the Housing Authority worked hand-in-glove on these projects. "The Housing Authority was a virtual agent for the University," one source noted.

Thurmond is the only U.S. Senator who has ordered people executed

Thurmond on Death



Graphic by Joe Byrnes

By DAVID I. BRUCK

The following article, an historical review of the death penalties imposed by Senator Strom Thurmond when he was a judge, was prepared by Columbia attorney David Bruck. The *Charlotte Observer* and *Washington Post* have both previously published the material.

The same cannot be said of Columbia newspapers, as both turned the article down. In an effort to keep local readers informed, not only of what their representative in Congress has "accomplished" but of what their local newspapers refuse to print, *Harbinger* presents the material in two parts.

Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina had resumed hearings on a bill to provide for a federal death penalty. It's a subject on which he claims special expertise, since he is probably the only member of Congress to have personally sentenced anyone to death. As he reminded an earlier session of the current death penalty hearings two weeks ago, Thurmond served as a state circuit judge in South Carolina between 1938 and 1946, and during that time he pronounced death sentences on four men, each of whom was duly executed.

The seventy-eight-year-old senator has referred to those death sentences very frequently in the past several months, beginning with his initial press conference as chairman-designate of the Judiciary Committee two days after last November's elections.

"I am convinced the death penalty is a deterrent to crime," he told a *U.S. News and World Report* interviewer last month. "As a circuit judge in South Carolina before World War II, I had to sentence four people to the electric chair. I did not make the decision; the jury made it. It was my duty to pass sentence, because the jury had found them guilty and did not recommend mercy. But if I had been on the jury, I would have arrived at the same decision in all four of those cases."

Thurmond hasn't said what it was about those four forty-year-old cases which has fixed them in his mind as examples of how we should be dealing with crime today. What follows pieced together from courthouse records, contemporary news accounts, and the memories of old lawyers and preachers in the small South Carolina towns where Judge Thurmond held court four decades ago, are the stories of those cases.

"I am convinced the death penalty is a deterrent to crime." - Thurmond

On a Saturday night a few days before Christmas, 1940, a young white woman was raped as she walked near her home in the coastal town of Georgetown, S.C. The next morning, sheriff's deputies arrested a black man named George Thomas on the street near his own house, just a few blocks away from the scene of the rape. A friend of his family ran to find Thomas' wife, who was already at her job as a maid in a white home nearby, and the two women hurried to the jail. There they found that a crowd of white men, armed with rifles and shotguns was already gathering outside and demanding that the sheriff turn

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VISTA: Under the gun

The days are gone when being a Volunteer in Service to America (VISTA) was considered an honorable occupation.

At one time joining the Peace Corps or VISTA (both arms of the federally funded ACTION program) was an indication of a person's desire to help low income people and break the poverty cycle, a goal worthy of respect. Now the government views VISTA volunteers with mistrust, if not outright paranoia. As the new administration whittles away at the carcass of the only federal social action program, VISTA volunteers are being hunted down and caged to keep them from accomplishing any of the goals for which the program was originally designed as part of Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty.

Now the government views VISTA volunteers with mistrust, if not outright paranoia.

The latest memo from national VISTA director Jim Burnley, headed "Project Responsibility for VISTA Volunteer Activities," reflects another milestone in moves to curtail the first amendment rights of government employees. The new commandment reads: "No sponsor shall approve the involvement of any VISTA volunteer assigned to them in planning, initiating, participating in, or otherwise aiding or assisting in any demonstration whatsoever."

Burnley adds that this step "is taken due to my decision that the manner in which VISTA volunteers perform their volunteer service should involve a cooperative rather than confrontational spirit."

Burnley cites budgetary restraints, including anticipated phase-out of the program, as the reasoning being his decision. "These circumstances dictate that VISTA projects which seek continuation be able to find local sources of funding; use of demonstrations will only antagonize impor-

tant elements of the community and make the accomplishment of the goal of continuation that much more difficult."

VISTA volunteers are already constrained by the Hatch Act from participation in partisan politics or lobbying. The new directive is, however, a step beyond, into the heart of first amendment rights.

One local project supervisor takes adamant exception to Burnley's order. "The lifeblood of a democracy is the freedom of vocal dissent. The constitution of our country not only protects protest against injustices or threats of inequality - those who wrote it recognized the vitalizing role of dissent in a society presuming to be free."

"Thomas Jefferson said, 'God forbid the tree of liberty even go twenty years without being refreshed by the blood of tyrants.' Ronald Reagan would put that man in jail!"

Just as the Reagan administration has redefined the "poor" to cut back on social services, so has it redefined the "solution to poverty." This directly affects the VISTA program. In ominous echoes of Big Brotherism, Burnley continues in his memo, "Furthermore, in pursuing the policy of the *new federalism* (emphasis added), it is important to recognize the limited role that any federal program...can properly play in a community."

...projects can no longer "organize" and hope to receive VISTA assistance.

VISTA's focus for years was community organizing - building community self reliance and developing local leadership. As ex ACTION-director Sam Brown put it, "The work of VISTA's 70,000 volunteers, past and present...has sustained and continues to nurture our belief that all people, even those at the margin of our society, can, if given some help and encouragement, 'rule themselves.'"

Requirements for projects now eligible for VISTA grants (until the program's expected demise in 1982) have been drastically changed. New directives from the top dictate that projects can no longer "organize" and hope to receive VISTA assistance. In fact, "organizing" has become a buzz word in VISTA circles, undesirable terminology.

A July 7 memorandum from Washington to Regional Directors, set the parameters for acceptable VISTA effort: "literacy, drug abuse, and runaway youth." A February 2 memo from Burnley to then Acting Director Larry Williams, sets guidelines for "sorting out the wheat from the chaff" in choosing sponsors. Particular notice is given to evaluating the "modus operandi of organizations receiving VISTA aid. "Organizations with a philosophy or pattern of 'confrontational' attacks on other segments of the community have little chance of eliciting the aid and support of many of the people who can best assist the poor in improving their lot in life."

A far cry from VISTA tradition. The fifteen year anniversary commemoration of VISTA, held June 13, 1980 at the John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts, was billed as "an evening of music and awards for exceptional service and work to end poverty in America." The ceremony included awards to individuals who had contributed in areas that the Reagan administration would certainly consider contrary to national interest or not worthy of budgetary attention, such as economic and civil rights, labor, and citizen activism.

continued on page 11



PALMETTO NUCLEAR REPORT
A Newsletter Of Palmetto Alliance, Inc.
2135 1/2 Devine Street
Columbia, S.C. 29205
803-254-8132

- You can present our speakers to your school, church group, or club.
- You can write letters to editors, government officials, and your representatives.
- You can make a donation to the cause of protecting our state from the dangers of nuclear waste. Donations to PAI are tax deductible.
- You can join PAI. Annual dues are \$10. Send us your name and address.

Special honor was given such organizers of the past as Woody Guthrie, Martin Luther King, Jr, Saul Alinsky, Michael Harrington, Bill Worthington, Congressman Carl Perkins, and John Lewis.

VISTA can look back on an active and activist-oriented fifteen years. Volunteers have helped form block clubs, tenants unions, food, farm and crafts cooperatives across the country; VISTA lawyers and paralegals have helped enforce housing codes and introduced innovations such as release-on-recognition which work to the benefit of low-income people; thousands of people have received basic medical ser-

vices for the first time through volunteers' efforts; day care centers and adult education programs have come to migrant workers, to isolated areas of Appalachia, to Native American reservations; low-income communities nationwide have organized themselves into self help associations with volunteers' help.

According to ex VISTA-director Sam Brown, VISTA volunteers over the past fifteen years have demonstrated their ability to mobilize resources far beyond the cost of their training and placement. The average cost per volunteer has been \$5,700 per year, while the average amount each volunteer mobilizes in terms of funds and services is more than \$26,500.

Birth in Johnson's War on Poverty. Death in Reagan's War on the Poor.

It seems that Reagan fears most the possibility of low income people being organized enough to know that they can participate in the political process and can actually yank power from the hands of the abusers if they realize their own strength.

Given his platform, the Reagan administration was bound to go after VISTA at some point. Birth in Johnson's War on Poverty. Death in Reagan's War on the Poor

As the local project supervisor put it, "VISTA was created to 'eliminate the root causes of poverty.' The corporate politics of the Reagan administration are inimical to the purpose of VISTA."

