

new indicator

Volume 8, Number 13

U.C. San Diego

16th year of publication

April 5-18, 1983

Draft/Aid Link Faces Possible Change, Repeal

UC Says Will Comply With Solomon Amendment

In the wake of Minnesota federal judge Alsop's temporary injunction barring enforcement of the Solomon amendment (which requires recipients of financial aid to prove they have registered for the draft), the Department of Education has announced that it is revising its regulations intended to implement the amendment. In addition, a House subcommittee has approved legislation to delay implementation until next February, and Congressional legislation has been introduced seeking to repeal the requirement altogether.

Meanwhile, in a little publicized memo issued in U.C. President David Saxon's name by Vice President William B. Fretter, the University has gone on record that it will "comply with the law and withhold Title IV funds from students affected by Public Law 97-252" (the Solomon amendment). However, that memo also states that the University will "join with other institutions and educational organizations in efforts to modify or repeal" the requirement that financial aid recipients verify their

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**There Is No God
History of Socialism, Kulture
Tax Resistance, and much more**

registration status.

That memo announced that procedures to implement the University's position would be issued by systemwide Financial Aid coordinator Marilyn Jaeger. Kate Jeffery of her

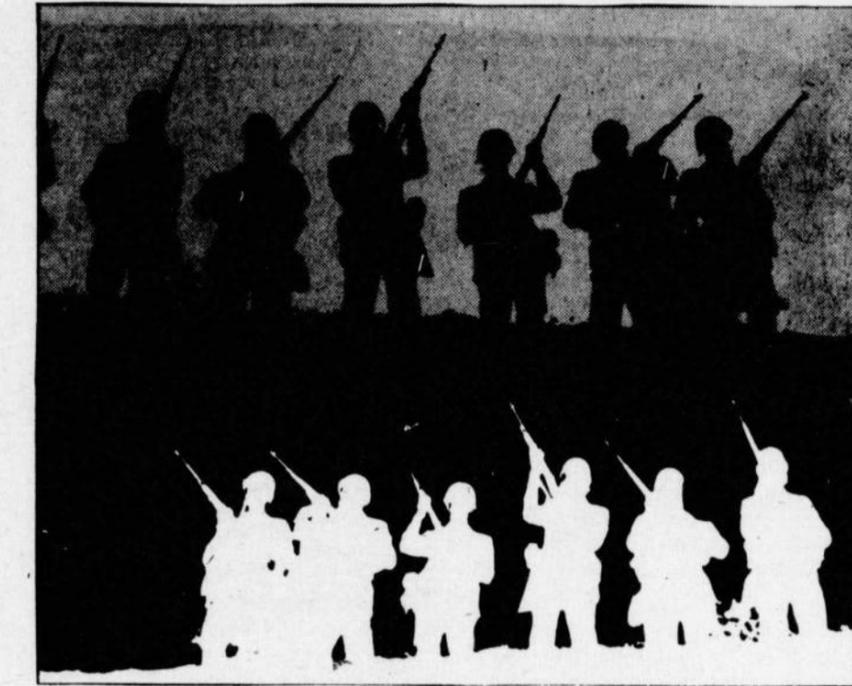
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Three Youths Face Trial For Murder of Farmworkers

Michael Oryall (age 16), Brian Spots (15), and Ralph Crenshaw (17), from Oceanside, are awaiting trial for the murder of two farm workers, and the wounding of two others, last February 5. These three high school students had been stopped the month before in an apparent attempt to kidnap an "illegal alien" from the farm where he worked and lived. A security guard foiled this attempt, and called police to the scene.

Michael Oryall has pleaded innocent and will be tried as an adult on April 12 at the Vista Court house. (His pre-trial hearing is set for April 8) Brian Spots and Ralph Crenshaw have pleaded guilty, and Spots claimed in a letter to his mother written from Juvenile Hall: "It was Ralph who shot them. It was Mike's gun and his shells." But the larger question—where do bad ideas come from? How do they become executed?—remain unanswered. The police have decided it was attempted robbery. Their argument is that "illegal aliens" are unprotected and, if robbed, they cannot go to the police. But how do you explain the "massacre nature" of the killing? No words exchanged; only the sound of a semi-automatic 22 rifle cutting down these four men and then Brian's words after the act was accomplished: "Did you see how we killed those...!!!"

We can no longer consider racism as an individual's disease. We must understand it as an element structured into the Capitalist-Imperialist system



UC Regents Impose Another Fee Hike For Fall '83

Student fees will be increased once again next fall. A \$191 annual hike in fees was approved by the Regents last month, meaning that UCSD students will pay fees of \$496.50 per quarter next year, if no further fee increases are approved. The fee increase effectively makes the \$100 so-called "one-time assessment" imposed upon students this Spring by the Regents permanent.

These fee hikes affect all students in the University of California system, and are concurrent with similarly drastic fee increases affecting students at Community Colleges, and the California State University system.

and exploited by the interests it serves. Our history is full of convenient racist behavior which has always served to set us apart by dehumanizing the victim and ultimately dominating him/her, when the victim was not outright murdered. **Dehumanization** of the enemy is a precondition to war, and the side effect can be a lasting pathology. One historical example is Theodore Roosevelt who was prepared to die in the Spanish-American War "to add another star to Old Glory" (i.e. U.S. annexation of Cuba). "Did I tell you that I killed a Spaniard with my own hand...?" he wrote to a friend "...a Spaniard not ten yards away doubling over 'neatly as a jackrabbit'." The future president of the U.S. went on to philosophize about killings: "All men who feel power of joy in battle...know what it is like when the wolf rises to the heart." And years later, his close friend Isaac Hunt noted "it made cold chills run down my back. He (T.R.) told it like...I would talk about shooting a squirrel." Historically, racist behavior has been encouraged to develop in the U.S. First, territorial expansion, then, after WW II only market expansion required an ideology which justified the conquerors to themselves.

Today economic expansion has all but stopped. Relationships which were characterized by domination are rapidly changing into relationships of negotiation. The racist discourse sounds

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Administration Set to Restructure Student Center

Major Fee Increases Expected

In the wake of Vice Chancellor for Undergraduate Affairs Joe Watson's move to increase administrative control over the Student Center by adding new seats to the Student Center Board and hiring a Student Center Director with upgraded powers (see March 15-April 4, 1983, *new indicator*), among other changes, another administration-dominated committee has issued a report proposing extensive revisions in the physical layout of the Student Center itself.

The Ad Hoc Building Advisory Committee (comprised almost entirely of administrators, mostly in Student Affairs, who discussed what facilities should be contained in the Student Center and related issues), in a report dated March 17, 1983, recommends construction of a 25,000 square foot facility, and extensive reallocations of existing space. Under their proposals, administrative offices in the Student Center would be greatly expanded, as would the number of businesses.

If the facility is approved as currently envisioned, construction would cost around \$4 million, to be funded by a student fee increase of between \$12 and \$18 per quarter (to cover debt service and maintenance and operating costs). Fees would continue to rise over the life of the facility, if the existing facilities and fee can be used as a comparison. Without any building expansion, the Student Center Fee has risen from \$6.00 in 1976 to \$12.50 today. The new facility would raise this fee to between \$25-\$30 per quarter, for starters.

In addition, according to our sources, the Registration Fee Committee is planning to construct a \$1 million building east of the existing Student Center to house Career Planning & Placement, an action certain to increase registration fees over even the announced levels for next year.

Although the report calls for a Fall 1983 student referendum to approve the fee increase, so that building can get

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While the Student Body Presidents Council has professed to be "outraged" by the Regents' action, they have done nothing to challenge it. In the face of this continued inactivity, the UCSD Student Cooperative Union sent out a letter last week to a variety of organizations throughout the U.C. system, and to local Community Colleges and SDSU, urging a unified struggle to defeat the fee hikes. (The text of the S.C.U. letter is printed on page 4)

Already, one Regent, Lt. Governor Leo McCarthy, has stated that the fee increases are probably illegal, among other reasons because of their special impact on minority and low-income students. (A discussion of the reasons why such fee increases may be illegal, and an in-depth discussion of the Fee Hike issue, can be found in our January 18-31, 1983 issue.)

Indeed, the impact of the continued fee hikes is already being felt. Although the University of California, by design, has always served primarily the children of the well-to-do, recent information indicates that this trend is worsening. At

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AFSCME Organizing To Represent UC Workers

As bargaining elections approach for workers in the University of California system, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is intensifying its efforts to become the certified bargaining agent for all nonacademic employees.

AFSCME organizers have been active at the University of California since the mid-seventies, when workers throughout the U.C. system decided that the time had come to unionize in order to defend themselves against management. At about the same time, the California State Employees Association was

transforming itself from a mutual benefit association offering group insurance and similar projects, into a company union notorious for abandoning grievances and employees in the face of management opposition.

In 1979 the State Legislature passed legislation making it legal for workers at the University of California and the California State University System to be represented in collective bargaining by unions. Prior to that time, there was no legal basis for compelling the University to bargain with employees, a factor

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New Indicator
Student Organizations
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Letters

Fine Work

Friends:

In January I visited the UCSD campus and picked up copies of the *new indicator* and the *Disorientation Manual 1982-83*. You folks really do fine work! The *new indicator* (Jan. 4-17) carried the interview with Sasway and Marsh, which was of particular interest to me. I have three sons 17, 21 and 23; and the *Disorientation Manual* is not only very well written, but also opens eyes to the truth of "research supported" university programs (and universities!) as well as other articles, particularly the well reasoned pieces on draft and registration resistance...

Keep up the good work.

—Michael Parry

Radical Disarmament

Dear New Indicator Collective:

The article "The Disarmament Movement" (March 1-14 issue, "Views from the Left") was an excellent proposal. I've heard numerous people voicing similar desires to go beyond the liberal disarmament movement—Anti-Authoritarian studies, the Overthrow Cluster & Its About Time in Berkeley; Bound Together, Death & Taxes, the Blacklist Group and many others in S.F.; and some affinity groups in Santa Cruz. We suggest Red & Black Action float a more concrete proposal for meeting or coordinated actions or something. Some of us are thinking of a

direct action festival if the demo convention is here—not directed at the politicians but at expropriating housing or goods, disrupting the normal routines of the murder business, nuke business, chemical business, all business—work, poetry, music... even the more staid meetings to share info, differences, critical analyses... But things should and will be done before that...

Yours for anarchy
Brian Kane

A New Peace Movement?

Red and Black Action's article heralds the coalescence of the various well-meaning "antis" into a new peace movement. For 35 years the World Federalists have been calling for nothing less than this, an abolition of war by means of offering common security at the global level and obsoleting offensive militarism as a tool of national political policy.

The doomsayers, and I include the Physicians for Social Responsibility and Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, along with Jonathan Schell, tell us the facts, but fail to point the way out. As to the threat of nuclear vs. conventional weaponry, peace will be won only when both can be safely removed. All systems of government are historical evolutions for the control of society, or the substitution of law and order for anarchy, to look at the other side.

To quote Emery Reeves in "Anatomy of Peace," published in 1945, toward a delegation of that portion of national sovereignties that no longer functions in the best interests of either the nation-state or the world as a whole, "Since WWII we are in a state of anarchy due to

the failure of the United Nations Charter, and the world court is made a mockery, with criminal nations free to choose whether they even want to go to court. We must organize peace independently of the unholy alliance stillborn in San Francisco or else we shall delude ourselves by believing in a miracle until the inevitable march of events thrusts us into another and greater holocaust."

That was written before Hiroshima, the mini-bomb that serves as the U.S. National model, the bomb that need not have been dropped since that war was already won, according to military records, an illustration of the fallacy of the present administration's "We'll make 'em, store 'em like aces up our sleeve, but we won't use 'em" line. Not only could we release 600 billion dollars a year, the costs of arms production last year by all nations in the world, for enhancement of all life on earth, but mankind could begin to take on a new world view, with the abolition of war. But it can only happen when the citizens of the world demand it, and that takes commitment.

World Federalists have that kind of commitment and call to others, whatever the group or organization or individual name, to speak out, demand a meeting of world leaders, as in the days of the colonies (actually independent nation-states themselves!) when our Constitution was hammered into form, to stay in session until they produce a system that makes war illegal. Everyone who runs for national political office must be held accountable to support this goal.

It is a wonder, with all our criticisms of the USSR for exporting Marxism that our national goal has never been to export the essence of Americanism—the benefits of our federal system as applied particularly to keeping the peace. As Harry Truman said, "It would be as easy for nations to get along (in a world where ambitions and arguments are not fueled by war material availability) in a

republic of the world as it is for our states. When Kansas and Colorado quarrel over water, they don't bring out the National Guard in each state and go to war over it. They bring a suit in the Supreme Court and abide by the decision."

A first step in that direction lies in Federalist-sponsored House Concurrent Resolution no. 20, introduced Jan. 6, 1983, by California Congressman George Brown, and co-sponsored by San Diego's Jim Bates, among others. It asks that the President transmit to heads of state our acceptance to a program not only of nuclear freeze but to verifiable disarmament, with establishment of peacekeeping and peacekeeping institutions. It offers a practical approach, a cry from the people, to work for peace with justice. If we don't demand it of our own legislators, we give the lie to the sincerity of our rhetoric. World Parliaments and other esoteric exercises in bringing about a new planetary consciousness are all very well as a means of focusing a wider arc of personalities, many of whom are essentially a-political on today's realities; but those who consider themselves aware and politically responsible should make themselves known to their legislators now, and support H. Con. Res. 20, a "talking paper" that just might prove to unlock the global impasse of the big powers, something we seem to feel we have backed into, maybe as a consequence of incomplete understanding of intercommunication dynamics, the revolution of rising expectations. Name it what you will, nothing short of an abolition of war is called for, and if that is utopian with today's knowledge, then evolution has stopped and the doomsday clock has struck.

Therese Tanalski, President World Federalists Association of San Diego

New Indicator response: We have a number of criticisms of the above letter, but have continued on page 4



TUES. APRIL 5

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting, UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

WED. APRIL 6

6 PM: Free, confidential **draft counseling** with professional National Lawyers Guild legal workers, 3000 E Street, 233-1701.

8 PM: 13th Annual Women's Festival of the Arts begins, continues through May 14. Contact Center for Women's Studies and Services for free festival brochure, 233-8984.

THURS. APRIL 7

7 PM: Delores Huerta (United Farm Workers) and Greg Akili (United Domestic Workers) discuss labor trends, Grass Roots Cultural Center, 30th and Grape, Golden Hill, 232-5009.

FRI. APRIL 8

4:30 PM: Groundwork Books TGIF party with refreshments, UCSD Student Center, 452-9625.

7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series, *Coup de Grace*, directed by Volker Schlöndorff, and Lina Wertmüller's *Love and Anarchy*. Free admission, UCSD USB 2722, Committee for World Democracy, 452-2016.

7:30 and 9:30 PM: IWW folksinger Utah Phillips at Old Time Cafe, 1464 North Highway 101, Leucadia, 436-4030.

SAT. APRIL 9

4 PM: San Diego Committee in Solidarity with the people of El Salvador meeting. Stop U.S. intervention in Central America! Get involved! 5380 El Cajon Blvd.

SUN. APRIL 10

2 PM: Folksinger Sam Hinton performs, 4190 Front Street. Benefit for Pacific Peacemaker Project, 280-8817.

MON. APRIL 11

6 PM: Committee for World Democracy meeting, UCSD Student Center, Room 203, 452-2016.

7 PM: Film *Bread and Chocolate*, SDSU AH 2108.

TUES. APRIL 12

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting, UCSD Student Center, Room 209, 452-2016.

WED. APRIL 13

6 PM: Free, confidential **draft counseling** with professional National Lawyers Guild legal workers, 3000 E Street, 233-1701.

7 PM: National Jobs with Peace Week Forum. Short film *Who's In Charge Here?* on economic conversion and labor, presented by Nick Nichols (Member, San Diego Labor Council and Democratic Socialists of America), and speakers Merkle Harris (Member, Welfare Rights Organization), Jim Jacobson (Member, Community Energy Action Network) and Carol Jahnkow (Member, Committee Against Registration and the Draft). Topics include federal budget, social services and military spending; cruise missile and first-strike weaponry; and the connection between conventional and nuclear war.

Roosevelt Jr. High School Auditorium, Park and Upas, 275-1162, 483-1165.

THURS. APRIL 14

7:30 PM: Physicians for Social Responsibility meeting and presentation by Robert Thurston on U.S.-Soviet relations, 4190 Front Street, 483-7774.

7:30 PM: *Feminist Consciousness Raising* program sponsored by National Organization for Women, Grass Roots Cultural Center, 30th and Grape, Golden Hill, 232-5009.



SAT. APRIL 9

1 PM: **PROTEST CUTS IN SOCIAL SERVICES!** Send A Message to Congress Rally, Speakers Corner, 6th and Laurel, Balboa Park. Sponsors include Gray Panthers, Congress of Seniors/Coalition of Elders, Older Women's League, National Organization for Women, National Council of Senior Citizens, California Association of the Physically Handicapped, many others, 293-3500.

