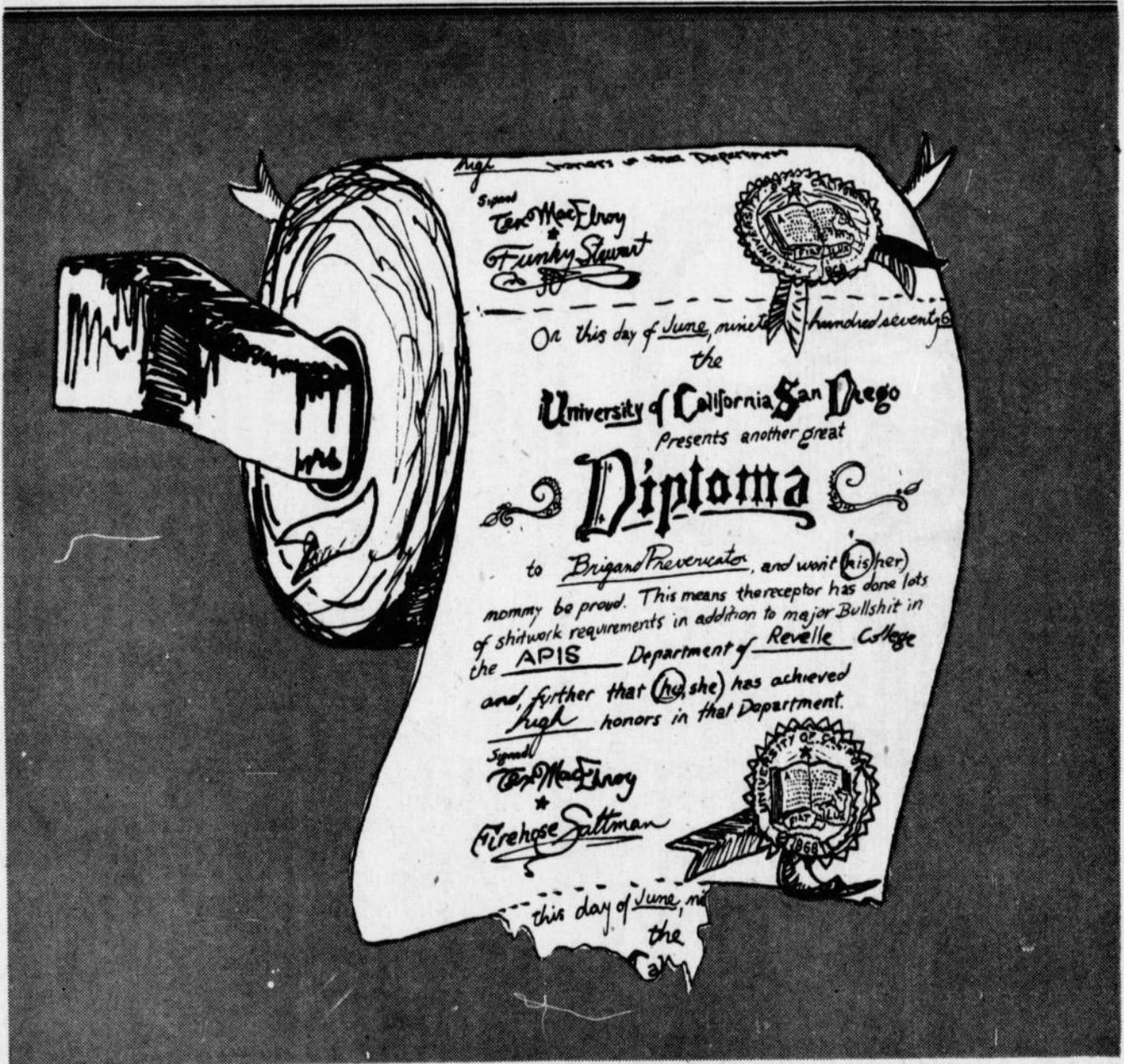


THE new indicator



On The Inside...

- Student of the '70's p. 3
- Chicano Task Force Report p. 4
- AFSCME Local Interviewed p. 6
- Working in North County p.7

- SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT p. 6 A-D
- Marley /Wailers Concert p. 8
- A day at the circus p. 9
- Long stories in short p. 11

THE NEW INDICATOR

VOL. 1 NO. 17 JUNE 1976 SAN DIEGO

Twenty years of schoolin' and they put you on the day shift?



Rape Task Force

Rape is a violent assault used to degrade women and to gain power and control over their person. Rape is not restricted to downtown San Diego but has also occurred at UCSD. "The legal definition of rape, defined in the California Penal Code, is sexual intercourse with a female who is not the rapist's wife under circumstances where the female either resists (and her resistance is overcome by force or violence) or does not resist because she is threatened by 'great and immediate bodily harm'." This definition and other useful information may be found in the pamphlet, "Answers to some Legal Questions About Rape," by Judith DiGennaro, published by S.D. County Coalition Against Rape.

Rape At UCSD

The UCSD Police Department has signed a contract with Doctor's Hospital in Point Loma. The woman assaulted is taken to the hospital where she undergoes a physical examination. Vaginal examinations are important in determining the amount of force used and the presence of sei which can be typed and aid in identifying the assailant. UCSD's Health Plan covers expenses for any injury incurred as a result of rape and there is no fee for an examination to gather evidence.

It is important for every woman to know that the campus police are very aware that rape is a violent act. They also realize the physical limitations of the university (i.e. lighting) and want to improve the situation. The police are actively involved and interested in the Rape Task Force. They want to know more. On June 2, 1976, Sue Fredrickson from the S.D. County Coalition Against Rape came to speak to the police giving a presentation on what women actually go

COOP APPROVES STUDENT UNION PROPOSAL

The last meeting of the Student Cooperative for this academic year was held Tuesday, June 1. Representatives to the Student Body Presidents' Council were chosen for next year, although their exact relationship to the newly reorganized External Affairs Support Group will not be determined until the reorganization of all Coop committees is completed next Fall.

The reorganization comes as a result of the Coop's ratification of the Student Cooperative Union Amendment, which provides for the creation of organizing committees, called "Support Groups", to address virtually the entire range of student needs and concerns, from housing to curriculum to maintaining ties with local community groups and labor organizations. It also clarifies the distinction between the Coop's Support Groups and its "Action Centers".

Support Groups are to perform central coordinating functions for the student body and be held responsible to the Coop.

through--a more personal view than a legal one.

Safety Problems

Inadequate lighting is the most obvious safety problem on campus. There is no way to get permanent lighting in the parking lots because they are temporary. The university is stressing conservation and lighting involves large sums of money. There must be an organized effort to force the realization of the importance of safety over budgetary concerns.

Positive Actions and Goals

The Rape Task Force is now in the process of organizing, for Fall Quarter 1976, a week of information and education about rape. A movie, speakers, articles, and workshops will be included. There is a pamphlet being written to be included with the orientation packet concerning the possibility of rape, and how to prevent it, as well as information about self-protection. An important factor to recognize is the trauma a woman is subjected to immediately after a rape and her emotional upheaval in the days and weeks that follow. Two projects being co-ordinated to deal with this problem are

the possibility of women resident advisors accompanying the victim to the hospital with the police, and the possible formation of a men's group educating the men involved with the rape victim. Awareness and knowledge are the most beneficial tools to understanding. The psychological counseling services, available through student services, and the health center are available for students to discuss problems and questions--including those concerning rape. Anyone wishing more information or has more ideas should stop in the Women's Center for more details.

Cutbacks at Issue

Saltman meets with Undergrads

Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs Paul Saltman met with nearly one hundred students Thursday in response to demands formulated at a teach-in two weeks ago concerning cutbacks in the Literature department and humanities in general. The recent reduction in dept. funding and TA support has sparked the formation of an undergraduate Lit. student organization (see last week's NEW INDICATOR), as similar cutbacks gave rise to the GSU last year.

The meeting was an attempt by the undergraduates to address their grievances to Saltman, and hear his position on the issue and what he can do to remedy the problem. Many of the students in attendance, in fact some of the most vocal, were not Lit. majors but science majors worried about the quality of education at this campus and the students' decision-making role.

Saltman's response to the problem was just as expected, in accordance with his response to most complaints made about the administration of this university. After first agreeing he will pass the buck. "I share all of your concerns and I share them in a fashion which is best addressed by your chairman, who has the responsibility and the authority along with his colleagues in literature to really answer the fundamental questions you raise." He later said that

students should complain to the Governor and legislature.

Saltman constantly referred to the existing mechanisms that students have for making their voice felt and influencing decisions. The fact that students in literature felt the need to organize, however, points to the fact that the avenues offered them are token, and their alleged decision-making ability bogus.

Students at the meeting contradicted Saltman's notion that enrollment in humanities courses such as Literature or Philosophy or Languages should be determined by the same funding criteria applied to Physics, for example. One student commented that although she had been able to learn in a Physics section of 40 she doubted seriously that she could achieve similar results in a Philosophy section of 40, because of the kind of conceptual and critical thinking necessary to a discipline such as Philosophy, or Literature.

Another student, who is graduating from UCSD and going to Johns Hopkins to learn community medicine, said that she must be fluent in Spanish to do the kind of community work she hopes to do when she returns to California; such fluency would be impossible to achieve in large classes or in classes (such as Spanish 25) which may no longer exist.

cont. on page 9

Hold High the Banner of the Humanities

I am proud that the students in the colleges of UCSD are demonstrating their concern for the future of the Humanities in this University. It is just such student action and reaction that inspires faculty members and university administrators with a sense of the importance of good teaching and of the value of the humanistic studies to which they have dedicated their lives.

Humanistic studies must lie at the heart of a true and great university. Stirring poetry and noble prose can give us a way of knowing that is just as true as a mathematical equation or a physical law, and perhaps more meaningful in human terms. They teach us in a unique way about ourselves.

In the Humanities more than in any other field students and teachers need to work happily together to gain understanding; fresh insights come from the clash of ideas in genuine two-way conversation. We need to think and to teach each other about the great things that have been thought and taught by human beings throughout history.

Roger Revelle
May 27, 1976.

2,000 Students Ignored: Chancellor Buys TritonTimes

The new Indicator has learned from members of the Student Fee Programs Advisory Committee (Reg. Fee) that a decision was reached on Friday afternoon, the last day of classes, which will, if carried out, drastically affect all student media next year. The timing is characteristic of administrative regard for student participation in decisions--if the students are likely to despise a new plan, then wait until summer to do it!

If you saw the headline in the final issue of the Triton Times stating "We're Not Going To Take Your Money Anymore" then you may be annoyed to discover that they are actually likely to be getting another \$22,500 next year. The T.T. is getting \$7500 directly from the Chancellor and he has evidently made a deal with Reg. Fee and the paper to tie-up \$15,000 of funds to the Communications Board as "reserves" in case the T.T. can't support its salaries and production by "going independent" (read: going into business at the students' expense and investment).

According to the Coordinator of the Comm. Board, however, the T.T. will not be legitimately entitled to use of ANY resources of the Board because the paper has refused (with the Chancellor's evident complicity) to request renewal of its annual recognition as a student media and will only be a registered student organization. Communications Boards were originally set-up by the administration throughout the U.C. system to oversee and fund all student media which wish to expend student funds. If the Chancellor implements this decision, it will call into question, throughout the U.C. system, the separate treatment of student-funded media as arbitrarily distinct from the funding for all other student organizations.

The administration's action comes on the heels of several developments very embarrassing to the Triton Times. The recent media survey received over 2000 student responses and an overwhelming majority wanted a "more democratic"

Cont. on page 10

Grade Rationale Called Self-Gratifying

Letter to the New Indicator:

A high official in UCSD-dom was quoted recently in a campus publication to the effect that faculty who give high grades are trying to buy students' affection. Tossed off as it was, in a typically superficial interview, the partial truth contained in the above sentiment might unfortunately be taken as gospel if allowed to remain in the fragmentary context characteristic of commercial media. The statement--and grading itself-- must be looked at in the larger context.

It may in fact be true that faculty who freely dispense A's (thus devaluating the "currency" of grades) are looking for love from their students, consciously or otherwise. But what of those faculty who maintain more severe poses vis a vis grades? Might not these stern disciplinarians be guilty of--again, consciously or otherwise-- trying to buy respect from students who have been conditioned by authoritarian structures since birth to respond submissively and respectfully to authority figures?

In the context of repressive trends at the University and in society at large, jingoistic statements like the one by the university official quoted above (I think

his name may be "Saltman")--which may seem little more than casual pomposity on the surface--represent a serious ideological attack on cooperative modes of education. It is certainly not a well-kept secret by this time that the university is engaged in an ideological struggle designed to eliminate all but the most token forms of cooperative education. With the demise of these cooperative vestiges will come decline in critical thinking which might question the system as well. The student the university is trying to help mold is one who is in fact most submissive to authoritarian structures and figures. The conversion of the educational format in almost every discipline--from biology to literature--to one of data-obsession is an obvious sign of this.

The viability of any grading system is problematic to say the least. Grades are different and students do not have equal advantages. In the present social and educational context, any debate about the efficacy of different modes of grading is nonsensical or self-aggrandizing. There can be no equitable means of judging ability and achievement in an exploitative system. Only when society as a whole operates cooperatively, with all people coming from positions of equal advantage, will grading be fair...but then there will be no need for grades.

a member of the faculty (jr. status)



CPB Chair resigns - blasts BRG

1 June 1976

Dr. Paul Saltman
Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs

Dear Paul:

Please accept my resignation as Chairman of the UCSD Campus Program Board (CPB). There are several reasons that cause me to not be able to continue this difficult but worthwhile activity for the campus but I wish to comment on only the one reason that is amenable to change.

That reason is the inconsiderate behavior of the members of the BRG toward the members of the CPB this year. In other words, one group of students behaving badly toward another group (predominantly) of students to the serious detriment of all of this campus' students.

I will not detail the entire sorry course of events in this letter but will simply state that the net result is to have ignored the special needs of the CPB for a minimum of 15 months leadtime for booking and arrangements which sees us at the end of the school year with no budget, no subcommittee chairman and no bookings for the Fall quarter, 1976. This was done deliberately by the BRG and permitted to happen by the representative members of the Coop.

This has occurred in a year when, according to a survey of UCSD students, the CPB produced the largest number of appreciated events in its history and the students suggested a significant increase in the funding of arts and lectures.

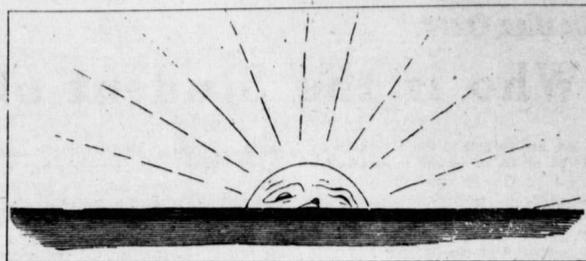
If the students are to play a major role in the allocation of large sums of money for the improvement of student life at UCSD they must be made to work in full public view, with appropriate student newspaper coverage, and with the decision-makers and the student body made aware of the consequences of their decisions. The alternative of treating students as children and have (sic) the administration make decisions as to what is best for them, seems a poor one to me.

Sincerely,

Robert N. Hamburger, M.D.
Professor of Pediatrics
Head, Pediatric Immunology
and Allergy Division

The stipulations which we have attached to the CPB allocation for next year were in fact not "one group of students behaving badly toward another group (predominantly) of students." Quite the contrary, the issues we've addressed were called to our attention by students of the Board and our actions were also ones which were suggested by students from the Board. The fact is that the Board is not a student committee but rather one with faculty and even off-campus people from La Jolla having votes over Student Activity Fee use.

