

new indicator

HUMANS HAVE WALKED IN SPACE!

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Draft Move Intensifies Sasway Conviction Upheld

Last week the conviction of draft resister Ben Sasway was upheld by the federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. This decision clears the way for taking the case directly to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Sasway was convicted for failing to register for the draft. In his appeal from that decision he is arguing that he was selectively prosecuted—singled out for exercising his First Amendment right to speak out publicly against the draft, that he was denied the opportunity to present his reasons for refusing to register, that the draft is unconstitutional and a number of other points.

He stands a fairly good chance of having his case heard by the Supreme Court, in part because the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals overturned the conviction last November of another draft resister, Mark Schmucker of Ohio, because he had been denied an evidentiary hearing by the lower court to determine whether he had been selectively prosecuted. The Sixth Circuit Court also strongly implied that they felt the U.S. government had singled out Schmucker for prosecution because he had spoken out publicly against draft registration. Based on this ruling, another judge in the Sixth Circuit released another resister, Sam Mathews, from prison and commuted his sentence to time served.

The selective prosecution issue is based on the fact that, to date, the government has brought indictments against only those men who had informed the government of their opposition to the draft registration and their decision not to register. This passive "detection" program is being gradually replaced with an active detection one in which lists of names from various sources are being cross-checked with lists of registrants. As a result of the active detection program, thousands of warning letters have been sent to potential non-registrants around the country. So far no indictments have been brought down solely on the basis of computer cross-checking.

Sasway was the first person indicted for failing to register for the draft since the Vietnam war. After serving 40 days in the Metropolitan Correctional Center following his conviction, Sasway was sentenced to two and a half years by Judge Gordon Thompson last October. Sasway is currently a student at Humboldt State University. To help raise funds for Ben Sasway's defense Joan Baez will perform in a benefit concert on Sunday, February 19 at Golden Hall in downtown San Diego. The concert is sponsored by the San Diego County Draft Resisters Defense Fund. (See announcements, this issue.)

Faced with nearly a half million non-registrants, the government has been resorting to a variety of intimidation tactics, besides prosecution, in an attempt to improve an unworkable registration program prior to instituting a full-blown draft. (By the government's own admission, a registration rate of at

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U.S. Special Forces adviser instructs soldiers in use of M-203 grenade launcher, Ilopango, El Salvador. This picture is from an exhibit of images from El Salvador showing at the Museum of Photographic Art in Balboa Park through March 4. More pictures are featured in this issue's centerfold on pages 6 and 7.

Ups and Downs

What's New on the Left

The year 1983 brought many changes to some of the mainstay organizations on the left, some for the better and some for the worse. The organizations covered in this article experienced similar problems. For example, the lack of effective leadership and the lack of funds and activists were endemic to these organizations at one time or another. The history of three San Diego organizations and the problems they face will be discussed here. Analysis of their structure, process, and strategies will not be dealt with here.

1. Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua (CSN) This organization was formed in early 1982 to educate the local community about what was happening in Nicaragua, according to Antigone Martinez. She, along with Jorge Mancillas, were two of the main organizers of the committee. From April to November of 1982, CSN continually showed films and had literature tables at various campus and community locales. Membership during this period hovered around twenty. Meetings were always full of new faces, Martinez said. To celebrate the third anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, CSN put on a teach-in which drew well over 500 people. The focus was on all Central America. A combination of video, poetry, music, and information was presented. CSN also put on fundraising to collect for Nicaraguan flood-relief efforts. Donations of clothes were also sent to Nicaragua, said Martinez. Another accomplishment of the committee was the distribution of literature on various aspects of Nicaraguan life.

1983 saw CSN go through hard times. Some members dropped out, while others moved out of the area. Still others joined the U.S.-Mexico Border Conference in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, as this issue began to dominate the headlines. CSN did turn out 100 people for a demonstration against the U.S.-sponsored contra attacks against Nicaragua. The demonstration received excellent media coverage. But CSN's days were numbered. The members were gone, the energy was gone, and CSN's main organizer had left to pursue academic studies. This organization, which did so

much in 1982, is now just a vague memory in people's minds. It dissolved in 1983. R.I.P.

2. The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) formed its San Diego chapter in late 1980. CISPES has put on many events in its history around educating the public to what's going down in El Salvador. 1981 saw two major events. Julia Mendoza, a representative from ANDES (a strong teacher's union) spoke to a packed audience, and a candlelight vigil and mass for the nuns murdered in El Salvador was held in Old Town, and drew over 700 people.

In March, 1982, CISPES and the Peace and Justice Coalition organized a march in Balboa Park to protest the next day's elections in El Salvador. After this event, many members became less active, believing the situation was improving because of the elections. According to Susan Norwood, a CISPES organizer, this was because of a lack of politicization of the members. Norwood said San Diego CISPES was dependent upon North County's CISPES for funds to do events, as San Diego's CISPES lacked strong organization at the time.

In late 1982, "the infrastructure of CISPES started developing," Norwood relates, as regular mailings and literature distribution occurred. In addition, better relations with the regional and national offices of CISPES were achieved. According to Norwood, new people entered to replace the old, as San Diego CISPES became autonomous. 1982 saw CISPES get involved in a ballot initiative discussion process, which drew

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University Center Railroading Still On Track...

Opposition Mounts To Administrative Cabal

In the aftermath of last spring's controversial attempt by Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Affairs, Joe Watson to drastically increase administrative control over the Student Center by changing the composition of the 9-member all-student, Student Center Board (SCB), current developments indicate the potential for yet another conflict as students find themselves pitted against the administration for control of the proposed new University Center.

In last year's conflict, Joe Watson, who enjoyed very little support for his power play among students—with the notable exception of the SCB Chair Paul Jensen—abandoned his plans after massive outcry from a strong student coalition that included Student Affirmative Action Committee groups, Coops & Enterprises and student media.

Watson's plan to increase administrative control over the SCB was seen by many as the first and most crucial step in the implementation of the ad hoc Building Committee's report, dated March 17th 1983, recommending a 25,000 square foot facility—the University Center. With control of the SCB, the administration would then enjoy complete and total control of the "University Center". However student opposition forced Watson into shelving, but not burying, the report and trying another approach.

Enter Assistant Chancellor Tommy Tucker who was chosen to direct the new approach. An approach that included a large-scale publicity campaign to sell the plan to students (with repeated attempts if it failed the first time around), and securing student approval of the administrative plans to add staff, faculty and alumni representation to the SCB. (These representatives would then be in position to form the wedge in reducing already inadequate student control over the center).

While the new approach tried by the administration has removed Joe Watson from the spotlight and made Tommy Tucker the focal point, it has been successful in attracting a larger and broader coalition of students who are fast becoming aware of the administration's goals.

The Tucker Express

Tucker, who arrived here in early fall '83, has moved at an astonishing pace by

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LETTERS

Reader Seeks Criticism Of Soviet Union in Paper

Dear new indicator:

I've been a reader of the new indicator for several months now; and though I enjoy reading your paper, there is something about it I've been noticing. Why is the United States constantly criticized but never the Soviet Union?

Obviously, the U.S. has committed several atrocities in the past, but why doesn't the new indicator tell of the Soviet Union as well? It seems to me that history has demonstrated that what the Soviet Union has done and what their government represents is more detrimental toward world peace and toward the working class than the American government. For example:

1. In 1939, the U.S.S.R. was expelled from the international peace organization—the League of Nations—for breaking its charter.

2. Also in 1939, the U.S.S.R. signed the non-aggression pact with Germany, which enabled Russia to forcibly occupy Eastern Poland and which set the stage for World War II.

3. In 1940, the Soviet Union invaded Latvia and incorporated the defeated nation into the U.S.S.R. In the first year of Soviet occupation about 35,000 Latvians were deported to Russia.

4. In 1940, the Soviet Union invaded and occupied the free and independent nation of Lithuania (later to be incorporated into the U.S.S.R.—without consent of the people.) More than 45,000 people were deported to Russia.

5. 38 years after the U.S.S.R. conquered Eastern Europe there has yet to be a free election in any of the 7 conquered nations.

6. After the war in 1945, America made a proposal to the United Nations to destroy all of its nuclear weapons and declare a moratorium (sic) on the construction of all nuclear weapons by any country, which would be enforced by the U.N. However, the U.S.S.R. rejected the American proposal and went ahead to build its own nuclear arsenal—thus igniting the nuclear arms race.

7. Today the U.S.S.R. has over 300 intermediate range, land-based nuclear missiles carrying nearly 1,000 warheads in Eastern Europe—while just until recently NATO had zero land-based nuclear missiles in western Europe.

8. The Soviet Union continues to fight in Afghanistan—killing thousands of Afghanistani people.

9. After 66 years of communist rule, there has yet to be a free trade union in the Soviet Union.

If socialism/communism is a desired alternative to capitalism, then why has there been a mass exodus of refugees from wherever communists seize power? For example: More than 1,000,000 from Cuba (10 percent of the population); 1,800,000 from Ethiopia; 6,200,000 from communist Eastern Europe; nearly 5,000,000 from Afghanistan (over 30 percent of the population); 5,200,000 from North Korea; 300,000 from the

U.S.S.R.; 1,200,000 from Indochina. History shows that American capitalism certainly is not perfect—but it at least offers the most opportunity for the people to improve their lives than any other political system.

—Dan Willis Palomar College

Response...

It is historical fact that the U.S. ruling classes have developed a foreign policy based on its insatiable need for cheap labor, cheap raw materials and ready consumers. To meet their objective, which is to gain high profits, U.S. government officials pursue many tactics: they try to destabilize socialist countries (Grenada is only the most recent example); they support the liquidation of revolutionary youth around the world (The majority of revolutionary peasants are teenagers and in their 20s); and workers at home are forced into accepting a. high taxes for military spending, b. low wages for guaranteed profits, and c. high unemployment which keeps inflation down. This, in a nut shell, is North America's main contribution to "world peace and to the working classes."

We in the Collective are glad to hear that you enjoy n.i.. We members of the Collective hold many different views and are coming from different basic principles and different historical perspectives. We have agreed, however, on a few issues: 1) that collective self-management (also called "workers' control") is a superior model for organizing production; 2) that consensus decision making is better than "tyranny of the majority" although it is sometimes less "efficient"; 3) that all forms of hierarchy perpetuates exploitation and alienation.

