

Reproductive Freedom Defended

The demand for reproductive freedom as an inalienable human right, is really the bottom line for women all around the world. Abortion, as the contraceptive means of last resort, has become the crucial battleground. Unless our political leaders support reproductive freedom as a basic human right they cannot call themselves friends of women, no matter what position they take on other issues. We believe that reproductive freedom—the right to bear or not to bear children—is a women's right as basic as the more gender-free rights of freedom of speech or assembly. The ultimate political fact remains that if we can't have control of our own bodies, we are prevented from having control of our own lives and from contributing to society to the best of our abilities.

ABORTION RIGHTS ACTION WEEK is a national effort to focus on the right of women to choose to have an abortion. Anti-choice crusaders have pushed through legislation that robs us of our reproductive freedom—our right to have an abortion. If federal and state funds are finally whittled away to nothing, our right to choose whether or not to bear a child in the event of an unexpected pregnancy will depend on whether we can afford the cost of an abortion. The middle and upper classes



will, as always, be able to get an abortion; poor women in need of such services will be unable to obtain them (as is the case in many states now). The American Bar Association pointed out

recently: "The ability to pay for an abortion is in a real way the equivalent of having the right to choose to have an abortion.... Prohibition against a particular service, in this case abortion,

which is available to higher income persons, is a direct denial of such equalization."

In 1973, the Supreme Court supported a woman's movement campaign to galvanize America's pro-choice majority. The Court ruled that a woman may choose to terminate her pregnancy during the first trimester (1st three months) and that federal funds may pay for it if she is eligible (low income) and if the abortion is medically necessary. The Supreme Court in *Roe vs. Wade* widely defined "medically necessary": "Abortion may be exercised in the light of all factors—physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age and all other factors relevant to the well-being of the patient." Federal funds originally paid for 50% of an abortion; state funds paid the rest.

After 1973 the woman's movement went on to other issues (like ERA), while the anti-abortionists consolidated their efforts and organized a fanatical anti-choice lobby determined to abolish legal abortion. By 1977, the use of federal funds for abortions had been restricted by Congress to cases where the woman's life was endangered, where pregnancy was the result of rape or incest, and

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new indicator

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Marcuse Remembered

I became an activist in an easier time; in a period when the need for change seemed to be almost a part of the air we breathed. The sixties brought with it a consciousness of all the racism, poverty, and militarism that the fifties had managed to ignore. Becoming an activist in that period was no more difficult than opening a paper or speaking to a friend. Those times made me an activist, but what has kept me one has been the work of people like Herbert Marcuse. I know it may sound strange to speak of a man whose life was so much the embodiment of intellectual dedication in this way, but his ability to tie an unflinching analysis of what is to a passionate concern for what ought to be is, for me, the basic foundation of any true political involvement.

I never knew Marcuse personally, and so can say nothing about him from intimate experience; but like a large number of other people I was touched personally by him. As an undergraduate at San Diego in the late sixties, his presence both in a material and intellectual sense in the left during those years left a lasting impression on me. Those years were for me, and a large number of others, a period of intellectual and political awakening. We had our eyes opened to the world around us; a world of hunger, exploitation and violence; but, above all, a world in which change was both possible and necessary. That period of time, but particularly Marcuse, taught us the importance of analysis for proper political practice. Activism steered and disciplined by a rigorous confrontation with what exists and its possible alternatives were the lessons he taught. Change yes, but change that was constantly guided by analysis and critique. Research and analysis were not contradictory to activism, but the pre-conditions for its successful realization.

I suppose that because he, and the time which he has come to represent,

were so important to me, I found myself outraged at some of the commentaries on his death. It wasn't that their reports were critical, most of the major press releases were of a generally benign sort. His passing was noted with politeness, his importance mentioned with respect (importance, no matter what its political shade, always commands respect in these circles), and he and his life quietly dismissed. Interestingly, it was this dismissal that was given the most importance. For all the respect and politeness, there was a resounding sense of satisfaction displayed in this point. What was being buried, they hoped, was not only a man, but a time and a criticism. The 'Father of the New Left' was being disposed of, another milestone had been reached; one more reminder that the sixties were safely past, that its sometimes strident but always passionate voices of criticism were now safely gone. Marcuse died, they claimed, a forgotten man. Forgotten by those he once led, forgotten by the students of today, and, most importantly, forgotten by contemporary political events. They seemed to believe that Marcuse's voice, now stilled, was the last hollow echo of that time and those criticisms. The sigh of relief that they heaved was almost audible.

Unfortunately, it was not just among the 'traditional' press that this attitude was to be found. On the left there were those too who saw him as an anachronism now safely buried. Marcuse was the spokesperson for the revolt of affluence, today our struggle, these 'leftists' argued, is more basic. We are back to the bread and butter issues of the left: good hard economic concerns. Marcuse and the sixties were simply too caught up in the success of American society and economy. It is not affluence that is the source of contemporary crises, but declining pay checks and rising costs. At most Marcuse's passing

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Students massed for October 9th's Smoke-In on Revelle Plaza

Communications Overview

Since it was first mentioned (in the Lumumba-Zapata demands of 1969) the Communications Program, and for that matter all of the L-Z programs, has been forced to wage a struggle for its existence.