We find it no small coincidence that one of the two at-large student representatives to the Board selected by the Coop was recently facing recall from the Board for admitting he has, without consulting the Coop, supported this year a plan to establish a fixed rate per student per quarter for funding the Board with Student Activity Fees. This plan represents a clear attempt to avoid annual Coop review of the Board's use of student funds and an outrageous insult to the intelligence of all



Friday June 11:
4-7 pm Left Bank 4994 Newport Ave. O.B. Fundraising program and discussion
Speakers include: Fredric Jameson-- "Ideology and Consciousness: Film in the first world" Admission: \$2.50

Sunday, June 13:
7:30-9:30 People's Health Forum
Beach Area Clinic, 3705 Mission Blv. "Transcendental Meditation"

Monday June 14:
8 p.m. Student Center UCSD
Special Meeting GSU department representatives and prospective aes stewards. We will discuss how we might file grievances in sociology, literature, unannounced changes in TA jobs in linguistics, including grievances based on the PPM. All interested people welcome.

June, 1975 editions of the North Star, an incredible educational resource, are available at the New Indicator office, in the Student Center, just above the Women's Center. Back issues of some New Indicators, including the volume containing the article, "A Night at the Hearings," and the raisin boycott poster, are also available.

All summer long: Groundwork books will be open.

Communications Board says: New Indicator can come out this summer! (It's just up to the administration now.) If you want to receive it, send your name and address to: New Indicator, Student Organizations, UC San Diego, La Jolla, Ca. 92093.

present and future UCSD students. We are pleased that this student, Alec Nedelman, has now assured the Coop that he will not persist in this misrepresentation of the student body. Still, the timing of your resignation leaves us wondering.

Finally, as we have had reliable reports that you have for some time prior to even meeting with the BRG, planned to leave the Board this year, we can only conclude that your decision to link your departure with a complaint against the completely open, public decision making process of the BRG and the Coop represents nothing less than a malicious insult to all UCSD students. Hence, we welcome your resignation and insist further that you owe the responsible students of this campus a full apology. We are not meatheads or meatballs, nor the "children" you refer to in your letter of resignation. We are, by and large, voting-age citizens and if you cannot work with students as fellow citizens, then you are not fit to sit on any campus committee.

Sincerely,
Budget Resource Group

Coop voices solidarity with NY college

An Open Letter To The Students, Faculty, And Staff Of The State University Of New York College At Old Westbury

We wish to congratulate you on your recent victory and also share with you our statement of support for the university strikes in France, Mexico, and here in the U.S.

The Student Cooperative Union of the University of California at San Diego expresses solidarity with the demands of the strike at many French universities this Spring and with the demands of the Paris Coordinating Committee. The same corporate capitalist dictates are confronting

Victor, Tracy, Steve, Suzy, Sarah, Rick, Richard, Rebecca, Peter, Patrick, Monty, Mark, Monette, Lino, Larry, Katherine, Julie, John, Jan, Gina, Gerry, Elynn, Doug, Don, D.B., Debbie, David, Daria, Curtis, Chip, Charlie, Charles, Catherine, Betty, Beth, Alfred, Aldo, and all others--

The new indicator is officially recognized as a campus newspaper by the Student Communications Board of UCSD. The views expressed do not necessarily represent those of the Board, the Chancellor, or the Regents.

The new indicator subscribes to Liberation News Service (LNS) and is a member of the Alternative Press Syndicate (APS) please type letters on 60 space lines and send to:

new indicator collective
STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS CENTER, UCSD
LA JOLLA CALIFORNIA 92093

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Question Posed

Who is the Student of the 70's?

If we are to believe the wisdom being allotted us by the media in general the student of the seventies is not much more than an apathetic automaton obsessed with surviving a frenetic initiation process (called "college") designed to select a chosen few for the dwindling number of relatively secure and privileged jobs projected for the society of the future. What is the student of the seventies, and how did she/he get to be the way she/he is? To what degree is the picture accurate? What are the causative factors in the formation of such a student consciousness? What evidence, if any, exists to suggest that the above picture may not be completely accurate?

To find the answers to these questions ---we talked it over among ourselves and interviewed a few students outside of our collective. The resultant article is a synthesis evolving from several conversations and as much time as we could devote to the topic just now.

By next fall, we hope to have expanded our coverage into analyses of the quality of life in as many aspects of university life as we are able.

Relatively Well-Adjusted

There seems to be a consensus that most students are apathetic about politics and activism, and that of this amorphous mass there are two main categories: those who are relatively "well-adjusted" and interested in success; and those who are alienated but not sufficiently motivated to do anything about the conditions which have brought about their alienation, preferring instead to continue their lives of quiet, still sufficiently comfortable, desperation.

Students walk around now with long hair and in-clothing that would have brought them ridicule in the sixties, smoking dope that would've gotten them busted in the sixties, sleeping with friends which would have meant expulsion from school or the dorms in the sixties, with no concern for the military draft that would've forced them to kill or be killed in the sixties. And all this is not to mention all the areas of social and educational reform, such as minority recruitment programs, experimental colleges, more "relevant" curricula, etc. And yet many students think that all the sixties' protests proved was that you can't do anything about the system. A thorough analysis of both media cooptation and the inherent deficiencies of the political movements of the sixties would be necessary to adequately deal with the above observations, and space limits will not allow that here. However, in passing we can note the usual criticisms of the sixties movement regarding the shortcomings of mass-movements built around strictly moral issues, which criticize symptom rather than system.

Pressure Drop

As for the causative factors in forming the present student consciousness, we can refer to one of the students we interviewed, a sophomore Communications major, who said that the problem here, as he saw it, stemmed from the fact that UCSD students come from families in the upper social strata. "Their attitudes and motivation are generally elitist," he said, "they see themselves on top, and they want to do what they can to stay there." He attributed his own political consciousness --which has enabled him to get involved at least peripherally in some political action-- as growing out of pre-college experiences when he was forced to work and came face-to-face with some concrete contradictions of the system.

Other factors frequently referred to by students are grade and career pressures. These pressures, they say, tend to mold students into desensitized objects. According to this line of thinking, students, when they can find time to break from studying, want only to seek relief from the rigors of uncreative thought in drugs, TV, drink or other forms of mindlessness. By the same token, career pressures -- from family and other instruments of social-

ization -- compel students to maintain a kind of one-dimensional thrust toward the desired goal; the problem here, as students soon realize, lies in the scarcity of positions attainable in comparison to the vast number of aspirants. Recognition of the inverse ratio of applicants to available jobs leads in turn to estrangement from other students and an atmosphere that discourages any sort of collective thinking-out of the situation. The consequential isolation of students from each other (in any collective sense) is reinforced and stimulated by an administration which designs and gears courses in such a way as to promote obsession with superficial data and to discourage critical thinking.

'Not Alienated Enough'

Whether this state of affairs exists by design, inertia, or accident is, although important, not to be debated here--the crucial fact is that it does exist, as witnessed by transitions underway in the Literature Department, where vice Chancellor Saltman is directing an effort to bring Lit. class sizes into parity with science courses. (See Roger Revelle's statement on page one for a direct refutation of this latest example of Saltmanian nonsense.)

One student we interviewed--first year pre-law -- dismissed the notion that students don't have time to get involved in politics or student government. He said that time can be found if one wants to find it. He said that although most students become alienated after a few weeks at UCSD, they do not become "alienated enough". They are disillusioned with life and its potential under the present system, but see no alternative; their apathy is based on an assumption that nothing can be done. Most students, he continued, do not realize "the difference between living and alienation." By "not doing anything they remain as moral as the system," he said, "but by acting morally one comes alive", even if one's actions yield no immediate signs of success.

This student said that his initial awareness and involvement grew out of a sociology class and observation of the disciplinary hearings against students involved in the Nov. 25 anti-CIA protest. In the Sociology class he found an exceptional professor who "teaches for awareness." This professor, he said, provided an alternative for students already alienated by their lives and environment.

By clearly exposing the faults of our social system with a coherent and penetrating analysis, this professor provided a new and revelatory view into the social dynamics of alienation on all levels. For most of the students, however, their awareness did not lead to activism, but to a more informed cynicism. The existence of most students remains at too comfortable a level for their alienation to make them anything more than apathetic; like the student interviewed above, the pre-law major thought that most UCSD students would require a stronger threat to their material comforts before being stimulated to act on their alienation.

'Still Room To Operate'

The pre-law student felt that the University still affords a (diminishing) area in which someone like himself can operate. He is able, he said, to learn from professors with whom he disagrees and thinks that by becoming a lawyer he will be able to use the law against itself. As an aspiring attorney he took an interest in the recent disciplinary hearings, and was "appalled" by the travesty of the principles of American justice in which he had grown up believing. He has become active in the Student Coop and believes that it is the best form of student government available because it is operated by the "most interested", and not the "most popular" students. Although the administration would like to do away with the Coop, he does not think that they will succeed since a majority of students, although not active themselves, recognize that it is the most democratic system possible in the University.

An important factor contributing to the trend toward one-dimensionality at UCSD is an admission policy which patently discriminates against all but the most privi-

leged sector of the population, with the exception of a diminishing token representation of Blacks, Chicanos, Asian-Americans, Native Americans, et al. (see Chicano Task Force article this issue). Equal Opportunity Programs are among the first victims of the new politics of austerity; fewer people without money will now be allowed access to the University. Third College, which was initiated as a reformist institution which would provide access to the University for minorities and poor whites--and which was designed also to provide a vehicle for reformist social criticism in all its programs (from Communications to Biology)--has undergone a continuous transformation to the point where the typical new Third student today chuckles when read to from the original Third College principles of organization. Third students are even told by their advisors that it will be "just like Revelle" in a year or two.

But Cutbacks Closing In

As cutbacks in educational services spread--and UC is just beginning to feel the effects of a trend that has had a powerful impact in other areas of the country--we can project that resistance will increase as increasing numbers of people are threatened. (As reported last week, these educational cutbacks are a portion of the 15% being trimmed by President Ford from social services, and injected into the corporate sector.) In recent weeks the New Indicator has run a number of articles concerning the resistance to the cutback trend throughout the nation (and in France).

We have reported on events at the University of Massachusetts, where over 4000 students have organized into a union and have resisted Trustee manipulation of student funds; at State University of New York at Old Westbury, students and faculty united to resist destruction akin to that of UCSD's Third College, occupying the place for a few weeks until their demands were granted; Hostos (bilingual) College in New York City, where students took over the school to fight against its closure; and Boston State College, where students, faculty and staff banded together to expose and resist a long history of administrative/police spying on students and faculty. In addition, we have reported the struggle in France, where the entire national University system was shut down as students protested the conversion of universities from humanistic institutions to technocratic factories.

What We Can Expect

In the area of political activity not directly related to cutbacks, we have reported the refusal of the Portland State College (Oregon) student newspaper to print ads for CIA recruitment and the resistance of the Tufts University newspaper to running sexist advertising. And, finally, we must not ignore the significance of resistance to UC-CIA complicity at UCSD. As we've also noted, this activity has drawn nationwide and even international press coverage. Important newspapers in Mexico and France are among media which have given prominent attention to events on our own campus.

In light of conditions which exist and which threaten to get even worse, it is reasonable to predict a resurgence of the Movement at UCSD through student "government"--the Student Cooperative, which has just ratified an amendment to the original Coop proposal which commits it to become a Student Cooperative Union. The Cooperative Union represents a serious and effective framework for students to organize themselves and make the changes they, as individuals, see to be necessary, and will make it possible to fully implement the original Cooperative intention.

Activist minority groups will continue to vigorously resist the administration's thinly-disguised efforts to ease them into oblivion, as well. The newly revived "alternative" media will be in full swing as a Press Coalition by next Fall, also, in accordance with proposals recently adopted by the Student Communications Board.

If you can find time this summer, write an article for *Voz Fronteriza*, *Ujima*, or the *New Indicator*. See you then!



"IF PRESSURE IS FELT WE TIGHTEN YOUR BELT."

ERRATA

Last week's New Indicator unfortunately contained more than the usual quota of errors, typographical and otherwise. Most of the centerfold posters of Emma Goldman, for example, were marred by ink blotches. We hope to talk with our printer about this and run the poster again some time.

Another faux pas, all the more regrettable because of the seriousness of the subject matter, concerned the misarrangement of some of the text of the front page story on police-administrative spying at Boston State College. Beginning after the ninth line in the third paragraph from the end of the story, the text should read as follows:

plan, and to fight a tuition increase which hits sharply the school's hundreds of out of state, mainly foreign, students. Boston State students have been active in recent years in anti-military recruiter demonstrations a building takeover to obtain a day-care center and in mass protests over Allen's firing three years ago. In late 1965 the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) was the only local among 10 state colleges to refuse a contract which would have destroyed job security. Also, last winter hundreds of students rallied on several occasions to oppose tuition hikes, budget cuts, and a reorganization plan designed to transform state colleges into technical appendages of the state university.

Another, and we hope final, error occurred when the third paragraph of the article on nuclear radiation leakage (page 10) fell off the layout sheet on the way to the printer. The paragraph reads:

"until this discovery, it had been assumed by the government that simply burying 'low-level radioactive waste,' such as contaminated clothing and equipment, in trenches was sufficient. Prior to the January EPA report, government scientists had thought that because of their unusually high molecular weights, solid radioactive materials couldn't 'migrate' through the soil."

Production of a newspaper is a laborious process. Our staff is made up of people who are almost all both students and part-time (in some cases full-time) workers and who are under the same end-of-the-term finals pressures as everyone else around here (with the exceptions of administrators and senior faculty); thus, while we do apologize for mistakes, and vow to do better, they do happen and will no doubt happen again.



When this school year started MECHA decided that one of its top priority issues would be the Chancellor's response to the report compiled by the President's Task Force on Chicanos and the University of California. The report was completed in the spring of 1975 but only a very limited number of copies were made available. The Triton Times refused to publish a "Survey" of the report, condensed version prepared by Renaldo Carboni. Consequently Vox Fronteriza published it and we now will offer an abbreviated version of the condensed version along with the following background information.

On November 25 at the demonstration against the University's complicity with the CIA, Chicanos reiterated their concern over the University's disregard for the Task Force report which documents and proposed recommendations to remedy the under-representation of Chicanos at UC. It is rather ironic that the demonstration protested the University's aid to the CIA's "affirmative action" drive and at the same time the University fails to implement the recommendations its own appointed task force made on the need for radical affirmative action in order to remedy the under-representation of Chicanos.



Six Years Ago

The Task Force Report is the result of a six year struggle by Chicanos. In April of 1969 at the University of California at Santa Barbara a very well attended and representative three day conference of Chicano students, faculty and staff from both the private and state colleges and universities in California took place. The meeting, planned, hosted and coordinated by the Santa Barbara chapter of the Chicano student organization, UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) brought together over one hundred people who examined all facets of the relationship between Chicanos and institutions of higher education. There were workshops dealing with University-Community relations and programs, the recruitment of students and faculty, student support services (EOP, Financial Aids, Tutoring, Counseling, etc...) Chicano Studies Programs (the establishment and organization of Programs, Departments, Center, Institutes and curriculum), legislation and funding.

MECHA

Among the many historic events that took place at this meeting was the change, throughout the Southwest, of the various names by which Chicano student organizations were known to MECHA (Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan- Chicano Student Movement of Aztlan). The addition of the words Movement and Aztlan. The substitution of Chicano for Mexican-American and the use of Spanish reflect the cultural nationalism that predominated at the First National Chicano Liberation Conference held a few weeks before in Denver from March 27 to 31. The name change however did not only express a cultural nationalist outlook; it signified a step forward in the struggle of Chicanos by attempting to demystify the dominant ideology and add a historical dimension to an analysis of the Chicano situation.