The new indicator

is officially recognized as a campus newspaper. The views do not represent those of the Chancellor or the Regents.

The new indicator is a collectively produced university-community newspaper, distributed to San Diego County college campuses and selected community action/human services organizations and other sites. Subscriptions are \$8.00 per year.

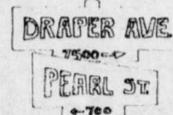
articles and letters are welcomed. Please type them double-spaced, on a 55-space line and send to: new indicator collective/UCSD B-023/La Jolla, CA 92093. Ph: (619) 452-2016

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Funky La Jolla

by Rambling Rosie



Those wondering my absence in the pages of the last issue wonder no more. Suffice it to say that under our economic system, no one, especially those involved in the pursuit of truth and uncovering administrative wrongdoing, is immune from facing the wrath of the powers that be...Such was my fate last month. In its attempt to silence me, the Administration concocted a devious scheme to deprive me of my humble living quarters on campus. Under an obscure University regulation, heretofore applied to no one, limiting the number of years a person may live in University housing, as they put it, as a "guest of the University" I was denied renewal of my housing contract. According to my contacts, at secret administrative meetings held to implement their plan, I was referred to as a "snoop" who "had to be silenced." Hence I have been exiled by the University to languish in the "depths of depravity," or, as is commonly known, in the "ghetto of Funky La Jolla." Never fear though, here, there or anywhere, we will prevail; with your tips and my contacts we will mount a campaign unheard of in the annals of "snooping." We'll get even with those rifraff yet...

Since the last time I spoke to you, the junior politicians over at the AS have been busy making their plays in preparation for the upcoming AS elections. As I mentioned last time, some adroit maneuvering during the final weeks of last quarter changed the method of voting from the existing Preferential Voting system to the primary/run-off system. Rumor has it that potential candidates currently on the AS Council railroaded the change through on the assumption that this would increase their chance for winning. Ignoring the obviously sleazy nature of their action, there were many questions raised over the way changes were made, for example the change in the voting method came a mere week after the Preferential Voting system was unanimously reaffirmed as the desired system; there was little or no attempt to debate the merits of one system over the other; or without having been sent to committee...After AS President Henry Chu failed to veto the change despite these irregularities it became obvious

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Student Center

underway, the *new indicator* has learned from middle-level administrators that it is highly unlikely that the administration will be ready to present the proposal to a student vote before next Spring. This is due to a number of factors, including the need to allow time for the new Student Center Director to review the proposals, and to establish a large-scale publicity campaign to sell the plan to students.

The administration report calls for a multi-pronged, high-budget campaign to convince students to support the fee increase. Thousands of dollars, presumably from administrative coffers, would be spent to develop publicity materials, "a staff person working 50 to 80 percent time" would be placed in charge of the campaign, and, should students reject the proposal, it will be represented until it passes. This latter is reminiscent of the soon-to-be-opened Recreation Center, repeatedly rejected

that the AS structure could not be relied upon to check and correct its own doings...accordingly, a group of students filed a charge sheet yesterday asking the AS Judicial Board to overturn the Council's actions by ruling the amendments invalid because there were such massive violations of AS bylaws. So true to form, it looks like once again the AS elections will have no trouble fulfilling its reputation as a travesty of bizarre proportions...It's no wonder that the overwhelming majority of student don't bother to show up at the polls.

In other business, the junior bureaucrats are currently embroiled over who they should send to a conference—costing \$500 in student fees—in Chicago. According to sources, AS President Henry Chu has set up a convenient arrangement to receive matching funds of \$500 from Vice Chancellor Joe Watson provided he's the individual going...Council is holding an emergency meeting to stop this.

Some of you may have noticed a conspicuous absence in the staff box of the current *UCSD Guardian*, specifically that of Editor-in-Chief, Scott Young. According to sources Young resigned because he had insufficient support from the staff for his brand of journalism, and the attention it brought the *Guardian*—like a \$1 million libel suit. Also, rumors indicate that two other *Guardian* editors have resigned during the spring break...In the meantime, there appears to be no word yet about the *Guardian* response to the law suit, or if in fact they have bothered to retain an attorney...

As a reminder, our rabid cold war warrior and anti-worker, President, Ronald Reagan, recently proclaimed May 1—for most of us around the world known as International Workers Day—as "Loyalty Day," saying that as Americans remain faithful to the Constitution, "our nation's greatness will flourish."

And, in closing, the San Diego Union reports that administrators at both the Irvine and San Diego campus are considering applying for the "honor" of having former-president Nixon's memoirs housed on campus...

by students and finally approved by a referendum that failed to obtain the required turnout, but which the administration decided to accept anyway. However, the committee states that it prefers to win on the first round: "if the first referendum should fail, it will be even more difficult to have it pass the next time."

The publicity campaign involves sophisticated surveys done by a professional polling organization; brochures and other "propaganda"; "Guardian articles and ads"; use of college newsletters; slide presentations; posters and banners; a series of meetings with student groups; and the like. The proposal calls for the campaign committee to be in charge of conducting the referendum, and implicitly states that it will control the content of articles to appear on a weekly basis in the *UCSD Guardian*, implying a level of administrative control of that paper rarely admitted in public documents.

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AFSCME Fights On

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which made it difficult for unions to win gains. Since 1979, collective bargaining has been tied up in hearings before the state's Public Employees Relations Board. Now, although an actual date for bargaining elections has not yet been set, most observers expect a mail ballot to be issued towards the end of May. U.C. employees will then have thirty days to return their ballots.

The California State Employees Association (CSEA) pulled out of the elections last month, stating that it was doing so in response to the University's \$1 million anti-union campaign. The University of California has received \$511,000 from the state to finance its anti-union campaign, and has supplemented that with an "initial" \$160,000 in research funds. In addition, countless hours are being spent by supervisory personnel and high-level administrators on the campaign, and much of its costs are subsumed in the University's normal operating budget. This campaign has ranged from pamphlets issued to U.C. workers, to meetings conducted by supervisors in various departments to discuss collective bargaining, and other forms of pressure by supervisors to restrict the influence of unions and to foster the spread of anti-union ideology, as well as University obstruction of the process of carrying out the elections.

With CSEA out of the running, AFSCME is the major union on the ballot. In its years on U.C. campuses, AFSCME has built up a reputation for aggressive defense of workers' rights, pressing and winning countless grievances. AFSCME has built such a reputation in this process that many members of other unions (as well as workers who had not joined a union) came to AFSCME to handle their grievances when they were getting the runaround.

Besides AFSCME, three other unions will appear on the ballot for one or more units (PERB has divided U.C. employees into a number of units along job lines, each unit will choose between one or more unions and the "no representation" option); the Operating Engineers, the Laborers Union and the tiny UCSD-based California Education Labor Organization, which split off from CSEA last year when its head faced a rank-and-file rebellion against his autocratic rule. U.C. employees will choose between these unions (in no case will all four be on the same ballot) and "no representation" in the elections scheduled to be next month.

AFSCME has been waging a two-pronged campaign in its bid to represent U.C. workers. The International has waged a high-level publicity campaign complete with television commercials, brochures, union insignia and the like. This effort is aimed primarily at increasing name recognition among U.C. workers and explaining the benefits that unionization can bring, and is under the primary direction of International officials. As part of these efforts, AFSCME organizers and local members have been engaged in extensive leafletting at a variety of campus locations. While the campus-based locals are participating in this campaign, and especially in activities like the leafletting and similar activities, they are devoting most of their efforts to building grassroots contacts and to continuing efforts such as the processing of grievances, which not only offer immediate benefit to U.C. workers, but also are indicative of the greater gains that could be won under collective bargaining.

Through these efforts, AFSCME hopes to overcome the administration's union-busting campaign, and secure for U.C. workers the benefits and rights won through collective bargaining and united action.

56¢ out of every tax dollar goes to the military.

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Peace Resource Center

Progressive Coalition (UCSD)
Red and Black Action
Service Employees International Union, Local 535
Student Peace Education Committee (SDSEU)
United Domestic Workers of America
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Fee Hike Set for Fall...

U.C. Berkeley, for example, while the median parental income is \$36,000 (annually), the median income of parents of incoming first year students is a staggering \$54,000! This means that fee increases over the last few years have already caused a sharp drop in the enrollment of lower income students.

A similar process is taking place at UCSD. Reported parental median incomes (based on student reports on their S.A.T. tests, an indicator with only limited reliability) for entering first year students has risen by \$8,000 over the past three years (1980 to 1982), a rate of increase twice that of the United States as a whole.

Already, the California college system is highly stratified along lines of race and income. Eighty-five percent of the state's Black and Chicano students, as well as the vast majority of students from working class families, are enrolled in the 2-year community colleges. The planned \$100 yearly tuition for these schools threatens to restrict access to them as well. The situation, of course, is even worse for students from low income and non-white backgrounds.

Financial Aid Inadequate

Under the proposal adopted by the Regents, student on financial aid would have at least a portion of the fee increase covered. However, students who do not currently receive financial aid will have serious difficulty in obtaining aid to help meet these increased costs, given the increasing scarcity of financial aid funds. Already, students who receive financial assistance are being left with \$1,000 of their financial need "unmet"—this on top of the \$1,500 marked as student contribution. These students are forced to either drop out of school, or attempt to find part-time jobs (in these times of record unemployment) to make ends meet. Thus, UCSD has already



implemented Reagan's proposal that students be required to pay for 25% of their educational costs before becoming eligible for financial aid, even though Congress is refusing to even consider this proposal! Meanwhile, according to a report in *Voz Fronteriza*, Student Financial Services has deposited half a million dollars in the bank, where it is drawing interest for the Regents instead of being used to meet student needs.

The fee hikes take place in the wake of controversy over massive pay hikes for top U.C. officials. UC President-designate David Gardner has received a \$55,000 pay raise, and will "earn" \$150,000 next year (plus house and other benefits); while other administrators are expecting increases of 20 to 30 percent. Meanwhile, U.C. employees are receiving at best minimal wage increases, while the University spends hundreds of thousands of dollars on a massive anti-union campaign.

Students fees have risen 55% over the

last two years. Meanwhile, the Regents are also raising tuition to out-of-state students, and are considering instituting massive fee hikes to graduate and professional students.

Fee Hikes: A Call For Direct Action

Fellow Students,

As you are probably aware, the Regents, at their last meeting, approved yet another fee hike; this one to add \$191 to our fees next year. These massive fee hikes, which are forcing thousands of students to find part-time jobs in an era of record unemployment, and forcing many to drop out of, or postpone, the University come at the same time U.C. administrators are receiving huge increases in the already obscenely large salaries they receive.

Although all students are affected by these fee hikes, they are by their very nature targeted against Blacks, Chicanos, Asians and Native Americans, and against poor and working class students in general. This fact is being made even clearer by the proportionately larger increases being inflicted upon our fellow students in the California State University system, and the Community Colleges.

In the face of these attacks, it is necessary for us to unite to resist these increases—and related attacks—through determined, militant action. The U.C. Student Body Presidents

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Letters...

space only to briefly comment on a few of its most glaring faults. Perhaps most serious is the naive belief that legislation shapes reality, and that something positive could be accomplished by "a meeting of world leaders" who would "produce a system that makes war illegal." Of course, we have had many meetings of world "leaders"; and in between their more pressing business of dividing up the world they have, from time to time, devised systems and bodies of international law to make war illegal, the most recent being the United Nations; little good (if any) has come of these exercises.

The letter suffers from an inadequate understanding of the meaning of the word "peace." Peace is not simply, as the World Federalists would have us believe, the absence of war. Rather, it is cooperative, mutually affirming, non-violent living. It necessarily entails the dismantling of the oppressive systems of institutionalized violence that perpetuate poverty, injustice and government. Only in this wider sense is peace a meaningful concept, worthy of being struggled for. To insist on the absence of war without changing society is to support the perpetuation of an unjust social order, and to bar resistance.

Tanalski concedes that all governments exist in order to "control" society, but goes on to state that the world is in a "state of anarchy." In no sense can this be said to be true. Indeed the problem is almost the

Council through its inaction and passivity has shown itself unwilling to initiate such a struggle, despite the substantial resources placed at its disposal by students. Instead, the SBPC prefers to rely upon the goodwill of the Regents and the Legislature, a course that can lead only to disaster.

Accordingly, we are writing you—and other student groups throughout the U.C. system—to put forward various possible courses of action, and to solicit ideas and proposals for action. At this point we feel that a broad variety of actions on both a local and state-wide level present the best hope for success.

Among the courses of action we see as viable are:

Initiating a lawsuit seeking an injunction against the fee hikes. Lt. Governor McCarthy has conceded that the fee hikes are probably illegal. Preparing such litigation and successfully pursuing it requires planning and a commitment of resources beyond the capacity of any one organization such as our own.

Demonstrations and Building Occupations. A determined, persistent campaign along these lines would have a high probability of success if it were sufficiently widespread. In our opinion, such a campaign should be explicitly linked to the issues of cutbacks, affirmative action, war research, administrative control of the University, support for U.C. workers and similar issues.

Withholding of fees and Student Strikes. These tactics could only be successful if a large percentage of students were committed to them.

If we can build a movement capable of preventing the University from continuing "business as usual" it will be forced to meet our demands.

We would appreciate your comments about these ideas, and your suggestions for strategies to fight this latest attack. We are enclosing a copy of an article which appeared in the January 18th-31st, 1983 issue of the *new indicator*, a student newspaper at UCSD, addressing the "one-time assessment" of \$100 which takes effect this quarter, because we feel it offers a valuable, if incomplete, perspective on the situation.

We hope to hear from you in the next few weeks. Only if we come together in struggle can we hope to defeat this latest round of fee increases, and to roll fee levels back to less extortionate levels.

Repeat the Fee Hikes!

In Solidarity,
The Student Cooperative Union

opposite; we are confronted not with no government, but with hundreds of governments, each fighting to extend and safeguard its domination both internally and externally. Tanalski would resolve this conflict by establishing one world government, which would subordinate all of the planet to its rule. Ignoring the practical difficulties in such a proposal, it would lead to a despotism unparalleled in the history of humanity.

Tanalski appeals for us to establish a "national goal" to export "Americanism"; a goal that would doubtless be met with a less-than-enthusiastic response by the people of Vietnam, the Philippines, or Central and Latin America (to name just a few). These people have felt the "benefits" of "Americanism"; the napalm raining down from the skies, the gunfire of U.S. Marines, the economic and military support that props up local dictators.

At essence, Tanalski's pleas are aimed at our "leaders," who got us into this mess in the first place. She calls on them to reach an accord, rather than for people to take control over their own lives; for a system of "world law" to which people would become subservient, rather than working together for mutually beneficial solutions; legislation instead of direct action.

If "nothing short of an abolition of war is called for," and we believe it is, then we must be prepared to take action to implement this program ourselves, and must be prepared to attack the real causes of war. To do anything less is to delude ourselves.

American Journal—Chile Today: More Than A Horror Movie

Most Americans know little more about Chile than we saw in the movie *Missing*. We know there was a military coup there. We know that it was violent. We vaguely recall that it happened a long time ago—nearly ten years now—and that Chile is far, far away. Mostly, Chile has receded in our national consciousness to a half-remembered blur, like a movie we saw as kids that might come around on the late show again sometime.

To some people living in this country, however, events in Chile are more than a movie—and more than a memory. The people to whom I refer are Chilean exiles driven here by the bloodshed and suppression in their country. I spoke recently to several exiles, opponents of the Pinochet dictatorship that now rules Chile, who stay in touch with their homeland via telephone, letters and world press reports. At their request, their names are not used here. However, they are quite real, as is the grim situation they described to me—a situation that inherently involves the United States.

Since the military overthrew the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende in 1973, two things have happened in Chile. First, the South American country has become one of the most dangerous places in the world for political dissidents; such people routinely disappear and are tortured and killed by the military and the secret police. Second, Chile has become a clinic in which the harsh financial medicine prescribed by American economist Milton Friedman is forced down the throats of the people. Both developments have been catastrophic for Chile. And both have engendered significant resistance that is underreported here.

"Officially, unemployment in Chile is 25 per cent," my informants told me, "but really it is more like 40 per cent. Friedman's followers have severely damaged Chile's traditional industries. Mining, fishing and oil have all been hurt. The textile industry is completely broke. El Banal Textiles in Santiago was put out of business because of imports, especially from the U.S." Meanwhile, inflation is running at 100 per cent a year and the government devalued the peso by 50 per cent last November.

The worsening financial crunch has, according to exiles, caused even members of the upper middle class—Allende's staunchest opponents—to question the competency of the regime. My sources foresee possible alliances of convenience between center-right Christian Democrats and some elements of the left, just to get rid of Pinochet. However, they cautioned, that would be only a short-term gain, and "only the method of repression would change" in such an arrangement.