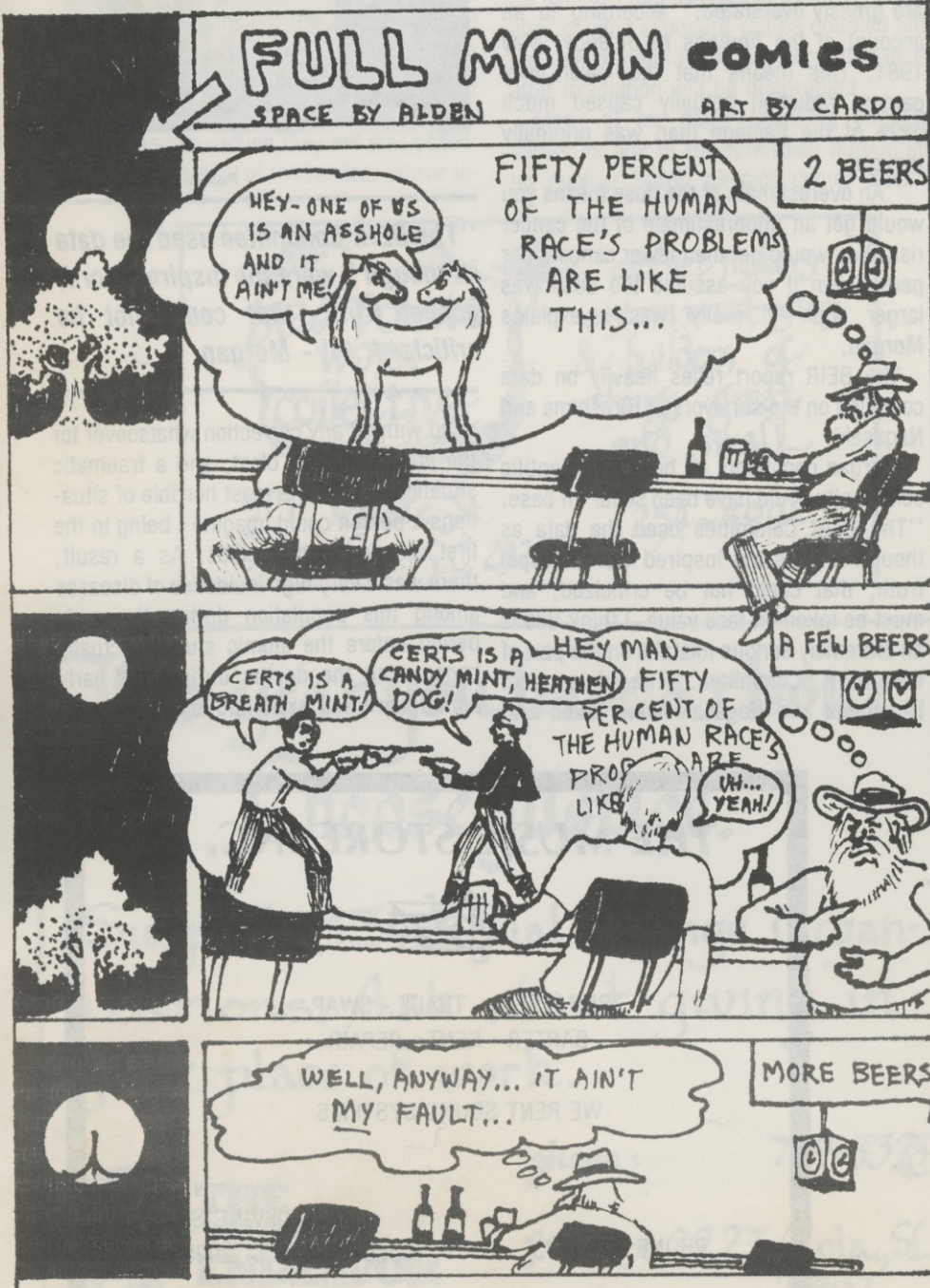
Extreme Court

President Reagan's nominee to the Supreme Court, Sandra O'Connor seems to have displayed an incredible lack of knowledge regarding the Constitution when she attempted to pass an anti-labor bill while serving in the Arizona legislature.

O'Connor backed a bill preventing unions from contributing to state election campaigns while she served as a state senator. The bill was not passed by the legislature, largely because her fellow lawmakers felt the bill was patently unconstitutional.

O'Connor's action on the bill was merely one episode in her largely anti-labor campaign. O'Connor has come under fire from farm labor leaders for her anti-labor stands during her tenure in the legislature. During that time O'Connor backed or sponsored several bills aimed at taking the steam out of organizing efforts being made in Arizona's citrus fruits growing industry.

O'Connor was particularly strong in her backing for a bill which would outlaw secondary boycotts and allow summary injunctions against harvest-time strikes. The bill was aimed at stopping a United Farm Workers organizing drive in the state.



Radiation Guidelines Proving Bogus

By SUE BOWMAN

Dr Karl Z. Morgan is far too dignified a man to jump up and down and shout 'I told you so.' But the most recent scientific data concerning radiation dose estimates reveal that he has every right to.

Acknowledged as one of the pioneers in the field of nuclear health physics, having worked for 30 years as Director of Health Physics at Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Morgan's opinion is always listened to, but often disagreed with, by the nuclear industry and governmental regulatory bodies. For years he has quietly but firmly criticized the radiation standards used by the government and industry as too low, endangering workers and the public. For years he has quietly and gracefully taken the brunt of zealous counterattacks from industry-sponsored scientists. And now he sits and talks quietly and seriously about the new research conducted by physicists at the Lawrence Livermore weapons laboratory in California which suggest that the risk of radiation health effects has been understated and that fifteen years of research may have been in error.

"Some new information has come to light which I think would cause the vast majority of the scientific committee to agree with me that the whole study of the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki must be gone over very carefully by an impartial group."

Major documents on which radiation standards have been based will have to be completely rewritten.

These findings, which reveal a miscalculation of the dose received by survivors of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, could radically alter some basic assumptions about radiation risk. Major documents on which radiation standards have been based will have to be completely

rewritten. Most notable of these is the work of the Committee on the Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation (the BEIR report), the last edition published in 1980 by the National Academy of Sciences. The BEIR report has, since 1972, been the cornerstone of the pro-nuclear argument on health effects.

What happened? Livermore physicists William Loewe and Edgar Mendelsohn last year used a computer to reconstruct the two explosions that devastated the Japanese cities. Another group of scientists have joined in to check their results. All agree that "the accepted figures for high LET (neutron) radiation at Hiroshima are grossly overstated," according to an account of the findings in *Science*, May 1981. This means that the lower level gamma radiation actually caused much more of the damage than was originally thought.

"An overestimate of the dose means you would get an underestimate of the cancer risk. You would get then fewer cancers per person-rem if you assume the dose was larger than it really was," explains Morgan.

The BEIR report relies heavily on data compiled on the survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Morgan comments on how the scientific community could have been so far off base. "The BEIR Committee used the data as though it were the inspired word, gospel truth, that could not be criticized, and must be taken on face value. I think this is an extremely serious mistake on the part of the BEIR Committee. The data from Hiroshima and Nagasaki were taken and

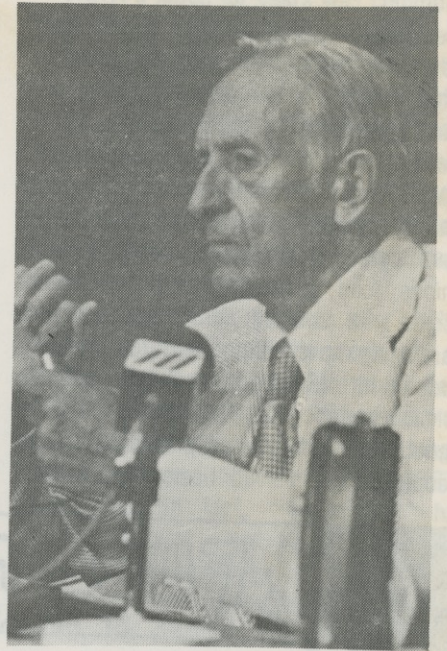


Photo by Michael Lowe

"The BEIR Committee used the data as though it were the inspired word, gospel truth, that could not be criticized..." - Morgan

used without any correction whatsoever for the effects of fire, blast, and a traumatic situation, one of the most horrible of situations a person could imagine - being in the first atomic-bombed cities. As a result, there was a very high incidence of diseases among this population during the early period before the atomic studies actually began, and the deaths during this early period were not taken into account."

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Radiation...

The BEIR report has long been beleaguered by attacks from within and without the scientific committee that compiled it. Even in its final published form the Academy of Sciences was compelled to include in appendices the dissenting opinions of Committee Chairman, Edward Radford, epidemiologist at the University of Pittsburgh, and Harold Rossi, biophysicist at Columbia University. Radford argued that the risk estimates in the final report were not high enough; Rosse claimed they were too high.

As Morgan notes, "Some members of the BEIR Committee, and presumably the supporting agency, the Academy of Sciences, were so anxious to make this data tie in with the animal studies, they were so anxious to come out with a risk which was low, which they felt was essential for the viability of the nuclear power in-

dustry, that they published the report in its present form and were forced into the embarrassing position of having two minority opinions expressed in the report, one of which now has no basis of substantiation, namely the minor opinion of Dr Rossi, that the risk is negligible at low doses. Now it would appear that the risk is greater than the BEIR report would suggest."

Rossi is slow to chew up and spit out his earlier position, asserting that he does not expect to alter his general view that the hazards of radiation are exaggerated. Radford says the new Hiroshima data will "vindicate his position and invalidate Rossi's," according to the *Science* article. He believes that the risk of dying of cancer after gamma exposure will be doubled and the risk of contracting any form of cancer after irradiation will be quadrupled.

Many of his major speaking engagements as one of the fore-most authorities on nuclear health physics center around


Many of the assumptions on which the BEIR report was based would have been challenged earlier, had more information been declassified at an earlier date.

what the new findings will mean to the nuclear industry.

The impact of this research will be slow in sifting to a grassroots level understanding of what radiation will do to people, just as the information has taken this long to be evaluated and come out. Many of the assumptions on which the BEIR report was based would have been challenged earlier had more information been declassified at an earlier date. Loewe himself decided to start the project mainly because he was concerned about the potency of neutron radiation because he and other scientists at Livermore are frequently exposed to this kind of radiation.