Chicanos were rejecting an ambivalent term used by apologist social scientists to justify the "melting pot" theory of North American society. The inclusion of the geographical location Aztlan, the legendary homeland of the Aztecs, expressed the appropriation of a false past—a romanticized past but it was an attempt to find a way out of the a-historical abyss into which bourgeois historians had thrown Chicanos. And the use of the word Movement bound Chicanos both to other parts of the Chicano struggle (the farmworkers, civil rights groups, land rights groups, etc.) and to other political movements (the student movement, the anti-war movement, the woman's movement, etc.). Chicano student organizations were becoming less of a social club and more of a political group with political goals. The position paper of the workshop held at the April Conference on the Internal organization of Chicano student groups states:

All human relationships are to a great extent, political relationships. This is true in spite of the fact that the term "political" often illicitly a negative response from many people. If Chicanos are ever to gain their liberation, this distaste for things political must be eradicated by realizing that an understanding of political activity is essentially an understanding of human nature...political action must be subject to objective analysis, sharp self-criticism and clear cut decisions...

A Plan

Another result of the conferences was the formation of a Steering Committee composed of Chicano students,

a short history of the Chicano Task Force Report

faculty and staff. One of the first accomplishments of the Steering Committee was the publishing of El Plan de Santa Barbara, a book which prescribed a "Chicano plan for higher education". Along with reports from some of the workshops held at the conference. El Plan contains a bibliography, course outlines and degree proposals. But it lacks statistical back up.

The Task Force

A Task Force, composed of both Chicanos and representatives of University-wide administration, was appointed Nov. 9 1971 after two and a half years of negotiations with University-wide administrators. It spent four years compiling the facts and statistical data, that have actually been of little value in changing the University's under-representation of Chicanos.

Their report is divided into five chapters. The first contains the following data on Chicanos:

1. State population:
 - A. In 1970 Chicanos were at least 15% of the State population;
 - B. Chicanos are the fastest growing sector of the State's population;
 - C. In at least 20 counties Chicanos are at least 16% of the population;
 - D. Chicanos under the age of 35 are 70.5% of the population as compared to 58.9% for the rest of the population;
2. Income:
 - A. Median income for California families is \$10,000 to \$12,000 but for Chicanos it is \$7,000-\$8000
 - B. Unemployment in the Chicano Community has been estimated to be 50% higher than in the White community.
3. Prison: (1970 figures)
 - A. 16.5% of prison male felons are Chicanos, a figure higher than the state percentage of Chicanos.(15%)
4. Education:
 - A. Half of the Chicano population 25 years or older had gone beyond the second year of high school, but more than half the total population had graduated from high school.
 - B. Only 5.7% of the Chicano population 25 years or older had four years of college compared to 13.4% of all Californians in this age group.

Chapters two, three and four contain facts on the recruitment and retention of Chicano students, faculty, and staff. Documentation proving "Chicanos are uniquely under-represented in every sector of the University of California," as the report concludes, is found in these chapters. Some of the recommendations offered to remedy the situation are:



STUDENTS:

1. The University should establish a commission to design an information and record system that will collect valid, reliable information on the presence and experience of Chicano studies.
2. The University, in cooperation with private foundations and government agencies, should plan and institute a five-year program of undergraduate scholarships and graduate fellowships for Chicano students admitted to the University. The program would make publicly evident the University's determination to increase the presence of Chicano students at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The program would be administered University-wide and would be funded for a specific period (at least 5 years).
- 3.. The University should design a planned variations in admissions program for bilingual-bicultural Chicano students that would be implemented University-wide for a period of 5 years. The program would develop knowledge for use in a later evaluation of the regular admissions policy of the University as it affects Chicanos in the State. To carry out this program, a commission would be formed to devise predictive criteria and methods to identify and admit bilingual-bicultural students who have the capacity to complete University studies but do not meet the regular admissions requirements.
4. The University should plan and implement a five-year University wide program that would be responsible for increasing the presence and improving the experience of Chicanos. The program would offer bilingual-bicultural student services on each of the campuses and would operate in conjunction with the planned variation in admissions programs for Chicanos.
5. The University should strengthen and develop programs providing Chicano students with the opportunity of academic research, and professional training that will prepare them for careers of service to the Chicano population.
6. The University should establish a University-wide committee to advise on the presence and experience of Chicano students and to assist in the development of programs and sources of support.
7. In keeping with the foregoing general recommendations speaking to Chicano student presence at the University, it is further recommended that the University:
 - A. Employ bilingual-bicultural admissions counselors.
 - B. Print admissions information in Spanish.
 - C. In view of the Chicano under-representation, review at each campus the use of the 4% special admissions.
 - D. Employ bilingual-bicultural outreach personnel to advise and counsel ninth to eleventh grade Chicanos and Chicanas in the Community Colleges.
 - E. Print financial aids information in Spanish.
 - F. Use print, film and audio media to reach bilingual-bicultural audiences.
8. Identify major schools which are sources of prospective Chicano students and explore with them all ways to enhance and to expedite student flow.
- H. Remove the fee required for enrollment in Subject A
- I. Place particular emphasis on the employment of bilingual-bicultural personnel in Student Affairs departments
- J. Employ upper division Chicano students as peer counselors for entering Chicano freshmen.
- K. Ensure that job and educational placement services are sensitive to particular needs of Chicanos.

FACULTY:

1. The University must be committed to Affirmative Action programs that will bring into its academic community all minorities that have been historically excluded, in particular, Chicanos.

2. During the next three years the Academic Senate should establish a University-wide committee to look into the status of Chicanos.
3. Cooperation between the University administration and academic Senate committees on the issues of Chicano faculty should be among the University's highest priorities.
4. Criteria for appointment, review, and promotion should be re-examined and adapted to the special circumstances and realities affecting the status of Chicano faculty at the University.
5. It is strongly recommended that academic departments allow nontenured Chicano faculty member as much time as possible to demonstrate their qualifications as teachers and scholars within the limits of the University eight-year rule concerning decisions about promotion to tenure.
6. Chicano faculty members should be represented where possible on committees reviewing other Chicano faculty members for retention and promotion.
7. The efforts of Chicano faculty member to develop and build Chicano Studies programs should be given greater professional recognition according to established regulations and procedures.
8. Information on a nationwide basis should be gathered by the University about Chicano Study-Research centers, or equivalent programs, in order to increase the data base of information about graduating Chicano Ph. D's and other possible Chicano recruits.

NON ACADEMIC EMPLOYEES:

1. There is a clear need on the part of the University for a stronger commitment to the Affirmative Action employment of, in particular, Chicanos.
2. A strong, forceful policy statement should be widely distributed by both the Office of the President and each Chancellor, outlining goals, objectives, and timetables for the hiring and retention of Chicanos at all levels at the University.
3. Improved information gathering procedures and systems need to be established for monitoring Chicano staff employment and their general mobility within the University of California.
4. Traditional approaches to recruitment should be replaced by new methods and more imaginative programs.
5. It is important for the University to work through community groups and the Spanish language media in advising Chicanos of employment opportunities.
6. All University hiring offices should have persons on their staffs who are bilingual and who have an understanding of the social and cultural character of the Chicano community.
7. The University should continue to strengthen Affirmative Action through special programs in cooperation with firms doing business with the University.
8. A mandatory two to four week recruiting effort should be followed to allow for the establishment of a diversified applicant pool.
9. The University should provide standards equivalent to formal education requirements or provide reasonable alternatives in job hiring and placement.
10. Community service should be considered and important part of many upper-level administrative and managerial positions held by Chicanos, with specific assignments and responsibilities cited in the job description and a percentage of time assigned for this purpose.
11. The talents of Chicano and other staff members who are sensitive to the Chicano community should be utilized by the University for community service programs aimed at drawing more Chicanos into U.C. employment.
12. The University should have a Chicano personnel representative at the campus level whose primary responsibility would be directed to personnel and job development of Chicano and Chicana employees.
13. U.C. should recast its training programs to assist Chicanos and other minorities in career employment.
14. Career ladders should be designed (job advancement).
15. Explicit procedures that recognize the unique qualities of Chicano or Chicana employees during the probationary period are needed to ensure the enhancement of their professional capabilities.

PUBLIC SERVICE:

Chapter five concerns the public service component of the University's triple purpose (the other two are education and research). Under the heading of public services come various sorts of programs and various forms of assistance that supposedly address the needs of the society-at-large. However, as the report points out, "...these appear and are oriented towards professional clients who are reasonably affluent, educated and middle class." The report makes the following recommendations:

1. The Office of the President should reaffirm University wide responsibility and leadership for defining, planning, coordinating, monitoring, and evaluating the public service activities of the institution relating to the Chicano community.

As for the staff, there are 4752 employees of which 6.6% are Chicanos. But where are these Chicanos employed?

In the top administrative positions there is only 1 Chicano, and to achieve parity with the number of qualified Chicanos presently around, the administration plans to hire .019 Chicano per year. Or to put it more realistically, 1 Chicano within the next 53 years.

In contrast, there is no lack of Chicanos in the services departments. Chicanos make up 22.5% of cleaning services, while only making up 17% of the population statewide.

In student services, while there are 9 Chicanos presently employed, there are none in financial aid, and the Chicano who was in academic advising has left to return to her studies. It is apparent that there are no Chicanos where they are needed the most.

The situation for Chicano students is even more critical than the others. The enrollment, numerically and percentage-wise, is decreasing. A report from EOP shows that as of April 5, only 35 Chicanos had been admitted from a group of 80 applications. This same report shows that only 46% of students who applied through EOP actually registered for the Fall of 1975.

For Third College, a college set up for people of color, only 36% of those who registered this past Fall were 3rd World peoples. Instead of being one-third black, one-third Chicano, etc., Third College is 60% white. Also, the projection for next year is that Third will be 70% white and only 30% 3rd World peoples.

The financial aid picture, once the student is admitted, is equally appalling. The criteria in determining need is more restrictive than that used by the California State Scholarship. Students are given loans when there is grant money being withheld. Low-income families are being penalized by not having any type of business deductions which "lower" the amount which they allegedly could give to the student. There is no bilingual counselor who could help non-English speaking parents whose children may be seeking aid. These and other not so evident problems face students once they are admitted to UCSD.

Those Chicanos planning to attend graduate school face the same problems on a higher level. Many fellowships which most Chicanos need in order to attend graduate school are being cut back due to the current economic crisis. Many departments here are conservative and do not encourage Chicano students to study in their field from a Chicano perspective. Also, UCSD has the lowest enrollment of minority grad students in the UC system, so that it appears as though Chicano grad students are not wanted at all.

All in all, the continuing Chicano presence here at UCSD is in danger of non-existence. Active steps must be taken immediately if Chicano presence is to be maintained.

More Of The Same

On May 25th, MEChA again confronted the Chancellor at a meeting with the facts. Once again he reiterated his policy of "benign" neglect, passing the buck to the departments, the personnel office and the student services offices. Unless he recognizes the need to implement radically different policies and procedures Chicanos will continue to be under-represented on all levels of the University.

Police Chief Denies Surveillance of Students

In response to community concern about police surveillance of student activists -- as evidenced most overtly by an officer photographed with a powerful camera at the accreditation rally-- the New Indicator interviewed UCSD police chief Hugh French by telephone regarding the extent of such police surveillance at UCSD. When asked about the increased police activity on campus, Chief French responded: "We like to keep an eye on everything that goes on at the campus. We like to be visible at all times."

When asked specifically about police photographers at the rally, French said that he knew of no such action. He added that the officers under his command would not engage in such action without him knowing about it. (This despite our photograph of police with cameras at the rally.)

We then asked the Chief if files were or are kept by police on students (activists or otherwise). French replied that he did not know of any, except for criminal files. French would not say whether or not these criminal files involved alleged or actual crimes committed before being hired or accepted to study at the University.

French did say that such files are of a confidential nature and are available only to the District Attorney.

French said that in his three years as chief his agency had not sought the help of any outside police agencies such as the FBI or the San Diego police, but would do so if the need arose.

When we asked French if any police agencies were presently engaged in surveillance of any kind on campus -- phone taps, office entries of the "plumber" variety, etc, he replied with a resounding "no".



INTERVIEW WITH AFSCME LOCAL 2068

union organizers talk about organizing at ucscd

PHOTOS: UNION MEMBERS AT THEIR JOBS

For years, the California State Employees Association, an employee organization whose membership includes both supervisors and management, was the only representation for workers on campus at UCSD. This past year the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, an AFL-CIO union that is the fastest growing union in the U.S., began organizing the workers at UCSD. The New Indicator sat down with several UCSD employees who have been actively organizing in order to get an idea of what they have been doing this year, and to find out what they have achieved. The interview follows:

NI: When did organizing start here?
AFSCME Local 2068: Initial contact with AFSCME/International/CUCE began one year ago this month, in June. The true organizing drive, however, did not get off the ground until this past fall.

NI: From what position did you begin this year?
2068: We began 1976 at the beginning of a transitional stage. I would say that our presence was beginning to be known and felt on campus; there was receptivity on the part of the workers, but at the same time I think some supervisors and management were not so happy about our presence. So in that sense, we were definitely off to a start. It's hard to make and maintain a strong local structure, but at that point we were beginning to show just what our potential might be. I think we had around 50 members at that time.



NI: Where are you now, in terms of members? How many potential members are there?

2068: We now have close to 200 members locally. For a public employee union that's only been chartered since the end of December, that's great. Theoretically, we could have around 4000 members on campus, including Scripps and the hospital, student workers, work study, and so on—that is, everyone who does not have the power to hire and fire.



NI: Have you suffered administrative harassment?

2068: Administrative harassment began as soon as our presence began to be felt on campus. In any work situation, the management does not like to realize that they no longer have sole power over their employees' working lives. How the management visibly reacts to a unionizing effort may be quite different from what is going on behind the scenes. In the case of AFSCME at UCSD, the harassment we received was either from department heads and/or supervisors making threats to workers interested in the union, through intimidation, threatening a loss of jobs, etc. Other forms of harassment have come in terms of generally and sloppily applied personnel policies. We know for sure that on two UC campuses, people have been hired for the express purpose of union busting: on one campus through infiltration in the local, and on one campus a position in the personnel department was developed for the application of new and existing personnel policies toward union busting.

NI: Is there any substance to the "call the cops" rumor?

2068: Oh yes—this was when the directive came down through departments that if anyone representing the union came into a work area or spoke to workers, the super-

visors should "call the cops" to have the union member removed, workers were advised to inform on fellow employees if they saw them talking to union representatives (that means any union member talking about union business) so that the supervisors could call the cops. Although this was never official policy, I personally had a conversation with a custodial department supervisor who volunteered that information to me. Also, when this whole thing was mentioned in a meet-and-confer with personnel, no one in management denied it.



Another incident along these lines was a time when some AFSCME people were distributing literature to an academic department, and the workers seemed very interested and receptive, asking a lot of questions and so on. I was happy to give out the information and felt it was a good discussion, until two days later when I found that those interested potential members had lodged a complaint against me with personnel for interrupting working hours.

Now, I feel, harassment techniques have changed; management has learned to be more subtle. Now they seem to be operating more behind the scenes, seeming to stick to the rules.

NI: Have individual workers been harassed by supervisors, etc.?

2068: Yes, of course. That's a major cause of grievances and meet-and-confers, which is the informal pre-grievance stage.



NI: Are there any specific areas in which you've been especially successful in organizing?