In one of her books, Mary McCarthy writes about a woman who, after graduating from Smith College with a history degree, spent the rest of her life with her neck bent toward the sky, looking for the bomber planes from Russia to arrive. Without going into the veracity of your statistics or playing the ahistorical game of exchanging atrocity stories, we feel your thinking rests on a set of premises which deserve to be examined. Who knows? Perhaps you will discover that you are working with "received ideas" which are not substantiated by your own experience or by critical reflection.

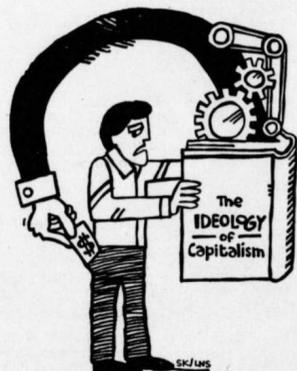
Your letter seems to be organized around one erroneous syllogism:

Criticism of the Soviet Union is beneficial to world peace and to the working classes.

American Capitalism is beneficial to world peace and to the working classes.

∴ Criticism of the Soviet Union is beneficial to American Capitalism.

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FUNKY LA JOLLA

Rambling Rosie is in hiding amidst threats to her legs from a distinguished staff writer from The

UCSD Guardian. All will be revealed next issue—if she can still walk!

Tucker's Express Misses Track

most accounts to re-propose and re-sell the concept of the "University Center" by establishing the ten-member University Center Programming/Building Advisory Committee (UCPBAC) to publish its recommendation by the end of February—a mere six weeks after its first meeting.

In an interview with the new indicator Student Center Board (SCB) member Ted Herzog, noted "Tommy Tucker was hired as Assistant Vice Chancellor of the 'University Center'; and [just] who made up this thing called the 'University Center'? All along, they talk about how no building has been planned, and its all up to the committee (UCPBAC) and yet they've assigned the name 'University Center' and just the way the process is going there are a lot of assumptions."

Herzog adds "Tom is really a good administrator and he knows all the steps. The Student Center Board would get together at a meeting and Tom would have this stuff typed out and planned and all real good and slick...Tom was here to get the building built this year. He comes here in September and by May he wants the student vote. He's in control of the whole process."

The first step in Tucker's planning was the establishment of the University Center Planning Board Advisory Committee (UCPBAC). Tucker recommended the composition and agenda to the SCB who then voted to adopt the proposal and then passed it on to the Chancellor for his signature.

The ten member committee is split between students and non-students as follows: Michael Addison, Provost, Warren College; Mark Broughton, Alumni & Friends; Marc Geiger, Associated Students; Margo Gordon,

Commuter Students; Paul Jensen, Student Center Board; Claire Langham, Grad Students Council; Cecil Lytle, Academic Senate; Jeff Steindorf, Resource Management & Planning; Steven Stoller, College Councils; Tommy Tucker, Undergraduate Affairs, Chair; Jill Warn, Staff Association; John Woods, Resource Management.

Tommy Tucker says the UCPBAC's agenda is "to produce a program statement which includes a discussion of the philosophy of the Student Center/University Center, a discussion of campus needs and traditions of the campus and a summary of the subcommittee's work, and a recommended site and recommended funding alternative, all of which will be presented to the students for a referendum."

The UCPBAC had its initial meeting on January 11, 1984 at which time Tucker formed nine sub-committees to study and recommend various facets of the proposed "University Center". Since that meeting, the Coop & Enterprises subcommittee has been the forum for many students and student organizations to express their criticisms of the process. These students say that it was rushed and that it is not in the best interest of the entire student body.

Their criticism is based on the following: the selection and composition of the UCPBAC; number of subcommittees not commensurate with need, e.g., lack of a subcommittee to study general funding decisions for the proposed new "University Center"; and, governing structure for the new Center.

Selection and composition of the UCPBAC: Many feel a good portion of the controversy might have been avoided if in fact Tucker had included greater student input and participation from the onset. Asked about the committee, Tucker said, "A committee like this is an outgrowth of a perceived need to explore continued on page 5

Draft Move Intensifies

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least 98% is necessary for the program to work.) These tactics include linking draft registration with student aid and job training programs, and developing a high school blitz program that would bring Selective Service people and materials into the high schools, attempting to obtain lists of students from the schools and possibly having students register at their schools as well as at post offices. The legality of these tactics is highly questionable. Presently, the U.S. Supreme Court is debating the constitutionality of the so-called Solomon law that ties student aid to

draft registration. And there is a good possibility that legal action will be taken against the high school/Selective Service collusion.

Our sources indicate that a new three-story building has been completed in downtown San Diego that could serve as an induction facility for the new and improved draft.

With the pieces falling into place one by one, it should be clear to all but the most ardent solipsist that the draft isn't far behind. The only remaining question is which of the many current on-going wars will our fearless leaders use as an excuse to reinstate the draft?

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The Blast! from the Past

Don't Be a Blind Fool



YOUNG MAN! You whom the government is trying to entice into the army and navy, beware! Bethink yourself before taking the step. Consider what you are about to do, and the purpose you are to serve. Ask yourself the meaning of military service and of war. Do you want to prepare for murder? Do you want to be trained for wholesale slaughter and, when ordered, to kill your fellow-men, men like yourself, whom you have never even seen and who never did you any harm? Think of it, and if there is a spark of manhood in your heart, you will be filled with horror and disgust at the very thought of military service.

You may be one of the unemployed, without money or friends. But better a hundred times to suffer need and hunger than to don the uniform that stands for cowardly obedience and the murder of your brothers. Consider that it is this military power which you are asked to join, that is upholding the conditions which are keeping you and thousands of others in starvation and misery. If you put on the uniform, you help to strengthen and perpetuate this power and you become the blind tool of the class that robs and kills under the guise of patriotism. It pays them well. They even instill the little school-children with the spirit of boastful jingoism and murderous hatred, because patriotism enlarges profits and increases dividends. Do you want to help them?

It is unworthy of a thinking man to be blind, obedient tool. But still more unworthy it is to train oneself for the purpose and to subject oneself to humiliation and inhuman treatment in order to learn how to kill and murder.

Young Man! You are a poor man, a child of the poor. It is a terrible and shameful spectacle that in every land the sons of the workmen constitute the army whose purpose it is to perpetuate the slavery of labor. Can you complain of oppression and exploitation if you lend yourself to uphold the system of economic robbery, if you take up arms to defend it? As long as there are enough young men who permit themselves to be driven to slaughter like a herd of sheep and who are willing to participate in expeditions of robbery and murder (for that's what war really is), just so long the possessing classes will continue to rob and to murder, to slaughter by the wholesale and exterminate whole countries. You, the sons of the people, you, young workmen of the land, you alone can put an end to these terrible things and their frightful consequences, by refusing to join the army and navy, by refusing to be used as hangmen, manhunters and watchdogs.

Already "great" generals and other well-paid patriots speak of conscription. They want to introduced forced military services in this country, as has been done by the tyrannies of Europe. It is to show them that the people see through their infamous schemes. Let the young generation remain away from the recruiting offices and refuse to be used as food for cannon.

—From The Blast! San Francisco February 1916

NEW INDICATOR ANNOUNCEMENTS UCSD, B-023, LA JOLLA, CA 92093

EVERY MONDAY

4 PM: Lesbian Sisterhood meeting. Women's Resource Center, UCSD Student Center. 452-2023, 452-6969.

EVERY TUESDAY

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting. New volunteers always welcome! Support progressive, independent journalism and practice collective self-management. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

6 PM: Free, confidential draft counseling with professional National Lawyers Guild legal workers. 920 E Street, San Diego. 233-1701.

8 PM: Lesbian and gay community Social Hour. UCSD TCHB 141. UCSD Lesbian and Gay Organization. 452-6969.

EVERY WEDNESDAY

7 PM: Gay Men's Support Group meeting. UCSD TCHB 141. 452-6969.

MONDAY - SATURDAY

11 AM - 8 PM: Groundwork Books. UCSD Student Center. 452-9625.

FEBRUARY 7-24

Chicano Art Exhibit. City Administration Bldg., 202 C Street, San Diego. Tenth Floor. Centro Cultural de la Raza. 235-6135.

TUES. FEBRUARY 7

Noon: Peace Resource Center board meeting. 5717 Lindo Paseo, near SDSU. 265-0730.

7 PM: Videotape presentation featuring Ron Dellums and Julian Bond. Neighborhood House, 841 South 41st, San Diego. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. 576-1897.

WED. FEBRUARY 8

5:30, 7:30 and 9:30 PM: San Diego Premiere. Special benefit screening of Alsino and the Condor (1982), first Nicaraguan feature-length film to be exhibited in U.S. Directed by Miguel Litten. Ken Cinema, 4061 Adams Avenue, Kensington. 283-5909. Friends of Nicaraguan Culture. 283-0066, 275-1162.

8 PM: Sam Shepard's Tooth of Crime about the "future" of today's oppressive commodity economy. Runs through February 12. UCSD Theatre, Rupertus Way. UCSD Drama Dept. 452-3793.

THURS. FEBRUARY 9

7 PM: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign meeting. 4426 Harbison Avenue, La Mesa. 576-1897.

7:30 PM: Can There Be Peace in Central America? presentation by Richard Fagen. UCSD International Center. 452-3730, 452-3120.

FRI. FEBRUARY 10

7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series. Special documentary film Malcom X (El Hajja Malik El Shabbazz). Also, San Diego premiere of Monona Wali's Grey Area (1982) and If There Weren't Any Blacks, You'd Have To Invent Them (1969), made by London Weekend Television. UCSD TLH 107. Free admission. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

7:30 PM: Women and the Hope for a New International Economic Order presentation by Kathy Fuller. 4190 Front Street, San Diego. Women's Equity Council, United Nations Association. 233-3970.

SAT. FEBRUARY 11

10 AM: Psychologists for Social Responsibility meeting. 1030 Pearl Street, Suite 2, La Jolla. 456-2204.

SUN. FEBRUARY 12

6:30 PM: Nicaragua: Nation Under Siege. Southwest Cable TV, Channel 15.

MON. FEBRUARY 13

7 PM: Empowerment in the Nuclear Age workshop for peace activists. Participants must pre-register. Also Thursday, February 16. 452-9793, 484-3982, 459-4650.