In the meantime, popular opposition to the regime is becoming increasingly public and determined. "The demonstrations are of essentially two types," one informant said. "One is by the unions, some of which are illegal under the junta, which has tried to impose military-sponsored unions. The other is by the families of 'disappeared' (kidnapped) persons. They picket on main streets in Santiago. The police frequently arrest them by the hundreds and exile the leaders." Last December, Manuel Bustos, head of the National Labor Coordinating Committee, and Hector Cuevas, chief of the construction union, were ordered out of the country.

That same month, protesters staged a demonstration in Santiago that resulted



in sweeps by the secret police in three cities. More than 200 people were arrested. "There have been armed battles with the police and military in Santiago, too," the exiles said, and other actions, besides. Last year, opponents of the regime cut power lines during a big international music festival in Vista del

continued from page 1

Plantation...

strange and obsolete to our ears. The young middle-class high school students stammer their parent's outrage: "Piss on Iran!" and "Nuke Jane Fonda" and then slide back into their confusion, unable to comprehend the changes around them, as if some shell game were being played and their eyes were already fixed on a cup that turns empty. More poignant are the gibes from from suburban youth toward their Chicano class mates: *Why don't you go join the other illegal aliens in the fields?* The Chicano's shame to see these helpless desperate farm workers, excites the middle-class anglo students and new

Mar that the government uses as a showcase, and last October the underground knocked out power to the TV station where Pinochet was making a nationwide address.

The reponse of the junta has been to become ever more repressive—a move noted by international human rights groups and United Nations investigators. The junta has also refused to cooperate with U.S. officials investigating the 1976 murder of exiled Chilean minister Orlando Letelier in the heart of Washington's Embassy Row.

The Letelier murder has, so far, stymied the Reagan administration from resuming economic aid to Chile—a move the administration has publicly favored taking. Under U.S. law, the administration must certify that significant progress in human rights is being made in order for aid to resume. To any dispassionate observer, such progress is obviously not occurring. As taxpayers and moral human beings, we must see to it that aid does not resume. Otherwise the horror movie that is Chile today can only get worse.

—David Armstrong

expressions of violence are devised daily and practiced on the buses to and from schools, the same schools where the true history of this country has not yet been heard.

According to one criminal justice officer the predatory violence against "illegal aliens" would decrease if they were given legal status. The police do this already, when they need a witness: They arrange for a temporary resident status of six months which is renewable. Since there is precedent for this action, it could be implemented immediately, and these farmworkers, who are "at the bottom of the pecking order," would receive the protection they so desperately need.

—R. Francis



The Center For U.S.—Mexican Studies at the University of California, San Diego

RESEARCH SEMINAR ON MEXICO AND U.S.—MEXICAN RELATIONS SPRING QUARTER, 1983

Wednesday, April 6, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
MEXICAN AND U.S. AGRICULTURE: THE NEXT 20 YEARS

Cassio Luiselli, former national coordinator of the Sistema Alimentario Mexicano—SAM; member of President López Portillo's cabinet. (Presentation in Spanish.)

Wednesday, April 13, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
CANADIAN AND MEXICAN TRADE POLICIES TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES

Theodore Cohn, Professor of Political Science, Simon Fraser University, British Columbia, Canada.

Wednesday, April 20, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
MEXICAN FOREIGN POLICY TOWARDS CENTRAL AMERICA
David Ayón, political scientist, Stanford University.

Wednesday, April 27, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
HOW THE BORDER WORKS: THE IMPACTS OF THE MEXICAN ECONOMIC CRISIS

Norris Clement, professor of Economics and Coordinator of Border Programs, San Diego State University.

Wednesday, May 4, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
MEXICAN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICIES

The Research Seminar is an internationally recognized, interdisciplinary forum for presentation of new research and public policy perspectives dealing with Mexican development issues and other issues affecting relations between Mexico and the United States. All members of the UCSD community are welcome, as well as faculty and students from other universities and members of the general public.

Jorge Vargas, International Law School, Centro de Estudios Económicos y Sociales del Tercer Mundo, Mexico City.

Wednesday, May 11, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
CHANGING LABOR MARKET STRUCTURES OF U.S. BORDER CITIES: SAN DIEGO AND EL PASO
Susan Christopherson, geographer, University of California, Berkeley.

Wednesday, May 18, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
MEXICAN CRISIS AND INTERNATIONAL RESPONSE IN THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
Gustavo del Castillo, political anthropologist, Centro de Estudios Fronterizos del Norte de México, Tijuana, Baja California.

Wednesday, May 25, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
FOREIGN LABOR AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT IN THE SUNBELT
Saskia Sassen-Koob, sociologist, Queens College, City University of New York.

Wednesday, June 1, 12:00-2:00 p.m.
Conference Room 111-A (Administrative Complex):
U.S. DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE MAKING OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD MEXICO
Carlos Rico, political scientist, Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, Mexico City.

Don't Pay War Taxes!

Who pockets your pay? The IRS, of course. For whom? The U.S. government. What does the government do with your hard-earned income? This year, nearly sixty cents out of every tax dollar you pay goes directly to the U.S. military, whether you want it or not. After all, taxation is theft! But that's another problem altogether. Suffice it to say, once the government has your money, it decides how to spend the loot.

The Pentagon employs billions of tax dollars every year developing various means to kill and oppress people. The U.S. military specializes in death and destruction. It exists solely for one purpose—war.

War against whom? Against freedom fighters in Central America, South Africa, the Mid East, Indonesia, Micronesia, the Caribbean, Europe—seemingly *ad infinitum*. Here at home, the U.S. government is at war with low- and middle-income people, women, older people, non-white people, disabled people, gays and lesbians, students—and everyone who disagrees with its policies or opposes the status quo.

Hundreds of thousands of Americans from coast to coast are fighting back! A.J. Muste once observed, "The two decisive powers of the government with respect to war are the power to conscript and the power to tax." By the government's own admission, between one-half and one million men have refused to register for the draft. Increased U.S. intervention in Central America and elsewhere, the unprecedented U.S. arms build-up, the current intimidation campaign waged by the Selective Service System and inter-agency collaboration linking draft registration to student financial aid, driver's licenses, Social Security and so on, are among factors encouraging more and more people to resist the draft.

The U.S. government's accelerating

threat to world peace has also moved hundreds of thousands of Americans to resist war taxes, more now than ever before. People who want tax money spent on food, clothing, shelter, safe energy, transportation, health care and other life-affirming services instead of guns and bombs, have found numerous ways to protest war taxes.

Some boycott tobacco, alcohol, gasoline and air travel, because the federal excise tax goes, at least in part, to the military. So does the federal excise tax on long distance telephone calls. So does money paid for U.S. Savings Bonds. And most important of all, nearly 60% of the federal income tax goes to the military. Moreover, the Pentagon constantly borrows from numerous trust funds, such as Social Security, the airport and highway trust funds.

The telephone company is prohibited from shutting off your telephone if you withhold the federal excise tax but pay the balance due the utility. It's a matter between the war tax resister and the government. Nonpayment of federal income taxes is much more complicated. Anyone who doesn't want to see another Vietnam situation develop any further in El Salvador, for instance, ought to consider withholding all or some portion of the federal income tax. Remember, nearly 60% of what you do pay goes to the military. No-one should proceed, however, without contacting the organizations listed below.

Some people who withhold war taxes donate the money to local women's centers, peace groups or a "Peoples' Life Fund." Some put the money in an escrow account so they may retrieve the funds. Meanwhile, interest on the money goes to promote peace in some way. Certain Congressional legislators are pushing for a World Peace Tax Fund

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This article is an attempt to promote a discussion in the pages of the new indicator on erotica, human sexuality and pornography.

Erotica and pornography, as the English language currently stands, are words that are equated in the minds of most people. Not only is there little or no distinction drawn between erotica and pornography, but the term pornography encompasses the most innocuous and symbolic depiction of human sexuality through the most disgusting snuff film. Erotica and pornography are considered synonymous, or erotica is defined as high-class pornography. This failure to distinguish between erotica and pornography, in turn, has caused a number of political problems. Those who oppose pornography are accused of being anti-sexual, while those who support erotica are accused of promoting sexual exploitation. A redefinition of the terms erotica and pornography is required in order to solve these political problems.

Erotica is the depiction—through writing, drawing, films and other media—of sexual love in all its human variety. Erotica, far from being bad or corrupting, is essentially healthy, even good for people. But there is very little erotica around. Why? Because we live in a capitalist society which, by any socialist definition, means that the people in such a society necessarily exploit each other and in turn are exploited. Pornography is the exploitation of the depiction of sexual love for profit, power or mystification. Erotica serves to enhance sexual pleasure. Pornography exploits sexual pleasure.

To illustrate why there can be little, if any, erotica in capitalist societies, let us briefly examine prostitution. Prostitution, like erotica, has been going on long before capitalism came onto the historical stage, even though most libertarians would insist that the

A Discussion:

EROTICA vs. PORNOGRAPHY

exchange of sex for money (i.e. the commoditization of sex) is a purely capitalist transaction. In the United States today there is very little "pure" prostitution around. Prostitutes are usually "owned" by pimps who exploit them mercilessly, or else they must pay gang/police protection, if they are not exploited by organized crime. Libertarianism to the contrary, the exploitation of prostitution by pimps, gangs, the police and organized crime simply reflects the full logic of exploitation in capitalist society. Can anyone expect that erotica could escape such a fate in capitalist society? Hardly.



NO MORE SHIT

This is not to argue for legal censorship of pornography. Such a "solution" is far worse than the crime of exploiting erotica for profit, power or mystification. Rather, collective

education and action on a community scale to empower people is a necessary first step. And the attempt to end pornography must be seen as the attempt to liberate erotica as a step in liberating human sexuality. The campaign against pornography, so far, has made the mistake of equating pornography with erotica. Unless this mistake is corrected, the anti-pornography movement may indeed become the "new Puritanism" its detractors now call it. As for the movement's current detractors: they're usually white "radical" males upset by "uppity" women. Instead of correctly criticizing the movement's failure to distinguish between erotica and



Ms. Management

Ms Management

I'm a jazz musician by training, but because I am unable to find work in this field, I am forced to take on other jobs in order to pay my bills. The only jobs that I've been able to find so far are the lowest paying, like washing dishes and bussing tables in restaurants. Still, I manage to practice my music several hours a day because music is what I live for. But my problem is that I have not been able to keep any of these jobs for very long because I am discontent with the work.

I was fired from my last job "for looking tired". I was working as a busboy at an expensive restaurant. The manager told me to cut my hair short, to wear only white freshly pressed shirts to work, to always smile and act courteous when customers were around, and to keep my black bow tie straight at all times. I was very uncomfortable with these new rules and regulations and I began to feel afraid of doing something wrong. During my training the manager emphasized that I should not do the work of other employees (there were two busboys and seven waitresses working at this restaurant), and that I should report to the manager in writing if I saw any employee misbehaving. Periodically, the manager would call a meeting "to encourage teamwork", "to make everyone aware of their own responsibilities and each others tasks", and above all "to keep a tight ship".

At this restaurant the waitresses were highly motivated by tips and often they ended by abusing the busboys for not moving fast enough, for making them loose tips. Waitresses were supposed to share 30% of the tips with the busboys. When one waitress refused to share her tips with me, as she was required to by the rules, I reported her to the manager just as the rules indicated I should. Soon after, the other employees began to avoid me. When I came up to them, they would stop talking and just walk off. It became very boring to go to work. But still the manager insisted that we arrive early before each shift and promote the restaurant by buying a meal at 50% discount and eating before our shift. (He thought it looked good for the customers to see employees eating where they worked).

The day before I got fired, I had asked the manager for Saturdays off, because I wanted to try to find "gigs" and begin my music career. He had agreed to my new schedule which left me Saturday nights

pornography, these detractors uphold pornography as part of human sexual liberation. The exploitation of sexual love for power, profit or mystification can no more directly produce sexual liberation than the exploitation of workers for profit, power and mystification can directly produce working-class liberation.

Both require revolution in order to achieve true liberation. Revolution can only mean the destruction of capitalist society and the creation of socialism. The fact that most current "socialist" countries exploit their proletariat and suppress human eroticism only indicates how far these countries are from socialism.

by Chris Aaron

free. But when I arrived at work the following Monday morning, my time-card was not with the others. I went to the bulletin board and my name did not appear there, either. Then I went to the schedule manager's office, but she was interviewing a new applicant. As I waited in the lobby to see her, the restaurant manager entered the front door. He motioned for me to follow him to his office, where he told me: "I decided you just couldn't handle two jobs". Too surprised to say anything, I took the check he offered me and, feeling humiliated, I left the unpleasant place.

Can you tell me how I can keep a job which I don't like, but which I nevertheless need to keep alive and to play my jazz?

Signed

"Doo be sharp"

Dear "Doo Be":

Your training, your desires, your talents are being sacrificed upon the altar of COMPETITION. Like the proverbial prize fighter in the ring, you are required to receive beatings and destroy yourself, however slowly, in order to "win". The majority of people with jobs such as yours spend their energies working to "win" money for rent, for food, and for transportation to and from work. What little money is left over goes to buy enough entertainment to make the whole routine tolerable. The promoters of this COMPETITION have ring side seats, and they will judge you according to your "attitude," in comparison with the attitudes of the other employees.

In a factory, or on a ship, cooperation is consciously planned and relationships are hierarchical and authoritarian, but in a market, where goods or services are bought and sold, "coordination is achieved through a decentralized, unconscious, competitive process." (In our society the "Free Market Place" is worshiped, blindly!) You have found yourself in the worst of both worlds: the authoritarian rules and regulations restrict your freedom of expression, while the competitive scrambling for tips requires much effort from very little reward.

Without competition, the capitalist system would collapse, tomorrow. Therefore, to reproduce the ideology which promotes competition appears as a First Principle of Capitalism. I recommend that you ask yourself what you are doing to perpetrate this ideology! We are all part of the world capitalist system, and whether we "win" or we "lose", we are all weakened and eventually destroyed by it.

Sincerely,

Ms. Management

Tell your problems to Ms. Management, and let them receive a proper hearing. Letters should be sent c/o the New Indicator Collective, B-023

DISTRIBUTORS WANTED

to distribute the new indicator at Scripps, SDSU, and other sites. Call 452-2016

America: From Hilter To M-X

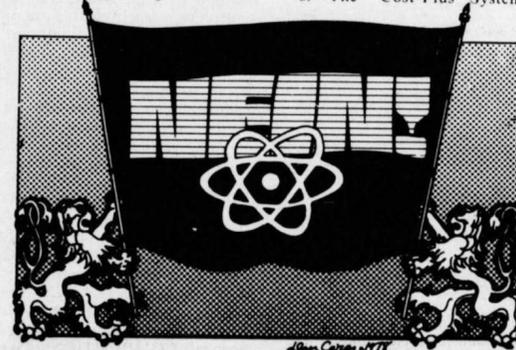
New tools for mass annihilation are being built again and at large profits for many of the same old companies. Only this time, public pressure is mounting to turn things around before they get out of hand. A new and informative film, "America—From Hitler to M-X," underscoring this theme, premiered in San Diego recently to promote the non-violent demonstration against deployment of the M-X missile at Vandenberg Air Force Base.

Among other topics, the film dealt with private U.S. investors who supported Adolf Hitler—among them Henry Ford (who was awarded a medal of honor by Hitler along with another American executive from General Motors), I.G. Farben, the Du Pont family, and Exxon Oil Co. Today, these same private investors are profiting from the construction of First-Strike M-X nuclear missiles in California. This film documents the fact that many of "the war lords and money kings" have not changed since the regime of Adolf Hitler, and also unchanged is the fascist technique of exaggerating "the national

threat" to make a rationale for justifying fascism.

Several "new" concepts appeared in the film:

1. The "new" U.S. foreign policy of accepting "Limited Nuclear Warfare" as viable.
2. The recent U.S. military strategy (announced by Jimmy Carter) which publicly claims "First Strike" nuclear war intentions.
3. The "New North American Image" circulating in Western Europe today depicting the U.S. as the ONLY hostile superpower endangering Western Europe with open threats of nuclear war.
4. The "logical fallacy" of interpreting the "inferior" Soviet computer system, which controls their nuclear missile mishaps as proof of our "superior" position.
5. The reaffirmed contention—contrary to recent publicity—that the U.S. has been leading the USSR in the arms race by 3 to 5 years from the very beginning.
6. The "Cost-Plus System" which



Visual Arts Department Course Offerings Spring '83

VA 110 — ARTISTS' BOOKS

Thursday 3:00-5:50 — HL 1200W — E. Antin

This studio course, in which artists make and talk about books, is open to persons with background in painting, photography, sculpture, conceptual art, etc. Genre studies will include comic books, journals, morality tales, manifestos, etc. This quarter the class will be working on a 10-foot tall artists' book for the Undergraduate Festival of the Arts.