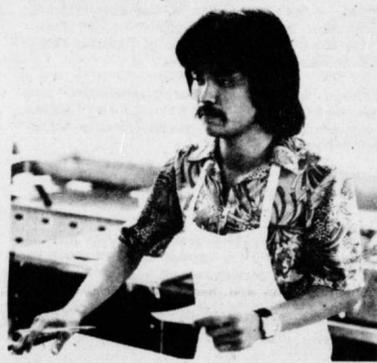
2068: The Bookstore is about 70% union; Buildings, Grounds, and Transportation has a large membership. After those two shops it's pretty well evenly distributed through all classifications: clerical workers, lab workers, teaching assistants, food services, student affairs, and so on. It's interesting to note that both the Bookstore and Buildings, Grounds and Transportation are both physically cohesive groups with a "shop" feeling to them, more so than other departments or classifications on campus.

How a shop becomes organized often starts with a core of people, and builds from there. The role of

stewards is important here. This idea of organized "shops" with a strong steward system is one of the most important, and difficult, tasks we face in order to assure strong rank and file control—something that is a prerequisite for a working, good, strong local. One of the reasons I say this is difficult is because we are organizing a traditionally unorganized work force—both because it is public sector, and because it is the university within the public sector. I think this kind of rank and file leadership is what the local is working to develop.

NI: How does the local branch relate to the International?

2068: This local, 2068, like other UC locals, is built on the ideas of: local autonomy and decision making; state-wide direction and strength, and solidarity with other locals, through CUCE (Conference of University of California Employees); and the national power of numbers gained through being a part of AFSCME International, AFL/CIO.



NI: Is there resistance to sellout trends of the International? Does the local take a stand against the CIA on campus or elsewhere?

2068: I'd like to stress again the whole idea of local autonomy, and a democratic rank and file local. Yes we do take that stand against the CIA; the original



anti-CIA solidarity statement for Saxon's visit was co-authored with two AFSCME people and other representatives from other campus groups, and was ratified by the local. On another level, I can recall at least one resolution from CUCE against AFL-CIO activities in Puerto Rico. My personal opinion is that this local has no apologies to make, but again, we have a lot of work to do.

NI: How does organization here compare with other UC campuses?

2068: We are the fastest growing local right now; we are now the third largest local, behind UCLA and Berkeley, both of which have been organized on their campuses at least 4-5 years. The need for us is there, obviously.

NI: Is AFSCME active on state and city college campuses?

2068: No—that's another AFL-CIO jurisdiction—CASE, Clerical and Allied Services Employees. No AFL-CIO union organizes the same people and the same place as another AFL-CIO union.

TESTIMONY ON THE CALIFORNIA NUCLEAR INITIATIVE

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INTRODUCTION

The avalanching opposition against nuclear energy. During the last few years, nuclear controversy has become hotter and an increasing number of people have understood the enormous importance of the issue. This is true for the U.S.A. but also for foreign countries. In France, 2000 scientists have issued a warning against nuclear energy; in Germany and in Japan there are avalanching oppositions; England has slowed down its nuclear program; Holland and Austria have declined to expand their very small programs. In Sweden, the nuclear issue is a first order political question and the opposition against the Government's nuclear program is likely to affect the elections in September 1976. Norway and Denmark are not building any reactors. The East European countries have expanding nuclear programs but at a very low level compared to the Western countries. The nuclear program of the Soviet Union is less than 10% of that of the U.S.A.

It is also important that the Christian churches are showing serious concern. The World Council of Churches will discuss nuclear energy at the Ecumenical meeting this month in Nairobi, and a preparatory commission held hearings in Sweden in June which resulted in a memorandum which stresses the deep moral aspects.

There is no doubt that the increase of the criticism all over the world has markedly slowed down the nuclear programs. Of course, this has provoked an all-out propaganda drive from the side of the nuclear people who, contrary to the environmentalists, have practically unlimited financial resources.

The broad issues and the technicalities

The discussion takes place at two different levels: a discussion of the technicalities and a discussion of the broad issues. Of course, the technicalities are of decisive importance because the broad issues come out as a result of a large number of technical facts. As the technical facts are very well known by those people who are employed in the nuclear industry and, hence, are naturally more or less biased in favor of nuclear energy, it was in the beginning of the controversy very difficult to get a balanced view of the scientific and technical facts on which the discussion must be based. It is essentially the devoted work of some small groups of scientists in the U.S.A. which has given us a balanced view of the technical issues. We appreciate the whistle-blowing of Gofman and Tamplin, the devastating criticism (of, for example, the Rasmussen report) by the Union of Concerned Scientists, and John Holdren's impressive knowledge of almost every detail in almost every reactor. Much more work of this kind is urgently needed.

With increasing clarification of the scientific-technical details, we have a firm basis for the broad discussion, which necessarily must involve all people, because it is the future of us all which is at stake.

Let us first state that we have nothing against nuclear reactors as long as they are small. A small research reactor is a valuable scientific tool and, when run in a competent way, it is innocent. But there is a long step from such reactors to the giant projects needed when the nuclear reactors produce a considerable part of the electric energy of a country. As soon as the reactors become big, they also produce large quantities of plutonium and other radioactive elements, and this is what makes them dangerous.

FOUR ISSUES

We think the objections to nuclear energy reactors can be summarized in four points.

1. Mass production of poisonous substances

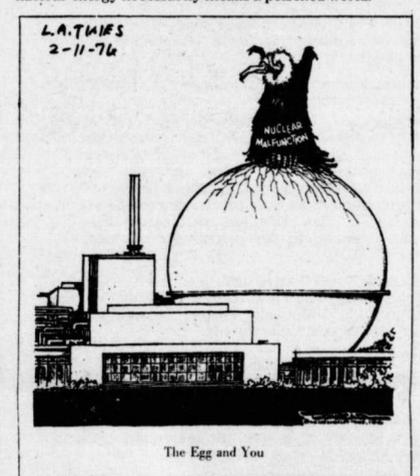
Reactors produce large quantities of radioactively poisonous substances. Some of these, e.g. plutonium, is extremely poisonous. Even the pro-nuclear people admit that there are risks, but they tell us that we have to accept these risks because all technologies have risks: One accepts air plane crashes, etc. We do not think that it is reasonable to argue that one should not object to an obviously dangerous new technology because there are already so many other dangerous technologies. Instead, one should do the best to eliminate the other dangers. Further, we do not think that it is fair to compare these risks because they have different characters. At an air-plane crash, you either die or survive. If you inhale a small quantity of plutonium, you do not notice anything immediately but you are likely to get cancer after 5 or 10 years. Other types of radioactive poisoning may not give any visible effect until the next generation. It is not to be judged by scientists or technologists as such whether we should accept these new types of risks. It can only be clarified by a broad discussion in which the opinion of nonspecialists is just as important.

Further, the nuclear people claim that the nuclear industry so far has not had any lethal accidents. This is not a correct statement. Perhaps it is correct to say that so far it has not been possible to prove that anyone has been killed. But because exposure to radioactive substances in many cases does not give any noticeable effects until 5 or

10 years later, we have to wait a long time before there is any chance of finding how many have been killed. And here, of course, the moral question comes up: How should we look upon "delayed killing", especially as it may be difficult to prove with absolute certainty what event in the past caused the death.

There has been much discussion about the risks of a large reactor accident and about the possibility of safe handling of the reprocessing of nuclear fuel and the deposition of nuclear waste. These discussions, of course, are important, but we should especially direct the attention to the elementary fact which lies behind it. According to international standards, the allowed maximum bodily burden of plutonium is about one microgram. According to the present plans, thousands of tons of plutonium will be produced in the near future. This is 10 times the "maximum bodily burden". We are all aware of the fact that very much qualified work has been devoted to keeping this and other radioactive substances under control but, because of the very complicated technology of reactors, reprocessing devices, waste repositories, etc. it is difficult to believe that it will be possible to keep such enormous quantities of extremely poisonous material under control. Even if the technology could be made theoretically perfect, there is always the human-factor, which today unfortunately also means risk of sabotage. So, summing up the first point: The spread of nuclear energy necessarily means a poisoned world.

When we heat our house, we can do that by an ordinary electric heater. This converts 100% of the electric energy into the thermal energy we need to enjoy a comfortable temperature. If "energy" were the relevant quantity, we should conclude then that the electric heater does its job as well as possible—100%! But this is not true because, according to thermodynamics, we can exchange electric energy into the thermal energy at such a rate that we get 25 times more thermal energy. In other words, we could, in principle, produce the same heating using only 4% of the kwh. This conclusion follows because electric energy has a higher "value" than the thermal energy we need for house heating. We can change it in the same way as we can change a quarter into 25 pennies. Even if this theoretical limit cannot be reached in practice, there are several ways to heat houses with more than "100% energy efficiency". Take, for example, an ordinary air conditioner. The energy released from its heat radiator consists of the electric energy input increased with the thermal energy which is taken from the air which is cooled. Hence, if we simply turn the air conditioner "inside out", and let it blow out the air it has cooled, we can use it for heating our house with perhaps 200 or 300% efficiency. There are many types of "heat pumps" using this principle for house heating, etc.



2. Nuclear energy—nuclear bombs

The second objection refers to the mass production of plutonium as an atomic bomb substance. The present nuclear energy programs means a mass production of plutonium which suffices to make 10,000 if not 100,000 nuclear bombs. With the spread of nuclear energy, the raw material for making bombs will be a common substance everywhere and it will be very difficult to prevent a proliferation of nuclear bombs.

It is a matter of controversy how easy it is for groups of terrorists to construct nuclear bombs "in a garage" after having stolen some ten pounds of plutonium. It may be difficult if they have to make a bomb from scratch, but it will be much easier if they buy on the market essential parts—such as the electronic triggering device which, without plutonium, is innocent. In any case, any sovereign country can make bombs without much difficulty as soon as the nuclear industry gets in full swing all over the world. The selling of nuclear reactors to Brazil, Iran, and the Middle East countries means that they will be able to make nuclear bombs in the near future. The increased selling pressure of the nuclear industry in several countries is pushing the proliferation of nuclear material. Unfortunately, the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency), which was organized in order to prevent proliferation, is rather helping the spread by supporting the build-up of nuclear technology in many countries.

Of course, the stopping of peaceful nuclear energy will not make it impossible for many countries to get nuclear arms. But, without severe restrictions on peaceful nuclear reactors, all attempts are futile to avoid a world where so many countries have nuclear weapons that a use of them will be inevitable very soon.

In other words, "atoms for peace" and "atoms for war" are Siamese twins. Any attempt to avoid nuclear war is futile if we do not fight the nuclear reactors.

The spread of nuclear technology necessarily increases the chances of nuclear war, and may make it inevitable.

3. Is nuclear energy necessary?

The third point is that nuclear energy is not at all necessary. The nuclear establishment claims that "we need nuclear energy for the survival of an economy or even for the survival of our way of life".

In the present energy debate, a very important ingredient is lacking, viz. an analysis of what "energy" means. We discuss the "energy consumption" of this country, but didn't we learn in high-school that energy is indestructible, and, hence, cannot be "consumed"? We are afraid of not having "enough of energy", but even in a cold winter day the air around us contains a virtually unlimited quantity of thermal energy.

Thermodynamics is the field of physics which treats energy problems, and from this we learn that all forms of energy are not equally useful. A certain quantity of energy—expressed in kwh, or calories—is most useful to us if we have it as electric or mechanical energy, it is somewhat less useful if it is the high-temperature of a flame of oil burning in our heater, and it is of little direct use if it is thermal heat in our surroundings. Hence, it is basically wrong to add different kinds of energy and say: we need so and so much energy, without specifying what sort of energy we need. The error we commit is the same as a small child who counts how many coins he has without specifying whether these are pennies, nickels, dimes or quarters. He has not yet understood that different coins have different value and that he can change a quarter into 25 pennies.

When we heat our house, we can do that by an ordinary electric heater. This converts 100% of the electric energy into the thermal energy we need to enjoy a comfortable temperature. If "energy" were the relevant quantity, we should conclude then that the electric heater does its job as well as possible—100%! But this is not true because, according to thermodynamics, we can exchange electric energy into the thermal energy at such a rate that we get 25 times more thermal energy. In other words, we could, in principle, produce the same heating using only 4% of the kwh. This conclusion follows because electric energy has a higher "value" than the thermal energy we need for house heating. We can change it in the same way as we can change a quarter into 25 pennies. Even if this theoretical limit cannot be reached in practice, there are several ways to heat houses with more than "100% energy efficiency". Take, for example, an ordinary air conditioner. The energy released from its heat radiator consists of the electric energy input increased with the thermal energy which is taken from the air which is cooled. Hence, if we simply turn the air conditioner "inside out", and let it blow out the air it has cooled, we can use it for heating our house with perhaps 200 or 300% efficiency. There are many types of "heat pumps" using this principle for house heating, etc.

The cited examples show that when we discuss the "energy crisis" in the usual way, we commit the same mistake as the child counting coins. The relevant quantity is not simply "energy" but instead "useful energy" or "available work" or, as it is often called, "energy".

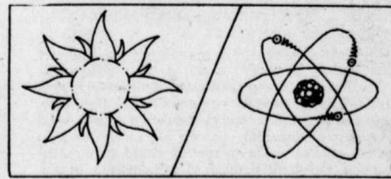
There is a recent study by the American Physical Society which clarifies this. They calculate the "thermodynamic efficiency" of energy use in the U.S. and find that, for house heating, the efficiency is only 6%. For industrial use, the efficiency is in many cases higher, but the overall efficiency of the use of our energy resources is not more than 10-15%.

This is a very important result and should have a central place in the energy discussion. If you ask a scientist or engineer: Here is a process—or a series of processes—with an efficiency of 10-15%; do you think that—with an adequate amount of research funds—you could increase this efficiency by a few per cent? His answer would probably be yes. In the cited study, there are a number of examples how this should be done. But this increase in efficiency gives us the same benefit as the whole nuclear program of this country. It is probably much cheaper and can be effected in a shorter time.

Hence, the whole energy debate must be restructured and, if it is, it will be clear to everybody that the key issue is not how to get more energy sources but how to use the energy in a more rational and productive way.

This should not be confused with what is usually meant by "conservation". Besides the "saving" of energy by lowering the temperature in our houses or running the cars at a decreased speed, we could also reduce our dependence or fossil fuel by a more rational and productive use of it.

It is very likely that a restructuring of the energy debate will clarify to everybody that nuclear energy is not at all necessary for a sound development of our society. We can very well run it on ordinary fossil fuels used in a more productive way until new energy sources—like solar and geothermal—are ready for a large scale application.



4. Is nuclear energy cheap?

The fourth point concerns the economy of nuclear energy. At least earlier, it was claimed emphatically that nuclear energy was much cheaper than its competitors. It seems to be increasingly difficult to believe this. As a matter of fact, the nuclear energy exists upon the whole because of an enormous injection of federal money. Especially important is that the research and development funding has been and still is so heavily biased in favor of the nuclear alternative. A free market and a balanced funding of research and development will probably kill it. However, we do not think that the conclusion on this fourth point can be made as categorically as on the earlier three.

PROPOSITION 15 AND NUCLEAR ENERGY

by Stephen A. Leeper

The opponents of Proposition 15 are going to tell you that thirty-two scientists have said that Nuclear Energy is safe and necessary. They aren't going to tell you that fourteen of these scientists are on boards of, or consulting to, national energy corporations (1). They are not going to tell you that on August 6, 1975, more than 2300 scientists, including Harold Urey, presented a declaration to the President of the United States stating, in part:

"...it now appears imprudent to move forward with a rapidly expanding nuclear...program. The risks of doing so are altogether too great. We, therefore, urge a drastic reduction in nuclear power plant construction...before major progress is achieved...in resolving present controversies about safety, waste disposal, and plutonium safeguards." (2)

The opponents of Proposition 15 are going to make many statements over television and radio. They are going to accuse the Yes on 15 people of using scare tactics, as they predict social chaos, economic ruin, and unemployment for California and World War III for the world if 15 passes. Their statements are frequently only half the truths, if not outright lies.