TUES. FEBRUARY 14

6:30 PM: Potluck and work party, while listening to special Physicians for Social Responsibility program on KPFB - 90.7 FM radio. 2202 Morley Drive. Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. 576-1897.

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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.

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as a non-sectarian newspaper, the new indicator publishes articles from groups/individuals holding different positions. Accordingly, articles printed with a byline do not necessarily represent the position of the New Indicator Collective and all collective members are not necessarily in full agreement with the position(s) expressed.

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RETURNING TO UCSD IN 1984-85? WILL YOU NEED MONEY? The deadline for filing your 1984-85 financial aid and scholarship applications for priority consideration for all three quarters of 1984-85 is: FEBRUARY 9, 1984. If you need applications forms, contact your college Student Financial Services office immediately! Remember, you are responsible for applying on time and submitting required documents.

Meese Ignores Civil Liberties

With his nomination of Edwin Meese for Attorney General, Ronald Reagan has underscored the two distinguishing characteristics of his cabinet appointments. The first is finding the most conservative man he can find for the job (any job). The second is hiring his sidekicks for the most sensitive posts.

Like the recently-installed Secretary of the Interior, William Clark, Ed Meese's prime qualification for high office is his unquestioning loyalty to the president. Tonto to Reagan's Lone Ranger, Pancho to Reagan's Cisco Kid, Meese has followed the celluloid cowbody down the dusty trails of right-wing politics since Reagan first rode out of the west vowing to restore a rough frontier sense of law and order.

That he has most certainly done. Through William French Smith—the departing Attorney General, a sidekick who served as Reagan's personal lawyer and financial advisor before riding to Washington—Reagan has remade the Justice Department in his own image. He has abandoned busing, abandoned enforcement of civil rights laws, attacked the Freedom of Information Act, stepped up electronic surveillance of citizens and practically demolished all regulatory roadblocks to big-bucks corporate mergers.

With French departing to play a key role in Reagan's re-election campaign, Justice will be left to Meese's tender mercies. Just how tender is Meese? Well, consider that when Reagan first noticed him, the future top shyster was campaigning for the death penalty, lobbying for police and district attorneys' associations and generally serving as a point man for ideologues of the far-right. Before that, as deputy district attorney of Alameda County, California, Meese was the quintessential small-minded, small town D.A. When students at the University of California demonstrated for the right to exercise free political speech on campus, Meese had them arrested. When others protested the Vietnam-era military draft, it was Meese who slammed the jailhouse

door tight behind them.

He hasn't changed much since then. A thumbnail biography of the man, published in a San Francisco newspaper, had this to say about Meese's hobbies: "Listening to police calls on his home radio, collects police memorabilia such as small model squad cars and, according to one biography, statuettes of pigs." Statuettes of pigs? An acquired taste, no doubt, but there is a logical consistency to Meese's leisure-time activities.

And to his public life. Meese's long standing antipathy for civil liberties can logically be expected to continue after he is confirmed as AG by the Republican-controlled Senate. So, too, can Meese's adroitness at combining his reactionary politics with a shrewd sense of public relations.

This shrewdness dovetails with that of his patron. In 1966, Reagan was elected governor of California by capitalizing on public fear and distrust of dissidents. In 1980, Reagan was elected president by exploiting a similar tactic: capitalizing on public resentment of minorities, worries about deficit spending and disgust with Jimmy Carter's ineptitude. True to form, Ed Meese galloped right behind Reagan into power.

Soon, the ex-small town prosecutor will be the number one legal eagle in the land. And he is likely to remain so for some time, due to the fact that the Democratic Party has yet to come up with a candidate who appears capable of unhorsing Meese's boss. Walter Mondale campaigns like a cadaver, John Glenn has, indeed, the slight stuff, Gary Hart has yet to realize that life isn't much like "Doonesbury." George McGovern is a worthy alternative, but he has no organization, and Jesse Jackson can't win, but he's at least making things interesting.

The implications of all this go far beyond the Justice Department. More on the Dems soon...No more, I hope, on Meese for a while.

—David Armstrong

SOCIALISM A BRIEF HISTORY



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Left Update

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many people to meetings to debate the pros and cons of it. Norwood says the initiative was "shot down over the process of it," but the process did draw in new members. Later in the year a "Neighborhood Protest Campaign" was initiated to educate and raise funds by doing door-to-door canvassing. Unfortunately, members were physically threatened, and the protest campaign "died," according to Norwood. A re-evaluation took place, and it was decided to sell "U.S. out of El Salvador" bumper stickers around town.

The committee has about twenty activists and is striving to expand its base. CISPES has been showing the slide show "Dollars and Dictators" to groups, and will be showing "In the Name of Democracy," in February. The film is from the Salvadoran Film Institute. Norwood said the major problem facing CISPES is its need for effective leadership. The committee will be doing more coalition work with the Tijuana



chapter and CHISPA. The outlook for 1984 is very good.

3. **Community Energy Action Network (CEAN)** was formed in 1977 primarily as an anti-nuclear power group (The Diablo Canyon plant was their main interest for a while) according to Jim Jacobson, co-founder of the group. Jacobson said that this organizing "laid the foundation for the anti-nuclear organizing." The most support from the community came in 1979/80, when the Three Mile Island incident occurred and a number of local protests were held. In the early 1980's, CEAN made the connection between the anti-intervention and anti-nuclear war issues. Reagan's "election" escalated this awareness, Jacobson said, in addition to El Salvador's heating up.

CEAN became a fixture in the community as it continued to lead and sponsor events. One of these was a benefit for the Guatemalan refugees, in 1983. In the early summer of 1983, interest in CEAN perked up. It had a core base of about 20 people. But later in the summer people began dropping out, Jacobson attributed this discouragement to widespread Reaganism. The core members now hover around eight, and problems are a-plenty. Jacobson listed these problems as: 1. A high turnover among volunteers. 2. Poor financial support from the community (especially the liberals). 3. Lack of publicity. 4. A lack of full-time, paid organizers to keep the group functioning. Jacobson said that "the economic conditions cause people to withdraw," and that people have a "psychic numbing" to present issues and problems. The outlook for 1984 is bleak, according to Jacobson. Single-issue groups, such as the "Freeze" have taken away potential recruits. There will be fewer CEAN events happening, and more coalition sponsored events. (CEAN is in the process of changing its name to Alliance For Survival).

4. **Grass Roots Cultural Center**

(GRCC), was formed as "Grass Roots" in 1979 to provide books, records, posters, and the like for the community. In 1981, the "Cultural Center" was added as various events happened each month beginning in January 1982. Under the leadership of the dynamic duo, Lynn Eldred and Peter Brown, GRCC has become a household word to San Diegan activists. With a core base of around twenty, the center put on twelve events a month from January 1982 through August 1983. In addition, two classes consisting of Spanish and children's improvisation were held. The events held consisted of cultural (music, dance, theater) as well as political events (films, forums, teach-ins, debates).

Two major events were the San Francisco Mime Troupe performance in October, 1982, and Pete Seeger's concert in February, 1983. Over two thousand people attended these events. Beginning in September, 1983, a decision was made to hold only one event a month. According to Lynn Eldred, a "prioritization and re-evaluation" occurred. "The events were soaking up 80% of the volunteer energy and



money," said Eldred.

Members decided to do less events and to do them better, as the quality of events greatly varied, and it took lots of work to pull it off. A lack of funds and the loss of an important staff person also took its toll. GRCC decided to become more publicly active politically, the impetus for the November 12th walk-a-thon at General Dynamics, according to Eldred. Done in coalition with CEAN and CISPES, the event was a success. In addition, "it helped build leadership internally and politicized members," said Eldred.

Along with this, many of the "softies" dropped out as the ground rules for volunteers were changed from working every month to working every week. This enabled volunteers to have more input in the decision making process. The "softies," as Eldred calls them, were not steady activists, and the politicization and prioritization did them in. GRCC now has twenty hard-core dedicated members, while still looking to involve others willing to make a firm commitment.

The outlook for 1984 is fairly bright, as two major events have been planned. On Cinco de Mayo, the San Francisco Mime Troupe will perform the piece "Steel Town" at the California Theatre, while "Grupo Raiz," comprised of Chilean exiles, will perform on April 7. They played at the New Song festival in Nicaragua.

All these groups, sans CSN, have survived. Although the endemic problems remain, we shall be hearing lots more from them in 1984. Coalition activity will increase, as no group is strong enough to make it alone.

CISPES.....450-1435
CEAN.....275-1162
GRCC.....232-5009 (Tues-Fri 10-2, 10-5 weekends)

These groups need our support and help, lest they wind up like CSN

—Larry Fiske

University Center Railroading Still on Track...

continued from page 3

additional Student Center or University Center facilities... it must be broadly based and representative."

Although the SCB unanimously voted to accept Tucker's proposal, SCB member Herzog feels that it is in part because things were rushed, "when something like this comes along you can't just throw it out at them...But unfortunately Tom Tucker from his own experience and the way he works, he's just been rolling along at an average pace that no one can believe."

Tucker insists the process was well publicized. But Karyn King, former KSDT General Manager denies this, saying, "For all of their claims for publicity, it's your typical 'well, we put an ad in the Guardian.'" She added that he did not contact "all of the student media at all, KSDT was never contacted to publicize it. I think it's awfully strange that all the leaders of the organizations weren't addressed with a personal letter...No one understands the process, it's been very vague, very contradictory."

In proposing the composition of the UCPBAC, Tucker's philosophy is to "Represent all campus constituencies and you try to represent the constituencies in a global nature, particularly if you endeavor to have a very open accessible process..." However, his critics charge that the UCPBAC is not representative of "all campus constituencies."

Some of Tucker's critics further claim he has sorely neglected the Student Affirmative Action Committee (SAAC), and Coops & Enterprises (Coop) constituency, among others. According to Herzog, "It's very weird, I don't know how they pick them (the UCPBAC)." When asked why a Coop or SAAC or other representative were not added,

Herzog answered, "My understanding is that Tom wanted to limit the committee as much as possible, he wanted it to look like there was lots of representation and yet at the same time he didn't want to have a committee any bigger than what's there because he felt it would be unmanageable."

Tucker feels the expansion of the UCPBAC is not necessary because "my feeling is and I think the feeling of the majority of students on campus when presented with all the facts will be that it's unnecessary...We've gone above and beyond the normal process to make sure it's open and democratic."