VA 113L — ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE ARTS — Teilhet

Monday 12:00-2:50 — TLH 111

This course will analyze the equivocal role of non-western women artists as well as the emerging role of Western women artists. The course will also examine, within a cultural context, how often women are depicted in the arts; what types of female images predominate (i.e., mother/child, splayed female, etc.); and who are the patrons and/or consumers of these images. Prerequisite: one upper-division Western art history.

NOTE: This course is prerequisite for a Fall 83 course being taught in Tonga, a kingdom in the south Pacific between Fiji and Samoa.

VA 115K — NARRATIVE STRUCTURES IN THE VISUAL ARTS — Greenstein

Wednesday 12:00-2:50 — Mandeville 106

How can a fixed image represent events in time? This question was at the heart of a Renaissance theory of art that promoted the representation of *historia*, or the narrative subject, as the painter's greatest achievement. By focusing on the problems of representing biblical themes—problems raised by the various descriptions of the same event in different books of the Bible and by the multiple significances these events held—this course will investigate the strategies of storytelling in the art and theory of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance and the consequences of these strategies for understanding the meaning of art. Special attention will be given to Leon Batista Alberti's *On Painting* and its impact on Mantegna, Piero della Francesca, and Italian art of the mid-fifteenth century.

VA 115M — GREEK ART — Nodelman

Tuesday/Thursday 10:00-11:20 — TLH 109

This course will cover the major arts of Greek architecture, sculpture, and painting during the archaic, classic, and hellenistic periods. No prerequisites.

VA 117 — 18th CENTURY ART HISTORY — Crary

Tuesday/Thursday 8:30-9:50 — TLH 111

A general survey of the painting, sculpture, and architecture of the eighteenth century in Europe. Prerequisite: VA 16 or consent of instructor.

VA 118 — 19th CENTURY ART HISTORY — Crary

Monday/Wednesday 3:00-4:20 — TLH 111

A survey of nineteenth century art in Europe, stressing stylistic developments for Neo-classicism to Post-Impressionism. Prerequisite: VA 14 or consent of instructor.

guarantees the U.S. arms industries a fixed rate of profit regardless of the money invested.

The fact that a small and unrepresentative group of caucasian males are making decisions which affect the future of this entire planet and all of its inhabitants, 75% of whom are people of color, and 51% of whom are female.

These are only a few of the issues discussed in the provocative, 90 minute film which made a moving appeal to our common sense, that we may turn U.S. foreign policy around and put an end to saber rattling and bellicose posturing which can only frighten ourselves and

those we love.

And the protest at Vandenberg Air Force Base saw more than 30 children and over 700 adults arrested by police where 2,000 protesters staged a series of demonstrations designed to "stop business as usual" and to call public attention to the unacceptable military buildup. That it would have happened at the gates of Auschwitz fifty years ago is the unfulfilled wish with which we must all live.

The Vandenberg Action Coalition has claimed success at last month's demonstration, and the date for the next action will be announced in the near future.

AS Student Advocate Program Helps Students

The Student Advocate Program, headed by A.S. Commissioner of Student Welfare Amanda White, is making it possible for students to find relief for academic and administrative hassles which threaten to end their careers at UCSD.

Established in 1978 by then-Commissioner of Student Welfare Barry Hyman, the Program has assisted about 200 students since its inception, and has been unsuccessful in only two cases. The program came about because students had no recourse when facing dismissal and other administrative sanctions.

Amanda White notes that even now many students who do not seek the Student Advocate Program's assistance are railroaded by the campus hearing processes. She notes that "students can be very easily deprived of due process" by the administration's methods, adding that procedures vary from department to department, are often not written down, are frequently violated, and that, in many cases, information necessary to a student's defense is withheld, and students are given at best ambiguous

information as to their rights by the administration.

In the face of this, the Student Advocate Program helps by identifying the available options, and insuring that students use all means at their disposal to get a full and fair hearing on their grievances. In some cases this involves counseling students, and assistance in preparing documentation; in others it has necessitated representing students at hearings or, in at least one case, helping a student to obtain an attorney to intervene in the process.

The administration has not cooperated with the program, according to White, who notes that students facing disciplinary actions are not referred to the Student Advocate Program for assistance. At best, she says, these students are referred to Student Legal Services, which does not provide representation or adequate assistance. "Because of the structure of the system," White charges, "students will not receive fair consideration unless someone fluent in the system is available to help."

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AS ELECTIONS FILING DEADLINE TOMORROW!!!

Filing Period

Filing has begun, therefore all interested students should pick up the forms and petitions. Petitions are time consuming so file and collect your signatures by **April 6, 1983, Noon**. File forms with the AS/Student Orgs. Advisor's Assistant (Marietta Williams).

Campaigning

From 12 Noon, April 7th, thru closing polls on April 20th.

Candidates Meeting

April 6th, 5:00 p.m. North Conference Room.

Voting

April 19th & 20th, 1983. Polls open 9:00 am - 4:00 p.m.

Polling Places

Revelle Plaza
Gym Steps
Muir Quad
Third Quad
Bookstore

For More Information call x4083 or come by the Student Organizations Office

Kulture: YOL: Melodrama At It's Best

The difficulty in reviewing YOL is that the package glitters brightly. Not one writer has taken the film by itself to see how it works. This is an occurrence that has been developing for a long time specially with the advance of Hollywood.

The opening shot of YOL is a commentator's introduction of the film's producer, Yilmaz Güney, concerning the name-up that led to his imprisonment; he difficulties in producing YOL from prison; the subsequent flight from Turkey; and the political asylum which he has not secured as of today. While the commentator reads his text, Güney himself is talking in Turkish and shown in an extreme close-up. After the commentator's introduction, a synchronized English transliteration follows what Güney is saying on the screen:

The people depicted in this film at first glance appear exclusively Turkish. But these very people live in other parts of the world. Their names, race, color, and creed may be different, but I am deeply convinced that they can be found in many Asian, African countries, in Latin America, Central America and even in North America. Consequently, this film doesn't merely relate the lives of people in Turkey.

Packaging, as a technique to sell a film, loads the expression of the work. In his case, Güney creates a package that demands YOL to be seen as a "universal." The significance of this statement has such a strong impact on the audience that it muffles a viewer who may want to concentrate on particulars. Many images of the film function as clichés. For example Yusuf, one of the prisoners, always carries with

him a canary in a birdcage, white pigeons fly against a blue sky, and Omer dreams of riding through the vast prairies with his white shawl blowing in the wind. Throughout the film, these clichés are hard to critique if the package constantly demands the "universal."

Many newspaper and magazine writers however, do not see this as a problem. Looking only at the package, their reviews praise YOL as one of the best political films of our time. How surprising to see the array of writers with different political persuasions all come together to applaud! A. Pine of the *Revolutionary Worker*, Richard Corliss of *Time Magazine*, and Jack Kroll of *Newsweek*, just to name a few.



Melodrama At It's Best: Seyit Ali contemplates murder of his wife, Zine.



Omer looks while she plays the "role" of a vision

but that a conscious struggle for change is attempted instead of just a mere reflection of oppression.

The film functions in a constrained way by repetitions that go nowhere. Like tourists, the camera travels with the prisoners through Turkey. A city or countryside is labeled with a title on top of the image, but is not analyzed any further. How a family or a prisoner is able to act within the concrete conditions of the particular landscapes, is not explored. Instead, concentration focuses on the faces of the principal characters. But the psychology of the face on the screen is usually empty and only serves to create identification between the audience and the characters. When Seyit Ali looks out of a train window or Omer looks directly at the camera, nothing is revealed or discovered. At this point the audience is asked to contemplate where no action is taken place. This leads to total identification with the characters, therefore is less about thinking but all about saluting symbols. The characters looking at nothing, retain within themselves their love and their fear.

Yilmaz Güney was in jail during the shooting of the film. The process of his assistants being on the set with "very detailed scripts" and careful instructions on what to achieve, assured for him complete control. YOL was his fourth film under this process. In the credits, he mentions his name no less than four times including scenario, dialogue, editing and producer which acts to claim ownership.

Art can never be a weapon because it lies within education as a process. Yilmaz Güney said as much when he pointed out:

I owe it to myself to use an artistic language. For political reasons I write articles and hold conferences. But a movie theatre isn't a conference hall. One must distinguish between those two different languages.

Güney defines "artistic language" by rejecting the notion of a cinema that expresses a theoretical truth; uses political slogans; is based on a didactic concept of cinema; or reduced to the role of a propaganda machine. In his artistic practice, he therefore likes to steer clear of current political events and instead depicts oppression through "traditions, mores, way of life and obsolete ethics."

YOL is about five prisoners who enact different "sorts" of prisons. Yusuf is physically detained by the military; Seyit Ali kills his wife for adultery and becomes engulfed in a moral prison; Mevlut imposes barriers on his fiancée creating a metaphorical prison; Mehmet is not allowed to sleep with his wife because of a social prison which is "made up of mentalities and cultural attitudes conditioned by the class origins"; and Omer is the prisoner of ethnicity, only seeing death in the end. No impetus is given for possible change, destiny is everywhere. What I mean by change is not that the character will win in the end.



She acts in time, to see her husband enter the courtyard

"Selected Blasphemy" appears as an irregular column in the new indicator. Readers are asked to submit their favorite diatribe for publication. Each article must be no longer than 800 words. Send submissions to the New Indicator Collective, UCSD B-023, La Jolla CA 92093.



Selected Blasphemy

Our extended *Selected Blasphemy* this issue is an essay entitled **There Is No God**, written in 1977 by Fred Woodworth, editor and publisher of *The Match!* in Tucson, Arizona. First published in 1969, *The Match!* quickly became known as one of the most lively and militant international anarchist periodicals, offering an uncompromising anarchist and atheist viewpoint, hard-hitting analysis of past and current events, biographic sketches of prominent anti-authoritarians, bold graphics, reviews, progressive fiction, and more. Aside from seventy-five issues of *The Match!*, Woodworth has published numerous pamphlets, provided a typesetting service and written articles for other publications as well. We highly recommend readers subscribe to *The Match!*, P.O. Box 3488, Tucson, AZ 85722.

There is no god. What is called "god," namely a supposed-to-be all-knowing, everywhere present supreme wise spirit, cannot exist, for a number of reasons. I hope to be able to show to any reasonably open-minded person who will take the trouble to read my arguments (and who will not assume that I am in league with "the devil", or that I am an evil agent of "godless communism") that there is not the least reason to put any stock in the claims of persons who think such a supreme spirit exists.

Let me begin by noting that most of those who today think it is proper to believe in a god do so automatically, because others before them have done the same. That this is not a good reason for doing anything ought to be apparent to all. If, then, you happen to think already that my own claim in the title of this essay is wrong, won't you search your mind and think of when, if ever, anything but the automatic assumption of a god's existence was ever presented to you as a viable belief? Actually, the belief in a god has been traditional for many centuries, just as many other notions have been. This one, like countless ones before it, needs to be subjected to logic, analysis, and impartial testing, not just blindly accepted in a stupid suspension of critical thought.

According to christianity, two gods exist: the good god and the god of evil, the devil. Thus, anybody could really choose which of the two to worship; but what if it could be shown that there was not, logically, any difference? Consider that the "good" god must be either totally powerless and superfluous, or else non-existent, since this god is necessarily either responsible for conditions being as they are today, or else powerless to prevent this. An ancient series of questions and answers inquires and concludes:

"Is god willing to prevent evil, but not able? Then he is not omnipotent.
Is he able, but not willing? Then he is malevolent.
Is he both able and willing? Then whence cometh evil?
Is he neither able nor willing? Then why call him god?"

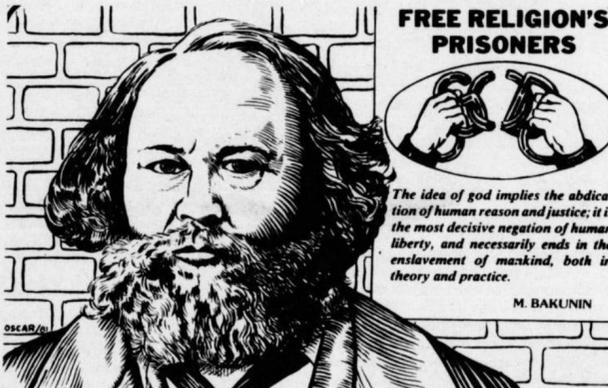
Why believe in an ineffective or powerless god? Why believe in an evil

god? One would be better off to worship the sun; at least the sun exists.

But christianity, whose notion of a god prevails in our culture, makes other claims as well about the alleged supreme being: that he is wise, that he created the real world, that he is merciful, that he is a god responsible for beauty, that he knows everything.

And yet these qualities are not possible, either in combination with each other or separately. Can god think of a task that he cannot accomplish? If so then he has imagined a case in which he is not omnipotent. But if he cannot think of such a case, then he is not all-knowing.

If he was necessary to create the real world, in its infinite complexity, then who was necessary to create god, who is



FREE RELIGION'S PRISONERS

The idea of god implies the abdication of human reason and justice; it is the most decisive negation of human liberty, and necessarily ends in the enslavement of mankind, both in theory and practice.

M. BAKUNIN

presumably still more complex?

If he is responsible for beauty, he is likewise responsible for ugliness. Is there any justice in praising him for the beautiful, but keeping silent about the hideous? Some religionists seem to delight in ascribing to "god" the credit for having made apple trees in fields of green, under a blue sky; but where is their creator when we contemplate the fact of tapeworms? I think that I would be embarrassed to have to admit that I believed in an "all-wise" god who made tapeworms. But the very religionists who use the beauty argument most frequently are never heard at all on the subject of the disgusting things likewise ascribable to their god. And no wonder!

If he is wise, why did he not compose a coherent account of what he wanted mankind to do. The very god who, according to those believing in him, made every last electron spin in its orbit everywhere throughout the universe, still cannot write a clear, unmistakable volume of instruction to human beings who are supposed to follow his wishes. Instead, he gives us the bible, a ridiculous jumble of ancient superstitions, contradictions, and vague, wandering narratives that show nothing so much as how senile the priests were who wrote them.

God, according to the Bible, created the devil. God, being all-knowing, must have known what the devil would do; why, then, did he create him? Likewise, if god really wanted to "save" mankind, why not do it by the simple methods already used when creating the world—namely, by just snapping his fingers? God seems to be given to utilizing

methods of senseless complexity; he wants a world of goodness, yet creates the devil; want to help mankind, but only sends among us an agent who spreads confusion and helps nothing, absolutely nothing. Christ's so-called purpose—to save man—is futile, since a god who could create the cosmos could surely "save man" without resorting to a ridiculous ritual in Palestine. Further, from the evidence of the holy wars and inquisitions carried out by those believing in christianity, it must be concluded that (the) christ's advent was a major tragedy to the human species, since it has worsened considerably the lot of millions.

If the bible was god's attempt to prove to mankind that he existed, then he must have wished for mankind to believe in this. But, as the best way to make mankind believe in god would be for this god to publicly, unmistakably make himself known to us, it is apparent that god's methods were lacking in intelligence. Thus, I myself can think of methods superior to those of "god"; but a god so incompetent that any mere mortal can surpass his mind is an absurdity. God must not exist.

If god is just, why has he created a world of injustice. The reply that our world is a test by god to see which among us will do this or that is a reply that is very poorly considered. Millions of young children are maimed or killed, or born with gruesome deformities—thus god does not even have the sense to

most of them are in dire distress for the necessities of life...

He is an almighty who is omnipresent, yet descended from Heaven to see what mankind was doing; who is merciful, and yet has at times permitted the slaughter of millions. An almighty, who damned millions of innocents for the faults of a few... who created a heaven for the fools who believe in the 'gospel', and a hell for the enlightened who repudiate it..."

"God"—as revealed in his book of edicts and narratives—is practically an idiot. He has nothing to say that any sensible person should want to listen to.

Now, some charge that our view of "god" is ethnocentric. They are anxious to bring in gods which do not create, control, or know anything, and which are completely powerless, futile intangibles having no qualities of matter, energy, or even location. They wish to prove that "god" is a "process," or a "consciousness", or some other non-descript vagueness which neatly escapes having any properties assigned to itself so that detractors could discuss the logical implications of them. Conceptually speaking, it is meaningless to say that "god" is a process or a consciousness. But once this piece of verbal sleight-of-hand is let pass unchallenged, the modern religionist can point with triumph to things that do exist, such as processes, consciousnesses, and "prove" his "god" exists.

It works this way: First a religionist refuses to concede that he believes in the "old" god. His new god serves no purpose that he will define, so it cannot be attacked, but only denied. Evidently, then, religion has learned something from the attacks by us Atheists: it has learned how to be nonspecific. Thus, "god" is now "the wind", or something else. But we must point out that this is only an attempt to preserve the notion of a god after the substance has been destroyed. Lacking any separate function, such as being creator of the universe, etc., the idea of a god is completely to no purpose.