Proposition 15

The opponents of Proposition 15 claim that its conditions are "impossible to meet and cleverly contrived to shut down nuclear power in California." Fortunately, a simple way to get to the truth of the claims exists—the actual language of Proposition 15.

Proposition 15 requires that safety systems be:

"...demonstrated by comprehensively testing in actual operation in substantially similar physical systems, to the satisfaction of the Legislature. (3)



The Union of Concerned Scientists has stated, without contradiction, that:

"...no integrated ECCS (Emergency Core Cooling System) tests have yet been run at anything approaching even 1% of the size and scale of a modern large reactor systems." (4)

A 1975 report by the American Physical Society, the professional association of American physicists, concluded that:

(a) "no comprehensive, thoroughly quantitative basis now exists for evaluating ECCS performance"; (b) "it is important that the reactors safety research program quickly take major steps to bring about a convincing resolution of the uncertainties in ECCS performance"; and (c) such steps should include "a series of large scale experiments." (5)

There is a clear consensus in the scientific community that plant safety systems have not been adequately tested. The federal government plans to undertake such tests (LOFT) in the next five years (6). The California State Legislature could possibly be satisfied if the federal (LOFT) tests are successful.

The opponents of 15 claim that 15 could require the destruction of a full-sized plant to demonstrate safety. Regardless of the size of the test, the reactor involved shouldn't be destroyed unless the safety system failed to work. The key phrase in this condition of 15 is "to the satisfaction of the Legislature." If the past is any indication, the Legislature is more apt to decide in favor of corporate interests than in the interests of the people of California.

Waste Disposal

Proposition 15 requires that waste must be:

"disposed of, with no reasonable chance, as determined by the Legislature...of intentional or unintentional escape of such waste or radioactivity...which will eventually adversely affect the land or the people of California whether due to imperfect storage technologies, earthquakes or other acts of God, theft, sabotage, acts of war, govern-

mental or social instabilities, or whatever other sources the Legislature may deem to be reasonably possible." (7)

Proposition 15's opponents say, "The State Legislature has no authority over acts of war, let alone acts of God." Proposition 15 does not ask the Legislature to prevent acts of war or acts of God. For example, earthquakes will occur in California. 15 asks that Waste Disposal Systems be built such that there is no reasonable chance, as determined by the Legislature, that predictable natural and man-made disturbances, as determined by the Legislature, will release radioactive wastes. Do you want to live in California if the conditions are anything less?

The opponents of 15 also claim that many satisfactory methods of waste disposal exist, but that the NRC, ERDA, EPA and CEQ must agree on one of them, which they have not done.

Edison Electric Institute, the principal association of electric utility companies in the United States, recently released a study that a nationally acceptable nuclear waste program must be adopted soon:

"The lack of a national plan for radioactive waste management continues to plague nuclear power's public acceptance." (8)

Frank D. Baroyowski, ERDA, Director of Nuclear Fuel Cycle and Production, said:

"In summary, the effective management of nuclear wastes in a manner which effectively protects man and his environment still has major unsolved problems. The ERDA program has progressed to the point where solutions to each of these problems can be anticipated with confidence. Realization of these solutions will require considerable research and development over the next few years." (9)

Not only has an effective method not been chosen, but right now, as radioactive wastes build up, we are threatened by radioactivity escape, because no safe method of storage or disposal exists.

Liability

Proposition 15 further requires that:

"...the liability limits imposed by the federal government (be) removed and full compensation assured by law or waiver, as determined by a California court of competent jurisdiction..." (10)

The opponents of Proposition 15 claim that this condition would require, that Congress repeal the Price-Anderson (P-A) Act, which it overwhelmingly extended to 1987 last December. True, the P-A Act was overwhelmingly extended. However, they don't tell us that the Bingham Amendment, which would have required full compensation as 15 does, failed to be included in the extension of the P-A Act by a vote of 217 to 176 with 42 abstentions (11). Furthermore, saying that 15 requires Congressional repeal of the P-A Act ignores the "...or (by) waiver..." statement in 15.

The Price-Anderson Act provides a liability limit of 560 million dollars of compensation for any one nuclear power plant accident. Only 125 million dollars is from the industry's own insurance. The remaining 435 million dollars will be paid by the federal government. The federal government studies estimate that damages, not including human lives, could reach 17 billion dollars. (12). No other private business in the United States has such protection. If nuclear power is safe enough for the public to take its human risks, why is it not safe enough for the industry to take its economic risks?

Advisory Committee

The Opponents of 15 claim that only five of the members of the advisory committee can be nuclear experts. Proposition 15 says:

"no more than one third of the members of the advisory group...shall have, during two years prior to their appointment to the group, received any substantial portion of their income directly or indirectly from any individual, association, corporation, or governmental agency engaged in the research, development, promotion, manufacture, construction, sale, utilization or regulation of nuclear fission power plants or their components." (13)



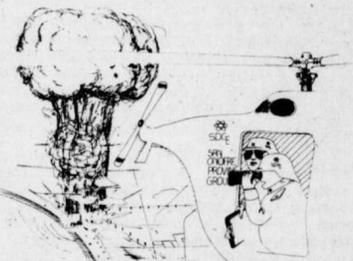
This restriction is certainly different than saying only five of the members can be nuclear experts. Furthermore, Proposition 15 recognizes that experts in fields besides nuclear fission should be consulted:

"...the Legislature shall appoint an advisory group of at least fifteen (15) persons, comprised of distinguished experts in the fields of nuclear engineering, nuclear weaponry, land use planning, cancer research, sabotage techniques, security systems, public health, geology, seismology, energy resources, liability, insurance, transportation security, and environmental sciences: as well as concerned citizens." (14)

The purpose of this advisory group is to review the present status of nuclear energy in California. Its purpose is not to solve the problems.

Legislature

The opponents of Proposition 15 say that a two-thirds majority, as required by 15, of the Legislature is seldom obtained. Over 50% of legislation is passed in the Legislature by a two-thirds majority. A two-thirds majority vote is presently needed for legislation concerning budget, governor appointees, all tax legislation, bills enacted in the same physical year, all appropriations except schools and emergency clause legislation. Over 1500 bills pass legislation yearly; seven-hundred non-



JUST THINK OF ALL THE JOBS WE'RE CREATING

partisan bills pass almost unanimously and two-hundred and fifty bills are passed which require a two-thirds majority. (15). Bechtel and Southern California Edison are fighting the two-thirds majority requirement of Proposition 15. They have also contributed funds to the campaign against Proposition 15, which would abolish the two-thirds majority requirement for raising corporate taxes. (16). Why is a two-thirds majority bad for nuclear safety, but good when it comes to raising corporate taxes?

The opponents of 15 claim the Legislature does not possess the expertise required to determine the fate of nuclear energy. David Pesonen, one of the writers of 15, said when the scientific community is split over an issue, as it is concerning the safety of present nuclear technology, perhaps the issue is not one of technology, perhaps it is a social issue. Pesonen believes the present nuclear debate is a social issue and that the conflict arises, not from two different sets of scientific laws, but from the different social interests and beliefs of each side. In such a case the peoples' Legislature is the body who should hold the decision making power. (17).

The nuclear industry assures us that the chances of a major nuclear accident are "vanishingly small," and that radioactive wastes can be solidified and stored with no possible chance of escape. Then they claim that they cannot meet the conditions of 15, which require only "reasonable" safety "to the satisfaction of the Legislature." One of these two statements is false. Not only is nuclear energy unsafe, right now, and not only are the safeguards necessary to prevent nuclear-terrorism incompatible with a free society, but nuclear energy may not even be economically feasible or even necessary.

Radioactive Wastes

The most compelling argument against nuclear fission as a source of energy is a moral issue. Plutonium and other radioactive materials are the pollution of "clean" nuclear fission. One tablespoon of radioactive Plutonium-239 represents the official "Maximum permissible body burden" for 200 million persons. (18) A 1000-megawatt reactor produces 180 kilograms of plutonium per year. (19). The United States plans to build from 500 to 1000 such plants by the year 2000. The cancer hazard from inhalation of common fission products, such as Strontium-90 or Cesium-137, is comparable to plutonium. (20).

Plutonium must be kept out of the environment for at least 100,000 years, according to the AEC (21). Some reports estimate 500,000 years. (Hans Bethe says radioactive waste materials are only dangerous for 600 years (22.) No technology can guarantee the world's safety for 600 years, or 100,000 years. I personally agree with the following statement by Michael McClosky:

"In building up our radioactive inventory...we are forcing the words of acceptance upon the lips of all the unborn, of all species, in all places...for nearly all time...for our benefit alone." (23)

These radioactive wastes are a danger to us right now. Radioactivity is leaking from storage facilities all around us. Refer to "Radiation Leaks Occur Across U.S." in previous NI for other examples of leaks. The most frequently cited leak occurred at the AEC Storage Facilities in Hanford, Washington. Seventy million gallons of liquid wastes from the Manhattan Project are being evaporated to solid at Hanford. Forty-two million gallons of liquid remain.

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RENEWABLE ENERGY SOURCES

by Stephen A. Leeper

Electricity is possible through the use of Photovoltaic Cells. Sunlight striking a collector frees electrons from the working substance and they flow as current through an outside circuit in an electrical load. (10) The silicon collector is now commercially available, reliable, long-lived and has a solar efficiency exceeding 10%. But its \$7000 per square-yard cost leaves it presently uneconomical. (11) Mobil-Tyco has a \$30 million program to develop low-cost silicon solar cells. They hope to be producing solar cells within five years. (12) Silicon, as component of sand, is very plentiful.

A group of 21 industry experts of the National Science Foundation (NSF) analyzed the money and time requirements for achieving a substantial competitive cost reduction for photovoltaics. They concluded: "It would be possible by 1985 to achieve a cost of 50 cents/peak watt with silicon cells of efficiency in the 18-20% range for quantities of cells producing half a million peak kilowatts per year, and that by 2000, 10 cent/peak watt could be reasonable in quantities for 50 million peak kilowatts per year. If the cells last for 30 years this corresponds to power costs of 5 cents/kilowatt hour in 1985 and one cent/kilowatt hour in 2000. It was estimated that the cost of the 1985 program would be about 250 million dollars." (13) Present costs are 2-3 cents per kilowatt hour. (14)

Three-thousand six-hundred (3600) square miles (20% of the roof area of all buildings in the US) of solar cells at 10% efficiency could supply up to 7 quadrillion BTU (current US production) annually by the year 2000. (15)

WIND POWER

Heating of the earth's atmosphere is not uniform and the differential heating of the air causes the winds. A rotor, mounted on a tower is turned by the wind. It is mechanically connected to an electric generator. According to Dr. Karl Bergey, Associate Dean of Engineering at the University of Oklahoma, practical wind power systems with necessary storage sub-systems could produce at least one trillion kilowatt hours per year.

A NSF/NASA study (University of Maryland) estimated that an annual US output of 1.5 trillion kilowatt hours of wind energy would be possible by the year 2000. The US 1970 production of electricity was 1.5 million kilowatts. (17)

Wm. Heronemus (University of Massachusetts) has proposed a floating-off-shore Wind Power System in the Gulf of Maine that could produce 82,000 MW per year—many times the current demand of the six New England states. (18)

A battery of wind-machines generating 9 MW each could be built for about 400-1974 dollars per installed kilowatt. (For comparison, nuclear cost is \$ 700-1000 per in-

Almost all of our present energy fuels are from non-renewable sources. Non-renewable sources are finite, we will exhaust them soon. Now is the time for us to consider the renewable—the virtually inexhaustible—source of the sun. Approximately 3,600 quintillion (million-trillion) BTU (British Thermal Unit, corresponding to 252 calories or 2.93x10¹⁰ kWh) from the sun reach the surface of the earth each year. The projected total world energy consumption in the year 2000 is 10 quintillion BTU per year. (1)

SOLAR HEATING AND COOLING

Solar energy can presently be applied in comfort heating and cooling of residential, commercial, and industrial building space as well as in water heating. These energy needs consume one quarter of the U.S. energy production. (2) A gas (air) or liquid (water) circulating through the solar collector is used to absorb the solar heat and to transport it to a thermal storage unit. Heating is accomplished by passing air over or through the storage unit.

For solar cooling, one process uses an ammonia-water mixture. As the mixture passes through the collector, the ammonia is vaporized and it separates from the water. The ammonia gas is passed through a condenser, the resulting liquid-gas ammonia mixture is passed through a heat exchanger. It absorbs heat from the room (cooling the room), expands and is then reabsorbed by the water, and so the cycle continues.

Heating of water accounts for 15% of the energy used in homes, and for 3% in industry. Water is slowly passed through thin pipes in the collector and heated. Then it can be stored and reheated as needed. Dr. E. A. Farber has already developed an efficient unit. (3)

A Colorado State University report estimated, using oil costs of \$1.50/million BTU (presently, the cost of oil is already at \$1.90, that the value of fuel saved within seven years after practical systems become commercially available will be greater than the cost of the research program required. (4)

SOLAR THERMAL CONVERSION (STC)

Solar Thermal Conversion can generate electricity. Mirrors reflect radiation to one point, concentrating it all on the solar collector. The fluid flowing through pipes in the collector could be stored at temperatures over 1000°F. and used as required to produce high heat steam for electrical power generation. (5) The heat that is not converted to electricity can be used for space heating and cooling and for water heating. (6)

The collector is on a tower (500 ft.) and surrounded by flat mirrors focusing light on it. The steering device to keep the mirrors reflecting on the collector is the financial drawback right now. A million MW solar-thermal power plant has been proposed that would cover 3000 square miles (5% of the California-Arizona desert) and provide installed electric power generation of twice the 1971 U.S. capacity (7) at \$100 to \$135 per KW installed. (8)

According to the Project Independence study a viable Solar Thermal Conversion can be developed by the early 1980's; 40,000 MW of Solar Thermal Conversion Power could be installed by the year 2000. (9)

PHOTOVOLTAIC CELLS

Direct conversion of sunlight into elec-

tricity is possible through the use of Photovoltaic Cells. Sunlight striking a collector frees electrons from the working substance and they flow as current through an outside circuit in an electrical load. (10) The silicon collector is now commercially available, reliable, long-lived and has a solar efficiency exceeding 10%. But its \$7000 per square-yard cost leaves it presently uneconomical. (11) Mobil-Tyco has a \$30 million program to develop low-cost silicon solar cells. They hope to be producing solar cells within five years. (12) Silicon, as component of sand, is very plentiful.

Dr. Karl Bergey has said: "From the standpoint of immediate use, wind power appears to be the most promising of the solar related sources. It draws on existing technology; it is compatible with current energy use patterns and it can provide a significant share of our nations energy needs without adverse environmental consequences". (16)

OCEAN THERMAL POWER

In warm climates, the ocean's surface water reaches 82 F, while 2000 feet below the surface, the water's temperature is about 42 F. An Ocean Thermal Power Plant (OTPP) can utilize this temperature gradient. The warm surface water is drawn in to boil a working fluid, such as propane. The vapor expands under pressure through a turbine. The turbine spins, driving an electric

generator. OTP is available all year long, all over the earth and the collector is free.