However within the Coops & Enterprises subcommittee it appears expansion of the the UCPBAC is one of their primary objectives. And at a meeting held February 2nd the subcommittee adopted an unofficial five-point proposal to present to the UCPBAC at their next meeting. Included in the proposal is a request to expand the UCPBAC to "answer the problem of inadequate student representation on the Advisory Committee, in which lies the final decision-making power of the future 'University Center'..." The proposal calls for representatives from Coops & Enterprises, SAAC, KSDT, student media, Women's Center, Student Organizations & disabled students to be added to the committee. (At new indicator press time sources have indicated that in response to mounting pressure Tucker has agreed to allow the expansion of UCPBAC by two, to include a Coops & Enterprises and SAAC representatives—to be ratified by the Student Center Board at their next meeting. The meeting is scheduled for Monday February 13th, 6 p.m., Vice-Chancellor's Conference Room.



"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 Selected Blasphemy this issue is excerpted from Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* published in France in 1952. As the right wing in this country pushes to criminalize abortion, it is obvious that this excerpt is pertinent now. Certainly, safe, legal, and funded abortion is an essential right for all women.

Sometimes abortion is referred to as a "class crime," and there is much truth in this. Contraceptive knowledge is widespread in the middle class, middle class young women are more prudent than others, and among people in easy circumstances the infant is not so heavy a charge. Poverty, crowded quarters, and the need for women to work outside the home are among the most frequent causes of abortion. It would seem that most often the couple decides to limit births after two maternities; and so it is that the repulsive aborted woman is also the splendid mother cradling two blond angels in her arms; one and the same person.

The severity of this ordeal varies greatly according to circumstances. The

Students are urged to attend to voice their concerns and support. Tommy Tucker was not available for comment on this development, but sources indicate that he is expected to state his opposition to the the expansion at the meeting next week).

Funding: The "planning stages" devised by Tucker for the construction of the "University Center" directs the funding for the facility to be considered after each of the nine subcommittees have submitted their reports to the UCPBAC. Many find this problematic, "a lot of students are saying this is ass backwards around, because you don't just go off and plan a house without knowing how much money you're going to spend on it," noted Herzog.

Students fear that without at least general constraints on the level and method of funding (exclusively student fees, or a combination of staff, student, faculty and fund raising) the report of the subcommittees will be changed by the 10-member UCPBAC to fit the eventual funding that is obtained. In part many students view this arrangement as a way for the administration—which has as many votes as students on the UCPBAC—to curtail or eliminate funding for projects proposed by a subcommittee under the guise of funding constraints.

To minimize this possibility, suggestions were made several times to create another subcommittee to deal exclusively with funding alternatives and submit a report to the UCPBAC.

Tucker felt such a committee was unnecessary, saying "...no use...to take up people's time, plus I don't want them to compete with the [other] subcommittees."

Other questions included a limit on the percentage of funds raised from non-student sources. This concern was included in the five-point proposal to be presented to the UCPBAC by the Coops & Enterprises subcommittee. It calls for limits on the sources of contribution if

such contributions interfere with student control, planning, and governance of the facility.

In the meantime subcommittees are continuing their work in outlining their needs, in what Tucker calls a "wish list," not knowing if their "wish" will be granted or eliminated by the UCPBAC when it finds out that cost of wishes far exceeds funds available.

Governing Structure: This probably is the most sensitive problem facing Tucker, i.e., how to implement the Joe Watson proposal, to increase administration control of the SCB by adding non-student members.

According to Herzog the administration does not have the votes on the SCB to make the necessary Charter amendments to add the new members. He feels though that Tucker's move will come some time down the road at the "correct moment in time."

Asked about the governing structure of the new "University Center" and the addition of the non-voting members Tucker is quick to point out that it's not his decision, "they may want to change the mix, they may want to add a non-voting faculty, staff or alum..." He's opposed to the formation of a separate subcommittee to recommend the governing structure for fear that this subcommittee might "change and limit or delimit student control." As reassuring as it may sound these words, to many who have cooperated and worked with Tucker since his arrival, only dispell the notion that he is (or was) protective of student control of the center. In fact it is particularly ironic especially in the wake of their recent frustrating attempts to gain meaningful input into the process of building a new University Center.

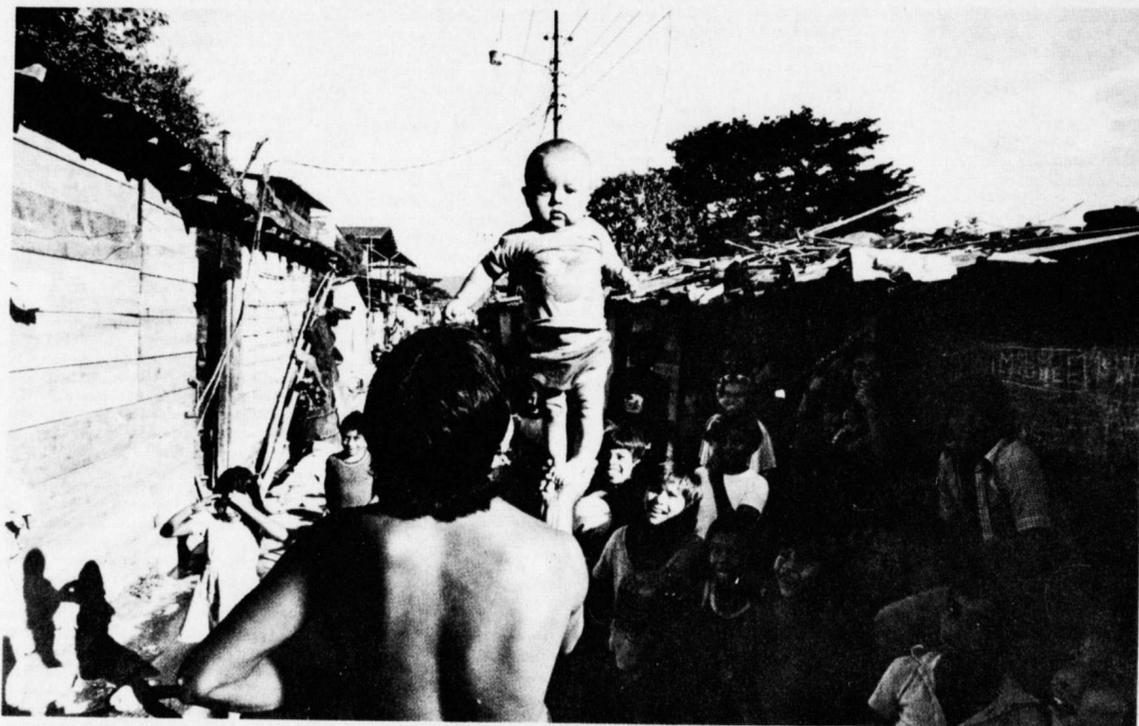
GIVE YOUR SUPPORT!!
Attend the Student Center Board Meeting
Monday, Feb. 13th 6 p.m.
Vice-Chancellor's Conference Room
STOP THE RAILROADING!!!

journalists expressed their indignation, a number of worthy people protested that children belong to their parents, that no interference by outsiders is allowable. If all this favors morality, what is to be the thought of such a morality? It must be said that the men with the most scrupulous respect for embryonic life are also those who are most eagerly officious when it comes to condemning adults to death in war.

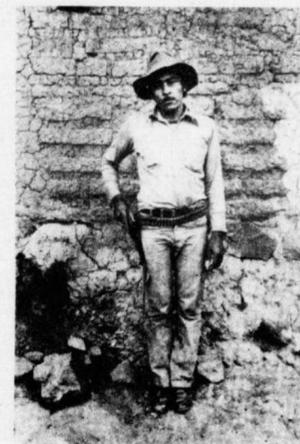
Furthermore, when man, the better to succeed in fulfilling his destiny as man, asks woman to sacrifice her reproductive possibilities, he is exposing the hypocrisy of the masculine moral code. Men universally forbid abortion, but individually they accept it as a convenient solution of a problem; they are able to contradict themselves with careless cynicism. But woman feels these contradictions in her wounded flesh. She embodies in concrete and immediate form, in herself, man's fault; he commits the fault, but he gets rid of it by putting it off on her; he merely says some words in a suppliant threatening, sensible, or furious tone: he soon forgets them; it is for her to interpret these words in pain and blood. Sometimes he says nothing, he just fades away; but his silence and his flight constitute a still more evident breach of the whole moral code established by males.

The "immorality" of women, favorite theme of misogynists, is not to be wondered at; how could they fail to feel an inner mistrust of the presumptuous principles that men publicly proclaim and secretly disregard? They learn to believe no longer in what men say when they exalt woman or when they exalt man: the one thing they are sure of is this rifled and bleeding womb, these shreds of crimson life, this child that is not there. It is at her first abortion that a woman begins to "know." For many women the world will never be the same.

EL SALVADOR, a collection of photographs, is on exhibit at Balboa Park's Museum of Photographic Art until March 4. Internationally known photographers on assignment in El Salvador for *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, *The New York Times*, *Paris Match*, *Stern* and *U.S. News and World Report*, present published and unpublished work. The exhibit chronicles the emergence of a popular struggle . . . and its escalation into a full scale war with global implications. Some examples:



Neighborhood known as "La Fosa" (The Grave), San Salvador.



Portraits of guerrillas, Chalatenango.



Soldiers with their mutilated victims, Chalatenango.



Fabricating explosives in "liberated zone," Usulután.

KULTURE

My fishbowl is sinking
Oh, no! Guppies!

"Language is the first and last structure of madness."
—Michel Foucault

"Late modernist art criticism has for some time placed all its emphasis on art as an order of particular things, objects that exist by themselves removed from what surrounds them. Art as a distinct thing is not supposed to be affected by anything other than itself. Critical boundaries tend to isolate the art object into a metaphysical void, independent from external relationships such as land, labor and class. For instance, a painting may be said to have the quality of 'openness', when in fact it is only representing openness. One might as well tell a prisoner facing a life sentence that they are free. The freedom is metaphysical, or in art critical terms 'esthetic'. A shrewd esthete can turn a prison into a palace with the aid of words—one has only to read a Jean Genet novel to see that done.

"Dialectical language offers no such esthetic meanings, nothing is isolated from the whole—the prison is still a prison in the physical world. No particular meaning can remain absolute or ideal for very long. Dialectics is not only the ideal formula of thesis-antithesis-synthesis forever sealed in the mind, but an ongoing development.

