

WITH THE PEOPLE

The black vote

CHUCK STONE

IF you're a pessimist about what happened in the election, the black vote's tombstone should read "Rest in Peace." With an 85 per cent national vote for the presidential loser, the black vote came as close as it ever will to burying itself.

A more optimistic view suggests that a banquet hall should be decked out for a celebration. On several local fronts, the black vote showed it still has as much life as an overpopulated maternity ward.

In deep South Atlanta, Georgia, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.'s former aide the Reverend Andrew Young, Jr., was elected to Congress.

In Southwest Houston, Texas, State Senator Barbara Jordan also won a congressional seat.

Together they represent the first blacks in Congress from the South since 1901 when North Carolina's George H. White, an eloquent speaker who held law degrees from several universities, was defeated.

Newly elected to Congress with Ms. Jordan and the Reverend Young was Los Angeles' State Representative Yvonne Braithwaite Burke. These three additions now give blacks a total of 16 members in the House (including D.C. non-voting delegate, the Reverend Walter Fauntroy). L.A. also becomes the third major city after New York and Detroit to have at least two black members in Congress.

But it was in Chicago where the black electorate grabbed the system on November 7, shook it vigorously and made it respond with awesome results.

With a rare combination of political sophistication, communal unity and raw anger, the second largest black community in America made themselves the pivotal force in the defeat of powerful State's Attorney Edward V. Hanrahan.

To blacks in Chicago and in other black communities, Hanrahan had become one of the most detested symbols of white racism since Birmingham, Alabama. Three years ago he had authorized a raid on an apartment that resulted in the controversial slaying of two respected Black Panther leaders.

Despite a grand jury indictment (and subsequent acquittal) and strong black protests, Hanrahan won Democratic renomination. He then proceeded to adopt the Richard Nixon style of campaigning — ignore the black community.

During this same period, police mistreatment of the blacks became so extensive it caused the long-time Daley ally, Congressman Ralph Metcalf, to break with the Mayor.

Blacks quietly fumed, but kept their cool, heeding the same advice of once-powerful Chicago Congressman William L. Dawson: "Don't get mad, get smart."

On November 7, they did.



ANDREW YOUNG

Voting over 80 per cent for Democratic McGovern, they went on a ticket-splitting orgy to give 60 per cent of their vote to Hanrahan's Republican opponent, Bernard Carey. Carey was listed as 21-B on the ballot. All over the black community the word was passed: "21-B is the survival key." Black Alderwoman Anna R. Langford said she watched a very unpolitical young man walk into a polling place and yell: "Okay! Give me dis 21-B."

Of Chicago's 14 black wards, Carey walked away with 10. Even the fourth ward controlled by Mayor Daley's faithful colored houseman, Alderman Claude Holman, could only give Hanrahan a margin of 120 votes.

Carey won by a scant 29,000 out of 2,206,000 votes cast. Had Chicago blacks stayed submissively in the Daley "big House" where they have dwelled for fifteen years, Hanrahan would have easily overcome Carey's 60 per cent lead in the suburbs.

But Chicago blacks made the Daley machine a second offer it couldn't refuse and split their tickets again to vote for the anti-Daley Democratic candidate for Governor, Dan Walker. He also won. The margin of victory was the black vote.

History does repeat itself with ironic consistency. Back in 1955, a black Congressman named William L. Dawson hand-picked an unknown State Senator named Richard J. Daley to run for Mayor because of police harassment of the black community. Seventeen years later, Dawson's successor, Metcalf, is leading the dismantling of the once invincible Daley machine on this same issue — police mistreatment of black people.

Black political power in America still has a depressingly long way to go.

With blacks as 12 per cent of the national population, the 12 blacks in Congress (3 per cent) reflect black national impotence.

The emphasis within the black electorate, however, must now shift away from the national to the local level. When blacks pursue a specific electoral strategy as they did in Chicago on November 7, and as they have many times during the last four years — to elect 87 black mayors and over 2,000 state and local representatives — they prove the system can work for them.

They'll occasionally lose some big ones at the local level such as the reelection of Mr. Nixon's surrogate racist in the Senate, Michigan Senator Robert Griffin. Even Detroit black unity simply cannot overcome the massive Michigan white unity against busing.

But "four more years" also means the black vote has four more years to get itself together. It will, because there is no alternative in American democracy.

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Marcos's US trained police state

MICHAEL WARE

A LITTLE-PUBLICIZED group of U.S. documents reveals that the U.S. has been directly involved in the creation of a police state in the Philippines.