A new technology is needed for commercial development. A small working model, constructed by ERDA at the Naval Academy under the direction of J.H. Anderson, operates successfully. (20)

The present estimated cost per installed kilowatt of OTP is \$540 to \$800, assuming a temperature difference of 32 F. (21)

A TRW report stated that OTP has a "highly favorable outlook... in the near future." A Lockheed report said the OTP "system is (economically) superior to fossil and nuclear-fired power plants." (22) TRW estimates that 300,000 MW of OTP electrical capacity can be installed by 1990. The ultimate resource of the Gulf of Mexico alone could be 700,000 MW. (7 quads), current US production. (23)

Robert Douglas of TRW Systems testified before a House subcommittee that TRW predicts that a commercially competitive OTP can be developed at a total research and development cost of \$1 billion, while those of the breeder reactor are estimated at \$10 billion. (24)

ENERGY STORAGE

The technology of large scale storage of electrical energy produced by solar and other means is underdeveloped, partially because traditional generation systems do not require storage.

One solution is the lead-acid battery. However, none are yet economically capable of storing the necessary large quantities of power.

A second method is called the hydroelectric pump-back station. When electricity production exceeds demand, water is pumped up-hill into a storage tank. When demand exceeds production, the water flows down through hydroelectric generators. Not yet economical.

Electrolysis of water and separation of hydrogen from oxygen shows great promise. Electrochemical reactions involving hydrogen can generate electricity.

ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

The environmental impact of solar energy systems is minimal. They do not produce noxious gases, particulate matter, thermal pollution (an overlooked form of pollution possibly of dramatic consequences), radioactive waste materials, water consumption, or degradation to the land due to mining. (25)

BIOCONVERSION

Bioconversion is the process of converting organic wastes into hydrogen, methane, alcohol and other more useful fuels. Hydrogenation converts cellulose, the primary component of organic wastes, by high pressure reaction with carbon monoxide and steam to produce oil. Laboratory tests have been successful. A Pittsburgh plant is now applying the process to various materials. (26)

Pyrolysis produces gas, oil and car by heating waste at high temperature in the absence of oxygen. Separation of the products is difficult, but operation costs are low. Monsanto and Union Carbide presently use this process.

In Bacterial Bioconversion, anaerobic bacteria synthesize methane—a clean, easily transported, high energy fuel. "Reasonable estimates indicate that 10-20% of

via the anaerobic digestion process." (27) Sea kelp could be cultivated for use as an organic energy material. (28) Dr. Thomas Reed (MIT) has demonstrated that 6:1 gas/methanol mixtures can be used as auto fuel, with no alteration to the car. (29) Adequate quantities of crops could produce enough fuel for 100 million cars (alterations needed), according to Dr. Fred Benson,



dean of the College of Engineering at Texas A&M. (30)

A 1972 NSF study concluded: "...less than 3% of the land area of the United States would produce a stored solar heat equivalent to the anticipated US electrical energy requirement for 1985." (31)

GEOTHERMAL

Geothermal Energy systems utilize superheated dry steam and superheated water from natural wells to generate electricity in steam turbines. Geothermal is the cheapest energy source; it is safe and the necessary technology already exists. However, the mineral saturated water corrodes pipes quickly, threatens clean water supplies, produces air and odor pollution and injects heat into the biosphere. The US Geological Survey for Geysers Fields estimates 2,000 to 4,000 MW per year for 30 years from natural wells. (32)

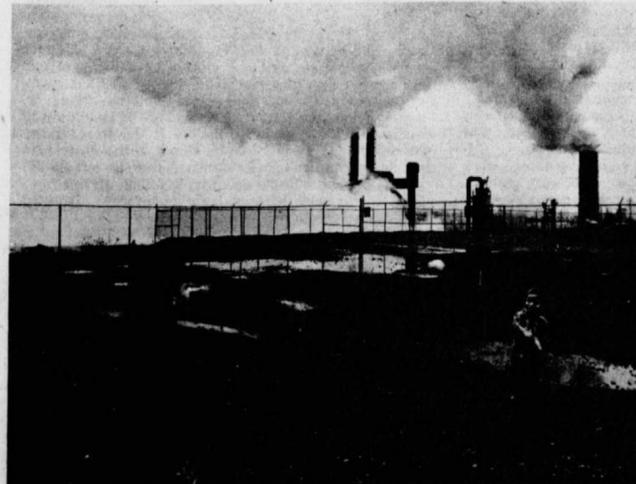
Hot-Rock (HR) Wells where cold water is pumped into molten rocks, 20,000 feet deep, converted to steam and brought back to the surface, is not as polluting as the other geothermal methods. If the HR method becomes feasible, it could be used throughout the US.

The total energy reserve at a depth of 7.5 kilometers is estimated at 3 quadrillion tons of oil, which is "much more by about two orders of magnitude than the estimated maximum world total fossil fuel and mineable uranium ores". (33)

CONCLUSION

We have a wealth of potential energy from the sun; but, its true, that practical application is years away, because our government and power industry does not want them developed. If we conducted the research, we could truly have clean, safe and abundant energy—very soon—from the sun. But, we must also recognize that increased energy use does not mean a higher quality of life. Ultimately, we must whole-heartedly live conservation—the cheapest, safest, cleanest and most abundant energy source.

Information for this article was obtained from: 1) Anita Gun, "A Citizen's Handbook on Solar Energy," Public Interest & Research Group, Washington, D.C. 2) "Alternatives," A YES on 15 Booklet. Copies of the footnotes can be obtained from the New Indicator office.



TESTIMONY

6D

REMARKS ABOUT THE NUCLEAR CONTROVERSY

Finally, we should like to make some remarks about the way the nuclear issue is discussed. The nuclear establishment claims that, because they know all the technical details of a reactor, they are the only ones who present hard facts. They claim that the opposition from the environmentalists is largely "emotional", implying that the environmentalists are scared and ignorant people who will change their views as soon as they understand the hard facts which are all claimed to be in favor of nuclear energy.

As far as we can see, the real situation is the opposite. It begins to be increasingly clear that the hard facts are against the nuclear establishment. It is also clear that it is the nuclear people who now get increasingly emotional. This is quite natural. What the environmentalists are telling the nuclear technologists is that their work—perhaps for one or two decades—will result in a failure—indeed that their technology should now be regarded as obsolete. And to the industrialists who have invested 100 billion dollars in the nuclear industry, they are saying: your money is going down the drain. And to the politicians, who for decades have transferred the money of the constituency into the hands of the nuclear people, they say: this was not to the benefit of your country. Of course, all of these people get emotional when they hear such unpleasant truths. One must understand their reaction and partially excuse them. But only partially.

Let us end all of this by a little remark which perhaps is somewhat emotional. The name "plutonium" is derived from the Greek-Roman god Pluto, the god of wealth and power, but also the god of death. We think it was a stroke of genius to give this name to the new element. The mass production of plutonium means wealth and power to a small establishment, but it means the threat of death to all of us. Let us worship other gods than Pluto.

15 N.E.

On June 8, 1973, officials confirmed that a large quantity of radioactive material was missing from tank 106-T. For 51 days, material escaped at the rate of about 2500 gallons per day. The total loss was estimated to be 115,000 gallons. This represents the largest single accidental release of radioactivity since Project Baneberry, a weapons test that went awry in Nevada in 1970, sending a puff of fallout all the way to the Canadian border. Between August 1958 and June 1973, 422,000 gallons containing over half a million curies have escaped from the Hanford facilities (24).

A leak at the Millstone Nuclear Facility was termed "not serious", even though it spilled radioactive water and steam and forced the Millstone facility to close down indefinitely. This Friday the thirtieth accident was reportedly caused by human error. Eyewitnesses reported the vibration shock of the emergency shutdown made steam pipes tremble throughout the complex. NRC claims no one was overexposed and only "3 bathtubfull" of contaminated water was poured outside the plant. Newspaper reporters claim more was released and some escaped outside the plant fence. The facility consists of a 652 MW and an 828 MW reactor. (25).

Radiation and poisons in drinking water near uranium mines and mills in New Mexico is at "intolerable" levels. An EPA draft report showed drinking water at three plants tested in three different areas of New Mexico exceeded allowable levels of selenium (a poisonous chemical) and alpha radiation particles. All but one plant exceeded allowable levels of Radium. Although, the tests started in September 1974, no one informed the people who drink the water. The total number of people affected is about 2000. The companies involved are: Kerr-McGee, United Nuclear Homespun, Partys and Araconda. (26).

Robert S. Dyer, an oceanographer with the EPA, has found traces of plutonium and cesium contaminating the ocean floor off the East and West coasts of the United States. The leakage was discovered among a fraction of the more than 60,000 fifty-five gallon drums dumped off the two coasts from 1946 to 1970. Dyer stressed that the apparent contamination "has not yet translated itself into any health hazard" (27).

Radioactivity was spread through Beatty, Nevada, when someone stole radioactive equipment from the nearby 15-acre nuclear low-level waste disposal site which receives contaminated material from hospitals and nuclear power plants. Two state officials and nine radiation experts from EPA conducted a house to house search for radioactivity. Concrete, soil, and vegetation samples were found to be contaminated. The disposal plant has been closed down during investigation. Officials say the contamination detected this far does not constitute a health hazard (28). A dozen pick-up trucks full of radioactively contaminated equipment and materials have already been recovered from the town. Some residents will have to undergo radiological tests. Some vegetation is so radioactive that it is lucky it was not used to graze animals. The people who stole the materials, apparently, did not know it was radioactive (29). Why was security so lax?

Terrorism [SH]

During a House subcommittee hearing, Rep. James Weaver (D-Ore.) asked Kenneth R. Chapman, director of the Office of Nuclear Material Safety and Safeguards of the NRC: "Have we ever lost any fuel?"

Chapman replied: "Some is unaccounted for." "Does anybody know how much? Weaver asked. "I don't think I can give an amount," Chapman answered. Then he said a loss of one-half of one per-cent is the normal amount unaccounted for.

"How do you feel about one-half of one per-cent?" Weaver asked. Chapman answered: "I don't feel very good about it." (30)

If one-half of one percent of the plutonium produced by a 1000MW plant is unaccounted for, and a 1000 MW plant produces 180 kilograms of plutonium per year, then 9 kilograms of plutonium is unaccounted for each year for every 1000 MW plant (19). The United States presently has operated the equivalent of say, 100-1000 MW plant-years (210 plant years for the 56 plants now operating): then a total of 900 kilograms of plutonium is unaccounted for (a conservative estimate). Where is all this plutonium? If it has been stolen, it would be enough plutonium to build 100 "crude" atomic bombs (31).

Is terrorism a real threat? Since 1970, there have been 28 incidents in which persons threatened to use nuclear material against cities. NRC officials said the threats were the work of crack-pots and mentally ill persons, while the FBI refused to discuss the incidents. At least 175 threats or actual acts of violence have been committed against nuclear plants since 1969. According to the NRC,

most were phone threats but some were arson attempts and in two cases a pipe bomb and dynamite were found. Claiming that none of the incidents resulted in major problems, the NRC has not been forthcoming with the data; these numbers were given the Congress Watch (a Nader group) under the Freedom of Information Act (32).

William Nelson, Deputy Director of Operations for the CIA, said "Terrorism will get worse" and may someday include holding a city hostage to a threat of a nuclear disaster. He said he felt that nuclear proliferation has increased the opportunities for terrorism (33).

A 1000 MW reactor produces enough plutonium for at least 20 "crude" A-bombs per year (19,31). About \$2.5 million worth of uranium was reported stolen from a mine and processing plant at Jaduguda, India, and has apparently been smuggled into China and Pakistan (34). Last May, two terrorist bombs slightly damaged a power reactor under construction at Fesseheim, France (35).

Last May, Argonne National laboratory "lost" a small calibration sample of plutonium-239 (36). In July of 1975, "a huge cache of radioactive materials and volatile chemicals" was found by police in a duplex near the University of California at Berkeley (37). Terrorism is not only a future possibility, it is a present threat. The security required to discover and prevent nuclear terrorism would demand a totalitarian state. Look at Senate Bill One. Are we willing to pay that price?



Uranium Miners

Another seldom mentioned aspect of the nuclear public health problem is the life-expectancy of uranium miners. Lung cancer is expected to kill some 1185 out of 6000 Colorado miners by 1985. Ignoring death for a moment, the nuclear industry will spend almost \$21.6 million compensating the afflicted miners and their families (38). Isn't the nuclear industry benevolent?

Uranium Shortage

Setting aside the public health dangers of nuclear energy, compelling arguments against nuclear power still exist. We may soon face a uranium shortage. IEAE reports that uranium demand will pass world production by the early 1980's. By 1985, annual demand for uranium will reach 100,000 tons and production capacity will be only 87,000 tons. Demand for uranium will double every six to seven years and will "pose formidable problems for the uranium industry." To meet the demand, new reserves must triple in the next fifteen years (39).

Siegfried Muessing, Getty Oil's uranium expert, says, "In spite of increased knowledge of the way uranium occurs, the ore bodies are getting harder and more expensive to find... This results not only from the increased depth at which (ore) targets must be sought, but also from an increasing scarcity of these targets." (40).

Morgan Huntington, mining engineer with the U.S. Bureau of Mines, has shown that the discovery rate of uranium per foot of exploratory drilling has dropped more than four-fold since 1948. Extension of the curve derived from actual drilling-experience suggests that only 744,000 tons of uranium (from ores richer than 200 ppm) are all that will ever be found. Most uranium ore below 200 ppm will yield less energy via Light Water Reactors per ton mined than a ton of coal (41).

Hans Adler, of ERDA's Nuclear Fuel Cycle and Production Division, says, "Demand...is projected to be far greater than any resource estimates that can be made on the basis of present factual information...a number of predictions, based on largely statistical treatment, have

accorded the eastern half of the U.S. the same degree of favorability for uranium discovery as the western half. Such treatment...appears to be contrary to available geological evidence...(42)" Over 90% of the proven U.S. uranium reserves are in the west (43).

The opponents of Proposition 13 claim that the passage of 15 will increase U.S. dependence on foreign oil. They say we need nuclear energy to establish U.S. energy independence. Where are we going to obtain the necessary quantities of uranium from, if U.S. reserves are insufficient? From foreign countries?

Robert Nininger, uranium expert for ERDA, says, "No new major uranium-producing areas or potential areas have been identified in this country during the past 17 years." (43)

According to Dr. F. C. Armstrong, USGS uranium and thorium specialist, the domestic U.S. uranium industry will be able to supply only 15% of projected U.S. need in the year 2000. U.S. demand in 2000 will equal 1.6 to 2.0 million tons. Current production is about 12,600 tons per year. They would need to be increased greatly since available uranium equals 31-5000 tons. U.S. reserves total about 600,000 tons with 1 million in "undiscovered but probable category." If all of it is discovered and utilized, it will be barely sufficient (44).

South Africa is seeking long-term contracts with the U.S. for ore and possibly for delivery of uranium hexafluoride or enriched uranium. Meanwhile, Westinghouse is launching an overseas uranium hunt (all for energy independence?) (45).

Alternatives

Why are we racing into nuclear energy when such overwhelming evidence suggests that the fuel to run these plants is nonexistent? Could it be that somebody stands to profit from the construction of plants? and that these persons don't care about the fate of the plants once they are built?