"Natural forces, like human nature, never fit into our ideas, philosophies, religions, etc. In the Marxian sense of dialectics, all thought is subject to nature. Nature is not subject to our systems. The old notion of 'man conquering nature' has in fact boomeranged. As it turns out the object or thing or word 'man' could be swept away like an isolated sea shell on a beach, then the ocean would make itself known. Dialectics could be viewed as the relationship between the shell and the ocean. Art critics have for a long time

considered the shell without the context of the ocean."
—Robert Smithson, *Art and Dialectics*

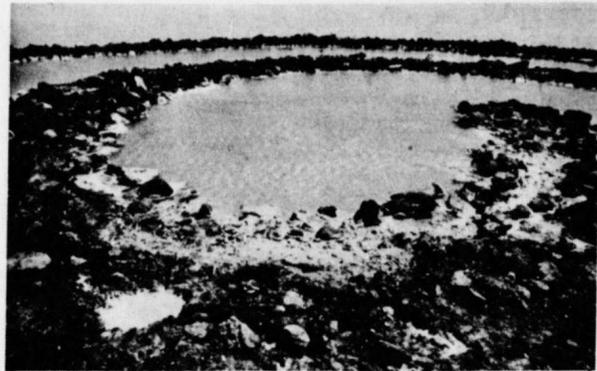
No names are given for the dead pilot and photographer who were killed with Robert Smithson on July 20, 1973. Their plane "crashed on a rocky hillside a few hundred feet from the site" where Smithson was working on an environmental artwork called *Amarillo Ramp* in Amarillo, Texas.

The fact that Smithson is dead makes it harder to verify a criticism of his concept of art and dialectics. For the elusive quote above seems Marxist, but in fact is Hegelian—with Smithson deluded into thinking that he thinks further than Hegel.

Smithson's hero was Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., the inventor of Central Park in New York City. Olmsted said, "The park throughout is a single work of every work of art, namely, that it shall be framed upon a single noble motive to which the design of all its parts, in some more or less subtle way, shall be confluent and helpful."

Smithson's opening quote, however, in his essay *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Dialectical Landscape* says, "The landscape-architect Andre, formerly in charge of suburban plantations of Paris, was walking with me through the Buttes-Chaumont Park, of which he was the designer, when I said of a certain passage of it, 'That, to my mind, is the piece of artificial planting of its age, I have ever seen'. He smiled and said, 'Shall I confess that it is the result of neglect?'"

Smithson felt that Olmsted was "America's first earthwork artist". He continues, "By expanding our dialectics outside of Central Park to Yosemite National Park, we gain insight into the development of both park sites before they were turned into 'parks'. The site of



Central Park was the result of *urban blight*—trees were cut down by the early settlers without any thought of the future. Such a site could be reclaimed by direct earth-moving without fear of upsetting the ecology. My own experience is that the best sites for *earth-art* are sites that have been disrupted by industry, reckless urbanization, or nature's own devastation. For instance, *The Spiral Jetty* is built in a dead sea, *The Broken Circle and Spiral Hill* in a working sand quarry. Such land is cultivated or recycled as art. On the other hand, when Olmsted visited Yosemite it existed as *wilderness*. There's no point in recycling wilderness the way Central Park was recycled."

The actual dialectic of Smithson, then, was that the thesis was *urban blight*, the antithesis *the realization of Central Park with its luxuriance of tropic scenery... gay with flowers and intricate with vines and creepers, ferns, rushes, and broad leaved plants*. Since Olmsted made ponds and didn't just conceptualize about them like Thoreau, where "Walden Pond became a small ocean", he went beyond the Hegelian ideal. Smithson saw Olmsted as a forerunner of a dialectic materialism applied to a physical landscape. He went further stating the synthesis as, "Olmsted's parks exist before they are finished, which means in fact they are never finished; they remain carriers of the unexpected and of contradiction on all levels of human activity, be it social, political or natural." Smithson illustrated this synthesis through the comparison of documentary photographs of *Vista Rock Tunnel* in 1862 and *Vista Rock Tunnel* in 1972; or *Entrance to the Ramble* before 1900 and *Entrance to the Ramble* in 1972.

However, Smithson did not mention that the building of the park forced the removal of "squatters," who were involved with subsistence farming. To fund the large expenditure that would be needed for draining, topsoil, and tree planting, "the panting and crowded families of the less wealthy" were taxed. However, in its findings the select committee of the New York State Senate stated that, besides providing a beautiful park, the project would increase the value of property surrounding it.

For Smithson, the dialectic was the park's dialectic. "Looking on the nature

of the park or its history and our perception of it, we are first presented with an endless maze of relations and interconnections, in which nothing remains what or where it is, as-a-thing-itself, but the whole park changes like day and night, in and out, dark and light—a carefully designed clump of brushes can also be a mugger's hideout."

Thus, the concrete for Smithson was nature. The renewal and deterioration of the park is only perceived as being within the park as a *nature-concept* instead of as a *culture-concept*. The most the nature-concept can accomplish is to break up *appearances* into their syllables in order for them to be read off as *experiences*. However, a culture-concept needs someone to *interpret symbols* in order to decipher their *latent meanings*, to make visible again the life from which they originally come into being.

In *Proposal, 1972*, Smithson wrote, "A 1000 acre tract in the Egypt Valley in southeastern Ohio in the strip mining region has been slated for a recreation area by the Hanna Coal Company. The area as it exists today is the beginning stages of reclamation grading and planting. I have made a direct proposal in writing to the president of Hanna Coal, Mr. Ralph Hatch, advocating the commission of an 'earth sculpture' as part of the reclamation program. Such a work would exist as a concrete example of how art can enter the social and educational process at the same time. Ohio State University is planning an international conference on new approaches to art education on April 2-8, 1973. Our ecological awareness indicates that industrial production can no longer remain blind to the visual landscape. The artist, ecologist and industrialist must develop in relation to each other, rather than continue to work and to produce in isolation."

However, except to meet pressing needs and interests, few people would devote themselves to a whole lifetime of mechanical work; indeed those forms of work that are most effectively dehumanized—like mining—were for a long time treated as punishment, fit only for condemned criminals. The harsh duties of repetitive toil are historically the work of slaves, or of a proletariat (worker) that would not willingly undertake such burdens except under economic or physical threats.

In order to fare well at these tasks, people must, to a certain degree, turn their back on more organic interests; to succeed in operating machines one must become a subsidiary machine. Being a mediator between the "industrialist and the worker," the artist falls far short in getting at the *latent meaning* of that strip mine as a cultural concept.

Around Central Park, only wealthy people can afford to live near its "pure air, wafted from the breezy river pond, through ample shades, etc." All others must travel there after an exhausting work-day or during precious free-time on the weekends—for those lucky enough to have weekends.

Central Park is a fishbowl in an ocean. As a nature-concept we can only see the reflected sides of the mirrored glass.

—Barry Hyman

Self-destruction Nurtured
By Our Prison System

Florence Fox was a member of the Advisory Board of Directors of the Prison Reform Advisory Board and New Jersey State Coordinator.

As the election campaign heats up, opinion polls will rank crime as a major national problem, and office seekers will include law-and-order in their campaign oratory.

Crime. The word triggers ugly reactions; fear, anger, revenge. To the average citizen, the solution is to lock up the offender, remove him from our midst and from our consciousness. Once a criminal is sentenced and jailed, the public considers the matter closed and interest peters out—until prison riots shock them into the reality of what can happen to a man after he is locked up. Locking a man away is not the end of the problem; it is only the beginning—as we continue to lose the "war against crime."

Since some 97% of all prison inmates will some day be released among us, self-preservation, if not concern for those freed, dictates that we interest ourselves in what happens to a man in prison.

Penal institutions are a measure of a society, whether enlightened or callous. Tacit acceptance of the old penal system by citizens ignorant or misinformed has resulted in the exploding prison population of today. It is therefore necessary to reform public attitudes as well as our prison system. The rising rate of recidivism proves the system a failure. But instead of learning from our failures, scrapping outworn concepts and restructuring programs and facilities, we compound the evils.

The Archie Bunker neanderthals among us who damn reforms as "coddling" and contribute nothing to the problem but their animus, would gladly return to prison conditions of the Dark Ages. But John D. Case, Supt. of Bucks County Prison, offers potent testimony of what it's like to be confined within prison walls:

"If we treated dogs the way we treat prisoners in some institutions, the SPCA would be swearing out warrants all over the place. You can't expect a man is going to change for the better if all you do for him is put him in a filthy cell with three other guys he's never seen before, and lock him in there 22 hours out of 24. And in some places, he doesn't get out at all for a bit of exercise. Now if people think that can produce change for the better, what they should do is lock themselves in their own bathroom for about 24 hours, and have somebody bring them their meals three times a day. And then you'll eat where you shit. Do



that for a while and then get some idea that things are not what they should be in institutions."

On-scene inspection by outsiders is generally anathema to prison officials. Dr. Sam Sheppard summarized his imprisonment: "The men who run prisons don't want to convert prisoners or reform the system. They want to keep the inmates back in an archaic, brutal and inhuman situation because they do not know any better or are afraid of programs."

The public thinks—if it bothers to think about the problem at all—that anyone sentenced to prison deserves whatever happens to him. But what's it like to be locked up? The process of change is immediate when a man enters prison. The man who approaches the prison gate has some feeling of identity which helped him survive. But the systematic process of stripping him of ego, individuality and manhood begins as soon as he enters. The locked door behind him stamps him as a social reject. He is depersonalized by trading his name for a number, and his distinctive garments for the drab uniform of the army of the damned. Everything is taken from him: possessions, rights, normal sex, and his spirit. He is suddenly plunged into a minimal subsistence way of life, reduced to just another nobody within a despised subculture.

The process of debasement forces him to conform to hateful new patterns which direct and restrict his every activity: feeding, sleeping, working, etc., to be performed in strictly prescribed terms, until he accepts his inferior status. Shut away from the world both physically and psychologically, he has no options regarding his work, food, choice of friends, time to retire or arise; no control over his life style, family or home. His individuality is forfeited. Nothing contributes to a feeling of utter defenselessness like the humiliation of being stripped and searched, the total lack of privacy—even for bathroom needs—inability to communicate with family and friends. Many lose their wives in states which permit conviction as grounds for divorce. And loss of his children is sometimes permanent when they are put up for adoption without parental consent.