The program has survived administrative attempts to impose a hostile coordinator upon the program, a ruling preventing the program from hiring its own faculty (it is forced to hire professors in conjunction with other departments), inadequate numbers of professors to deal with the large number of majors, inadequate resources (money), the administration's refusal to allow a graduate program to be developed, etc.

Currently the program is in a state of relative stability, caused by the hiring, last year, of a new coordinator for the program—one who has found favor with the administration. Several new professors have been hired, and in many ways the position of the program has been strengthened. Unfortunately, this

has been done at the expense of maintaining and strengthening the critical aspects of the Communications curriculum.

The current curriculum for the program is divided into four major areas: Communications as a Social Force (formerly Macro Comm., this deals with the political economy of mass communications, mass media communications & techniques, etc.); Communications and Culture (formerly Micro Comm., this deals with the cultural forms which shape they ways in which individuals and societies function and engage in the exchange of information); Communications and Human Information Processing (formerly Psychology, this area studies basic concepts of human information processing, as well as the ways in which concepts and ideas are shaped in to messages); and Media (this emphasizes the use of media in communications work).

In many ways the Communications continued on page 5

Cops Riot at Seabrook

Some 2500-3000 people converged on the Seabrook nuclear reactor October 6-7 in an attempt to launch the first long-term occupation of a U.S. nuclear power site.

However, the protestors had not counted on the harsh response of police. The combined state police forces of New Hampshire and four other New England states, the National Guard and employees of the Public Service Company of New Hampshire viciously used mace, water hoses, teargas, smoke bombs and riot batons as they used choreographed brutality to turn back the antinuke contingent.

By the end of the confrontation some 20 activists had been arrested. Due to repeated club-swinging offensives by the

army of 500 cops, several people required hospitalization. Most of the would-be occupiers refused to reveal their names to the cops or court.

Despite the beatings they received during several attempts to occupy the site, the predominately young throng of demonstrators remained in high spirits as they planned a series of less confrontational actions for the following week.

Over 500 protestors remained in Seabrook throughout the week to mount pickets and otherwise interfere with construction. Many others returned home to organize—leaving open the possibility of returning to the scene of the showdown the following weekend in larger numbers.

Action began early on October 6 when, under the cover of darkness, demonstrators marched from their campsites through the woods and marshes to the site. When attempts to cut through fences were repelled by police wielding mace and riot batons, the protestors pulled back into the swamps.

Several groups then tried on their own to take the site. Police ripped gas masks, ponchos and packs off their prey and employed teargas and water hoses for the first time during this series of attacks. After a night's rest demonstrators moved to "second priority" areas within the site. Police greeted protestors as the fences were about to topple with their most brutal offensive of the weekend. They maced many demonstrators and members of the press.

Police chased demonstrators to the access road ripping gas masks from persons' heads, pushing and occasionally clubbing medics, mace victims and other slow moving people. Several groups sat down in nonviolent civil disobedience style, waiting for arrest. Instead, the police charged once again, clubbing their defenseless opponents. Several were hospitalized.

The remainder of the protestors retreated through the woods, pursued by police. The demonstrators then marched through town to the plant's main gate where they set up a blockade. The police immediately turned hoses onto the demonstrators, forcing the closure of the highway. The protestors protected themselves from water and mace with sheets and plastic and thus held firm.

On October 8 some 400 people picketed the entrance to the plant. The next day protest actions continued. Police moved in on demonstrators again with mace and clubs. Protestors were attempting to block vans carrying away their arrested comrades. Several protestors, again, were hospitalized.

As late as Thursday, 400 protestors remained at the site, although everyone was dispersed by the following weekend.

Last week's action was the third attempted occupation at Seabrook. In 1977, 2500 persons occupied the Seabrook site, 1414 of whom were arrested.

thnx to Guardian and BU Exposure



San Onofre Rally

Join thousands of Southern Californians on **Saturday November 10, from noon to 4pm** in protest at the San Onofre plant. The theme of the day is "San Onofre: We Can Stop the Madness Here."

Southern California Edison will soon be appearing before the Nuclear Regulatory Commission to request licenses to operate two new nuclear generators, SONG II and III. These generators, like their predecessor, SONG I, sit only 1,000 yards from the Chistianos earthquake fault.

The recent spate of earthquakes and tremors in the area make the issue more serious, especially since the NRC's estimates of the chance of an accident worse than Three Mile Island at 1 in 175 do not include the possibility of earthquakes, floods or hurricanes. San Onofre's close proximity to an active earthquake fault would seem to increase the odds.

For further information on the November 10 rally, call 236-1684.