The opponents of Proposition 15 will tell you that the practical application of Solar Energy and other "exotic" sources are years away. But they won't tell you that Solar Energy research expenditures total only \$67.5 million out of an ERDA budget of \$5.2 billion (approximately 1.3%). Of course, Solar is years away—if we don't conduct research. John Teem recently resigned as ERDA Administrator for Solar, Geothermal and Advanced Energy Systems after his requested budget outlay of \$188 million was slashed 42.5% to \$110 million by the Office of Management and Budget. Nuclear research receives almost \$3.0 billion of ERDA's budget (60% more than all other potential energy sources combined. (46)

What are the alternatives to nuclear energy? By the year 2000, geothermal power might supply as much as 40% of California's electricity (61). Solar energy can supply the energy needed for space and water heating—right now—and could generate 20% of California's electricity by the year 2000 (48). At ERDA's present funding. Conversion of municipal sewage and garbage could soon generate 8% of California's electricity (49). Energy Commissioner Ronald D. Doctor believes California can satisfy its energy needs without nuclear power (49). A surplus of Alaskan oil may exist on the west coast through the year 2000 (50). Lockheed of California built a super windmill, funded by ERDA, at Sandusky, Ohio; it's 125-foot rotor blades turn 40 times a minute and can generate 100 kilowatts in an 18 mile-an-hour wind—enough to supply 25 homes (51). The United States has at least a 200 year supply of coal, even if used at exponential rates. With improved technology (admittedly requiring money), it could be safely deep-mined (instead of strip-mined) and burned more cleanly (52).

Most of the debate over future energy needs centers on the question of how fast demand will grow. Instead of growing at the expected rate of 3.4% annually (53). California's energy use is now increasing at about 2.3% annually, due in part to the higher prices and some mutual energy conservation measures (54). With sufficient conservation efforts, California, instead of needing 14 quads (quadrillion BTU) by 2000, could need only 7 quads (55). Drastic conservation (reduction of our projected energy needs) is the only way to achieve energy independence.

Imagine where the technology of alternative energy sources and conservation would be if they had been given reasonable research priority. Why do we continue to fund dangerous, economically unfeasible and unnecessary nuclear energy at the expense of all other energy sources? Perhaps "Atoms for Peace" is pursued because of our guilt about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But more likely, I believe, somebody stands to make a lot of money from nuclear energy. Why else would the nuclear industry, including corporations outside of California, spend a million dollars to defeat Proposition 13? The case against Nuclear Energy is overwhelming. If the truth about nuclear energy could be made known to the American people, Proposition 15 in California and similar initiatives in all other states would pass by a landslide. But we just don't have as much money as the other guys.

NOTE: Most of the information in this report came from 3 sources:

- 1. Project Survival YES on 15 Speaker Updates, Abstracts of articles dealing with Nuclear energy and Proposition 15 (sometimes quoted directly).
2. "Sample Talk on the Initiative," a YES on 15 write about (Language of the Proposition).
3. Egan O'Conner, "The Nuclear Fuel Scandal, 3-10-76, Committee for Nuclear Responsibility, Inc., P.O. Box 332, Yachats, Oregon, 97498; printed in the Congressional Record, 94th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. 122, No. 58, Monday, April 26, 1976.

Copies of the footnotes can be obtained from the New Indicator office.



Working In North County

More and more college students—both dropouts and graduates—find themselves dropped into a "buyer's" job market. This article gives some ideas of what students can expect should they find it necessary or desirable to become workers rather than technocrats.

I came to North County from Chicago two years ago to enjoy the climate. I knew unemployment was high, but I had a B.A. and almost four years solid work experience to my credit, and I figured I would find something. I had worked in warehouses, a steelmill, a library, and factories, and had good references from all.

I took a temporary busboy job in the summer, but my first steady work was as a production worker at a small golf club factory (making woods only). There were six workers, two lead men, and the president-part owner. Five workers made \$2.50/hr., the one woman (who was experienced) made \$2.25/hr. There were over thirty separate operations in wood production, so our tasks were somewhat varied.

The firm expanded quickly with three more employees and the most skilled jobs were assigned to three men who did little else thereafter. The firm got another customer, hired two more people, and I was assigned a single operation. There was some employee turnover occurring at this time, but the four key operators stayed. The firm had guessed well about our stability, and three of us were also raised to \$2.75. The fourth, a skilled spray painter, had started at \$3.00. (According to a wage survey, published by the San Diego Employers Association, the prevailing wage for spray painters was over five dollars an hour last summer.) Orders increased and after four months a major expansion occurred. We moved to larger quarters, increased the work force to 18 and the second partner came to work in administration. The starting wage dropped to \$2.25/hr., with a 25% raise after one month and "merit" increases after that. This translated into 15¢/hr. in another month if you showed up regularly and performed adequately.

The operation was strictly a no-nonsense, get-to-work scene. I was told on my second day to go to the water cooler only on breaks. Stopping to talk to someone drew a quick visit from the foreman. One worker handled supply part-time, and production people were supposed to request their supplies and stay out of the store-room. The shop was so small that it was essentially impossible to fuck-off, the only thing that makes most jobs like that one tolerable.

The workers were all young: a few local people trying their first jobs, other locals with previous industrial experience, refugee easterners like myself, surfers, junkies, ex-junkies, and a couple of guys fresh out of the joint. Half the workers got loaded at lunch.



The work became more specialized, naturally. I became a leadman and handled machine set-ups, so the firm wouldn't have to train the workers to do it. One guy ran a router for eight hours a day, another stood in front of a belt grinder all day and rough shaped the club heads.

At this point the operation was only a partial success. The owners had never manufactured clubs before, and even their experienced foremen were unable to foresee all the many production problems which arose. But eight months of production had made everyone smarter, and the operation ran more smoothly each week. Quality problems were the biggest headache, and inexperienced operators the chief cause. The workers felt little attachment to their \$2.25/hr.-average jobs, and so turnover and absenteeism remained high. The owners held frequent meetings about the problems of tardiness, long breaks, absenteeism, getting stoned at lunch, etc. They also spoke of new customers, encouraging signs, everyone (themselves included) getting better at their jobs, raises to come, etc. In fact, production was getting better.

This led several of us to try another approach to bettering our working conditions, and after rejecting one union's offer, we started organizing the shop with the help of UAW 506, San Diego. Within a week 80% of the people signed authorization cards, and within two weeks we had a long, serious meeting called by the plainly shaken owners about this "unfortunate" new development. They refused to recognize the union and petitioned the NLRB for an election to allow them time to work against it. (This is an employer's right under the law.) In two months prior to the election we were treated to about six separate speeches, letters and open meetings concerning unionization and its perils. We were told that in a small shop like ours it would be a hindrance to the close relationship between owners and workers to have a union interfere and establish arbitrary rules and grievance procedures. (In fairness to them, they were always available to discuss raises, conditions, job assignments, et al. But discussion isn't results as we had come to learn.) We were told that the union would establish arbitrary wage rates and not let better workers get the wages they deserved. (At that time the highest paid worker received \$3.25, all others were under \$3.00.) We were told that they were broke, which was a possibility, I must admit. Their campaign was effective, and the vote was ten to five against the union.

About two months later the owners introduced an incentive pay plan, which would reward the whole shop on the basis of the bi-weekly "out-the-door" production. It briefly had the desired effect of keeping the staff humping, but a series of quality control problems stopped the pay and the excessive sweating ended soon after. I left the firm several months later, but I understand a new incentive plan is in operation and working just peachy.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN SAN DIEGO FLOWER FIELD AS RELATED BY A WORKER.

What I am talking about in this letter is true, and if you don't believe me, I invite you to come to the flower fields any time and ask any worker there about the treatment and salaries that we receive.

You will realize after having read this article that around here there are some ranchers who pay us starvation salaries; if you ask any of them about it they'll tell you what we make is a very good salary. They take advantage of us, because of the fact that we are illegally in this country, and actually pay us whatever they want. They feel confident that we won't be able to defend ourselves. That's why they do this and other horrible things.

There are some Rancheros who truly don't have

any consideration what ever for the workmen, and they are not even able to realize that with our effort we are really making a daily living for them. Some Rancheros never allow you to have a free day to get some rest; they don't pay you for any of the regular holidays, not even Labor Day, unless you work for it. The rancher always wins over you; he comes up with an excuse at any time that can take your job away from you. Not only that, but it's the worker who ends up paying the rancher. You must give the foreman 50 dollars so you can get the job in the first place. This job sometimes may not last more than a month or so. Another worker comes by, the same thing happens, and so on. They will all lose their job in the same way. If a 45 or 50 year old man happens to come by he will not get a job unless there is a lot of work to do. The people who work there cannot do anything to help that man except stand by and watch.



The majority of the workers—in fact, about 70% of them—are illegally here. That's one of the reasons why they get paid with personal checks. While you are working in a particular field, you don't have any identification whatever to prove that you really work there. But injustice doesn't stop here. They deduct from your meager salary what's due for Social Security knowing very well that such money will go directly to their pockets. After this and other deductions, you really don't have much left.

I would like here to call on anyone who understands the situation of the Mexican workers to help—so that something can be done about all the injustice that we are suffering under the oppressive ranchers. There will be many people thankful to those of you who can try to correct something that is very wrong. Let me go on and tell you more about what our life is like in these fields. Mexican workers have to live in some small rooms made of plastic and cardboard. The places they call houses cannot even be called houses, no sanitary system in there, nothing, and we must pay rent as if we lived in a real house. The truth is that this kind of housing is not even good for animals.

And there is more to it. The working hours are one other way they have to exploit us. If you start working at 6:00 a.m., you get your first break at 9:00 a.m. It's a short ten-minute break. Then, you go on until 12:30, and after another short break you start again, and you go until 5:00 p.m. without any break.

This is what life is like all around Encinitas and Solana Beach for a flower worker. You don't find many Americans working there, 50 of them at the very most. And from those, some might be foremen or the owners of the ranchos themselves.

You may ask, how come they don't hire any Americans? Even a child will understand why they are doing this. In the first place, the American workers wouldn't take the starvation salaries set by the ranchers. They would question, not only the salaries, but also the conditions under which they'd be working. This would undoubtedly bring up problems, and the ranchers would not like that. Since they don't want to fight among themselves—the ranchers and those of their class—they seek the cheapest and most comfortable solution: they hire Mexican workers.

I would like that the people who are reading these lines stop and think for a moment about our situation. Perhaps this will make them try to do something to help us improve the conditions under which we are now working.

Rebel music swings thru SD

Wailers Concert Gets Crowd Dancing

San Diego was treated to a superb concert two Tuesdays ago by Bob Marley and the Wailers, a Jamaican reggae group touring the US to promote their latest album, "Rastaman Vibrations".

Reggae is a beautiful example of the interdependence of form and content; its beat is heterogeneous and thus resists the reduction to a monotonous, insistent, aggressive beat that most rock imposes. Dancing to reggae—which most of the audience did for the second half of the concert—is virtually impossible unless one breaks out of the "pelvic lock" which sounds like the Rolling Stones' and much of the disco sound encourages; moving languidly one appreciates the validity of Reichian political analysis of movement.

One of the oddest reactions of people who do not like reggae is the notion that it is monotonous, that the emphasis on a large bass beat parallels disco. In fact, nothing could be farther from the truth. Reggae does rely on the bass to center the music, but it is anything but an insistent, monotonous beat. Reggae music—as the Wailers play it—consists in a flow; it embodies none of the "jerking" characteristics of standard rock. And because it is a flow, words and music are intertwined in reggae, whereas in most rock the word-music connection is arbitrary at best. In reggae the bass line underscores every word, providing an undertone to the lyric, sometimes ominous, sometimes strengthening.

Whereas in much rock the words and instrumental frenzies come at us alternately, in reggae the flow of music—if we get into it, or let it get into us—leaves us with no choice but to hear the lyrics, because they cannot be separated from the music. The relaxing effect of the music frees the mind to focus on the words.

And the liberated rhythm of the Wailers is paralleled by revolutionary lyrics. The Wailers tell us of the conditions in Jamaica, Bob Marley acting out the situations with a Brechtian detachment, a device necessary to help listeners avoid uncritical immersion in the mere emotional effect of the songs.

In using his bodily movements to draw the audience into the experience of the songs, Marley performs a dual function: One is to provide an example for those who are so trapped within themselves that they cannot feel the varied beauty of the music—Marley shows you how to dance, how to move to reggae, as do the women in the excellent background group, the "I-Three". Secondly, Marley creates a kind of persona, a marginal person with no solid connection in the world except for involvement in political struggle. The image of the Trenchtown world in which reggae developed projects a world in which, as Marley sings, "My feet is my only carriage, so I got to push on through."

Identifying—if only vicariously and temporarily—with the persona Marley creates, the audience like Marley looks for a way out. The way out is through the act of "putting aside all segregation," and till the day that is done, he sings, there will only be "war," accompanied by "burnin' and a-lootin' to survive." "Get up, stand up, stand up for your rights," Marley exhorts, and the audience responds affirmatively.

In Jamaica, guns are outlawed and are thus often a sign of anti-establishment forces ("I Shot the Sheriff"). In Jamaica, cannibis is a political issue, not a sedative as it is in the US: "We want to be free/ 3 o'clock—roadblock, curfew/ And I've got to throw away... My little herb stalk"; and political consciousness is a matter of



survival, not a luxury of bourgeois intellectuals. Wailers' music is, as Marley sings, "Rebel Music."

But the education the Wailers have to offer may be eroded by the process of assimilation to which it is being subjected by record promoters. The latest album has some songs in which the usual political content is missing—"Roots, Rock, Reggae," for example, tells us little. Robert Hilburn of the LA Times talks optimistically of the Wailers providing a needed transfusion for the impoverished domestic rock scene (but groupie Hilburn cannot distinguish between Marley and Bruce Springsteen). Admirers of the Wailers voice anxieties

that success may spell cooptation resulting in an undermining of their revolutionary potential. One would like to think, however, that reggae itself embodies a refusal of this engulfment and asserts its integrity, politically and aesthetically. Reggae, since its introduction into this country primarily through the film "The Harder They Come"

a couple of years ago, has been subject to all sorts of bourgeois onslaughts, mainly from white middle-class intellectuals looking for another pseudo-revolutionary Bob Dylan. The Wailers' unpolished stance tends to counteract cooptative tendencies.

A mystification—and mythification—process is currently at work in the media. Time magazine recently wrote of Marley (not a backwards primitive, as some image-makers project him, but a politically astute, experienced worker)—"He rivals the government as a political force." This is utopian (i.e. "not in existence but possible and desired") misreading of the current Jamaican situation, where it is dangerous to underestimate the power of a government which talks reformist but acts repressively.

Those of us who experienced the performance Tuesday night as the joyously exemplary synthesis of a principled political commitment with consummate art, feel a certain ambivalence about the commercial success of the Wailers. But it should be noted that Island Records, for which both the Wailers and the Maytals record, is the first Jamaican record company to actually pay performers for their work. And although we dread the day Bob Marley appears on the cover of Time, we hear heart in the principled program presented at the Civic Center concert. In particular we note the inclusion of such songs as "Burnin' and A-Lootin' Tonight," at the beginning and "Get Up Stand Up" at the end of the program. During the encore, which featured a synthesis of "We Don't Need No More Trouble" and "War" (from a speech by Halle Selassie), the response of the crowd was noteworthy, especially to such lyrics as "Rasta Don't Work for no CIA."

Reflections on the Blues

WILLIE DIXON AT THE BACKDOOR

The recent - successful and memorable - appearance by legendary blues composer Willie Dixon at San Diego State's Back Door has stimulated this writer to set aside the text books for an evening in order to dash off a few lines about a musical genre I value a great deal, and which has lately suffered the loss of more of its premier exponents.

Dixon's Back Door date - an aptly named club for the author of the classic "Back Door Man" - was for this writer and friends a genuine transfusion of life into the pedestrian and sterile San Diego environment.

Dixon, a walking mountain, is a prolific genius of a composer who has only of late begun to achieve recognition as a performer. He is the author of - to name but a few - "Spoonful," "Little Red Rooster," "Wang Dang Doodle," "Bull for Comfort (I Ain't Built for Speed)," "Hoochie Coochie Man," and "The Seventh Son."