Another problem is that neither the government agencies regulating the nuclear industry nor the industry itself has an interest in discovering this kind of disconcerting information and consequently have not been inclined to fund such research. In fact, it is an embarrassment to the Defense Nuclear Agency, which is funding a group of scientists whose work at Oak Ridge may confirm the new dose estimates.

A physicist at the DNA, David Auton, admits, "The implications are far reaching for health regulation and nuclear power in this country in general."



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Fall Back And Pray

By SUE BOWMAN

With over a billion spent at the ratepayers' expense and thousands of pounds of paper heaped upon the desks of the parties involved, the Virgil C. Summer nuclear station near Columbia is up for its operating licensing.

Atomic Safety and Licensing Board hearings for SCE&G's nuclear baby began June 22, ran two weeks, then reconvened July 13 for a week. An unresolved issue, emergency planning for the Class 9 accident (core melt) will result in continuation of the hearing this fall.

Carried over will be the question of whether or not the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board (ASLB) must consider the Class 9 accident in judging the adequacy of emergency plans, which are formulated by state and county agencies in close conjunction with SCE&G.

Precipitating the most heated discussion was the question of admitting the testimony of Dr Michio Kaku, nuclear physicist from the City College of New York.

Kaku was one of the first physicists on the site of the Three Mile Island accident and has developed expertise in theorizing and explaining the possible scenarios of a Class 9 accident. His testimony would include a conceptualization of the probable series of events following such an accident, events emergency personnel would have to confront.

Opposition to Kaku's testimony was strongest from the Nuclear Regulatory Commission staff attorney, "Fast Stevie" Goldberg, who said, "Essentially, what we are talking about here is the interface between the applicant station plans and the state and local plans. It has nothing to do with the ability to successfully implement the emergency plan."

Regulation requires that emergency/evacuation plans be developed for the area encompassed by the 10 mile radius from the plant. Goldberg hinged his argument

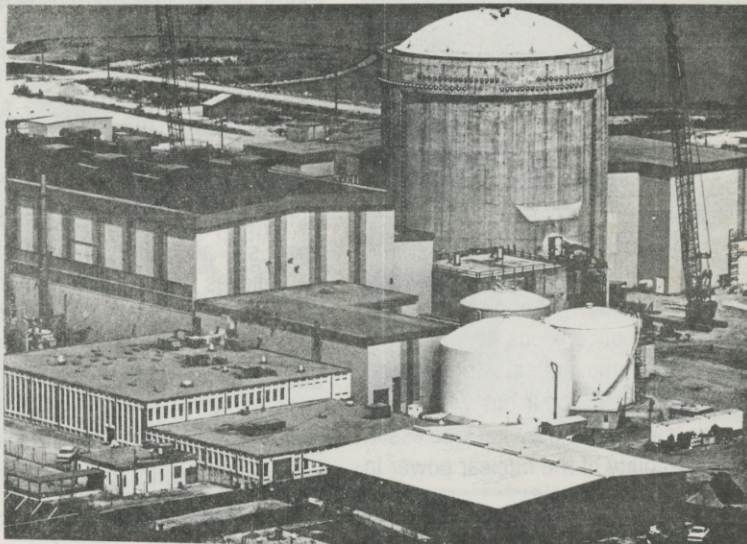


Photo courtesy SCE&G.

on this technicality, which he believed would exclude Kaku.

"I don't see how anyone could separate accident impacts from being adequately prepared to deal with them." - Intervenor Bursey

Intervenor Brett Bursey responded, "The intent of my original concern was obviously the adequacy of the protection of the public...I can't see how anyone could separate accident impacts from being adequately prepared to deal with them."

ASLB Judge Herbert Grossman refused to close the discussion. "...Couldn't the Board entertain that testimony only to the extent that it describes the nature of the radiological releases within...the approximate 10 mile zone and exclude the remainder of that as testimony because it conflicts with the regulations but nevertheless tests the emergency planning against the radiological releases described within the 10 mile zone."

This position would allow Kaku's testimony, although it would place the 10-mile boundary as a restriction to his comments.

That boundary is highly controversial at present in scientific circles. For example, Swiss scientist Jan Beyea traces the travel of certain radionuclides out to 32 miles. Some other studies refer to impacts measured at 25 and 52 miles from the site of an accident.

Why has consideration of the "maximum credible accident" become such a big deal?

TMI laughed in the face of probability statistics, which have had to be hastily revised.

Three Mile Island revealed how painfully unprepared the NRC, the utilities, local government and the public were for a nuclear accident of any magnitude. TMI laughed in the face of probability statistics, which have had to be hastily revised.

SCE&G's brochure...gives figures on background radiation from the mountains of Brazil rather than from South Carolina.

NRC documents now reflect that there will be a TMI-type accident every 400 reactor years; this equates to one in every six years, given the number of reactors in the U.S.

SCE&G's brochure distributed to the public, describes emergency evacuation plans but gives figures on background radiation from the mountains of Brazil rather than from South Carolina.

"The NRC staff and SCE&G are acting as through TMI didn't happen. Brochures and information put out by the company are calculated to assuage fear." - Bursey

As Bursey put it, "The NRC staff and SCE&G are acting as though TMI didn't happen. Brochures and information put out by the company are calculated to assuage fear."

Two days of testimony from county and state personnel responsible for formulating and implementing parts of the emergency plan revealed their woeful lack of understanding of the impacts of a major nuclear accident.

Indicative of this attitude is the testimony of George Douglass, director of Disaster Preparedness in Fairfield County. Douglass said that the chances of a major accident at V.C. Summer is "very, very remote. Almost approaching nil," and that he didn't "think there would be the type of release that would be the cause of any deaths..."

The Rasmussen report, a NRC document now considered conservative, postulated that a Class 9 accident would result in 3500 immediate fatalities, 4,000 lingering deaths and 11 billion in property damage.

George R. Wise, state director, Emergency Preparedness Division, showed an ignorance typical among the state and local officials when he testified inaccurately that radiation from "the reactor meltdown is quite insignificant" compared to releases from a 20 KT nuclear bomb.

"...all we could do is fall back and pray." Shealy replied, "I guess you're right."



Photo by Michael Lowe

Probably because of their limited knowledge, these officials seemed satisfied with the adequacy of their plans. However the state official with the most comprehensive knowledge of radiation, Heyward Shealy, chief of the Bureau of Radiological Health, DHEC, admitted that a massive core melt at V.C. Summer could overwhelm state resources. In response to Bursey's question, "...is there a point down the road that might happen at that reactor where all we could do is fall back and pray?", Shealy replied, "I guess you're right."

Another highlight of the hearings was the day-long testimony of Dr Karl Z. Morgan, noted health physicist. Morgan calculated, using NRC figures, that normal

operation of the plant would result in 90 cancer fatalities, and 1700 genetic abnormalities.

Morgan calculated, using NRC figures, that normal operation of the plant would result in 90 cancer fatalities and 1700 genetic abnormalities.

The V.C. Summer hearing will reconvene, hopefully with Dr Kaku's testimony, in the fall and will be open to the public. *Harbinger* will publish the dates as soon as they are known.



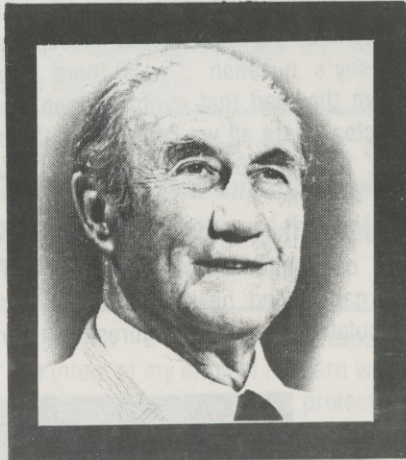
Photo by Chico

over his prisoner. He refused, but soon the crowd had swelled to what the local newspaper described as an angry mob of about 300 armed men, and eventually the sheriff handed over a black prisoner whom the crowd took to the victim's home. When she failed to identify him as her attacker the crowd drove her down to the jail in a pickup truck and kept her there while ten more prisoners were marched out of the jail one by one. She was unable to identify any of them and they were all eventually handed back over to the sheriff and returned to the jail.

Meanwhile a detachment of national guardsmen had been mobilized around the jail, and a machine-gun mounted on a second story balcony. And while the sheriff stalled for time by handing over his black inmates one at a time, Thomas was slipped away from the jail and rushed halfway across the state to the penitentiary in Columbia, the escorting officers picking their way along back roads to escape at least one carload of pursuers.

With Thomas out of their grasp and the jail surrounded by national guardsmen, many of the rioters spread out through town, beating up blacks they found walking on the streets. White vigilantes roamed through Georgetown for several more nights, and much of Georgetown's black community had to hide indoors until a national guard unit mobilized by the governor could restore order.

White vigilantes roamed through Georgetown for several more nights, and much of Georgetown's black community had to hide indoors until a National Guard unit mobilized by the governor could restore order.



There are still witnesses living in Georgetown who swear now as they did at his trial, that Thomas was at home when the crime occurred.

It was in this atmosphere that George Thomas was tried and convicted. Thurmond imposed the death sentence.