Not the least evidence exists that there is really a god of any kind, and unless there is evidence, it is harmful to believe that any such god exists, because then the illogical way of thinking can be extended to other areas of society, as indeed it has. A civilization that holds that it is proper to believe positively in something for which there is no evidence at all perverts the fundamental structure of logic upon which human civilization itself rests.

We Atheists make a revolutionary claim: Nothing exists unless it can be proved to do so—the burden of proof being upon those who assert. The advance of the human intellect has been one long battle for this rational principle, against a vicious host of advocates of all kinds of nonexistent things: angels, humours, stellar spheres, dragons, ends of the earth where the explorer would drop off, warlocks and monsters, and so on—and, lastly, "god." He who is too weak to deny "god" perforce lives in a fantasy of unseen presences—the very walls may seethe with extraordinary witchery, and the neighbors turn into toads at midnight.

There is no god. As expressed by religionists, the history of "god" is silly, un-factual, and contradictory. As set forth by theologians, the idea of "god" is an argument that assumes its own conclusions, and proves nothing. And as expressed socially, the belief in "god" is reactionary and harmful, standing forever in the way of betterment of the human condition. There is no god; there are only churches with an interest in preserving themselves. There is no god; there are only people who believe because others told them it was so. There is no god; there is only the real world with its ugliness and beauty and violence and peace and happiness and pain. If the world is to be made beautiful and happy, "god" won't do it. We will.

—Fred Woodworth

"In the Alternative Press" is an occasional column intended to direct readers' attention to items of interest in the alternative press. All of the journals mentioned are available through the new indicator office; journals followed by the notation (GW) are also available at Groundwork Books.

C.I.A. Ties Local Police: The Nation's March 26th issue features an excellent article on the CIA's Secret Ties to Local Police. Based on 362 pages of documents released under the Freedom of Information Act, earlier articles in the media, and Congressional reports, Philip Melanson documents a wide range of CIA-Local Police ties. Among them, the CIA secretly cooperated with "friendly" police departments, providing training, technical assistance, exotic equipment and explosives, and intelligence information, while receiving information from local police departments (primarily from their red squads), police credentials (for use as "cover" by CIA agents), and information the CIA wanted through surveillance and break-ins. Among the police departments working with the CIA was San Diego's own. This article provides an invaluable overview—based on the limited available evidence—of one facet of the CIA's domestic operations to date, and a preview of what can be expected under Reagan's recent executive order "unleashing" the CIA to conduct domestic intelligence operations. (72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011) (GW)

Direct Action: Open Road has weighed in with a new issue focussing on Direct Action. Articles in the issue seek to define direct action, and point to its applications for daily living and social change. Direct Action on the job, squatting, pirate radio, personal interactions, and as a strategy for protest are among the applications discussed. The issue also features a 4-page special report on the five Vancouver radical activists currently charged with every unsolved political 'crime' having taken place in Canada during the last few years. Prosecutors allege that the five constitute the Wimmis's Fire Brigade (which firebombed three pornography stores) and 'Direct Action', a pseudo-anarchist group which bombed the Litton plant in Canada assembling guidance systems for the Cruise missile, and a bombing of a B.C. Hydro electric substation. The special report analyzes the 'trial by media', reports on the actions, gives an account of the widespread harassment of Canadian

Nukes, Direct Action, Peace Movement... In The Alternative Press...

anti-nuclear and anarchist groups that has continued since the arrests, and prints a statement from the five. This issue introduces a new design for Open Road, as well, which succeeds in increasing readability and graphic appeal. \$1 (Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver B.C., Canada V6R 4G5)

New format: Also featuring a new format is the Guardian, the independent radical newsweekly out of New York that offers comprehensive coverage of third world struggles and the left in general (particularly the M-L left). Amidst much hype about the "new", attractive Guardian, a tedious, hard-to-read, hyper-compartmentalized design reminiscent of the worst of U.S.A. Today has been inflicted on its readers. Lines are everywhere, conflicting with each other and the headlines they surround. The type seems smaller, and harder to read. New sections, like "The world this week" are reminiscent of Newsweek, as are the section headings over nearly every article of U.S.A. Today. In short, the new format is a disaster. The content however, although somewhat shifted in emphasis, remains valuable. The Guardian offers the best coverage of Third World liberation struggles available in this country in a frequently-published periodical. And although firmly wedded to a M-L perspective, it attempts serious analysis of the U.S. situation and the left, on a critical and thoughtful level. 90c (33 W. 17th St., New York, NY 10011) (GW)

Peace Movement: A largely sympathetic, although critical, article on the Federation for Progress's recent convention, and a highly interesting article on Militarism, Feminism and Fascism lead off the latest issue of the Whole Damn Pie Shop, San Diego's independent leftist newsletter/forum. This issue also includes a critique of the local peace movement by "A. Heron" that seeks to briefly analyze the situation in which the San Diego peace movement is operating, the obstacles confronting it, and raises some questions about current practice and future work. The issue is well worth reading; single issues are 50c (75c through the mail); \$5 for a 6 month trial subscription. (c/o B.E.C., P.O. Box 7904, San Diego, CA 92107) (GW)

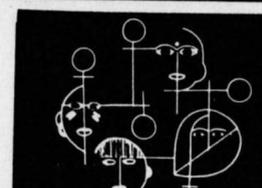
Leonard Peltier: Just in is the April issue of Crazy Horse Spirit, journal of



the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee. Crazy Horse Spirit is the best source of up-to-date and comprehensive information on the ongoing struggle to overturn the railroad of American Indian Movement activist Leonard Peltier, framed on charges of killing two FBI agents at Wounded Knee. This issue reprints some of the legal briefs and decisions that have been filed in the case, which expose the machinations of the FBI, prosecutors, and the judge who presided over the trial went through in order to ensure a guilty verdict after two other A.I.M. activists were acquitted on the same charges; reports from a variety of newspapers on the frame-up and the ongoing struggle; and includes a variety of articles on related subjects, such as Yellow Thunder Camp, the Black Hills struggle, and the struggles of other Native American political prisoners. \$1 (L.P.D.C., PO Box 1492, Rapid City, South Dakota 57709)

Party Journals: We'll close this column with brief notes on two journals issued by party-type groupings, but which are attempting to be pluralistic journals offering a variety of opinions. Our Socialism, published by the Democratic Workers Party, has weighed in with a 68-page charter issue featuring a brief article on the current situation in Nicaragua, and a lengthy article on "Chicanas and Mexicanas within a Transnational Working Class". The latter is a serious and well documented article, although written in a difficult, overly academic style. Perhaps the best article in this premier issue, though, is

"Disarray in the Atlantic Alliance", excerpted from a forthcoming book by Andre Gunder Frank. This article analyzes the economic roots of the increased tension between the United States and Western Europe, and the implications for U.S. military strategy. \$3.50, free samples available. (P.O. Box 42489, San Francisco, CA 94142-2489) Better done in many ways, although also much shorter, and with less emphasis on academic analysis and jargon, is Changes, published by International Socialists. In line with I.S.'s current effort to promote unity on the left and build a multi-tendency revolutionary socialist organization. Changes prints a variety of theoretical position papers (mostly from I.S.) and articles on a variety of subjects; recent issues have had fairly good coverage of Poland and the struggle of Polish workers against the military junta. \$1 (17300 Woodward, Detroit MI 48203)



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problems? This group will examine Bertell Ollman's *Alienation* in an attempt to understand our own experiences.
First Meeting: 6:00 pm, Monday April 11
Coordinator: Nate, 755-2627

THEORY OF THE COLLECTIVE
Discussion of the theory of the Groundwork Collective and the skills necessary for working in decentralized groups, including responsibility, criticism, leaders/followers, and decision-making.
First Meeting: 5:00 pm, Friday April 15
Coordinator: Roberto, 239-0745

GENERAL INFORMATION:

There are no prerequisites. Except for cost of books, these study groups are free and open to all community members. Each group will consist of 6-12 people.

All first meetings will be at Groundwork Bookstore in the U.C.S.D. student center (see map). First meeting is to set regular meeting time, determine readings for next week, answer questions, etc. If you are interested and cannot attend the first meeting, please contact the coordinator before the first meeting to let them know.

These study groups rely heavily on the self-discipline of the members to complete the assigned readings, to think about the material, and to come prepared for each discussion. There are no lectures to digest the material for you and no exams to "motivate" you.

Sign up for Study Groups at Groundwork Books, April 4th through 9th.

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A History Of Socialism, Part Eight Continued The Spanish Revolution

The revolutionary Spanish peasantry had expropriated the lands in the Republican zone of the 10,000 feudal Spanish landowners who possessed 1/2 of the Spanish peninsula in the days before Franco's putsch. These agricultural collectives conducted both an economic and a geographic management. Declared as autonomous communes, they governed by a general assembly of working peasants in each village, which elected a management committee for economic administration. Every healthy male worked, apart from the secretary of the management committee at their usual work, divided into groups of ten with one delegate elected to the management committee. Everything except for clothes, furniture, personal savings, small domestic animals, garden plots and poultry were communalized, and different systems of distribution were adopted, depending upon the commune and ranging from "free storehouse communism" to labor script socialism. Families, so long as they did not exploit wage labor, were even allowed to keep their land, as no one was forced to collectivize.

This rural social revolution proved to be an agricultural boon. Yields were increased by 30 to 50% with technical aid from specialists. The cultivated areas increased, human, animal and mechanical energy was rationalized, crops were diversified, irrigation extended, reforestation initiated, tree nurseries started, piggeries constructed, rural technical schools built, demonstration farms set up, selective cattle breeding developed and auxiliary agricultural industries activated. A literacy campaign was initiated, and agricultural planning was attempted by gathering production and consumption statistics through cantonal and regional

committees which tried to coordinate trade. The methodical modern commercial techniques of Valencia's citrus export industry proved no problem for anarcho-syndicalism to handle.

On the basis of Durruti's march through Aragon with the anarchist militias of Catalonia, the PCE began spreading the vicious slander that forced agricultural collectivization had been conducted by the militias under the iron hand of anarchy. With the little evidence that is available it is clear that fully 3/4's of Aragon's rural collectivization was voluntary and in most cases spontaneous. There were instances of forced collectivization within villages and occasionally for an entire village, but these were the exceptions, brought about by the excesses of the war in Aragon between Republicans and fascists. This charge was also leveled by the PCE against the Catalonian working class. The iron hand of the CNT/FAI's anarchism was charged with disrupting production in war industries. Considering that Spanish capital had built Spain's war and armaments industries outside of Catalonia out of fear of the Catalonian working class, this accusation has no basis in fact either. Indeed, in the first months after the Revolution, when all of Catalonian industry was run solely by the CNT/UGT, heroic efforts were made to convert the regional industry for war production.

Revolutionary workers committees, aided by cooperative technicians, managed the economy from July until October 24, 1936, when a trade union conference in Barcelona reinforced a government decree that laid down regulations for industry. Worker expropriation was institutionalized, and all factories with more than 100 workers were socialized, along with property confiscated from fascists, capitalists obstructing production, and private sector industries deemed important. Factories of between 50 and 100 workers could socialize if 3/4 of the workforce decided for it. The remaining business and industry remained in private hands.

Under these regulations, workers self-management was compromised. The workers general assembly elected a managerial committee of 5 to 15 delegates to serve for two years in each factory, and the managerial committee appointed a factory manager, subject to general assembly approval and approval by a government supervisory organization in large factories. In addition, a government controller was appointed to each management committee. Management committees could be recalled by their general assemblies, or by the branch of industry's General Council, comprised of four management committee representatives, eight trade union representatives, and four technicians appointed by the supervisory organization. In turn, the general council planned the work as well as the division of profit. Workers remained wage laborers, and profit was not divided among the workers. Indeed, the workers were often more thoroughly exploited in the workers' controlled factories than in the private sector.

This half-assed workers self-management nevertheless demonstrated the workability of proletariat power, as production was maintained and oftentimes expanded. A central equalization fund helped spread out profits and resources, and the trade unions started to systematically reorganize the trades in the attempt to rationalize them. In Catalonia alone, foundries were reduced from over 70 to 24, tanneries from 71 to 40 and glassworks from 100 to 30.

place because an armed people was able to beat back Franco's rising. After July, the armed people were organized into people's militias, which in the case of Durruti's column in Aragon and Madrid, advanced both the social revolution and the war against fascism. The PCE contended that the bloodthirsty anarchist militias were in the habit of shooting anyone with a tie as *bourgeoisie*; another lie. In the fighting in Aragon, military excesses did occur, but again, they were the exception rather than the rule.

The anarchist-syndicalist militia system correctly, but unsuccessfully resisted the PCE's move to establish a centralized, government controlled "People's Army." But, in rejecting the "people's army" the militias failed to learn from Spanish military history, let alone from anarchist military history. Clausewitz once commented that the traditionalist Spanish guerrilla resistance against Napoleon succeeded because of its fluidity, its lack of a solid front for Napoleon to crush. And Makhno's guerrilla units successfully fought off both white and red armies using similar tactics. Had the anarchist-syndicalist militias adopted the tactics and strategy of guerrilla warfare against and behind the fascist lines instead of the trench warfare of the first World War, Spanish anarchism might have been victorious over Spanish fascism.

REPUBLICAN COLLAPSE

From November 1936 to March 1937, the Madrid militia, among other Republican army units, withstood the brutal fascist assault upon Madrid. Franco sacrificed a great deal of Nationalist effort and large numbers of Nationalist troops in the basically symbolic attempt to take Madrid. The Republic withstood the offensive and Franco opted to whittle away at the Republic's weak northern flank through December 1938 and Franco's offensive against Catalonia.

Buenaventura Durruti died in Madrid on November 20, 1936, and the militias he commanded were reorganized into the mixed brigades of the new Popular Army. The Republican government moved to consolidate its power and authority after 1936, beginning with the ousting of the POUM from the Generalitat at the insistence of the PCE in December of 1936. The anarchist-syndicalist Council of Aragon was recognized by the Republic in the same month, but this disguised the government's covert attack against the CNT/FAI/UGT's worker self-management.

As early as October 7, 1936 the Stalinist minister of agriculture, Vicente Uribe, pushed through a decree legalizing the collectivization of agriculture that actually curtailed rural collectivization under strict, complex juridical regulation. His policies as minister of agriculture favored individual landholders over the collectives with free fertilizer and seed. He helped unionize, with the aid of Juan Camorera (in charge of Catalonia's economy), the small and medium-size landowners into a reactionary, anti-collectivist front that came to include traders and large estate owners. And finally, they removed the organization of food supplies for Barcelona from the unions and placed it in the hands of private trade.

This attack on workers self-management alarmed the CNT/FAI. The Barcelona CNT ran the telephone exchange, and workers were able to overhear a plot involving the PCE and the PSUC to disarm various workers organizations, including the POUM. The CNT/FAI and the POUM rose up in Barcelona with arms against communist and Generalitat forces from May 3 to 7, erected barricades and scirmed with the police. Internally divided, the Barcelona revolution was eventually defeated and crushed. With a

The Revolution succeeded in the first

continued on page 12

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UCSD

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continued from page 11

Spanish Revolution

new government under Juan Negrin on May 17 the coalition government's attack on the social revolution became overt.

The government, on the agricultural front, first attempted to liquidate the rural communes militarily. The Aragon regional defense Council was dissolved by decree on August 10, 1937 and the 11th Mobile Division of Commander Lister (Stalinist member of the PCE) invaded Aragon with tanks soon after, arresting individuals in charge of socialized enterprises, occupying and closing their premises, dissolving the management committees, ransacking the communal shops and disbanding common flocks. Fully 30% of the Aragon collectives were completely destroyed under the myth that Aragon's rural collectivization had been forced. Lister's Division forced the peasants at gunpoint to sign deeds of ownership which they burned to rebuild their collectives after Lister left, giving the lie to the PCE's iron hand of anarchy. Similar attacks against the collectives of the Castille, Valencia and in the provinces of Huesca and Teruel followed, but the rural proletariat's collectivization managed to survive, especially in the Levant. The PCE even had to restore the Aragon collectives when agricultural production dropped drastically. But the communist controlled collectivization never achieved the power or productivity of Aragon's self-managed collectivization.

Industrial self-management was also attacked. Camorera, Stalinist minister of the Catalan economy for the PSUC as of June, 1937, began the PCE's offensive against the social revolution by first withholding raw materials and vital supplies to the self-managed factories while lavishing them on the private sector. The nationalization of transport allowed the central government a stranglehold over industry. Republican army uniforms were imported and not commissioned from the Catalan textile factories. With a decree on August 22, 1937 the socialization of metal and mining industries was suspended. And the PCE brought back former managers removed by the workers to take over with a vengeance.

The Ministry of War Supplies achieved control over all war industry by decree of militarization on August 11, 1938. PCE inspectors, directors and managers invaded the factories as a clumsy, top-heavy bureaucracy, demoralizing the workers and destroying production. Finally, the government cut off all credit to non-militarized industries under workers self-management.