Marcuse's Political Philosophy Reviewed

was noted with a touch of confused sympathy: here was someone whose heart, at least, was in the right spot; but, of course, he was wrong.

As true as it is that times have changed, this has not diminished the significance of Marcuse or the sixties. As much as affluence has become a cultural problematic for the first time since 1939, this is still a phenomena that must become meaningful before it may become a social crisis. To those on the left who see in Marcuse only obsolescence, the response is quite simple. As long as society consists of people who *think* and act, it will be necessary to understand how consciousness is structured before we can understand any particular crisis. If 'objective' problems are to become subjectively realized crises they must pass through the structures of ideological domination. To understand how it is that economic downturn has been turned into a taxpayer's revolt or a 'We' generation, we must begin with the kinds of concerns that played such a prominent role in Marcuse's work. When economic insecurity translates into a reemphasis on the work ethic, competition, a return to traditional sex roles, and neo-militarism how can we not see the ideological-structural roots of these problems. The directions in which today's outrage is being channeled, and the very nature of this rage itself, can only be understood through the kind of framework to which Marcuse has contributed so much. His analysis of ego structure and its relation to socialization, his emphasis on the importance of the mass media and popular culture as devices of control, and his attempt to tie the structure of the

commodity form to repressive libidinal sources are issues which deal with the heart of contemporary reality. Marcuse's work has concentrated on the limitations and deformations of political consciousness that contemporary capitalism has enforced. Until we have destroyed these limitations, he is a source to which we will have to return again and again.

Not only does Marcuse give us a means of understanding the combination of hip cynicism and naive consumerism (anti-politics meets disco) so rampant today, but offer us the means and motivation to combat it as well. Works such as **Counter Revolution and Revolt**, **An Essay on Liberation**, and his series of essays on utopia were attempts to discover and encourage the forces of opposition that exist in advanced capitalism. He spent no small amount of time speculating as to the conditions that would bring forth a social alternative. Among his contributions in this area, one that remains particularly relevant is his notion of 'utopia.' Utopia, as a concept, was not just a means of intellectual analysis, but was also a form of political combat. Marcuse knew that one of the most subversive acts possible in today's society was the discussion of the truly liberating potential of technology and social organization. It was the suppression of these alternatives that was at the core of modern ideology. If society was to change, he argued, it would only be by way of making these alternatives conscious. These 'utopian' alternatives had become the most important weapon in our political arsenal.

The key to the contemporary relevance of this concept of 'utopia' is in

its response to the growing popularity of the notion of scarcity. As fashioned in popular ideology, this is the view that society has reached its limits, and that our populations will just have to content themselves with less. Basic consumerism remains intact; we are, however, expected to now tie our hopes to smaller cars and longer lines. For the poor this means doing without the 'luxury' called a job, for the middle income it means trading RVs for heating oil, and for the rich it meant putting up with rising profits and declining taxes.

For those who see hope only in the possibility of administering this 'scarcity' on a progressive basis, Marcuse responds that what we face is by no means an objective scarcity. Scarcity is not a phenomena applicable only to capitalism in economic crisis. It has been a culturally enforced norm in this country for the last 150 years—in good times as well as bad. The scarcity we face is socially created, enforced, and maintained. It is the result of a form of social organization in which profit and abstract exponential economic growth are the only acceptable standards for success. The mindless affluence and consumerism of the 60s was no less a result of scarcity than our more economically troubled times. Marcuse's analysis in **One Dimensional Man** and **An Essay on Liberation** were demonstrations of how 'scarcity' appeared even within the heart of the most affluent and economically advanced society, for it was designed into the structure of production and the commodity form. The enemy we fight is not scarcity, but a system that convinces us that no matter how much we have, *more* is what we need. The enemy is a

society that tells us that our needs for non-hierarchical relationships, genuine and rewarding work, and non-manipulated leisure are identical with commodity consumption. To handle the problem of 'scarcity' we need no new philosophy of 'less is more,' no lessons on economic bullet biting, but a realization that we have long had the ability to answer all *genuine* human needs. To fight 'scarcity' we don't have to content ourselves with less, but to discover the fact that the more we desire so fervently is the very source of scarcity.

In his work on Utopia Marcuse demonstrated his realization of one additional point: that people are led to action not on the basis of how repressive or undesirable an existing society may be, but by the belief in a better one. Human beings act when they see an alternative that makes sense to them and which appears accomplishable. One of the most fundamental jobs of any leftist now is to restore that vision of an alternative, of a utopia, which is within grasp. The ability to conceive of an alternative is the first and most decisive step towards its realization. It is Marcuse's wisdom to have understood this, and one of his most important legacies to have worked to provide the ground for this realization.

Neither Marcuse nor the sixties are dead. Their relevance lives within the political tasks which we face today. If we are to discover a real response to the problems of the eighties, if we are to create a truly liberative form of socialism, it will have to be based on the rediscovery of Marcuse. The movement which will grow out of this rediscovery will be the only really fitting tribute to this man and the period of time which he represents.