The humiliation and brutalization of prison life alters man's sense of identity and reduces his confidence in his ability to make it on the outside. Lack of privacy makes a man feel like an animal. Loss of independence and hope increase his frustration and despair. He doesn't belong anywhere. The numbing effect of prison is emotional death; withdrawal into an isolation block in the hidden world of the mind. Death of the spirit results from the realization that time and prospects are running out. Life is not going to change for the better. Release can only mean a return to the outside rat race where the biggest rats are winning—to the reality of grim social conditions. Rejected, they reject themselves, often succumbing to insanity or suicide.

His living quarters are often overcrowded and down-right vomitous. The psychological effect of living under extreme regimentation, suffering loss of all rights, and the absence of any control over their lives causes loss of one's most potent human attribute—the feeling of manhood—more punishing than flogging. In addition, the dulling monotony and paralyzing boredom make incarceration the closest approach to death known to man. Man cannot be improved by methodical punishment in a prison. He can either be killed outright or indirectly by killing his spirit.

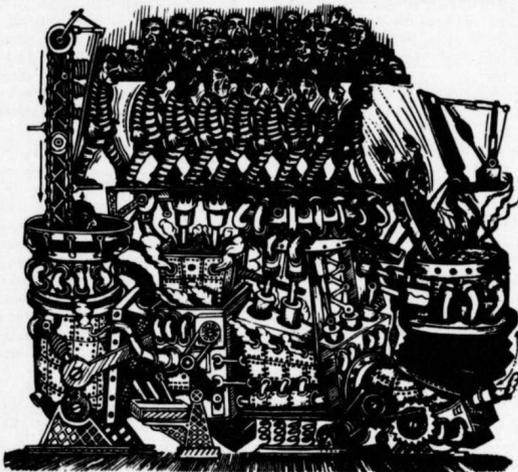
Most "straight" people know very little about prison life. Let's start with solitary confinement which has benign sound—like being alone, removed from the mainstream for cause—to be given

an opportunity to reflect on excesses and to repent. But that is not what it means to those who consign felons to this abomination of a "prison within a prison." So conscious are they of what a horror it really is that they no longer refer to it as solitary confinement. In our image-conscious society which masks unpleasant realities with rhetoric, it is now referred to as "maximum punitive segregation." But prisoners still call it "the Hole"—or worse.

Making a reader *feel* the experience of a stay in the hole is difficult. How does one reproduce in words the nausea of an overpowering stink? How does one describe hunger pangs, thirst, illness, hallucination, to one who has never experienced them simultaneously?

Reports to determine the constitutionality of sub-human prison conditions revealed the following: Imagine, if you can, being trapped in a windowless steel box for days, or weeks, or even months! The amenities, if any,

officials as well as inmates, the prison experience creates more crime than it corrects. Vengeful treatment meted out to the offender is often more cruel than the prisoner's initial offense. Prisoners are helpless at the hands of sadistic prison guard. Poorly paid, untrained for the job (and generally incapable of getting any other kind of job), himself a victim of the depressing atmosphere in which he spends his days, he takes advantage of the opportunity to wield power and authority over men under his control in the only place he is able to demonstrate his importance. If a prisoner reacts to continuing brutality and harassment, he is subject to all the retaliatory measures open to the officer; beating (alibed as "self defense"), confinement in the infamous Hole, loss of privileges such as mail, visits, etc., and possible added charges for "assaulting a staff officer." Dramatic revelations of KKK members in charge of prison populations—which are almost totally



are at the discretion of your jailers. If you're in luck, you'll rate a filthy toilet. But sometimes it's an "oriental toilet" which must be flushed by someone on the outside—occasionally. Or you might have to settle for a hole in the floor. The "Hilton Hotel treatment" in a strip cell might afford you a putrid mattress. But chances are your nude body will repose on a steel shelf or bare floor, regardless of temperature.

Dannemora Prison in Clinton, N.Y. fed adults in solitary a total daily diet of 12 oz. of watered out slops called soup, and one glass of water. Naked bodies were exposed to bone-chilling temperatures. One prisoner recounted 54 days in solitary in a bare cell, "filthy, unsanitary, without adequate heat; toilet and sink encrusted with slime and human excrement." Although the prisoner was totally nude for many days, the "windows in front of his confinement cell were opened wide throughout the evening and night hours during sub-freezing temperatures, food was served to him in bowls placed on the floor of his cell which was fetid and reeking from the stench of the body wastes of previous occupants which covered the floor, sink, and toilet."

From California's Soledad Prison came other reports repeating a pattern of cells with no light or ventilation except for two daily 15-minute intervals; cells never cleaned; floors and walls of strip cell encrusted with bodily wastes. One inmate described 12 days of confinement during which he had "no means of cleaning his hands, body or teeth... forced to handle and eat his food without even the semblance of cleanliness." For the first 8 days he was absolutely naked, slept on a cold concrete floor on a stiff canvas mat which could not be folded over to cover him, in an unheated cell.

Some prison staffers deserve being behind bars more than some of the inmates in their charge. Violence and criminality perpetrated by overseers in facilities designed to correct such evils should not be sanctioned. Too often, for

Black—brought no change in the system despite disclosures of unwarranted brutality.

Conditions in some penal institutions have degenerated to such a degree that in Arkansas and other states, complete shutdown of the entire system was threatened unless improvements were instituted.

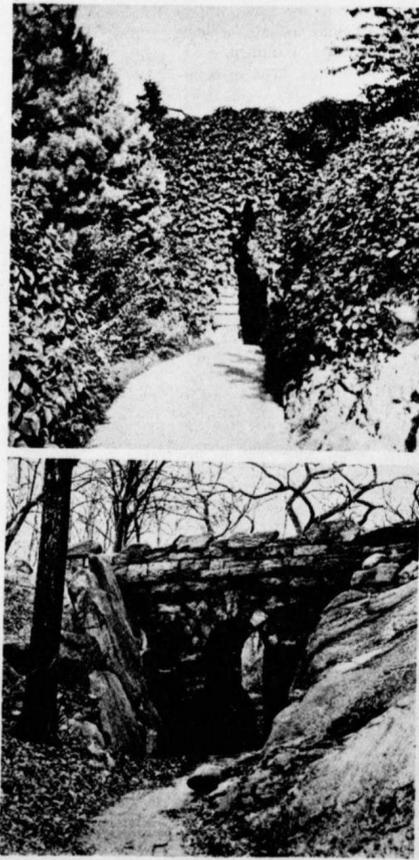
The massacre of 43 unarmed prisoners at Attica, N.Y. (9/13/71) in answer to prisoners' reasonable demands for long-overdue changes, is symptomatic of the numerous, little known instances, where peaceful protests in prisons throughout the country were met with unnecessary savage gunfire and beatings by guards, all of whom were subsequently exonerated. Prisoners are viewed as non-persons, to be humiliated, punished and even murdered with impunity. Prison officers, bereft of human compassion, basely motivated, wield awesome power over how, or whether, men shall live.

This nation boasts strong laws which protect animals from inhumane and abusive treatment. But prison is the hidden world where man's inhumanity to man is sanctioned. If the function of prison was to develop animal-like behavior in its charges, then treating men worse than animals would make sense. Such treatment, however, has never been known to ennoble an offender or make him a better man.

So long as an ex-prisoner is treated as a permanent social outcast, his return to crime is almost a foregone conclusion. The result of society's throwing a man away is his throwing himself away. His final unheeded plea for acceptance and help sometimes attracts attention through the dramatic act of suicide. The impulse for self-destruction is nurtured by our prison system.

Studies advanced by prestigious social scientists, including successful experimental programs here and abroad, will be examined in forthcoming articles.

—Florence Fox



Entrance to the Ramble, before 1900 (top left), and 1972 (bottom left). Squatter's shack in Central Park (below). Spiral Jetty (upper right).



Response...

continued from page 2

In the U.S., when the ruling classes decide they can make higher profits by selling military equipment to the U.S. government, they must first meet certain capitalist preconditions. Above all, they must make reasonably sure that taxpayers will not oppose these government expenditures which are "necessary" to tighten U.S. encirclement around the Soviet Union. If all goes well for the capitalists (and it has since WW II) a small class of stockholders and managers are greatly enriched. Recently, here in San Diego, General Dynamics reported a 25% increase in profits for the fourth quarter of 1983. This was the biggest increase in the company's history. Profits rose from \$2.41 a share, in 1982, to a generous \$5.30 a share, in 1983. Total profits, in 1983, were \$286.6 million from sales amounting to \$7.1 billion. In this case, General Dynamics attributed its record profits to: a.) the development of the new "Tomahawk cruise missiles," b.) the delivery of "ground-launched cruise missile systems" for the Air Force on time to meet the deployment schedules in Europe, and c.) the "sea-launched cruise missile systems" which were installed for the first time of Navy submarines and surface ships. Of course, all this creates employment, too. But the people in charge are the capitalists, and their purpose is Profits. A couple of times in recent U.S. history there have been "Peace Scares," i.e. detentes which threatened the military industries with budget cuts. Immediately, the capitalist apparatus launched propaganda campaigns against the Soviet Union, and, by raising the public's fear of Communism, more tax dollars were used to buy more military equipment at very high profits for private individuals.

In the Soviet Planned Economy, by contrast, money spent on the military is money diverted from other civilian projects. A prolonged war in Korea and an even longer one in Vietnam meant Soviet children had to live at home longer than they wished, under the prying eyes of mom and dad. It meant that Levis were scarce, and that the purchase of other commodities had to be postponed. The young peasants of Asia recognized the "sacrifice" their Soviet comrades were making and so did the U.S. ruling class. "How can they stand such punishment?" was the constant refrain heard in Washington.

North American foreign policy is still that of siphoning off Soviet resources away from progressive social projects and to non-productive military spending. The paradox which makes your anti-Soviet position untenable is that the same capitalist strategy which seeks to destabilize the Soviet Union by forcing on that country large military expenditures requires that the U.S. population accept to live in an increasingly destabilized world. Recent U.S. brinkmanship includes President Carter's "Directive 59" which established limited nuclear war as official U.S. policy. Also, it was the capitalist U.S. Congress, and not the Soviets, which refused to ratify the SALT 2 Treaty. In the U.S., according to economist, Howard Sherman, the top 10% of the population is, on the average, 30 times wealthier than the bottom 10%.