Despite the relatively stable lines militarily between the Republic and the Nationalist zone through 1937, the Republic was thrown into constant battle by the PCE's strategy of an offensive war against fascism conducted by a disciplined Peoples Army. This strategy failed to win any decisive military victories over fascism, but it did consolidate the PCE's control over the army, which reached the height of Stalinist discipline in 1938.

And finally, on the political front, the POUM was dissolved and its leaders arrested in June 1937. On August 15 the SIM (Servicio de Investigacion Militar) was created as a Stalinist dominated secret police. The PCE's terror within the Republic had begun before, on June 16, with the abduction and assassination of the POUM leader, Andreu Nin. The March 5, 1939 Council of National Defense, comprised of socialists, anarchist-syndicalists and republicans to replace Negrin's government, came too late. As Negrin and his Cabinet fled to France and North Africa, the PCE launched a treacherous attack upon the Defense Council forces in Madrid from March 6 through 12, which was finally

suppressed. Franco crushed the last remnants of the Republic by April, 1939.

FRANCO'S VICTORY

Wherever Franco's insurgents took power, the brutal hand of feudal landownership and capitalist domination was reinstated. All workers were organized into fascist controlled unions in a vertically syndicalist structure that insured their obedience to Franco's government. Business and industry was organized into fascist corporations which included the fascist unions and the government in a system of fascist national economic management. Workers were forbidden to strike under Franco's system of vertical syndicalism.

Spain, though allied with German and Italian fascism ideologically, remained neutral during the second World War. The Allies quickly recognized Franco's government and Spanish neutrality, which permitted Franco to embark on a program of economic autarchy and development for Spain. Spanish fascism, however, never achieved the monopolistic qualities of German and Italian fascism, in part because the forces supporting Franco were not monolithic.

On April 19, 1937, Franco forced a union between Catholic Carlists and the Falange/JONS that represented the mixture of traditionalist, monarchist, and fascist elements that would constitute Franco's national government after 1939. Neither the Falange/JONS, the Carlists, nor Spanish monarchists were satisfied with this compromise, but Franco took steps to purge all opposition. The Falange/JONS fascist militancy was tamed and it did not become Spain's sole political party after 1939. The authority of the Catholic Church was protected and expanded, in contrast to attacks against the church in fascist Germany and Italy. (In turn, the Spanish Catholic church vehemently denounced Spanish socialism.) Spanish fascism smashed Spanish socialism and republicanism and destroyed the Spanish working class's revolutionary organizations, but it did not achieve the absolute totalitarianism that was characteristic of fascism in the rest of Europe.

POPULAR FRONTISM

The failure of the Spanish Revolution and Franco's victory marked the bankruptcy of Stalinist popular frontism and the temporary demise of anarchism. In Spain, popular frontism actually worked against social revolution, the experience of popular frontism in the United States and England underscoring these failings. France was in the midst of a profound fiscal crisis when the "popular front" government of Prime Minister Leon Blum was elected in 1936. To solve the economic crisis, Blum pushed through a 40-hour work week, holidays with pay, collective bargaining, increased wages, binding arbitration, recognition of the right to unionize, workers' participation in factory operations, devaluation of the currency and the nationalization of the Bank de France and the armaments industry. All of this could not relieve the crisis and in 1937 the French Senate refused to grant Blum any further powers to act. The Cabinet resigned, and the popular front cabinets that followed through 1938 presided over the collapse of the popular front.

For fear of provoking the French bourgeoisie, the popular front took half-assed economic measures which failed to end the economic crisis. Divisions and conflict arose within the popular front. The Daladier Cabinet from 1938 to 1940 tried government emergency decrees to alleviate the economic, political and social unrest, leading to Daladier's break with the popular front. An unsuccessful general strike followed in November, 1938, which expressed the proletariat's discontent with the popular front's inadequacies, a discontent that produced mediocre housing construction and family welfare legislation, and the industrialization of the provinces before the second World War.

Popular frontism, in promoting alliances with democratic elements in the bourgeoisie over working class revolution, failed to stop fascism let alone achieve socialism, in every case of its application historically. It has sacrificed the working class in country after country on the bloody altars of fascism, war, capitalism and nationalism. Salvador Allende's popular front experiment in Chile from 1970 to 1973 was heroic, but it was also doomed in the face of Pinochet's fascist coupe, despite Soviet support. Popular frontism may be historically necessary at specific periods for survival, but it is not sufficient as a strategy to shield against fascism or create an instrument for social revolution. Indeed, popular frontism often proves to be the enemy of social revolution. Yet the Soviet Union and other admirers of Stalin continue to push popular frontism on the logic that a popular front evolves into a united front, in which revolutionary working class and peasant elements hold hegemony. This, in the face of the popular front's history of failure, is nothing less than a measure of the dogmatism with which Stalinism has infected modern socialism.

ANARCHISM

When anarchism was crushed in Spain, in part from the stupidity of the PCE's popular frontism, anarchism died out for a time in modern socialism. During the second World War all that mattered to modern socialism was defeating fascism, and after the war all that remained was Stalin's Soviet Union and a string of puppet "People's Democracies" in Eastern Europe, excluding Yugoslavia. Anarchism had no large base in any national working class after the second World War, and it failed miserably in publicizing its side of the Spanish Revolution within modern socialism, let alone to the rest of the world. In May, 1940 Emma Goldman died, a little over one year after the Spanish Anarchist Revolution was destroyed. Having lived through both the Russian and Spanish revolutions, Emma Goldman's death symbolized anarchism's demise which the suppression of Spanish anarchism actualized.

Born into a Jewish family in Czarist Russia on June 27, 1869, Emma Goldman was a decidedly rebellious child who would not tolerate the patriarchal authority of her father. And despite the strong social prohibitions against it, Emma tried desperately to educate herself, which brought her into contact with forbidden, radical ideas. In 1886 she fled her father's household with a sister to the United States. Inspired by the political trial and conviction of the eight Chicago anarchists framed in the Haymarket bombing, she became a protegee of the fiery anarchist Johann Most. She worked in the garment industry as a seamstress, where she began her labor organizing and anarchist agitation.

Emma and her lifelong companion, the anarchist-communist Alexander Berkman plotted the assassination of Henry Clay Frick, chairman of the

Carnegie Steel Corporation, in 1892 for the company's brutal suppression of a steelworker strike with Pinkerton Guards. Berkman made the unsuccessful attempt on July 23, and was immediately sentenced to twenty-two years in jail, fourteen of which he served. Emma defended her comrade, despite vilification from the American Left, though she did come to reject individual terror as an anarchist tactic.

Emma Goldman was temperamentally and ideologically a revolutionary left-wing anarchist, though she insisted on the creative role of minorities and individuals in society. A feminist and a noted theatre critic, she did not set about formalizing or expounding her beliefs in any coherent fashion. She defended the use of revolutionary violence and her speaking tours generated considerable controversy. When president William McKinley was assassinated by Leon Czolgosz, who claimed to be an anarchist, in 1902, she was arrested, despite her disapproval of Czolgosz's act. Because of the emotional outrage surrounding McKinley's assassination, Emma was not able to resume public work until 1906.

Emma Goldman was involved in the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World, and began her famous journal *Mother Earth*. She tirelessly agitated for working class revolution, but it was her organization of the No-Conscription League and antiwar rallies in 1917 that proved to be too much for the United States government. Arrested with Berkman, tried for "conspiracy" to obstruct the draft and deported, Emma took up residence in Soviet Russia during the Russian Revolution.

Disillusioned by the power and privilege of the Bolshevik party, angered by the persecution of political opponents in particular anarchists and horrified by the Bolshevik response to the Kronstadt, Goldman and Berkman left Russia. Emma tried to explain the Russian Revolutionary tragedy to the rest of the world in her book, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, but the revolutionary spectacle in Russia blinded most socialists to the truths she had to offer. She wandered homeless through Europe, denounced by other socialists for her anti-Bolshevism, until she found refuge in England in 1925 through an arranged and expedient marriage. She is probably best known for her non-punches-pulled autobiography, *Living My Life*, published in 1931.

The spectre of fascism and Berkman's suicide in 1936 failed to break Emma because of the sudden outbreak of anarchist revolution and civil war in Spain. She denounced the machinations of Spain's Stalinist Communist Party as she did the compromises and mistakes made by the CNT/FAI, but she remained loyal to the vision of anarchist victory in Spain even as Franco led his insurgents to victory over the Republic. With her death on May 14, 1940 revolutionary anarchism lost one of its most dynamic figures.

A History of Socialism, Part Nine The Crisis in Modern Socialism

INTRODUCTION

There are a number of ways of "summing up" the period from 1918 to 1939 relevant to the post-war redefinition of the global capitalist economy. Liberalism, in the classical European sense of that term, saw the period as a profound failure of Republican democracy to take root in the world outside of the "western democracies." And having decided that Republican democracy was too fragile to do without protection, liberal America became a garrison democracy through the second World War and a "Cold War" to protect the "free world." This rationalization for the imperial redefinition of the world under American hegemony into "free" and

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"Stop Shock" Demonstrators Arrested

Tuesday, March 15, nineteen people were arrested for blockading the entrances to the administration building of Berkeley's Herrick Hospital in a protest against the resumption of electroshock treatment at Herrick. An additional 150 demonstrators formed a picket line and acted as legal observers while the civil disobedience action was in progress. Electroshock in Berkeley had been banned by Measure T, a ballot initiative passed by Berkeley voters last November. Several psychiatric associations subsequently filed suit against the ordinance. In January a Superior Court judge issued an injunction permitting the continued use of electroshock until the legality of the

ordinance can be determined at a future hearing.

The ten women and nine men who were arrested at the demonstration were held in jail for about 7 hours and then released on their own recognizance. Several women were strip-searched while in jail. The blockaders were arraigned the following day in Berkeley Municipal Court before Judge Julie Conger. Since the Berkeley Court is not wheelchair accessible, and one of the arrestees, CeCe Weeks, was in a wheelchair and refused to be carried into the courtroom, the group demanded that they all be arraigned in the downstairs hallway along with Weeks. Blockader

A Guide To "Cheap Eats" in San Diego

This is the first in a series of occasional articles about 'Cheap Eats' in San Diego:

What I mean by "cheap eats" is a meal for under \$2.00, or a whole lot of food to eat for under \$3.00. Period. No talk about vegetarian/non-vegetarian, because if you're thinking seriously about "cheap eats" you take what you can find. Besides, there are a lot more non-vegetarian "cheap eats" around. Also, I'm trying to stay in the community areas where a lot of students attending UCSD live, at least for now. Some people attending UCSD are poor, despite the average.

On Felspar, off of Mission Bay Drive, there's the P.B. Frasier Farms and the ultimately organic (not to mention expensive) Sunburst stand. Now continue walking the sidewalk to the beach and you'll come to Bernie's. Not for nothing has someone scrawled the word "Heart" in front of Bernie's name painted on the building's Felspar wall. Bernie's has been catering to surf punks, tourists and a number of cast-iron regulars since 1972, with a fare of good cheap greasy food.

Bernie's stays open to serve its clientele: mornings til 1 pm. Friday thru Monday. Sporting a garish canopy and a picnic table covered with condiments, jams, and apple butter, the eatery's menu has been painted on the wall. Crusty old Bernie and his wife, Myrtle, run the stand. For breakfast I ordered a Special (2 eggs, any style, 3 strips of bacon, two slices buttered toast, potatoes) for \$1.75.

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Student Center

All of this activity, however, lies in the future. The administration's immediate tasks in pursuing its efforts to reshape the Student Center to meet its needs are the hiring of a new director (who will be a high-level administrator) to oversee and seek control of Student Center operations, and securing student approval of the administration's plans to add staff, faculty and alumni representatives to the Student Center Board. These representatives would form the first wedge in reducing already inadequate student control over the center, which would continue to be funded solely by student fees. Watson, in a memo dated March 14th, and issued by his office without signature, makes it clear that he is going through the established channels of seeking student approval solely as a formality, and that the required amendment is to be approved. He has not stated what action he will take if the appropriate student bodies (the Associated Students, the Student Center Board and the Graduate Student Council) refuse to comply with his instructions.

Watson's approval of his Student Center Task Force's proposals remains in place, as reported in our last issue. Students concerned over these changes, designed to continue and accelerate the

while a friend ordered Eggs Benedict (consisting of two eggs on toast smothered with ham, cheese and two pineapple rings) for \$1.95. We wound up feeding the gulls on our toast while watching the surfers paddle out on to that cold, gray morning.

We returned for lunch and I had the burger special (large burger, fries and drink) for \$1.55. My friend had the Whimpie burger (huge, double-pattied, with a few fries) for \$1.75, and we both noticed how fat the gulls around Bernie's really are. The waves were breaking straight-in, folding over in massive sections no good for surfing. No doubt about it, Bernie's serves a lot of food for the money.

Bernie's also features other specials, like the "surfers special" (Skiparoo, for \$1.35, named after the surf shop owner next door), a Denver omelette and the like. And the atmosphere is typical Boardwalk.

As for the grease, it suits the surfers, the tourists, the kids, the poor beach people and the gulls who eat at Bernie's. The eatery survived the storm that took the end of Crystal Pier just a few hundred yards away. The food is reasonably priced, palatable, but definitely for the adventurous omnivore.

•• Andrew Chumley

- Paradise for the poor
- Good, cheap eating
- I'd go there again (and again)
- Not worth the heartburn
- Stay away

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AS Student Advocate Program...

In many cases, the administration even pressures students to waive their right to a formal hearing.

White is also critical of campus regulations which establish the hearing processes, and set forth limited protections for students. She states that these procedures are loosely written, leaving many loopholes through which students can be hurt, and is especially critical of the fact that the burden of proof is almost invariably on the student to prove that he or she is not guilty of the charged offense.

The Advocate program handles a wide range of cases, ranging from defending students charged with plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty, to assisting students facing academic probation or dismissal. In addition, the Advocate Program helps with grade appeals, cases of administrative harassment of students, and other cases in which students are facing administrative action, or seeking to redress a grievance against the University.

process of erosion of student control over the student center, are meeting this week to consider strategies for mobilizing resistance to these actions.

Barbara Quigley announced the group's decision to Conger, who responded by transferring the arraignment to the accessible city council chambers in a nearby building.

Berkeley mayor Gus Newport and school board member Barbara Lubin, both supporters of measure T, attended the arraignment. The charges against most of the blockaders were reduced from a misdemeanor to an infraction with a sentence of "time served" (the previous day in jail), in exchange for pleas of "no contest." Several arrestees chose to be sentenced for the original misdemeanor charge, and also received a sentence of "time served." Two blockaders, Trudy Rogers and Maureen Bei, pled not guilty to the misdemeanor, and requested a jury trial. The date of their trial is not yet scheduled.

Following the sentencing, Judge Conger permitted the demonstrators to make brief statements of their reasons for getting arrested. One said her mother had died of cerebral hemorrhage following shock treatment, one noted that a close relative had committed suicide following shock, another said that someone he grew up with is currently receiving shock at Herrick, one said that she had been permanently injured herself by electroshock. Several said they thought the shock doctors were the real criminals. Darren Ching gave a statement in the form of a poem: "Like footsteps on fresh blades of grass/

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Solomon...

office stated that these procedures would be sent out last week; however they were not available at *new indicator* press time. Although the University's position states that it will join in efforts to repeal the requirement, the U.C. attorneys have not yet decided whether to join in or initiate legal action aimed at extending the bar on implementation of the Solomon amendment which, at the current time, appears to apply only in Minnesota. If the Minnesota ruling is any indication, such actions would appear to have a high probability of success.

The changes being considered by the Department of Education would postpone the requirement that students provide copies of their letters from the Selective Service System acknowledging

Draft Prosecutions

In mid-March, Sam Matthews, a religious resister, was indicted in Cincinnati. Several other indictments are expected in the Midwest during the month of April. All of the young men involved were detected through Selective Service's "passive enforcement" program.

Meanwhile, SSS has referred 5,154 more names of suspected non-registrants to the Justice Department, all detected through the "active enforcement" (computer cross-checking) program. The referrals were made with much fanfare, in an obvious attempt to demonstrate Selective Service's zealous hunt for resisters. A Justice Department Spokesperson said that they will continue the policy of sending warning letters before initiating prosecutions.

Given this increase in government activity, we should be prepared for the possibility of indictments in other areas as well.

As of February 18, SSS claims that some 9.6 million men have registered, leaving 460,000 who refused or failed to register. They claim the compliance rate for those born in 1960 is 97%; for those born in 1961, 99.9%; for those born in 1962 and 1963, 97%; and for those born in 1964, 86.3%; giving an overall average of 95.4%. One is reminded of the SSS announcement, during the Vietnam-era, of registration figures which exceeded 100%.