Thomas appealed his conviction to the South Carolina Supreme Court on the grounds that Judge Thurmond had denied him a fair trial by refusing to move the case out of Georgetown. It therefore became Judge Thurmond's duty to make a report to the Supreme Court relating exactly what the actual situation in Georgetown had been before and during the trial. In his report, Thurmond made no mention whatever of the rioting and lynching attempt which Thomas' arrest had precipitated.

Thurmond's report appears to have sealed Thomas' fate. Based largely on what Thurmond had told it, the supreme court concluded that he had been justified in refusing to move the trial out of Georgetown, and George Thomas was electrocuted on February 20, 1942.

The actual evidence on which Thomas was sent to his death is not to be found in the Supreme Court's records, since neither the state nor Thomas' own lawyer saw fit to include it in the papers for his appeal. There are still witnesses living in Georgetown who swear now, as they did at his trial, that Thomas was at home when the crime occurred.

We do know for sure that the trial of George Thomas consisted of a decision by twelve white men, all of whom were products of a rigidly segregated society, as to whether they would believe a respectable white lady or a black defendant and his terrorized family. As we know that this decision was made in a town which had been thrown into a turmoil of one-sided racial violence by George Thomas' arrest, and where only luck and quick thinking had enabled the sheriff and the national guard to keep Thomas out of the hands of the white citizenry and alive long enough to stand trial at all.

He may have been guilty. If guilty, perhaps by the standards of that era he deserved to die. Or perhaps he was not guilty. Or perhaps the verdict was true but the sentence was unjustly harsh. These are the sorts of doubts that are supposed to be laid to rest by the verdict of an unbiased jury after a fair trial. But because Judge Thurmond didn't provide George Thomas with that kind of a jury or that kind of a trial, the doubts remain.

The guilt or innocence of the next man whom Judge Thurmond sentenced to die is somewhat easier to evaluate, because all of the testimony in the case is still preserved at the South Carolina Supreme Court. It involved a seventeen-year-old black sharecropper named Sammie Osborne, who shot and killed his employer a prosperous white farmer named William Walker, after Walker had come looking for Osborne armed with a loaded .32 caliber pistol.

Barnwell County was in, the early 1940's, a backwoods region of low-lying pine forests, blackwater swamps and modest farms. The rice and cotton plantations of South Carolina's coastal regions had never extended as far inland as Barnwell, and the white farmers of the area had typically made do with one or two slave families before the Civil War, and a couple of black sharecroppers afterwards. The 1940 census reveals that blacks comprised 64 percent of the county's population, but as everywhere else in the state at that time, both the ballot box and jury service were reserved for whites.

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"Black people here were completely dependent," recalls George Green, an undertaker and black community leader in the county. "You had to work when your boss said to work, do what he said to do, wear what he gave you to wear, eat what he said to eat, and live where he put you to live. He taught you to steal, he put you in jail, and he got you out. So blacks here were very much subdued."

But Sammie Osborne was an exception. Green remembers him as a boy who wasn't afraid of anybody, a "nervy" kid with an unhealthy quickness to anger. Even before the killing that put him on trial for his life in Judge Thurmond's courtroom, there were blacks in the closed and rigid little world of Barnwell County who had a feeling that Sammie Osborne wasn't going to survive there for too long.

Osborne moved onto Walker's farm sometime in early 1941. His new employer appears to have been a strongwilled and temperamental man who carried his pistol with him when he went into the fields where his sharecroppers were working. On one occasion he had marched two men at gunpoint from his farm to the magistrate's office to have them summarily tried for some petty offense. Writing to the governor to urge clemency for Osborne shortly before his scheduled execution, a white Barnwell resident would describe Walker and his father before him as

Osborne later testified that he intended the note to scare Walker and keep him away. The prosecution contended that the note was actually a challenge intended to lure the white man into an ambush. But if that had in fact been Osborne's original plan, he'd apparently lost his nerve by late Saturday night, because he never returned to his own house. Instead he spent that night a few hundred yards away at the other tenant house on the Walker property with an 18-year-old sharecropper name Girard Davis. He went to sleep with Davis' loaded shotgun next to his bed, and it was there the following morning that Walker found him, not yet out of bed.

Osborne told the police that Walker had burst in on him with a pistol in one hand and a stick in the other and started beating him. Osborne said that he grabbed the shotgun from beside the bed and fired in self-defense. Walker's pistol and a stick about the size of a walking cane were found by his body at the foot of Osborne's bed.

After the shooting, Osborne walked barefoot to his father's house, six miles away, and persuaded his father to take him to the state penitentiary in Columbia, apparently because he was afraid that he'd be lynched if he was captured by the posse which was already searching Barnwell County for him. Once he'd turned himself in at the penitentiary, Osborne spoke freely about what had happened, and maintained throughout several interrogations that he had killed Walker in self-defense.

The 1940 census reveals that blacks comprised 64 percent of the (Barnwell) county's population, but as everywhere else in the state at that time, both the ballot box and jury service were reserved for whites.



Thurmond 1948

When Osborne was returned to Barnwell four weeks later to stand trial, he found himself being prosecuted by the two most powerful politicians in South Carolina.

landlords who kept their black tenants in conditions "much akin to peonage, and generally settled (their wages) at the end of the year with an axe handle."

So it may have been inevitable that Osborne and Walker were going to have trouble during that summer of 1941. When it came, it was over whether Osborne had to work pulling fodder on Saturday. He'd refused on three successive Saturdays claiming an injured foot, when, Osborne would later testify, Walker forced him out into the field at gunpoint and fired several shots past him. Later that day, Osborne wrote a note to Walker on a piece of cardboard and left it on a stick near Walker's house, where the 58-year-old farmer lived by himself. "Come on Mr. Please come on," the note read. "Bring 16 at a time down here in the house. Please come on. I like bad man like you to come." Osborne's name and the word "Hell," printed twice, appeared at the bottom.

When Osborne was returned to Barnwell four weeks later to stand trial, he found himself being prosecuted by the two most powerful politicians in South Carolina. Walker's relatives had hired two Barnwell attorneys to handle prosecution of the case: Solomon Blatt, who at the time (and for the next thirty-two years) was the Speaker of the state House of Representatives, and Edgar Brown, the president *pro-tem* and most influential member of the state Senate. On the Friday before his trial was to begin, the sheriff brought Osborne from the jail to Blatt's law office so that the prosecutor could question him one more time before a lawyer was appointed to represent him. He stuck to his story, and was taken back to jail.

Judge Thurmond arrived at the Barnwell County courthouse the following Monday and appointed local counsel to represent Osborne. His new lawyer moved for a change of venue which

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Thurmond denied after a rather heated hearing; twelve white men were sworn as jurors, and Speaker Blatt began presenting the prosecution's case while a crowd of spectators filled the seats and overflowed into the aisles of the courtroom behind him.

Since there was no denying that Walker had been heavily armed and that he had been shot only after entering the room where Osborne was asleep, the prosecution had to rely on Osborne's note as its evidence that the killing had been a premeditated ambush rather than self-defense. But there was a problem: even if the note had been intended as a provocation rather than as a warning, it invited Walker to come to Osborne's house, not Davis'. And so it did nothing to explain what Walker was doing that Sunday morning in the bedroom of the Davis house with a stick in one hand and a loaded pistol in the other.

Osborne's note did show something else, however that may have been more damaging to him in the eyes of the white men sitting as his jury. It showed that he was one black sharecropper who dared to express hatred for his employer and who dared to stand up to him. He "gave the appearance," as one of the prosecutors later put it, "of being afraid of no white man nor any other man." He was an "uppity nigger."

Osborne testified in his own defense. He repeated essentially the same account that he had given to the police when he turned himself in, and to the prosecutor just before the trial. The jury found him guilty of murder made no recommendation of mercy, and Judge Thurmond sentenced him to death.

(Osborne) "gave the appearance," as one of the prosecutors put it, "of being afraid of no white man nor any other man." He was an "uppity nigger."

On appeal, the South Carolina Supreme Court ruled that Thurmond had not correctly explained the law of self-defense to the jury, and sent the case back for a new trial. Osborne's motion for a change of venue was again denied, and he was retried in the same courthouse before a different judge and a different all-white jury. The jury required only fifteen minutes to find him guilty again, and he was again sentenced to death. This time his appeal failed, and the United States Supreme Court refused to hear the case.

By this time, more than two years had elapsed since Walker's death, and Osborne's plight had begun to attract some attention. Several church groups mounted a modest campaign to persuade Governor Olin Johnston to commute Osborne's sentence to life imprisonment. The state Pardon Board heard a new attorney for Osborne argue that Walker had been proven to have been the aggressor, and that Osborne was "being led to the electric chair not because of what he did but because of what he is." One Barnwell resident, petitioning the governor to commute Osborne's sentence, conceded that "a negro is a negro, and a white man is a white man, but it is up to us to be at least fair and try to show them the right road," and pointed out that if Osborne had been white, and had Blatt and Brown been defending him instead of prosecuting, the jury would not have needed five

minutes to acquit. A friend of the governor's, also writing to recommend commutation, suggested that "with the white man with everything in his hands... We could afford to give the negro a little better show in the courts. I feel like if we used a little more Christian spirit in our handling of the negro it would be better in solving the problem than Mrs. Roosevelt's plan."