In the Soviet Union, this ratio is 3 to 1. Because the "Profit Motive" is the engine of the U.S. economy (and when you think about it, U.S. workers are in competition with cheap subsistence level wages in the rest of the capitalist world) we in the U.S. are acculturated to inequality on a major scale. The dominant ideology, with which we are all indoctrinated by TV, Schools, Churches etc., is compelled to legitimize this fact of economic and political inequality, which we face everyday of our lives and can no longer ignore. A very cynical U.S. ruling class is attempting to explain away this inequality by reducing life to the concept of a "Game," complete with rules and "equal opportunity" advertisements. But the world is not a Casino, and the capitalist classes are not disinterested dealers. Here, in North America, the net result of the ubiquitous capitalist propaganda network is that the poor and the abused are ideologically disarmed—they adopt capitalist values without thinking, and with the same vocabulary their bosses use, they blame themselves for their poor conditions, and they resolve to work doubly hard to "improve" themselves. The capitalists' profits are seen only as a by-product of such high moral endeavors.

Finally, your examples of the Soviet danger suffer from an ahistorical perspective. Taken in their proper historical context, the Bolsheviks and the anti-Bolsheviks have demonstrated they both share one thing in common: Nationalism! This was emphasized by Joseph Stalin in an interview with the American journalist, Howard, in 1936, when he called the idea that the Soviet Union was striving to serve the cause of world revolution a "tragi-commic misunderstanding." The bitter disappointments in modern world history have proven beyond a doubt that Stalin was serious. Until you understand the history of the Soviet national defense, and the relationship of Fascists to Capitalists and their joint attacks against socialists and communists, until you understand the reasons for the change in tactics decided at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in 1935, and until you know the reasons for the final disillusion of the Comintern, in 1943, your thinking on this subject will remain ahistorical.

To answer your question, we at the new indicator constantly criticize the U.S. because we happen to live in this country, and while we won't turn this accident of birth into a religion (i.e. patriotism) we do intend to improve the quality of our lives. We would like to see our sisters and brothers in the USSR improve the quality of their lives, also; but, just as we would not expect to see Al Capone protest prohibition, we would not look to U.S. capitalists to tell us what is wrong in the Soviet Union. We recommend to you the Soviet dissident, Roy Medvedev, for a contemporary critique of the Soviet Union.

An essential difference between U.S. capitalism and the Soviet Planned Economy is the governing role which the "profit motive" plays in private industry in the U.S. Only capitalists can significantly reduce unemployment under capitalism, and they will do so only when it is profitable for them to hire workers. (Today, as you very well know, they can hire workers almost anywhere in the world.) The Soviet political



ROOSEVELT WITH STALIN AT TEHRAN IN 1943

economy, with a policy of full employment and of state ownership of all means of production and distribution of goods and services, is qualitatively different, and U.S. military strategists recognize and bank heavily on this difference!!

In this region of the U.S., one in four workers are employed by military-related work. Next year, the Pentagon is asking for 264 billion dollars to spend. Where will this money come from? Where will it go?

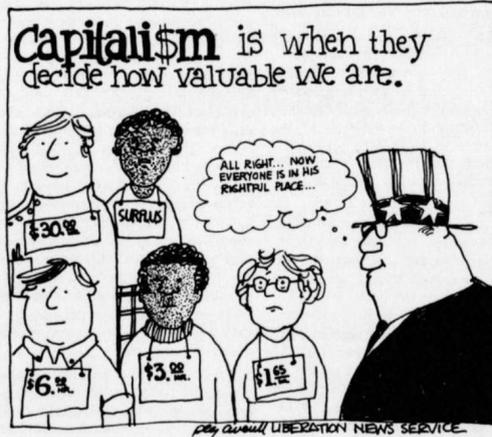
By becoming irrationally anti-Soviet Union, segments of the U.S. population have adopted an ideology which has been in play since the end of WW II, and which was originally designed to literally

"socialism," "communism," "capitalism," "marxism," "world peace," "working class," "government," "state," "free elections," etc. The fact is that these are difficult words to define and their frequent misuse makes them even more difficult to understand, and use collectively.

Finally, we would like to point out the error in your formal logic by using the following analogy:

- All Americans are human beings.
- All Russians are human beings.
- All Americans are Russians.

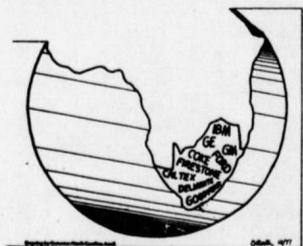
Your conclusion does not follow logically from your premises. Also, your "logic" suffers from the material fallacy



scare the rest of the U.S. population into paying high taxes for large post-war military expenditures. (It is no secret that WW II saved U.S. capitalism from the Great Depression, and increased military spending has continued to save the capitalist system from collapse, until today.) By adopting the familiar cold war rhetoric, you will ingratiate many employers in the San Diego area who have gotten rich off the public's fear of the Soviet Union, and who are looking for managers to keep their workers in line. We tax payers are supporting wars waged against young men and women your age in Asia, Africa, and in Latin America. The local bosses want to know which side you are on, and until you can master their cynical "idealist" logic, you will be suspect!

The New Indicator Collective has been and will continue to be critical of the Soviet Union. We invite you to continue your study of history by differentiating four kinds of wars which have been fought in this century: a) for national independence, b) for imperialist conquest, c) for national defense, and d) civil wars. Then, you might take into account the different interests and objectives represented by different social classes. Also, you should establish a good working definition of words like

of confusing cause with antecedent: What tells you the "mass exodus of refugees" was even a possibility before "the communists seized power," (as you put it!) in the countries you mention?



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Groundwork Books
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1-5 to Gilman, left at wooden
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Moments of Class Struggle in San Diego Co.

SDG&P Workers Win Ten Day Strike



The employees at San Diego Glass and Paint (SDG&P) voted by 90 percent to go out on strike, Tuesday night, January 18th. The pickets went up Wednesday morning at 8:00 a.m., when over 75 workers began to publicize their work stoppage at all eighteen stores throughout San Diego County.

On the average, each store is operated by four clerks and a manager. The employees at SDG&P have worked without a raise for the past 2 and a half years. "Most people don't want to hear about the strike," reported one worker while walking the picketline in front of a north county store "but the scabs don't have the same expertise (as we do), and customers are walking out of the store frustrated and dissatisfied." "Management," observed one clerk during the strike, "is dependent on our knowledge and our goodwill to customers."

Before the strike, clerks were earning a beginning wage of \$4.25 an hour and journeymen were receiving \$7.09 an hour. Their wages had been frozen since 1981. One clerk, who, after thirteen years of working at the same store, was earning \$7.09 an hour, told of his fear that Shapiro would discover the strike was causing employees financial hardship: "I wouldn't sign up for free cheese when the United Way came by, because I didn't want him to know how much I was hurting."

Two clerks who are personal friends of the owner in Point Loma voted against the strike. "When these two voted they were going to cross our line and scab during the strike, we thought this was really the end of our union."

These workers at SDG&P stores stayed out on strike for 10 days, when finally Shapiro agreed to bargain in good faith. Norm Bell, representative of

benefits; no assistant managers to be hired; and the new cashiers to belong to the union and receive a top wage of \$5.60 an hour.

For more information on organizing your own union for better wages, benefits and job security, readers are encouraged to contact Mr. Bell at 283-7013 and learn from the experience of a successful labor organizer.

Employee Resists Bad Working Conditions

At the beginning of this month, a desk clerk at California 6 Motel filed charges against his employer with the San Diego Committee for Occupational Safety and Health. The clerk worked as a night auditor in Carlsbad, from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. five nights a week. The four 6-foot long fluorescent tubes which flooded the small office polluted the air to such a degree that his body became poisoned. (See n.i., vol. 8, no.15, 1983, page 5, on the danger of fluorescent lighting.)

Paid an outrageous hourly wage of \$3.35 to provide for 140 motel rooms and to audit the motel's books each night, this non-unionized clerk, like so many young workers today, sought to re-arrange his environment and modify his working conditions more to his own liking by bringing warmer and more healthful lighting to his office.

However, a spying assistant manager walked by at 4:00 a.m. recently one morning, and saw the employee's lamp burning in place of the fluorescent lights. That morning her husband explained, "the lights must not be turned off because it is against the rules." The clerk explained the deleterious effect the office light had on him, and indeed on any one who stood under them for a period of time, including the assistant manager and his wife. When the clerk offered to present the issue to the district supervisor of the large motel chain, the assistant manager quickly advised, "No, no! That's my job." The next night, the clerk brought his little lamp and literature from the local public library which documented studies on the effects of this unhealthy lighting. (see below) He worked that night, and left the literature in the office over the week-end.

When he came to work Monday night, lamp in hand, the manager met him. "You have to keep these fluorescent

lights on, or you can't work tonight!" He had spoken to the higher-ups, showed them the literature which the clerk had furnished, and the law had been laid down. The clerk's colleague who was just finishing his shift, and who had a low level of class consciousness, sneered, "How do you have time to read anyway. I'm always too busy to read."

The clerk, seeing he was outnumbered in this small unhealthy office, left with his little lamp and his books in hand. The next day he contacted the Cal.OSHA 24-hour service at 237-7325 and requested forms to file a complaint against the capitalists at this motel who would rather save a few cents each month than provide healthy working conditions and allow employees to express their individual needs.



The work rules at this motel were designed by the capitalists whose only interest is profits and who have unilaterally imposed these rules on the workers. But only the employees can provide for their own true needs in the face of management's hyperventilation and the owners' petty greed logic. Workers must educate their comrades and fight for better conditions together. The capitalists wish to keep them fearful, ignorant and obedient.

Research on the negative effects which fluorescent lighting has on the human nervous system, the pineal gland, hormone flow, cell mutations in skin tissue, and other findings are presented in two books by John N. Ott, Light, Radiation and You, and Health and Light. Also, an essay by Joel Makower in Office Hazards, More than Meets the Eye exposes the dangers of fluorescent lighting.

n.i. trabajo

SAN DIEGO GLASS & PAINT
"YOUR HOME-TOWN HOME CENTER!"