Institutions of conformity melt away our humanity." After the arraignment, Trudy Rogers, who described herself as a former mental patient, explained that she pled not guilty because "I did nothing wrong. Electroshock is not a treatment. It is barbaric, like rape. There are people in Herrick who don't have a voice. We are their voice."

According to the Department of Mental Health, two-thirds of all people receiving shock in California are women, and two-thirds are over 45 years of age. The rate being charged for each shock 'treatment' is around \$110. (There are between 6 and 25 shock treatments in a series.) Although most psychiatric inmates in California have the right to refuse shock treatment, a nurse who formerly worked at Herrick Hospital (one of those arrested at the March 15th action) stated that inmates are not informed of the likelihood of permanent brain damage and memory loss. According to hospital reports, a small percentage of those receiving shock have not consented to it because a judge has ruled that they were incapable of giving consent.

For more information about electroshock, the Measure T campaign, and the international anti-psychiatry movement, send \$1 to *Madness Network News*, 2054 University Ave., room 405, Berkeley CA 94704, with a request for the Spring issue.

—Jenny Miller

receipt of their registration form, but would retain the requirement that all students state whether or not they have registered for the draft. The Education



Department then contemplates turning lists of names over to the Selective Service System for comparison to S.S. records, a check that would be possible for only a small percentage of aid recipients. Thus, according to news reports, the new regulations slated to be published in mid-May, 1983, would not require actual verification of draft registration status until January of 1985. (Many anti-draft activists speculate that this proposed delay might be for the purpose of allowing time to initiate the use of draft cards, which would reduce the administrative burden associated with verification.) However, the process being considered might well increase the probability of detection of students who receive financial aid without having registered for the draft from virtually nil to as high as 5-10%.

A detailed analysis of the Solomon amendment and its implications appeared in the *new indicator* in our March 1-14, 1983, issue.

Meanwhile, President Reagan has proposed legislation which would require students to contribute 40% towards their educational costs before becoming eligible for federal aid. This requirement would be in addition to existing requirements that parents of dependent students contribute between 18 and 25 percent of their discretionary income to these costs. This proposal represents a frontal assault against all students who rely on financial aid to meet the costs of their education, and is particularly targeted against students from poor backgrounds who would have the most difficulty meeting the new requirements. Fortunately, according to press reports, Reagan's proposals stand no chance of passage this year.

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The Crisis in Modern Socialism

profound changes and advances to Marxism-Leninism, beginning with the national communist resistance movements to fascism generated by that war. The Chinese "road to Socialism" will be examined in greater detail in Part Ten to this series as this part will concentrate on demonstrating how Stalinism created a crisis in modern socialism after the second World War.

The second World War, as Part Eight well illustrated, also indicated the temporary demise of international anarchism. Anarchism did not do well in publicizing its side of the Spanish Revolution, and anarchism was assumed to be a utopian failure by socialists facing the horrors of fascism and Stalinism. This does little justice to the indirect effect anarchist self-management has had on both the Yugoslavian and Chinese experiences, but it does express the reality as an explicit workers movement after the war.

Democratic socialism, despite U.S. support for Christian democracy after the war, gained legitimacy as the only alternative to Stalinism within modern socialism, helped along by social democratic power in nations such as Sweden. Unaware of the developments in Marxism-Leninism from the war, social democracy had none of Stalin's blood on its hands, yet it spoke the language of Marx. It flourished under American sanctioned parliamentarianism, raising the crucial question once again about the efficacy of parliamentary reform in advancing socialism.

Syndicalism emerged from the war a shadow of its former revolutionary self, leaving Stalinism as the only living heir to a revolutionary tradition after the war. The failure of socialism from 1918 to 1939 to develop a revolutionary democratic alternative that could survive the second World War must also be considered in "summing up" that period for the benefit of understanding the crisis in modern socialism.

FAILURE OF DEMOCRACY?

There is a liberal myth, fostered after the war by the United States, that the period between the two imperialist world wars demonstrated that "Republican democracy" is a fragile flower incapable of withstanding the onslaught from the extremes of fascism or communism. In 1919 Europe consisted of 13 republics and 13 monarchies. Before the first World War there had been 17 monarchies and 3 republics, and in 1939 7 monarchies and 5 republics remained. Clearly other, stronger "Republican democracies" must militarily defend weaker nations in the "free world" from the horrors of fascist authoritarianism and communist totalitarianism if democracy is to survive. This original justification for America's hegemony in the post-war world quickly made way for a division of the world into "free" and "communist" blocs, which permitted the United States to ally with fascist powers and become a "garrison democracy" in order to fight communism.

At its most sophisticated, this argument contends that a number of factors contributed to the demise of post-World War One democracy. The introduction of political equality for the masses in the form of universal male suffrage and women's right to vote produced explosive social changes in countries without democratic histories or republican traditions. This was compounded by the psychological and social consequences of the first World War (in which there developed a trust in force, a shift to the right in the national bourgeoisie, the centralized organization and leadership of the masses, and massive dislocations of whole populations) which focused on the failure of the peace treaties from the war

to achieve anything, the Great Depression and its world-wide social consequences, conflicts between ethnic groups within newly established multinational states, and the introduction of proportional representation with the consequent formation of splinter groups that hampered the workings of parliamentary democracy and allowed the acceptance of dictatorial leadership and the one-party state.

In this context, mass democracy was easily subverted and dictatorial states created. The masses were fooled by appeals to national glory through opportunistic political programs which fused opposing elements in the population with clever propaganda and a patriotic faith. The dictatorial states that emerged controlled all news media, rigged elections, eliminated opposition, suppressed all resistance brutally, abandoned the concept of constitutional right and the constitutional state to "preserve the national fabric," and introduced the totalitarian one-party state under a supreme leader based on terror.

If we ignore the betrayal of the Spanish Republic by western democracy, this still ignores a fundamental factor: the existence of a highly competitive world-capitalist economy within which more and more nations existed in terms of the economic hierarchy of motor-core/middle ring/inner periphery/colonial periphery. Nation states wishing to modernize and industrialize their national economies (to make themselves more competitive on the world market and to possibly enter its highly affluent motor-core) found the process simultaneously easier and more difficult to accomplish than the historical experiences of England, France and the United States in creating both the world economy and its motor-core.

Easier because developing nations potentially had access to more advanced techniques and technologies, as well as to the historical mistakes of more developed nations. And more difficult because developing nations could no longer depend upon the organic development of a democratic bourgeoisie or a true bourgeois revolution due to increasing pressure to compete in the world market. More disciplined forms of economic and social development were virtually the only choice left nations trying to modernize in the wake of England, France and United States. The introduction of highly advanced techniques and technologies "from above" into societies without a strong democratic bourgeoisie or other culturally democratic institutions, in turn was bound to create profound social tensions inimical to democratic process, and to republicanism taking root.

The "myth of fragile democracy" also ignores the crisis in modern socialism precipitated by Stalinism. The period from 1918 to 1939 failed to produce a truly revolutionary democracy capable of advancing socialism nationally and internationally, leaving Leninism to degenerate into a bloody, criminal Stalinism in the Soviet Union. Stalinism, in turn, helped to betray proletarian social revolution internationally in defense of the Soviet Union. Modern socialism, after the second World War, was left with only one country heir to a socialist revolution, and a string of Eastern European puppets. Stalinism's hegemony over "the socialist camp" as Stalin so fondly called it, initiated the crisis in modern socialism.

STALINISM AND WAR

The devastation Nazism wrecked upon the Russian people permitted Stalin to consolidate absolute power in the Soviet Union, and it was Stalin's first attempt to consolidate absolute power before 1939 (the Great Purge) that permitted the Nazis to wreck such devastation. Stalin's purge of the Red Army, more than any other factor, caused the disastrous defeats at the war's beginning in 1941 for the Soviets,

which Stalin disguised as a Great Patriotic War of scorched earth and Nazi genocide. He proved to be an hysterical People's Commissar for Defense in the War Cabinet he handpicked, his inexperienced interference in military affairs producing pyrrhic victories and unnecessary slaughter. The war fought Stalin's way cost the Russian people 20 million dead and 25 million homeless. And the Karachai, Kalmuck, Chechen, Ingush, Balkar, Volga German and Crimean Tartar peoples were deported wholesale as entire nations to eastern Russia.

Nevertheless, the Russian people under their much feared General Stalin did defeat Nazism, decisively at Stalingrad and progressively across the Soviet Union with the aid of partisan forces. The Soviet Union had cultivated minority communist resistance movements in the various countries the Nazis occupied during the course of the second World War, while schooling exiled Communist Party leaders of these countries in Moscow. "Patriotic fronts" of national resistance groups were pulled together by the communists as the Soviet Red Army followed Hitler's armies across Europe, and the Red Army supported these "patriotic fronts" in the nations they liberated from fascism. The "provisional governments" set up in the wake of the Red Army welcomed back exiled Communist Party leaders to key state and party positions.

STALINISM IN RUSSIA, 1945-1953

The progress of the war allowed Stalin to consolidate absolute state power. With such absolute power came an absolute paranoia. Stalin reorganized the NKVD in 1946 as the MVD under Beria, which supervised the state administration and party bureaucracy for any deviation from the official party line. The use of daily terror by the secret police amounted to the lowest level of Stalin's final eight-plus-year purge, a permanent purge disguised as a series of affairs that were nothing more than well orchestrated, imaginary conspiracies. In turn, the secret police became a "state within a state" with Beria at its head, and the Communist Party became the mass party of state officials and bureaucrats. In 1952, with 7 million members, 60% of the party was in the Soviet bureaucracy, which meant that the party's supreme organs were deprived of power with increased membership.

In the spring of 1949, Politburo member Voznesensky and Central Committee Secretary Kuznetsov, among others, were secretly tried in the Leningrad affair. This served to attack Zhdanov, Kosygin, Andrayev, and Molotov, who were gaining power on their own by promoting a personality cult of Stalin alongside "Soviet Patriotism" and "socialist realism" against objectivism, formalism and cosmopolitanism. The party apparatus in Georgia was brutally purged from 1951 to 1952 in the Mingrelian affair. Finally, Stalin's conspiratorial delusions culminated in anti-Semitic fantasies with the arrest of thirteen Jewish Kremlin doctors in 1953 in the Kremlin Doctors affair. These were the surface names for mass arrests, tortures, trials, executions, psychiatric commitments and sentences to force labor conducted by Stalin and his secret police. The system of forced labor alone was a constant 20 million people, and no one can accurately estimate the number executed for the period from 1945 to 1953.

With forced labor, POW's and the exploitation of Eastern Europe, Stalin also set about rebuilding war-ravaged Russia, again by concentrating on heavy industry at the expense of consumer goods production. The fourth 5-year plan (1946-50) pushed forward a housing construction program, increased armaments and industrial productivity, rebuilding industry in the west, expanding industries moved to the east during the war as well as resource exploitation in southern Russia to the Pacific, and the opening up of Siberia. The fifth 5-year plan (begun 1951) saw

the Volga Dneiper irrigation and hydroelectric construction projects, as well as the production of nuclear armaments and industries. The agricultural expansion after 1950, with large collective farms and planned major agricultural settlements, on the whole failed to eliminate the Soviet crises of food production.

Stalin declared the "transition to communism" with the 1951 5-year plan, and while Stalin did succeed in re-industrializing the Soviet Union, it was at a tremendous social cost. The rate of economic growth decreased under mounting bureaucracy, labor and capital reserves were exhausted, skilled labor was in short supply, poor planning caused wasted investment, the standard of living remained low and labor productivity and morale declined. To distract from these economic deficiencies and to increase Soviet autarchy, Stalin maintained his police terror and played into the American "Cold War." Stalin's 2-camps theory justified the U.S. division of the world capitalist economy into "Free" and "Communist" blocs from a Soviet perspective and permitted Soviet exploitation of tensions over Poland and Hungary, reparation policies and the questions of a divided Berlin and a divided Germany to expand Soviet influence over East Europe.

STALINISM IN EASTERN EUROPE, 1945-1953

The first elections in Eastern European nations under Soviet occupation after 1945 were relatively free, producing coalition governments with bourgeois representation and programs of reconstruction that included popular land reform and nationalization of industry. The reorganized Communist party, having disciplined national communist resistance elements to the Moscow/Stalin line, secured the Ministry of the Interior and power over the police for themselves.

The Party then launched a variety of political tactics to disrupt the coalition government; forming Socialist unity parties under Communist Party leadership, practicing "bloc politics," and creating new coalition governments with allied parties dominated by the Communist Party. Police terror, denunciations, harassment and coercion, indictment, torture and elimination of opposition leaders quickly eliminated bourgeois parliamentary majorities, permitting the formation of Stalinist dominated Communist governments confirmed through rigged elections based on unity lists.

The Soviet occupation until this point (1946 for Albania and Bulgaria, 1947 for Poland and Roumania, 1948 for Czechoslovakia and 1949 for Hungary and East Germany) amounted to a crude territorial imperialism with forced exports, forced labor and reparations that oftentimes involved the dismantling of whole factories in Eastern Europe for transportation to Russia. The creation of "People's Democracies" in Eastern Europe under Stalinist Communist control permitted Stalin to formalize supra-regional economic planning and military command in the interests of the Soviet Union through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) in 1949, culminating in the Warsaw Pact of 1955. The Church was persecuted and the Communist Parties of the various "People's Democracies" were purged of nationalist elements and deviators (Titoists, and others). Soviet models for agricultural collectivization were attempted, confirming Soviet domination over Eastern Europe.

That the Soviet Union has been invaded twice in two world wars through Eastern Europe explains, but hardly justifies Stalin's Eastern European "sphere of influence." And while not equivalent to the colonial and neo-colonial imperialism of western capitalism, Soviet domination over

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The Crisis in Modern Socialism

Eastern Europe constituted a territorially-based, defensive imperialism that played counterpoint to capitalist imperialism.

THE CRISIS IN MODERN SOCIALISM

Stalin's crimes in the Soviet Union, Stalin's Soviet imperialism in Eastern Europe, and the mistakes and blunders of modern socialism produced by Stalinist hegemony compounded after the second World War to define a profound crisis within modern socialism. Were socialists and communists obligated to defend Stalinism as socialist despite its mistakes and crimes, in the face of capitalist imperialism? Were socialists and communists obligated to defend Stalinist Russia just because of its revolutionary heritage? How could Stalin's brutal bloody regime justify calling itself socialist, let alone communist? How could socialists and communists remain in modern socialism given Stalin's crimes in the name of socialism and communism? Dare socialists and communists speak about China? Yugoslavia? Modern socialism was shaken to its core by such questions.

In the United States, McCarthyism further complicated this crisis. Whereas in Europe Stalinism came under greater secret criticism and condemnation that became more and more open within modern socialism, the McCarthy purges forced American socialism to defend Stalinism or renounce socialism. Few proved capable of or courageous enough to defend socialism against Stalin on the American left when faced with the anti-communist Red Scare after the second World War.

Koestler's *Darkness At Noon* launched the public debate in fictionally examining why such veteran Bolsheviks as Bukharin and Zinoviev would come to sign absurd confessions of ludicrous crimes against the Soviet Union. His conclusion—that they were caught up in the historical logic of their situation—sparked tremendous controversy. Koestler contended that people like Bukharin considered themselves agents of history, part of a vanguard party that in its political line and program consciously carried out the logic of history. The Party, as a supra-agent of history, was always right, even if the Party decided to liquidate itself. Having extracted similar confessions in the past from others, it would have been impossible to give any less to the revolution themselves without exposing the original lie—that all real motives had been lost and all real truth negated in the effort to maintain their ideology in power.

Marleu-Ponty responded with *Humanism and Terror*. While not defending Stalinism, Marleu-Ponty nevertheless refused to condemn revolutionary terror. Dialectically and historically there were times of profound synthesis when absolute human freedom fused with absolute historical necessity. Revolutions were just such situations and the dialectical synthesis of freedom and necessity was justification for the use of revolutionary terror. The implications of *Humanism and Terror*, while anti-Stalinist, were also pro-Marxist, and the lines of debate in modern socialism outside Stalinism formed around these two positions.

SOCIALISM'S RESPONSE

With the demise of anarchism and syndicalism's decline, Stalinism claimed the mantle of revolutionary socialism as heir to the Russian revolution. One response to Stalinism within modern socialism came from social democracy, which rejected any and all forms of revolution for parliamentary gradualism. Social democracy condemned Marxism-Leninism as inevitably leading to Stalinism, and

therefore denounced the Soviet Union for its lack of any true socialism. This vehement anti-Soviet, anti-Bolshevik response from social democracy was matched by social democratic parliamentary and trade union work that placed its faith for social change in a peaceful gradualism that assumed that socialism could evolve out of a series of social and labor reforms.