As Osborne's execution drew nearer however Blatt kept up the pressure against commutation. The Speaker had written to the governor to arrange for a private discussion of the case just before it was to be considered by the state Pardon Board, and later argued before the Board against any recommendation of clemency. Two days before the scheduled execution date, Governor Johnston received a report from the Pardon Board which recommended, two votes to one, against commuting Osborne's sentence.

That night, Johnston drove the few blocks from the governor's mansion to the state penitentiary and spent an hour with Osborne in the holding cell next to the execution chamber. Just what the governor and the condemned man said to one another has not been recorded. "I believe I could have cleared myself if I had had more time," Osborne would say the next day, "but I begged and begged the governor to give me more time and to pardon me but he wouldn't do it." Perhaps Johnston was offended by the negro's continued insistence that he'd been justified in killing Walker or maybe the pressure from Blatt had been too strong. The day after his talk with Osborne, the governor announced that he would not interfere with the execution, and Osborne was electrocuted the following morning, November 19, 1943. A newspaper reported described Osborne as speaking rapidly in a soft voice as the electrodes were placed on his head, and quoted him as saying, "I'm ready to go because I know that I am not guilty." He was twenty years old.

"The Osborne case always did worry me. It still worries me." - Prosecutor Solomon Blatt

If Strom Thurmond has had any second thoughts about the death sentence which he imposed on Sammie Osborne nearly forty years ago, his repeated public statements on the subject during the last several months have shown no trace of them. But the man who prosecuted Osborne and successfully lobbied for his execution no longer seems interested in taking any of the credit, and is not even sure that he did the right thing.

Solomon Blatt is now eighty-six. He had represented Barnwell County in the South Carolina House of Representatives for forty-eight years, and during most of that time dominated the House and the state government as Speaker. Like Thurmond, Blatt has been an arch-conservative of amazing durability, and beneath the graceful gentility of his manner lies an iron will which is not lightly crossed. Now Speaker Emeritus, Blatt can still be found at the start of a legislative day, a small, thick-necked man, his head perfectly bald, looking like a Buddha in a business suit as

continued on page 19

he sits in his office just off the House floor. His hearing is poor now but his memory remains sharp, and as the bustle of a House session ebbed and flowed outside his open office door, he began to recall each detail of the trial of Sammie Osborne.

"The Osborne case always did worry me. It still worries me. I think about it now." Walker's family was related to Blatt's, he explains, and he felt obligated to prosecute the case when they asked him. He says now that he initially offered Osborne a chance to plead guilty and receive a life sentence, but was told a few days later that some civil rights organization which had raised money for Osborne's defense had vetoed any such compromise.

"So you see," he says now, "the blame for his death rests elsewhere than with me." When it is pointed out to him that the

record of the Osborne case contains no hint of such flexibility on his part, Blatt admits that once he had decided to proceed with the case, he prosecuted vigorously, and did everything he could to see that Osborne's sentence was carried out. But when he remembers the case now, he doesn't try to justify the result.

"The one job I never wanted in my life was to prosecute someone and send him to the electric chair... I don't want to be a party to the death of an individual. And I think that in that case, I was."

"I still worry about it," he says again. "If I was wrong, I hope I'll be forgiven for what I did. If I was right, I hope I'll be relieved of my burden."

Next Month: two more death penalties and why none of Thurmond's executions accomplished any purpose other than his own election

continued from inside cover

RONNIE'S GUNS

The shell game MX missile is slated for \$2.9 billion in development funds against its \$40 billion price tag. Beneficiaries include McDonnell Douglas, Honeywell and Martin Marietta.

Other goodies in the grab bag include \$30 billion for the Trident submarine, \$5 billion for the cruise missile, \$15 billion for AWACS early warning planes, \$4.2 billion for new Navy ships. Cleaning up on these grab bags will be General Dynamics, Lockheed, Westinghouse, Boeing and IBM.

The conservatives, who chided their liberal colleagues for "throwing money" at problems, apparently have no hesitation about throwing money at this perceived problem.

All in all the military budget can be expected to reach more than \$368 billion by the time Reagan hopefully leaves office in 1984. Percentage-wise the budget for this year will reach levels of spending not seen since the height of the Vietnam War. By the middle of the decade it will double in dollars and represent more than 70 percent of the budget. Next to this, Carter's \$138 billion military budget was a pittance.

Ronnie got his guns and it appears to be a good era if you happen to be a defense contractor. If you're a ghetto kid or a retired person on Social Security it's another story.

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THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA VS. BURSEY

The Right to Keep and Arm Bears

By SUE BOWMAN

COLUMBIA, S.C. -- A hostile judge reluctantly dismissed charges July 13 against political activist Brett Bursey for illegal possession of a firearm. An audible sigh of relief could be heard from the progressive community of South Carolina, both in and out of the courtroom.

Federal Judge Charles E. Simons, however, made it clear that he was "shocked when it was announced," that the district attorney planned to move for dismissal of charges, just as Bursey's conviction seemed certain.

"I'm boxed in..." he said. "I'll sign the order to dismiss the charges because I have no choice. I think it would be unwise to ask the DA to go forward with a case which he feels should not be prosecuted."

It was obvious Simons disagreed adamantly with the DA's decision.

But it was obvious that Simons disagreed adamantly with the newly appointed DA's decision. He did everything but call the young (32-year-old) Henry McMaster a "whippensnapper" "The DA should show that the public interest is best served by dismissal of the charges," Simons scolded. "I am very unhappy with the way it was handled."

It is true that a man with Bursey's history of political activism, dating back to leadership in demonstrations during the Viet Nam War is less trouble to the government in jail than out. In fact, prosecutor Eric Ruschky told Bursey in front of several witnesses that he planned to recommend the maximum penalty, five years in prison.

But the technicality with which Bursey was charged weakened under the magnifying glass of Bursey's selective prosecution defense, despite attempts by the judge to limit Bursey's pre-trial motions and 18 witnesses to one hour.

Bursey was indicted May 5 by a federal grand jury following an investigation by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms (BATF).

Bursey is precluded from owning a gun due to his 1970 conviction for malicious injury to property, a state misdemeanor. In 1969 he, accompanied by two others, one of whom later turned out to be an undercover police agent, spray-painted an anti-war slogan on the local draft board wall. For this he was sentenced to and served eighteen months in the state prison.

The pre-trial hearing, beginning July 8, revealed that Bursey's antics have never set well with Strom Thurmond's ex-law partner, Judge Simons. From the bench Simons stated, "I don't know of any red-blooded American who would condone his activity at the draft board."

"I don't know of any red-blooded American who would condone his activity," - Judge Simons

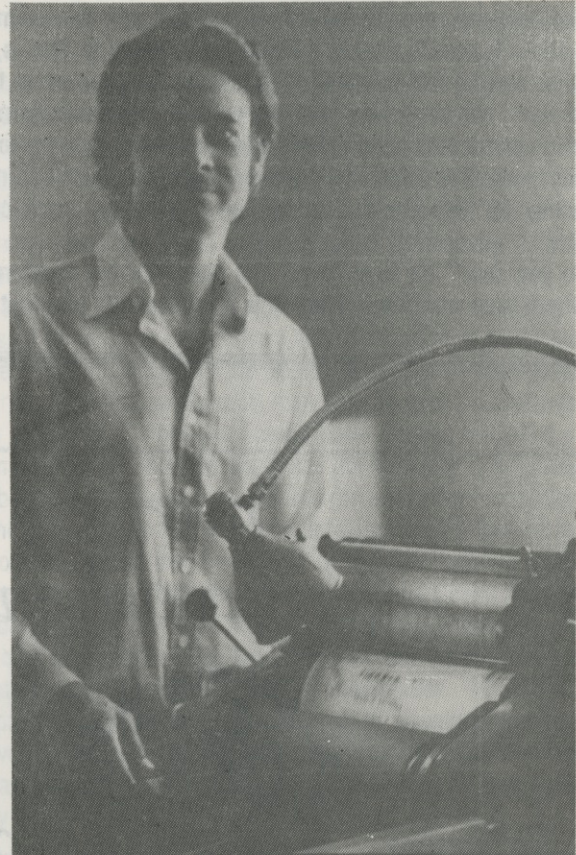


Photo by Sue Bowman

The Gun Control Act law under which Bursey was charged requires that no person convicted of a crime punishable by more than a year in jail be permitted to own a gun. The pistol in question was acquired by Bursey in a trade in 1968 before the passage of the Act. There were no charges that the gun in question was ever used illegally or posed any public danger. Bursey said he was unaware that his misdemeanor conviction prevented his legal ownership of the weapon.

This claim is substantiated by the fact that in the fall of 1979 Bursey pawned the gun and later picked it up. His signature on the receipt was, according to the prosecution, evidence that he "received" the gun, in violation of the statute. Bursey claims that, had he known he was in violation, the "last thing I would have done was pawn the gun."

Why, after eleven years, does the government go after Bursey? It seems strange in the light that his possession of the gun was common knowledge in the law enforcement community.

In the late 60's, when he was heavily involved in anti-war and civil rights activities, Bursey was under constant surveillance. In fact, his closest friend and co-organizer of the SDS-affiliated student organization AWARE, active on the University of South Carolina campus, was Jack Weatherford, later revealed to be an undercover agent for the State Law Enforcement Division. Weatherford had infiltrated the organization for a year and a half.

Burse's activist career began in South Carolina with work in 1968 and 1969 for the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), organizing six chapters across the state, speaking out against war, racism and poverty.