In establishing the present state of martial law and carrying out mass arrests against all political factions who oppose him, Phillip-

pine President Marcos has relied on a police force fully trained and equipped by the United States. In the present crisis, U.S. advisors (many of whom previously worked at similar jobs in South Vietnam) are in daily contact with the commanders of the Philippine police apparatus.

The present situation has long been in preparation. Very soon after he assumed office in 1966, President Marcos began searching for ways to improve the capacity of Philippine police agencies to control and suppress insurgent political movements — including student groups, labor unions and peasant organizations.

One of his first acts, on April 12, 1966 was to meet with the U.S. ambassador, the head of the U.S. Agency for International Development mission, and the director of AID's Public Safety Division. As a result of this meeting, it

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PEOPLE'S BRAINS are being cut apart! First wave of brain mutilations (lobotomies & psychosurgeries) took about 50,000 Americans. Lobotomies and psychosurgery are again starting to be done on large scale. Target groups this time include inmates in some hospitals and hyperactive children as young as age 4. People interested in working to stop lobotomies & psychosurgery can call Robert Leisinger, 462-3704.

BUSTED FOR (CRIME?) of marijuana. Am white, 24, Sagittarius & lonely. If your week has room for a letter to me, please write. All letters answered. Wayne Lassell. B-30514. P.O. Box 441, Palm Hall Cell 2-33, Chino, CA. 91710.

HARD TIMES

Peat gathers no moss

JAMES RIDGEWAY

OF all the many contributions made by scholars of the Cambridge community towards screwing up the government and ripping off the general populace there is no more outstanding example than J. Sterling Livingston, the former Harvard professor, and his sometime associates at Peat Marwick & Mitchell, the big accounting firm.

The story starts with J. Sterling Livingston as a young man running a purchasing course for the Navy at Harvard Business School during World War II. From there he went to work for the Navy helping figure out how to procure goods more efficiently. Next he was back at Harvard writing a dissertation on government procurement. Then the Navy asked him to help with more procurement problems. Livingston wanted to run his business through Harvard, but when the dean told him that would be too blatant, he organized Harbridge House on the outside. There he collected Harvard-MIT intellectuals who made money telling the Navy how to buy from business. After making a few million dollars telling the armed services how to outsmart business, Harbridge House contracted out to corporations and made a few million more telling them how to slip around the procurement policies they had devised for the armed services. Livingston got bored with this business and dumped it. He soon began a new company called Management Systems, which relied on more Harvard-MIT intellectuals, and also was in the business of assisting the military with procurement problems. Tiring of Management Systems, Livingston merged it into Peat, Marwick & Mitchell, changing the name of the new subsidiary to Peat, Marwick & Livingston. Always on the move, the Harvard business professor sold out, and started an education technology company called Sterling Institute - a collection of companies which do management training, teach blacks to shed their useless black standards and adopt white ones instead, and put out motivational comic books featuring such slogans as "Power is Green, Baby." Sterling Institutes does a lot of work for Peat, Marwick

& Mitchell. It's pretty hard to tell the difference among all these companies because Livingston is back and forth between them whipping up one deal or another.

In recent testimony before the House Post Office Committee two of Ralph Nader's associates, Daniel Guttman and Barry Wilner, laid out additional details about the Livingston-Peat, Marwick & Mitchell community. Livingston had made his companies intimately involved with the Mark 48 torpedo, a new Navy weapon. Originally Westinghouse was the main contractor, with Ordnance Research Laboratory at Penn State providing technical advice and Livingston's Management Systems on cost controls. In an article in a Defreeze magazine in 1966, Livingston and two colleagues noted that "the Mark 48 torpedo program, was one of the better management cost control plans."

That analysis turned out to be a bit premature since the costs of the torpedo went from an initially estimated \$680 million to \$4 billion, causing Congressman Moorhead to declare, the Mark 48 torpedo was "not a disaster in procurement like the CSA, it's an atrocity."

The Navy thereupon fired Westinghouse, promoted the torpedo program manager into another job, but continued to employ Livingston's company to control costs. Congress was growing agitated over a series of Defense cost over-runs, and it called on the General Accounting Office, its own auditing arm, to make an investigation. The GAO, in turn, shopped the work out to consultants. Twelve firms were interested in evaluating the over-runs, but the GAO chose only one of them, Peat Marwick & Mitchell, which by this time had consumed Livingston's Systems Management Co. Peat Marwick & Mitchell then specified, with GAO agreement, that John Wander should be the principal evaluator. Wander was one of the original Mark 48 cost accountants under Livingston.