Social democracy gained ground after the war in a number of European countries, most notably Sweden, Germany and England. The United States had set great store in European Christian Democratic parties for the anti-Soviet reconstruction of western Europe, and therefore social democracy was not overtly encouraged by the American hegemony in Europe because it still claimed to be Marxist. Yet social democracy continued to grow, and its growth objectively aided the consolidation of American post-war hegemony. For despite social democracy's Marxist critique of western capitalism, Europe's social democratic parties remained allied to the "free world" in opposition to Soviet Stalinism. And as a legitimate Marxist force within modern socialism against Marxism/Leninism/Stalinism, social democracy had great appeal to socialists disillusioned by Stalinism.

In all, social democracy flourished under Western European parliamentarism. The United States grudgingly came to accept that social democracy was a legitimate, anti-Soviet, nationalist force in Western Europe to be used in the "Cold War" against Soviet communism. Because of social democracy's cooperation with American hegemony and its rejection of revolution, it is of less interest as a response to Stalinism within modern socialism than is revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. For the second World War had provided unique opportunities for nationalist communist forces to develop and come to power in the countries of China and Yugoslavia. As national communism, these revolutionary movements achieved power through their own partisan efforts and therefore refused to uncritically accept Soviet/Stalinist hegemony over revolutionary socialism.

The Chinese experience will be studied at greater length in Part Ten of this series. For now, the Yugoslav break with Stalin and the Soviet Union will be examined. Marshal Josip Broz Tito was leader of the communist resistance to fascism in the Balkans during the second World War. He managed to create a patriotic resistance front to fascism during the war consisting of the major Balkan resistance forces, as well as a coalition government after the war with himself as Prime Minister. While concluding a Mutual Assistance Pact with the Soviet Union, Tito also managed to secure the early withdrawal of the Red Army from Yugoslavia.

The "Popular Liberation Front's" communist-dominated unity list received 90% of the vote in elections to the National Assembly in 1945, after which the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia was proclaimed, comprised of 6 Balkan countries and 2 autonomous regions organized as a multi-national Balkan state. Tito tried to steer a national communist course from 1945 to 1947. On the one hand, he carried out an internal Yugoslavian sovietization along Russian lines. With the aid of the political police under Rankovic and the secret services, Tito rounded up and executed his political opponents and old nationalist allies. Trade, industry, banks and social insurance was nationalized, and attempts were made to collectivize agriculture. On the other hand, Tito permitted a measure of political and cultural independence to the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and other national ethnic groups within Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia's parliament, though dominated by the Communist Party, was politically independent of the party in practice. The Yugoslavian Communist Party (renamed the League

of Communists of Yugoslavia in 1952) was complemented by the less disciplined, mass Marxist-Leninist political formation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia, to which all Communist Party members and over half of the adult population belonged. The Socialist Alliance was given a number of social democratic and independent parliamentary functions to fashion an arena of political activity somewhat independent of the Communist Party. And finally, Tito planned to federate Yugoslavia with Bulgaria and Albania in a Balkan Federation independent of the Soviet Union.

Tito's "autonomous road to socialism" had been the product of a national communist movement and experience unwilling to accept Stalinist Soviet hegemony. The Soviet Union attempted to use economic blackmail to regiment Yugoslavia along Stalinist lines, which led to the break with Moscow in 1948. The Soviet Union, through Comecon, enforced an economic blockade of Yugoslavia, which forced Tito to conclude trade agreements with the west in 1949. Collectivization of agriculture was halted in 1953 and the self-administration of workers soviets in factories was introduced and formalized in 1950. There were few state or collective farms, Yugoslavian agriculture being dominated by private small holdings. Most businesses were managed by councils elected by the workers, and workers were even known to strike against their own councils. The worker-managed businesses were subject to a degree of state regulation and control, but they competed vigorously against each other in a Yugoslavian free market replete with advertising. Individuals could own businesses with no more than 5 employees, as small private enterprise was officially tolerated after 1953. In 1952, Yugoslavia received U.S. financial and military assistance. Over half of its trade was with non-Communist nations. Press censorship was lifted for the most part, foreign news and periodicals were openly distributed and Yugoslavians were permitted to travel outside the country without much restriction. All of this culminated in Tito's 10-year plan begun in 1953.

With its break from Moscow, Yugoslavia became increasingly critical of Stalinism and the Soviet Union's brand of socialism. Yugoslavia denounced the bureaucratization of Soviet life and Stalin's personality cult based on his absolute power as destructive of true socialist democracy. Not only were socialist liberties, such as freedom of occupation and press, suppressed but a new bureaucratic ruling caste had emerged in the Soviet Union to deprive the working class of its power by concentrating absolute power over the whole social life first in the hands of the party and state administration, and finally in the hands of one individual. Not only had Stalinism failed to realize socialism in the Soviet Union, it had caused the brutal degeneration of a true Marxist-Leninist dictatorship of the proletariat. Yugoslavia claimed for itself the distinction of correct Marxism-Leninism and socialist democracy.

Yugoslavian communists also rejected Stalin's two-camps theory. While

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War Taxes...

which would allow conscientious objectors to divert a significant portion of their taxes from the Pentagon budget to social service programs. The support group for the legislation is the National Council for a World Peace Tax Fund, 2111 Florida Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20008.

Recently, several war tax resistance organizations joined to form a national group, the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee. The

following the Soviet line on many international issues. Tito nevertheless sought out an independent foreign policy by rallying African and Asian countries into a bloc of non-aligned nations over which Yugoslavia tried to exert leadership. The problems with Yugoslavian socialism and foreign policy will be discussed at greater length in Part Eleven. For now, let us simply note that Yugoslavia's "autonomous road to socialism" represented the first official break with Stalinism within Marxism-Leninism with a national base.

Stalinism had already experienced resistance to sovietization in Poland in 1947 from national resistance groups (W.L.N. and N.S.Z. units). When Stalin died in March 1953, East Germany proclaimed a "New Course" for the purpose of improving living standards. Protest demonstrations in East Berlin on June 17, 1953 were begun by construction workers in the Stalinallee, and quickly mushroomed into a popular uprising, spreading to Gustinow, Rathenow, Magdeburg, Quedlinburg, Dessau, Cottbus, the Halle and Leibzig area, Jena, Gera, Dresden and Gorlitz. Demonstrations, strikes and the freeing of political prisoners occurred before Russian troops suppressed the uprising. Mass arrests, court martials and executions followed, and refugees fled the political repression. The spectre of 1956 in Poland and Hungary—of socialist uprisings against Stalinism and Soviet territorial imperialism—was already foreshadowed in East Germany by 1953.

POST-WAR WORLD

All that has been described as the crisis in modern socialism occurred in the context of America's revision of the world capitalist economy into a "free world" dominated by the United States, and a "communist world" dominated by the Soviet Union. For its part, the Soviet Union under Stalin accepted this analysis and cooperated in America's revision of the world. This revision was crucial, for it represented capitalism's attempt to rationalize its own sphere of direct influence in competition against a "socialist" sphere of influence within the world capitalist economy. Whereas the first and second World Wars had been fought between capitalist imperialist powers and had given rise to socialist and communist revolutions, the capitalist world after the second World War under American hegemony tried to eliminate world imperialist wars in order to fashion a capitalist power bloc in opposition to socialism. Future wars were to be fought between the "free world" and the "communist bloc" in order to contain socialism.

This redefinition of the world capitalist economy, while initially successful, was also shortlived. The "Communist bloc" continued to fragment, and the "Free World" could not overcome the competition between capitalist nation states and national economies. Nevertheless another world war, if it comes, will be fought between the so-called communist world and the so-called free world, to their mutual annihilation. For this reason alone, the design and intent of America's imperial hegemony cannot be easily dismissed. We will take this up in more detail in Part Eleven.

committee has announced support for Tax Day Protests on April 15, locally a picket and candlelight vigil at the Midway Drive Post Office from 4 pm to midnight. Contact the National WTR group by writing to the Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, NY 11713.

The following groups also provide information about war tax resistance: War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012. Northern California WTR, 2118 8th Street, Berkeley, CA 94710. The Peacemakers, P.O. Box 627, Garberville, CA 95440. Center on Law and Pacifism, P.O. Box 1584, Colorado Springs, CO 80801.

Long Stories In Short

Dennis Banks Faces Ongoing Govt. Attacks

Ten years after his role in the Wounded Knee occupation, Dennis Banks is still being hounded by the authorities.

The Native American leader is presently being given sanctuary from the FBI at the Onondaga Indian Reservation in New York State.

A complicated arrangement which would have permitted Banks to travel freely in the state while disposition of his case was being decided ran into a snag when Onondaga County District Attorney Richard Hennesy vetoed the plan worked out between Gov. Mario Cuomo, defense attorneys, and the chiefs of the upstate reservation.

Meanwhile, Black and Native American supporters of Banks held a meeting in Harlem March 5, to demand that he not be extradited to South Dakota, where he faces imprisonment and possible death. Banks fears for his life there because of the state's historic anti-Indian racism.

—the Guardian

"You're Going Too"

Maria Esther Aguayo of Denver has filed a civil rights complaint against the Immigration and Naturalization Service. She is a U.S. citizen who was arrested in the INS "Operation Jobs" roundup of "illegal aliens." An INS officer walked up to her, said "You're going, too," put his hand down the back of her pants, dragged her out of the bar, and arrested her even though she told him she was a U.S. citizen. She was released after her mother brought citizenship papers in to the prison.

—Big Mama Rag

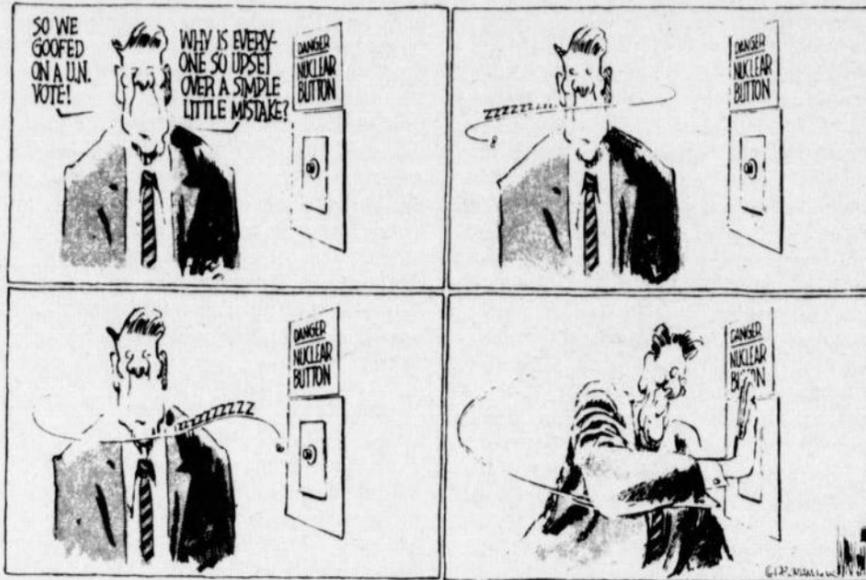
Dutch Activists Invade U.S. Base

More than 40 members of the Dutch underground anti-militarist organization Onkrut were arrested March 13 after having invaded the U.S. Military Traffic Management Command's (MTMC) nearly completed complex in the town of Capelle aan de Yssel. Over 100 activists stormed the new building, painting slogans and, according to police, inflicting \$4000 in damage. The Dutch national guard shot into the air and later roughed up prisoners. Three draft resisters were among those arrested.

The activists were protesting the U.S. army's reported plans to transport military material through the Netherlands next month. The MTMC, which coordinates the transport of military material from the Netherlands to Belgium and West Germany, will also be responsible for the scheduled large-scale arms shipments from the northern Dutch port of Eemshaven to West Germany. In January 1982 a "trial shipment" of military material from Eemshaven was delayed when activists blocked trails and destroyed signal towers.

Onkrut, which can at times count on support from much of the radical left in the Netherlands, recently called on sympathizers to begin forming autonomous revolutionary cells to carry out acts of sabotage against cruise missiles and U.S. institutions in the event that these U.S. missiles are deployed as proposed in December 1983.

—the Guardian



Missile Officer Fired for Thinking

The Air Force doesn't want its missile officers worrying—and maybe thinking twice—about launching a nuclear first strike or raining warheads down on civilians. Lt. Steven Gifford found this out the hard way.

Gifford is a five-year veteran with top-secret clearance and is a firm believer in a strong 'national defense'. It was only when he was assigned to missile training class and was taught how to fire the deadly weapons that he began to have doubts.

Gifford was shocked by the various missile targeting plans. They included first-strike attacks, with which the United States would initiate a nuclear war. They also included what the Air Force called "flexibility targeting," a euphemism for attacks on large civilian population centers.

Gifford says that one instructor told him firing missiles should be a "Pavlovian reaction" regardless of the target. "You should salivate at the very thought of turning the missile ignition key," the instructor said.

At the end of the second week of classes, Gifford was asked if he had any personal reservations about firing a missile. He replied that he wouldn't push

the button without thinking about it first. "I'm not a robot," he said.

The Air Force's reaction was to send Gifford to a psychiatrist and detail him to the base golf course, where he retrieved balls for the brass hats.

Then the Air Force accused Gifford of fraud, and gave him a general discharge. Officers testifying at his discharge hearing said they couldn't believe Gifford really bought the Air Force slogan: "Peace is our profession." One colonel pointed out that first-strike plans "are published in all the papers and everything."

Gifford is appealing his discharge. But he says he doesn't regret having followed his conscience. "To totally trust some officer who decides it's time to beat the Russians to a nuclear attack... I couldn't do it," he said.

condensed from Jack Anderson
Evening Tribune

How Many?

According to the Los Angeles Times, 95% of the state of Hawaii is owned by 70 people. One wonders how many (if any) of these are among the native Hawaiians.

Kirkpatrick Heckled at U.C. Berkeley...

'Free Speech' or Right to Heckle?

Free speech is once again a major issue on the U.C. Berkeley campus—two decades after the Free Speech Movement ignited a generation of student protest. But this time it is the Administration rather than the students that is claiming its rights were violated.

On February 15, U.N. ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick arrived on the University of California campus to speak on "Human Rights and Wrongs in the United States," a subject she apparently researched the previous week on a visit to El Salvador, where she proclaimed support for what she had once called the "moderately repressive" regime.

Kirkpatrick's appearance on a podium of honor provided a provocation Berkeley could hardly ignore. A handful of students appeared in white "death masks" in front of the auditorium, and later a larger group, organized by Students Against Intervention in El Salvador (SAINTES), launched a collective heckle.

When she spoke of the "moral basis" of American foreign policy, the demonstrators made derisive noises and chanted, "U.S. out of El Salvador!" When she claimed "The defense of human rights is as American as apple

pie," the response was: "Forty thousand dead!" That drove Kirkpatrick from the stage—but only momentarily. Regaining her confidence, she returned quickly and finished her address. Later in the day, however, she canceled a scheduled second lecture, and flew back to Washington after firing a parting shot: "I have not seen a group so interested in denying free speech and discussion."

The issue of the day, which had been Kirkpatrick's role as architect and executor of America's pro-authoritarian policy in Latin America, was thus transformed into freedom of speech. More to the point, it became a clash of conflicting rights: the right to heckle and the right to lecture. It was instructive to see on which side various sectors of the Berkeley community—and the government—would stand.

The faculty members who invited Kirkpatrick, the student body president and Berkeley Chancellor Ira Heyman all condemned the students, and the leading local dailies editorialized mightily in Kirkpatrick's behalf.

The demonstrators and some faculty members fought back. The student senate refused to condemn the protest or to cut SAINTES's funding.

Boycott Safeway

In the last month, Safeway has sent ad withdrawal notices to 95 percent of the Black newspapers across the country in which they had traditionally taken out food ads. To protest against Safeway's attack on Black newspapers, Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH has called a national boycott against Safeway. Mike Powers says the ad withdrawal is "Safeway's effort to destroy the Black press... ad money is too much to be paid to the Black press."

—Big Mama Rag

Chipping Away at Corporate Power

Jack Wolverton has decided to chip away at corporate power single-handedly. The country grocer of Monroe, Oregon, refuses to stock any brand which is the first of its kind to raise prices unless he is convinced the hike is economically justified. When a 7-Up distributor brought news of a slight price hike for soda, Wolverton simply cancelled his order.

Wolverton's reasoning is simple. "Companies should be made to realize something when they raise prices. Why should prices be going up, anyway? Fuel prices are going down. Labor prices are down—nobody's getting raises anymore. When pop went up a few years ago, they said it was because of the high costs of sugar and fuel. But when sugar and fuel prices went down, did the price of pop?"

When the invisible hand doesn't work, slap its wrist!

—Dollars & Sense

Unemployment

Unemployment is a crime, and the system that creates it is criminal. Two items: 1) 20,000 people line up in the freezing cold in Milwaukee for a measly 200 jobs; 2) Alaska airlines is charging job seekers \$10 a crack to apply for 30 to 40 flight attendant jobs. They got 2,000 responses, making \$50,000 to 60,000 on the deal.

—Big Mama Rag

—the Nation