In 1969 Bursey organized a "free school" for Indian children in Ridgeville, South Carolina, which operated for a year, when the children were finally integrated into the county school system.

His anti-war activities resulted in his arrest for the draft board demonstration.

Upon release he helped organize the Committee to Remove the President, seeking Nixon's impeachment.

In 1975 he founded the Grass Roots Organizing Workshop (GROW) which he called a "human service organization dedicated to the liberation of ourselves and society." GROW began doing anti-nuclear work in 1976, and in 1977 Bursey helped organize the Palmetto Alliance, a statewide anti-nuclear group with eight chapters. He was instrumental in organizing the South's largest anti-nuclear rallies, in Barnwell, South Carolina, in 1978 and 1979.

Recently, Bursey has spoken out against government repression through the development of the Network for Survival, a coalition of grassroots groups opposed to the Reagan administration's budget cuts and the increasing tide of racism and economic-related violence.

He has publicly supported and helped with organizing around the Voting Rights Act issue, and has held public seminars opposing registration for the draft.

SLED openly admits surveillance of Bursey. As the only intervenor in Nuclear Regulatory Commission hearings for the operating licence of a nuclear plant near Columbia, Bursey subpoenaed SLED's number two man, Leon Gasque, to testify as to the agency's role in state nuclear emergency planning.

Under Bursey's questioning, Gasque immediately stated that SLED's role was "intelligence-gathering," and in the tense exchange which followed, said, "...Mr Bursey knows that we have penetrated his organization before. As a result of that, he was caught in an unlawful act and carried before the courts..."

Burse's involvement in the NRC hearings caused considerable conflict in the weeks leading up to his trial on the gun charge. Simons, however, refused to grant a continuance of even a few weeks to allow for his participation as the only intervenor. South Carolina Electric & Gas attorney Randy Mahan testified that "each day costs taxpayers and the Public Service Authority \$700,000," and that continuing the hearings beyond the three weeks allotted would run them over into September.

Burse best characterized his dilemma in the pre-trial hearing. "Both of these proceedings are very important to me. One involves a case which may cost me five years of my life - the other concerns a nuclear plant five miles from my home, which I feel poses a significant threat to myself and my family."

Although McMaster stridently denied that his recommendation to drop charges was based on his concurrence with the selective prosecution theory, there were contradictions throughout the proceeding which cannot be ignored. The BATF, FBI and SLED may be breathing sighs of relief themselves. According to Bursey's attorneys, John Delgado, Lewis Pitts and Tom Turnipseed, evidence would show that the charge was brought illegally and a jury trial would disclose far more than any of the agencies wanted to see public.

Discovery in preparation for the trial revealed that there was a strong correlation between the dates of specific political activities by Bursey and actions taken to further BATF's investigation. Most notable is the fact that Bursey was first notified of the Bureau's investigation of his case four days after he hosted a press conference criticizing the agency's "criminal involvement" in the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina. The press conference was in response to the acquittals of the Klan/Nazi defendants in November of 1980.

Burse made particular mention of the actions of BATF agent Bernard Butkovich leading up to the November 3, 1979 killings. Butkovich worked within the Nazi party and, in conjunction with an informant working within the KKK, played a leadership role in the development of the United Racist Front in North Carolina and the formation of the caravan which carried the killers to the demonstration site on that day. Butkovich disappeared immediately after the killings and was not called to testify against the Klan/Nazi defendants.

BATF internal documents, unveiled in discovery, indicate that Bursey, by definition, is a low priority item for investigation (either 42nd or 53rd in a list of 53).

He also exemplifies the "sensitive situation", "...an investigation or involvement, which if it became known, would be of considerable public interest, subjecting the Secretary, the Director or other HQ officials to inquiries or criticism from the mass media or members of Congress." Bursey is "a person who has received prior public attention because of his criticism of the Bureau," as defined in BATF's guidelines for investigation.

Burse's press conference concerning the BATF was, according to defense attorneys, the "significant change" in the case which brought full BATF attention to the investigation. Paragraph (c) under "Reporting Sensitive Situations" lists as an example of a significant change, "the reporting by mass media of stories or articles about the case."

History has shown that selective prosecution is a thin straw to grasp. To support selective prosecution, a defendant bears the heavy burden of establishing (1) that, while others similarly situated have not generally been prosecuted for the same activity, he has been singled out for prosecution, and (2) that the government's discriminatory selection of him for prosecution has been in bad faith, i.e. "based upon such impermissible considerations as race, religion, or the desire to prevent his exercise of constitutional rights."

On the second day of the pre-trial hearing, presided over by Magistrate Charles W. Gambrell, many contradictions in the stories of law enforcement personnel and the prosecution began to substantiate Bursey's claim of selective prosecution. While on one hand calling Bursey "small potatoes," every agency balked at delivering its files on him, allegedly because they were "voluminous."

We could probably get a pickup and bring his files down here.

J. P. Strom, director of SLED had agreed on the stand to open the records to Bursey but reneged on the second day. As a representative from SLED put it while making a motion to quash Bursey's subpoena of the files, "We could probably get a pickup and bring it down..."

In fact, SLED admitted to having two file drawers of material on Bursey; the FBI admitted to having three. This does not include material which may have been filed under subject headings such as "nuclear protests" or "civil rights demonstrations."

"It's our position that he's not entitled to anything," was the bottom line.

After a while, it became more clear that all three agencies were stone-walling and trying to keep a cohesive story together among themselves.

Bursey noted, "I believe the underlying reason for the dismissal is that we were coming closer to proving our charges of selective prosecution. The police agencies involved - BATF, SLED and FBI - all vigorously resisted releasing my files, while maintaining the ludicrous argument that there was nothing relevant in them."

All agencies eventually submitted to a ruling that the judge be allowed to inspect the otherwise sealed records should he desire to.

Communication between SLED and BATF about Bursey's history was not as innocuous as had been represented by the agencies, as revealed by testimony. A report by BATF agent Don Andrews indicated that the BATF had stumbled onto Brett's possession of the gun in a routine check of the pawn shop. According to Andrews, BATF referred the information to SLED for evaluation, whereupon SLED purportedly sent it back; Bursey's action did not violate state law and had to be dealt with by the federal government for prosecution.

However at the hearing neither agency could produce the letter. BATF agent Westra admitted on the stand that the letter from SLED to BATF came before BATF began the investigation, indicating that SLED had solicited the investigation.

Moreover prosecutor Eric Ruschky made the mistake of saying before witnesses, in an apparent effort to shift blame, "They (law enforcement, presumably SLED) tried to get me to bring the indictment earlier to interfere with a demonstration you had planned, but I wouldn't do it."

"Please go out and nail the S.O.B. for us." Prosecutor Ruschky

Ruschky exhibited considerable animosity toward Bursey, which may have caused him several times to slip and say things that contradicted his position. He had been sure enough of his

case to say in open court, "I may be willing to concede that there may have been informal communication (between SLED and BATF) to the effect, 'Please go out and nail the S.O.B. for us' -but that's irrelevant."

While in the process of plea bargaining to reduce the charge to one that would carry two years imprisonment, McMaster stepped in and upstaged Ruschky with his recommendation to dismiss the charges.

"In my opinion, this was not an intentional violation of the law and shouldn't be prosecuted," McMaster said on his announcement of his decision. "...In this case, I believe the violation of the law is too technical."

We are beginning to see surveillance of citizens cranking up across the country, with individuals like Brett as the first targets. Coupled with that we may observe a significant increase in misuse of the powerful grand jury mechanism, as in Bursey's case, to keep aggressive users of first amendment rights in line.

What may be gleaned from *U.S. vs. Bursey* is that aggressive users of first amendment rights must be equally aggressive in their pursuit of justice should there be an attempt to silence them.

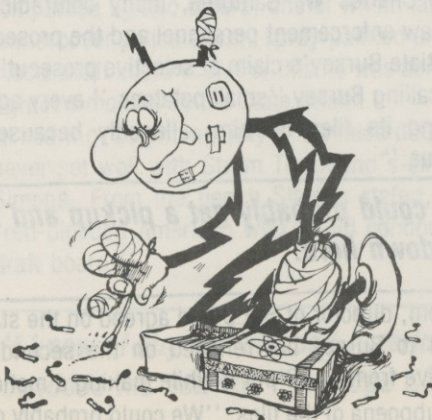
Magistrate Charles W. Gambrell wasn't trying to be prophetic when he pointed a fatherly finger at Bursey and said, "If I were as paranoid about the government as you are, I couldn't sleep at night."

Several hours later, when McMaster announced that he would recommend that charges be dismissed, he told the press, "I did what I thought was right. I wouldn't have been able to sleep had I not done it."

In that paranoia is an unreasonable fear Bursey is an unlikely candidate for a paranoid. His is the classic case of government harassment of a political activist and he remains a consistent critic of government wrongdoing.

Editor's note: As Harbinger goes to press, we have learned that the S.C. Probation, Parole and Pardon Board August 12 pardoned Brett Bursey for the offenses leading to his conviction in 1970. By this action, according to the Board, Bursey is "absolved from all legal consequences of his crime and conviction, and all his civil rights are restored" He can now legally possess a firearm.

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Freedom ain't Free

Attorney General William French Smith is seeking to roll back the clock on the availability of information, and in the process insure that the Reagan Administration is in a good position to stifle dissent.