At the Tuesday night meeting, clerks got a "gut feeling management wants to break the union." Bob Shapiro, the stores' owner, provoked the strike when he refused to budge from his position that non-union assistant managers would displace the organized clerks at the eighteen stores, and eighteen new cashiers would be hired immediately, at \$4.09 an hour.

The United Food and Commercial Worker's Union local 1222, emphasized that these workers won a new contract because of their determination and solidarity. They were not displaced by non-union assistant managers, and they were not replaced by lower paid cashiers. The new contract will cover the next three years. It provides for automatic wage increases; new health and welfare

continued from page 2

NEW INDICATOR ANNOUNCEMENTS
UCSD, B-023 LA JOLLA, CA 92093

THURS. FEBRUARY 16
7 PM: A Democratic Socialist Perspective on Militarism and the Economy presentation by Herb Shore. Also, new information about current Selective Service System campaign to intimidate high school students. 3850 Westgate Place, San Diego. Committee Against Registration and the Draft. 283-6878, 753-7518.
7 PM: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign meeting. Escondido Public Library, 239 South Kalmia. 743-8404, 576-1897.

FRI. FEBRUARY 17
1 PM: Condom Sense, a film that takes a humorous look at the second most popular form of birth control. North Conference Room, UCSD Student Center. Discussion follows. UCSD Women's Clinic, Student Health Advocates. 452-2669, 452-2180.
7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series. San Diego premiere of Oral History (1982), directed by Peter Chappell, script by Nadine Gordimer. Also, NBC's Africa's Defiant White Tribe (1977) and Ulrich Schweizer's Katurua (1974). UCSD

TLH 107. Free admission. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

SAT. FEBRUARY 18
1 PM: Panel Discussion on Central America. Speakers include filmmaker Alex Dreschler (In the Name of the People) and Pat Krommer (Romero Relief Fund). Educational Cultural Complex, 4343 Ocean View. 691-1166.
6:30 PM: Benefit Cultural Evening for Medical Aid to Nicaragua. Dinner and live music by Sabia. San Diego Public Theatre, 311 8th Avenue. 235-0485, 459-4650.

SUN. FEBRUARY 19
7:30 PM: SUPPORT BEN SASWAY! Special benefit concert with Joan Baez for the San Diego County Draft Resisters Defense Fund. Golden Hall, Third & B Streets, downtown San Diego. All seats reserved. Tickets available at Center Box Office (Third & B), through Teleseat, and from the Defense Fund.
Sasway was convicted for non-registration and sentenced to 2 1/2 years in federal prison. Funds to cover legal appeal expenses are urgently needed! San Diego County Draft Resisters Defense Fund. 753-7518, 283-6878, 233-1701.
7:30 PM: An evening with Ruth Greenwald, 4190 Front Street, Hillcrest. Humanist Fellowship. 222-9477, 232-4801, 298-9978.

SAN DIEGO COUNTY DRAFT RESISTERS DEFENSE FUND BENEFIT CONCERT

JOAN BAEZ
PROCEEDS TO BEN SASWAY LEGAL DEFENSE
SUNDAY-FEBRUARY 19-7:30 PM
GOLDEN HALL-DOWNTOWN SAN DIEGO

RESERVED SEATING \$12.50, \$11.50 & \$10.50
TICKETS AVAILABLE AT THE CENTER BOX OFFICE AT 3rd & B ST. AND TELESEAT. FOR INFORMATION AND TELEPHONE CHARGES CALL (619) 236-6510. MASTERCARD OR VISA.

SIMPACTO

Long Stories In Short

HUMANS WALK IN SPACE!

Killer Sex Disease Sweeps Country

"Killer Sex Disease Sweeps Country," screamed the headline in a recent issue of the Cape Town *City Press*. The article reported an epidemic of cervical cancer among Black South African women, attributing the rampant disease to "too much sex too early with too many partners."

As lurid as the account was, it did draw attention to a frightening problem. According to Dr. Gladwyn Leiman of the South African Institute for Medical Research, Soweto, a township of more than one million Black residents, has the second-highest incidence of cervical cancer in the world. "Black women in Soweto have all the prerequisites for contracting this disease," Leiman reports. "They live in poverty conditions. There are enormous numbers of single men—since so many are prohibited from living with their families—and therefore there are high rates of promiscuity and pelvic inflammatory disease, which is associated with high cervical cancer rates." The strict apartheid laws limiting the number of Blacks in "white" cities and the forced relocation of millions of Blacks to rural reservations have wrenched families apart, preventing Blacks in urban areas from establishing long-term sexual relationships.

Professor Charles Isaacson of Johannesburg's University of the Witwatersrand says, "The incidence is probably over 40 (Black women) per 100,000 per year, and this figure is a conservative one." The rate for whites is 8.08 women per 100,000 per year. "It's really appalling," says a South African community organizer. "But with so much else wrong—people being deprived of their homes and having nothing to eat—it's treated as relatively unimportant. Just as Hitler wasn't concerned about cervical cancer among those whom he consigned to the extermination camps, this also is not one of the concerns uppermost in the minds of the government."

What makes the situation truly abhorrent is that cervical cancer can be detected so simply and inexpensively by periodic Pap smears. And it is easily curable in its early stages. Leiman, who established "Operation Screen Soweto" in an attempt to respond to the problem, laments the country's two-tier health-care system: "We are dealing with a situation where the low-risk group (white women) have excellent health care, getting Pap smears at least annually, while the high-risk group (Black women) are receiving none."

—Mother Jones

Reagan Wonders about Armageddon

"You know, I turn back to the ancient prophets of the Old Testament, and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and I find myself wondering if—if we're the generation that is going to see that come about...But believe me (those prophecies) certainly describe the times we're going through."

—President Ronald Reagan



Australia and Japan Join Boycott

It's not hard to see why Continental Airlines is asking the striking unions to return to negotiations. The Japanese labor movement is now joining with the Australian labor movement in boycotting the airline. According to the *California AFL-CIO News* the Japanese Confederation of Labor (DOMÉ) announced it has called a boycott of the struck airline which has used the bankruptcy laws to break its union obligations, and the other three major labor federations are expected to impose similar sanctions in the near future.

—People's World

Sperm Banks Slug It Out

Two California sperm banks are also slugging it out over the slander issue in the state courts. The Repository for Germinal Choice, which specializes in elite sperm for those who've made it and those scrambling to make it, recently accused its more egalitarian rival of dealing in defective sperm. The feminist-run Sperm Bank of Northern California replied with a \$3 million lawsuit. Said Sperm Bank's irate administrator Laura Brown: "It's one thing to say they're racist, sexist and classist, but it's a different thing for them to say we're producing defective sperm."

—In These Times

U.S. Navy Involved in Strikebreaking

Little known fact during the recent Greyhound bus strike—the federal government was involved in strikebreaking by transporting Navy recruits on Greyhound buses. The Navy bought blocks of tickets and gave them to recruiting officers who gave them to recruits.

—People's World

GOP Counting on Gamblers

In one of the most bizarre political fund-raising efforts in recent memory, the Republicans have launched their own publishers clearinghouse-style sweepstakes. Entry forms have gone out to more than a million households, informing recipients "you may already be a winner" of \$50,000 cash, a new car, a vacation trip or a custom-built home. Entrants are asked to send in \$15 to \$100 to the National Republican Congressional Committee, but the contributions are mandatory. The committee calls it a "marketing tool" designed to make money and provide a computer list of contributors for future fund-raising.

—D.C. Gazette

Schafly not Living in Dream World

In a recent 1984 prediction proving that women, too, can sometimes be illogical, Phyllis Schafly posits the following argument for keeping women out of politics: "Any politician who thinks he will get the women's vote by putting a woman on the ticket is really living in some kind of dream world. All you have to do is ask the NOW women if they would support me."

—In These Times

Private Prisons On the Cutting Edge of Reform

Private enterprise, always looking for new growth markets, recently may have found the ultimate: private prisons. Dozens of corporations are now competing for the chance to satisfy some of the ballooning demand for prison and jail space. The nation's inmate population is reaching record numbers

every month, and panicked administrators have started turning to newly organized punishment-for-profit firms, which are offering to lock up and guard people for a fee that could go as low as \$20 per day per person.

Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), a Nashville-based enterprise organized last June by many of the same investors who started the now-giant Hospital Corporation of America, is one of the leaders in the field. Its management includes well-connected former corrections officials such as T. Don Hutto, Virginia corrections director, and Maurice Sigler, retired chairman of the U.S. Parole Commission. CCA will open its first \$4 million, 350-bed "detention facility" in Houston this February. The jail will hold illegal aliens under a contract with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. CCA's competitors in the punishment-for-profit trade include Colorado oilman O. Wesley Box and the RCA Service Company, which already runs a school for hard-core juvenile delinquents in Pennsylvania.

"We're on the cutting edge of a whole new industry," says Travis Snellings, CCA's finance director. Private corporations, contends Snellings, can imprison cheaper and faster by eliminating governmental inefficiencies.

But one official is not so sure it's a good idea. "I once had to put an elderly relative in a private nursing home," says Perry Johnson, Michigan's director of corrections. "If the companies do prisons like they do those places, we'll be set back a hundred years."

—Mother Jones

Our strength Is in the Streets

Pressuring the candidates, raising the issues in the streets, visiting the universities in teach-ins and raising radical positions can change the mood of the nation, and tilt the national scale to the left. That will contribute more to defeating Reagan than anything else we can do—and will allow us on the left to remain honest to our convictions. When you or I ring a doorbell and ask someone to vote for Mondale, we have to lie like toopers to get that vote—Mondale is honest, he's a good leader, he stands for fine positions. In fact he stands for terrible positions on the war, on the economy, on relations with the Soviets—and the fact that they are less terrible than Reagan's does not make them good.

In supporting a Mondale we cannot console ourselves that we are participating in a united front. Back in 1932 it was permissible, desirable in fact, for the Socialists and Communists to forge a single ticket to defeat Hitler. Had they done it, and won, both parties would have gained something, and above all Hitler would have been sidetracked. But we in America today cannot have a united front with the Democrats, if only because we represent too small a force to bargain with them.

The only relationship the Democrats will permit is one in which we will be subordinate and insignificant. Our strength is in the streets; that's where our effort should go this election year. And oddly enough, the Democrats will benefit most if we take the issues to the streets—for it is they who will gain in the electoral process if the pendulum of U.S. politics is drawn to the left.

—The Guardian