In assisting the Navy hold down the costs on Mark 48 Livingston's firm made \$4.2 million. Then, as a subsidiary of a different company, it made more money evaluating the programs it had helped to develop. The business of evaluating the over-runs is still going on.

Peat Marwick & Mitchell itself has an unusual record for a big independent accounting firm. The company received \$5 million during the last decade from the Penn Central, a company it served as both auditor and consultant. Peat Marwick also represents several other railroads before regulatory agencies. At the same time, Peat Marwick is a large contractor from the Department of Transportation. When Penn Central received money under a Metroli-

The Tax Reform Research Group, has published the voting records of representatives and senators on key tax reform issues. The information was released in a special edition of the group's monthly publication, People & Taxes.

The group also names senators and representatives who have taken positions of leadership in the fight for tax reform. Copies are available from TRRG, P.O. Box 14198, DC 20044.

ner grant, Peat Marwick was called in as a consultant for the government to help determine how to account for the costs of the Metroliner. Livingston and his friends at Peat Marwick exist on the concept of conflict of business interest.

Peat Marwick & Mitchell also is under contract to help the Office of Education locate top bureaucrats. In that connection the firm was to report to the Office of Education's William Marumoto, himself a former employee of Peat Marwick, and to Fred Malek, the White House hatchet man who formerly was employed by another consulting company, McKinsey & Co.

Guttman and Wilner go on to instruct, "While there is no public record of privately located government officials, PMM's internal newsletter boasted that the firm had located no lesser personnel than HEW's assistant secretary for administration and deputy assistant secretary for finance. These were interesting selections, for it is these men who are often responsible for the work PMM does for HEW. According to the HEW procurement regulations, for example, it is the assistant secretary for administration who must approve all management consultant contracts. Who did PMM find for the post? Relying on its vast facilities, PMM uncovered one Rodney Brady, a man who, coincidentally, had formally been an official of Management Systems Corporation, the firm that had, as we recall from the Mark 48 episode, merged into PMM."

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PETITION TO GOVERNOR NELSON ROCKEFELLER AND ATTORNEY-GENERAL LOUIS LEFKOWITZ OF NEW YORK STATE.

The rebellion at Attica prison began on September 9, 1971 and lasted four days. As documented in the official report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica (McKay Commission) this mass act of resistance was spontaneous. However, in the light of prison conditions, rebellion should have been anticipated. For, as "discovered" by the McKay Commission the life of an inmate "meant daily degradation and humiliation," an atmosphere "charged with racism," where "the promise of rehabilitation had become a cruel joke." These conditions, plus the failure of peaceful efforts by the Attica inmates to bring about change, were the direct causes of the rebellion. Only the most cynical can claim surprise or look for conspiratorial explanations when those subjected to such treatment rise up, preferring to "die like men" than to "live like beasts."

The State acted surely and swiftly. First, on the morning of September 13, after four days of planning, an attack to take the prison was carried out in a manner that guaranteed the greatest number of casualties. The weapons utilized, including shotguns with expanding buckshot, "virtually assured the death or serious injury of innocent persons" (McKay Report), while arrangements were not made for "sufficient doctors, nurses, ambulances, surgical supplies and drugs." Forty-three men were killed and many more seriously injured.

Second, during the next three days correction officials and state troopers engaged in a systematic pattern of brutality against inmates, while ignoring a Federal Court order to allow doctors and lawyers inside. As found by the U.S. Court of Appeals, "The barbarous conduct... the beatings, physical abuse, torture, running of gauntlets, and similar cruelty was wholly beyond any force needed..." Former Warden Vincent Mancusi testified that the "leaders" of the rebellion were placed in solitary confinement; their participation was inferred from such flimsy evidence as "seeing their faces in a Daily News photograph" taken during the rebellion; or because they had "signed a petition" in July 1971 asking for changes in their treatment.

Third, since November 1971 a massive criminal investigation into the Attica rebellion has taken place under the direction of Special Prosecutor Robert E. Fischer. The State has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars in this effort to indict Attica inmates, while the underlying conditions which led to the rebellion remain essentially unchanged.

Please return completed forms to:
Attica Fund
156 Fifth Avenue
Room 722
New York, New York 10010. Telephone
(212) 741-2640

It is time for the people to be heard. We cannot permit the State to achieve by "legal" means further punishment and increased bitterness and hostility. Attention must be turned to the prison system, and away from those subjected to it.

WE, the undersigned, demand that all further criminal proceedings involving the Attica rebellion be immediately ceased.

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