Smith has called for an easing of elements of the Freedom of Information Act which would allow federal agencies to withhold information without having to prove release of the information would represent a threat to the government. Under previous guidelines, federal agencies had to prove releases of information would present a clear threat to the government.

While Smith's action is alleged to streamline FOI requests, and it may, it seems to be the first step in gutting the act altogether. Smith has promised a "review" of the act to see if it is fulfilling its purpose.

Smith's action alone might not be so threatening, but coupled with the Helms/Thurmond revived "subversive committees" the action represents a serious threat. Proceedings before the committees could effectively be shielded from public scrutiny resulting in Inquisition type proceedings against dissidents. The actions represent a clear indication that the Reagan forces are grouping to cut off criticism and dissent.

Recently Smith announced he was establishing an "advance warning system" for "racial violence" which the administration feels will erupt as a result of budget cuts. By August, Washington should be fully enveloped in the growing siege mentality.

In a memorandum dated May 4, 1981 Smith solicited advice from Intelligence agencies on a "reform" of the Act. Senator Barry Goldwater Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, has already stated that he favors "getting rid of the whole damn thing."

As an example of things to come here's what's happening right now: 1) The Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism opened hearings on April 24, 1981, on the "new threat of terrorism" allegedly endangering freedom in the United States. The Subcommittee plans to investigate "clergymen, students, businessmen, entertainers, journalists, government workers," and any other individuals who, according to its propaganda, "may engage in subversive activities without being fully aware of the extent, purpose, or control of their activities." 2) President Reagan recently issued an Executive Pardon for two high FBI officials convicted by a unanimous jury of authorizing illegal break-ins, and has said, in effect, that he wants to make it even easier in the future for agents to spy on unsuspecting Americans. 3) The FBI and CIA have requested permission to withhold, expunge, or shred documents which might expose illegal activities by government agencies - like the FBI's secret war against activists in the '50s and '60s - that they dare not reveal.

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It was against this onslaught of political, economic and academic power which the poor, mostly uneducated, citizens of Pickens, Main, Stadium and Wheeler Hill areas were forced to fight. It was a losing battle.

The coalition which made up CRD, intended or not, provided a convenient way of avoiding the provisions of the state and federal uniform relocation assistance acts.

Under federal law relocation payment and assistance to displaced persons is a prerequisite to federal aid. A state act, passed in 1972, requires that payments and assistance be made by any state agency or instrumentality "whether the project is funded or not."

CRD, acting under the guise of a private corporation, never paid one dime of assistance to persons displaced. *Harbinger* has obtained copies of applications made by the University to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare seeking federal funds for two projects. The application, for the school of pharmacy and the school of nursing both contain false information and bear the signature of William H. Patterson. In both applications certification is made stating that no persons will be displaced by either project. In the case of the pharmacy school the previous property owner was listed as "unknown" in spite of the fact that CRD purchased the property directly from the owner. The University received \$2.2 million in funds for the nursing school project, and no question was raised about the previous owner

One source said the action was typical of the University's property acquisition.

"CRD buys the land, evicts the tenants and then the University applies for federal funds listing CRD as the owner and saying 'no one is being displaced.'"

The source, who works for the City of Columbia Housing Authority, said the University consistently hid behind the "separate entity" of CRD to avoid paying relocation assistance.

One city attorney said a requirement that tenants be informed of the state's intent to purchase was also sidestepped through the use of CRD.

"The University never sent a notice. They just sent the slumlords a letter asking them to get rid of the tenants," he said.

Back in the mid-1970s CRD tried to play good guy on the Hill. A \$26,000 study was funded by the city and a new development was planned on the Hill which would include low-income housing, condominiums, apartments and one-family dwelling units. A source close to the planned development said CRD was at the time stuck with property the University did not want to buy.

"They were mortgaged to the hilt and they had to unload that property," he said. Even then, the project moved forward at a snail's pace; that is until February of last year. That's when CRD lost its tax-exempt status and had to start paying taxes on the property it stole on Wheeler Hill. In the intervening months the project has taken off; new roads have been cut, construction is underway and low-income units are nearly finished. There will be 18 low-income units where there used to be 400.

Selling prices for the land have increased astronomically. Land CRD purchased for \$1.50 a square foot is now selling for more than \$5.00 a square foot. "That certainly looks like more than the acquisition, demolition and holding costs they're always talking about," one source said.

But at some point CRD's future may not look so rosy and it all goes back to those relocation funds.

In a 1975 suit, Circuit Judge Clyde Eltzroth ruled CRD was an "agent" for the University; in effect making them liable for relocation payments to those 400 displaced tenants. Deputy Attorney General Victor S. Evans, in an earlier interview, said he felt CRD was responsible for relocation payment.

"In effect the property is being acquired by the University through CRD, which would make it subject to provisions of the relocation code. I don't think there's any question about that," Evans said.

The U.S. House of Representatives expressed a similar opinion when, just prior to the passage of the federal regulation they noted:

"It makes little difference which method authorities use to acquire the property, or who acquires the site or who hold title. Since the end product is the same, a public building, any person so required to move is a displaced person and entitled to the benefits of that legislation."

That holds fine for property which CRD eventually turned over to the University but what about property, such as most of Wheeler Hill, which was developed and held by CRD? State law forbids any state agency, or its agents, from speculating in real estate.

"We can't speculate or acquire land we have no use for. But when you're talking about CRD you're talking about a strange little animal," Evans said recently.

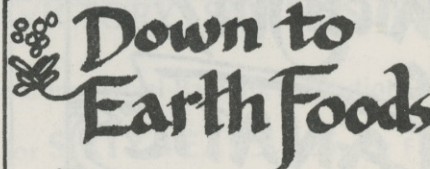
The strange little animal has been preying on the poor of Columbia for nearly two decades now, and it's devoured Wheeler Hill.

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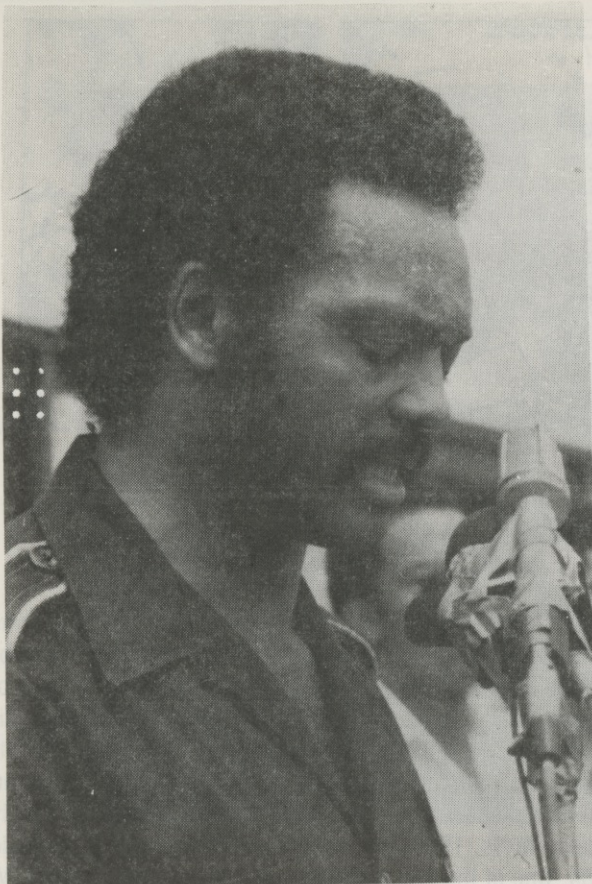


Photo by Sue Bowman

PUSH pushes back

The Rev. Jesse Jackson stood before a crowd of 1,500 June 28 on the grounds of the Strom Turmond High School, Edgefield, S.C., and issued a fiery call for extension of the Voting Rights Act.

For information about PUSH activities, contact state coordinator John Harper, at (803)254-2723.

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Tonkinized Again

By ELTON MANZIONE

Remember the Gulf of Tonkin resolution? Allegedly North Vietnamese gunboats attacked a U.S. destroyer in international waters. The "incident" served as the basis for escalation of U.S. military action in Vietnam. Years later the public learned the truth. Far from being an "unprovoked" attack the incident was a legitimate defense of territorial waters against a hostile force. The basis for the Vietnam War and its subsequent loss of lives was a lie.

Now shift a decade and a half and a half a world away. U.S. intervention in El Salvador is being based on "evidence" that leftist guerillas are being supplied arms by Moscow in a nefarious plot by the Russians to take over the world. Secretary of State Alexander "I'm in Charge Here" Haig sees it as part of a "global communist campaign coordinated by Havana and Moscow."

In a publicity blitz carried out by the military-intelligence bureaucracy and aided by a complacent U.S. press, the administration set out to provide "damning proof" of Russia's intervention in Central America. The proof was based on "secret documents reportedly captured by Salvadoran security forces."

In the weeks that followed, administration mouthpieces talked of sophisticated weapons from Russia coming through Cuba and Nicaragua. A massive flow of communist arms to the guerillas was said to exist. The problem is the administration did not offer one shred of evidence to support its contention.

In a State Department White Paper (read Whitewash Paper) maps were purported to show arms trails leading from Nicaragua, through Honduras and then to El Salvador: albeit through what has been termed an "impenetrable" frontier

The White Paper noted an interception of a plane carrying arms flown by "an employee of the Nicaragua National Airline." The Salvadoran security forces proudly displayed arms captured from guerillas at the same time the alleged "secret documents" were captured and the American press continued to tout the "communist conspiracy" line.



EL SALVADOR The Next Vietnam?

But the facts belie the brouha. The two planes delivering arms to the rebels on January 24 were actually Costa Rican. The captured pilot, Julio Romero Taiavera, though a former employee of the Nicaraguan National Airline, is also part of his family's air transport service--based in Costa Rica. The Haig State Department withheld information on arms shipments from Panama and Florida. The proudly displayed captured arms consisted mostly of outdated M-1s, 1909 Springfields and a variety of homemade weapons. One of the few automatic weapons was a British WWI Lewis machine gun. Where was the "systematic, well-financed, sophisticated effort to impose a communist regime in El Salvador?" (Quoting the language of the White Paper.)

The evidence strongly suggests whatever arms the rebels are getting are part of the flourishing Central American black market in weapons, itself made possible by repressive regimes and a burgeoning growth of liberation movements.

But it was the so-called "massive Soviet-Cuban intervention" in El Salvador that was cited as our reason for increased military aid and stepped up intervention on behalf of the ruling junta. In a close analysis, however Reagan and Company have failed to forge or prove the link between San Salvador and Moscow.

If we're not being screwed by this latest Reaganism then we're certainly being "Tonkinized."

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Fly or Fry

"Our basic first amendment rights have been violated, there's no doubt about it," says Michael J. Sisco, head of Columbia's Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).

Apparently not satisfied with merely firing the 13,000 PATCO strikers, the Reagan administration has instructed U.S. attorneys nation-wide to begin gathering evidence for possible criminal prosecution. U.S. Attorney for South Carolina, Henry D. McMaster, has subpoenaed videotapes of striking South Carolina controllers in interviews or at demonstrations. Videotapes of Sisco are specifically mentioned on the subpoenas.

In South Carolina 57 controllers walked off their jobs and, according to Sisco, most have received termination notices. PATCO attorneys are now starting the appeal process.

criticism of big business. Tirman said a recent story on energy problems had three oil industry consultants as the "experts" cited in the story and used no conservation or solar energy supporters as sources.

Tirman said the magazine has also engaged in a conscious ignoring of the American left. In a recent story on leadership in America the magazine skipped over such persons as Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden in favor of such persons as museum director Phillippe De Montebello.

When questioned regarding the choices Tirman said Executive Editor John McManus said the magazine was seeking "people who agree with us."

Tirman said the senior editor of the Nation section of the magazine said the publication did not cover the left because "there's no left in America."

In spite of its liberalization since the days of founder Henry Luce Tirman says "the generals and tycoons are still the heroes."

Time Magazine has maintained an adamantly pro-nuclear policy and has actually refused to run stories which would cast the industry in a negative light according to a former staff writer for the magazine.

Writing in the current issue of the *Progressive*, former *Time* staffer John Tirman says he once approached his bureau chief about doing a story on nuclear industry problems such as order cancellations, public protest and rising costs. Tirman said the idea was turned down at the bureau level by bureau chief Bob Parker. Parker, Tirman said, informed him that the industry was not in trouble and nukes were needed. A few weeks later an unabashedly pro-nuclear essay by writer Peter Stoler appeared in the magazine.

Tirman says *Time's* attitude toward the nuclear industry reflects a policy of the magazine which avoids any stories which would cast any industry in a negative light. The magazine, according to Tirman, has used omission, personal ridicule and questionable sources as a means to stifle

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Harbinger would like to apologize for several misunderstandings which resulted in the printing of two comments by Mr Jesse Taylor in the last issue's article on "Black Leadership in South Carolina." When we contacted Mr Taylor and asked to interview him about this subject he told us that the discussion of black leadership was an internal affair of black people. It was not the understanding of the writer that other statements made were "off the record," but we are sincerely sorry if we misunderstood Mr Taylor's desire to not be associated with the article in any way.

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GRASS ROOTS ORGANIZING WORKSHOP

The Grass Roots Organizing Workshop (GROW) is a Columbia based organization that has been providing grassroots organizing assistance for the past five years. GROW wants to help people organize themselves, their communities and their workplaces. This is a necessary step if the vast majority of people in South Carolina are to ever build a strong state wide organization capable of making the common sense changes we need for economic democracy, peace and justice to become a reality in our life time. We must organize to take control of our country away from the giant corporations and their political servants who profit from the nuclear madness chemical poisoning and social chaos that threaten the planet.

GROW meetings are held every other Wednesday night. We have planned discussions on important topics and take some time to determine any actions we can take on the problems we face. Upcoming meetings are:

August 22, 2 P.M. - S.C. Network for Survival Strategy Session, 1230 Harden Street, Columbia.

August 26, 7 P.M. Socialism in France (What changes and international repercussions can we expect?).

August 30, 4 P.M. - GROW Membership Meeting and Party - GROW Cafe. Bring a covered dish.

September 9, 7 P.M. - Poland: A discussion on the forces of change and resistance in Poland.

September 23, 7 P.M. - Palestine/Israel: The right to exist American involvement.

October 7 7 P.M. - The People's Congress: A discussion on grassroots organizing on a national level.

October 19, National March on Washington, D.C. sponsored by People Anti-War Mobilization.

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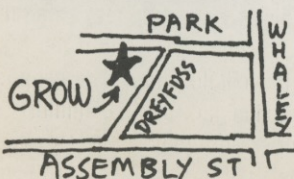
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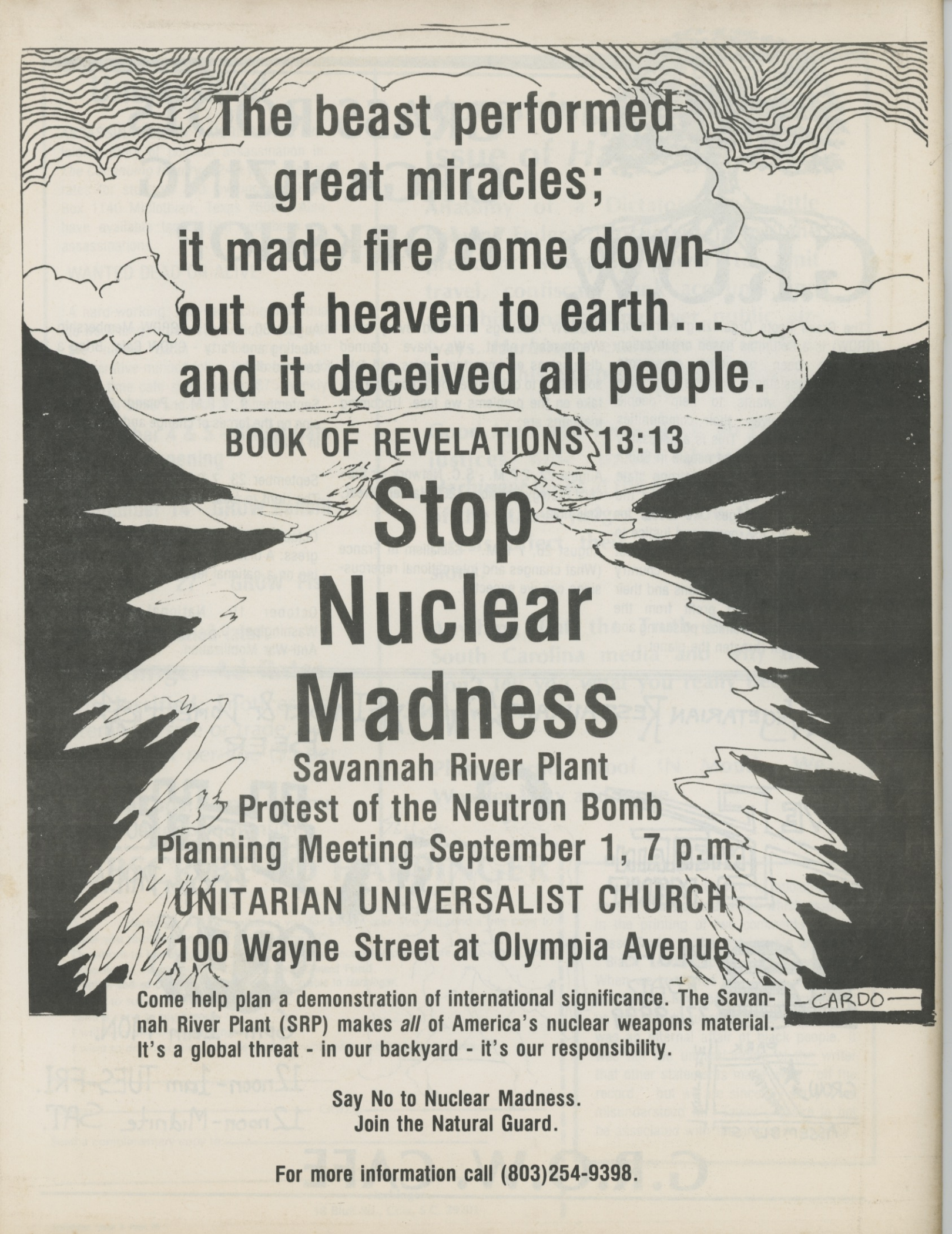
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