As a performer, Dixon is dynamic. At the Back Door he featured his excellent band, the Chicago All-Stars. He sang and moved around the stage during the first half of the set, and then brought out his stand-up bass, which he plucked skillfully and enthusiastically thereafter.

(The Dixon program was marred by the opening act, Roy Harper, a Briton featuring a uniformed band, loud hard rock inanity and howlingly pretentious "poetic" lyrics. This was the second time I've been to the Back Door and both times I've had to endure wretched opening acts.)

AN APPRECIATION OF THREE GREAT ARTISTS

As mentioned above, Blues music continues to suffer losses of its stalwarts. The notes that follow are intended to serve as introductions to important figures that everyone should check out.

Howlin' Wolf

Howlin' Wolf, born Chester Arthur Burnett near Tupelo, Mississippi in 1910, is now deceased, like J. B. Lenoir, Magic Sam, Little Walter, Otis Spann,

Earl Hooker and many other great Chicago Bluesmen. Wolf picked up guitar from the great Charlie Patton, who travelled around the delta making his living playing at dances; he learned harmonica from the second Sonny Boy Williamson (Rice Miller), who married Wolf's sister in the 30's. Wolf also said that he teamed up with the legendary Robert Johnson for a while. Working as a farmer until being drafted into the army in 1941, Wolf played Saturday night dances on the side, sometimes working from seven to seven, all night for fifty cents.



After the war Wolf went back to farming, until in 1948 he formed a band and began to do radio work, selling commercial time to local merchants. Ike Turner, then working as a teenage talent scout, recorded him, and eventually Wolf moved to Chicago. His best work is probably the stuff he recorded for Chess from 1951 until 1965. Along with Muddy Waters, he became one of the two giants of the Chicago blues scene. Wolf's music never lost the country flavor. To quote critic Pete Welding, "Wolf's early recordings, often derived from the work of older musicians of the Mississippi

Delta Region, possess an almost overwhelming sense of dark power and emotional intensity." Many of his songs are organized on modal rather than harmonic principles, projecting a forceful, hypnotic rhythmic intensity.

Wolf was an influential figure. The Rolling Stones covered some of his songs, such as "Little Red Rooster," on their early albums. The disc jockey Wolfman Jack probably received his inspiration for both his name and his voice from Mr. Burnett. And Captain Beefheart gained his early fame largely by switching back and forth between his regular voice and his "Howlin' Wolf voice." Fans of Jim Morrison and The Doors will recall "Back Door Man," which was a cover of Wolf's recording of the Willie Dixon classic.

He is also capable of raising the roof with such joyous numbers as "Wang Dang Doodle" or "Three Hundred Pounds of Joy." This writer had the pleasure and honor of seeing him once in a small club in San

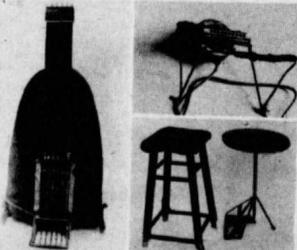
Francisco in the sixties. He was a gigantic personage: all over the stage, at times lying on his back holding the mike stand in the air, and in no way a disappointment for those who had savored his recordings. His band was top quality, too.

An excellent introduction to Wolf is a two-record set on Chess titled "Chester Burnett AKA Howlin' Wolf."

Jesse Fuller

Jesse Fuller has been noted principally for his composition of San Francisco Bay Blues, which was recorded by Ritchie Havens and Phoebe Snow. Fuller was born in 1896 in Jonesboro, Georgia, and spent his first twenty years working round Atlanta on the farms, in the mines and mills. Somewhere along the line he picked up guitar and earned some money playing at Dances on Saturday night. In his twenties he went to Cincinnati and worked for the streetcar company until he joined the circus, working as a bigtop stretcher for six dollars a week. After the First World War, he began to travel the rails, earning money by singing to crowds whenever he could.

Fuller came to California and got a job shining shoes in a barber shop on the United Artists lot, and did some bit work in films, including "The Thief of Baghdad." Director Raoul Walsh helped him set up a hot dog stand inside the studio. Later his luck worsened and he wound up in Bakersfield picking cotton for a time until he landed in Oakland with a job on the Southern Pacific in 1929. He worked in the shipyards during WW II and worked up as a laborer thereafter.



Fuller attracted some attention in the middle and late fifties in the Bay area as a one-man band. He played twelve string guitar, kazoo, harmonica, foot-cymbal, and a foot-operated bass instrument constructed with piano strings that Fuller called a fiddola. The folk boom and blues revival of the sixties probably helped Fuller some, but as far as I know he never really struck it rich. Folklorist Chris Strachwitz reports that Fuller's grandchildren are carrying on his music.

CONT. ON NEXT PAGE

3 Great Artists cont.

His one-man band novelty identity should not be allowed to divert attention from his musicianship. Indeed, the degree of coordination and dexterity evidenced by his records is remarkable. He was able to achieve by himself in one take much more than today's "rock stars" are able to get together with session players and several takes. His voice reminds me a bit of Bukka White as does the driving beat of his songs. But he is really a genuinely unique figure and you have to hear his stuff to appreciate it. It is a joyful sound. Check him out on "Jazz, Folk Songs, Spirituals and Blues" (Good Time Jazz, number SI0031).

Mance Lipscomb

Mance Lipscomb, "Texas Sharecropper and Songster" (the title of his first album on Arhoolie Records) died in his home town of Navasota, Texas on January 30 at age 80. This writer first came in contact with Lipscomb and his music as a raw youth at a Berkeley Folk Festival in the early Sixties. As I was standing in the Student U, gazing slovenly at a bulletin board containing information about the festival, Lipscomb sidled up and began a conversation with me. Recognizing him from program photos, as if he weren't enough of an anomaly in that ambience, I was somewhat in awe.



Mance Lipscomb

I enjoyed many a performance by Lipscomb. The first was on the floor, upstairs at the Berkeley Student Union. He played his guitar and sang for hours and few people left. Towards the end I looked at his fingers and saw that they were bleeding, but he didn't stop playing.

After that I went to see and hear him a number of times at a long gone Berkeley club called the "Cabale Creamery". At these sessions, Lipscomb would again play as long as people wanted to listen, which was invariably a long time. I remember he would often refuse to play until people would say which songs they wanted to hear.

After a lifetime as a sharecropper, Lipscomb made his first record in 1960 at age 65, when Chris Strachwitz "discovered" him. The tape Strachwitz made one afternoon in Lipscomb's shack led to a career of appearances at folk festivals from Newport to L.A., and club jobs in Austin, Texas and on the west coast.

Lipscomb made a number of recordings for Arhoolie, containing a mixture of Texas blues, ballads, spirituals, waltzes, children's songs, ragtime and jazz pieces. His first album, mentioned above, is perhaps the best introduction to his music.

This publication will endeavor to carry more material on important musical areas such as the blues. In the meantime it is worth mentioning that there are at least two noteworthy practitioners of the blues arts operating in the San Diego area. These are Robert Jeffries (who plays piano and sings) and Sam Chatmon--the latter a member of the legendary "Mississippi Sheiks." Both performers have appeared at UCSD in the past and it is to be hoped that they will be back. If you see either of them slated to perform anywhere you are not only urged to attend, but to tell us about it. Thanks.

BIGTOP-BIG FUN?



Compared to extravaganzas of this scale, the Circus Vargas, in San Diego from March 27-June 4 was a return to the past--to what the experience of circus was "supposed to be". It happened in a tent "under the big top", a treat for each of the senses: the smell of elephants, a hundred visual happenings, the sound of a tiny orchestra, popcorn and cotton candy in your mouth, and the feel of money sliding through your fingers. The circus was a great success at everything it was supposed to do--the clowns were genuinely funny, trapeze and aerial artists made your heart leap to your throat in feats of daring which were indeed astonishing.

The boundaries of everyday imaginations expanded to include all of the never before heard of: a man balancing his body on one finger, a bear in a blue skirt dancing on a giant ball to the tune of Hava Nagila, and a motorcycle zipping up a tightrope to the top of the tent.

Entertaining, titillating, and thrilling as the show was, it was also instructive. This is not to be understood in the sense that this relic of the past had the intention of being educational--it was so in spite of itself. The experience of the circus, of this circus, was an example, par excellence, of the workings of primitive capitalism. The whole ideology of the roots of capitalism, and the particularly American kind of capitalism were so openly exposed and functioning as to be almost a bicentennial salute to the basic assumption underlying one aspect of capitalism, straightforwardly formulated by P. T. Barnum himself: There's a sucker born every minute.

The main thrust was selling. Aside from the original ticket price--\$4.75 general admission for adults and about half that for children, there was constant hype to buy. Just prior to the opening of the show the announcer (an Anglo male in a show of mostly Latin American origin) made a show of philanthropic generosity by handing over \$1500 to muscular dystrophy--an act which was followed up by the sale of special circus coloring books and a reminder to get a color program from the lady going through the stands.

one considers an operation such as the Ringling Brothers Barnum and Bailey Circus, one is tempted to lament the passing away of a people's festival, the closest things to gypsies and their special kind of romantic appeal that this country has ever known. The Ringling Brothers is a big time entertainment, playing the forum in L.A. or convention centers in the same manner as big time sports do. Hundreds of people converge from hundreds of miles away, toting binoculars and other aids which help one to focus on one of the three rings of constant spectacle from the heights of the peanut gallery.

Meeting with Saltman cont.

When asked what he and the Provosts could do in the face of decreasing resources, Saltman replied: "Without doing illegal acts such as printing money or robbing banks the only way we can improve conditions is to decrease the number of students we accept and pray that we don't get any further reduction in fiscal resources from the State." This response failed to satisfy a large majority of students present, many of whom commented that Saltman's explicit solution of decreasing enrollment is obviously hurting poor and minority students first and most strongly. Saltman's hopes for divine intervention via Jerry Brown were regarded as illusory at best.

Saltman said that in his tenure at UCSD the ratio of "real dollars per student" had fallen by 50%. "It's a problem we're trying to deal with politically", he said,

"that's the only way it can be dealt with." Again, however, most of the students at the meeting expressed a lack of confidence in such methods of political action as writing letters to Gov. Brown, and voiced the view that only more direct, stronger political action would have any significant effect.

At a certain point in the meeting, Saltman abruptly announced that he had only three more minutes to spare for the confab; he then proceeded to talk for two and a half minutes. Saltman walked out of the meeting as a student was addressing him. The student speculated that in view of the state of Saltman's consciousness about educational quality in general, and with regard to the Literature outbacks in particular, Saltman himself may well have received his education under conditions such as he is now imposing on UCSD.



Throughout the show teenagers were selling food (?) at exorbitant prices-- things that everyone wanted to eat because that's part of going to the circus. None of it, the snow-cones, cotton candy, popcorn made any pretense of being anything but junk and the gaudy pinks and reds spelled junk so aggressively that if your tongue couldn't warn you your eyes should have.

A fifteen minute intermission followed the first hour of the show, providing the audience with a chance to stretch their legs, preferably by walking through the side show tent at another dollar a throw.

The show itself was a microcosm of labor under early American capitalism. The performing area was divided both horizontally and vertically. This division made hierarchy of talent possible on the horizontal level--that is when three aerialists or three foot jugglers performed the center of attention was the center ring, while the performers, whose talent often rivaled or surpassed that of the center performer, were off to either side, commanding less attention and functioning basically as ornament to the central performer. On the vertical level through sheer height and lighting a division of a different sort was achieved--a division of labor in the traditional sense of the word. The talented performers flew through the air, walked on a string, or hung from their toes while bright lights and music emphasized the aura of their acts. Below in the dark, were the twenty or so laborers, all dressed in orange jumpsuits, all interchangeable, who tied down the nets, moved the equipment, swung the ropes, etc. The only recognition this group received was a laugh from the crowd during the opening parade, where one worker followed a group of elephants with a wheelbarrow.

kitsch which is so uniquely American. This too, is a selling of an image--woman as woman, which in this society means starlet, prostitute or what have you. The costumes made it impossible to distinguish the muscles, the physical energy and training (labor) which was behind the act and presented the human body as an effortlessly acting entertaining machine.

It might be argued that in the circus, as in the Olympics, women have a chance at equality--and true enough, there were some excellent female performers. However--when a single man performed, a "femininely" attired woman was there to assist him--bring his equipment, care for his performing monkeys, and just be generally helpful. There was no reverse to this situation.

Finally--there was the rhetoric of the circus. Beyond the constant barking of selling and buying was the language of the show itself. Every act was introduced with superlatives: the biggest, the longest, the most dangerous, the smallest, the newest, etc...

It was all there--all exposed: the exploitation of labor on every level, the person as commodity, the blatant manipulation of the audience in terms of how far they can be pushed to buy etc... etc... and yet everybody had a good time. ☐

Co-op cont. from page 1

Budgets Approved

The Coop accepted the Budget Resource Group's (BRG) recommended allocations for the Campus Program Board, the Student Communications Board, and over 50 student organizations. The vote marked the culmination of a six-week budget review process. No new budgets will be heard by the BRG prior to next Fall.

In other action, the Coop endorsed a letter of solidarity with the striking students, faculty, and university workers in France, New York, and Sonora, Mexico (see letter on page 2). The Student Communications Board's decision to eliminate the disparity of status between campus newspapers was also endorsed.

A-PLANT CLOSINGS URGED

by Nader

by Forest Service Geologist

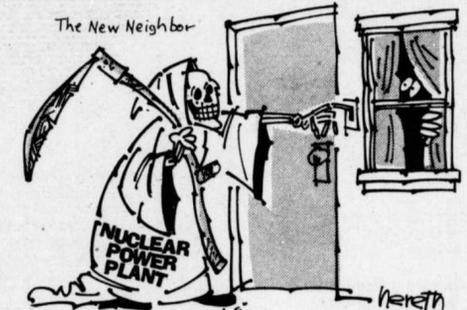
WASHINGTON (UPI)—Citing a California engineer's warning about potential earthquake damage, Ralph Nader urged the Nuclear Regulatory Commission last month to shut down all atomic power plants in possible quake threat areas until the risk can be checked.

Nader based his request on material from Stanley H. Mandes, a structural engineer from Santa Barbara, saying nuclear power plant safeguards against quakes are inadequate. The commission had no immediate comment.

SAN FRANCISCO (LA Times)—The nuclear plant in operation at Humboldt Bay for the last 12 years should be shut down because it is in an "active seismic zone," a U.S. Forest Service geologist said last month.

Thomas Collins, whose office is in Eureka, gave his opinion in a paper filed in San Francisco with a government committee seeking to determine whether the plant, which is the oldest of its kind in the state, meets current earthquake standards.

Pacific Gas and Electric Co., which operates the plant, said the site meets existing safety requirements.



RADIOACTIVE LEAKS FOUND IN ATLANTIC, PACIFIC

WASHINGTON (AP)—A federal government scientist said Friday he has found traces of two radioactive substances contaminating the ocean floor off the East and West coasts of the United States.

Plutonium and cesium appear to have leaked from drums of low-level radioactive waste dumped in the ocean 120 miles east of the border between Maryland and Delaware and 40 miles west of San Francisco, according to Robert S. Dyer, an oceanographer with the Environmental Protection Agency.

The Atlantic dump site was used for the disposal of about 14,300 drums of such radioactive wastes as wiping cloths, coveralls and dead experimental animals, Dyer said. The oceanographer conducted his survey in the summers of 1974 and 1975 using the manned submersible, Al-

vin, equipped with a sonar device and underwater cameras.

The Pacific dump site, near the Farallon Islands west of San Francisco, was used to dispose of approximately 47,500 drums of low-level radioactive waste, Dyer said.

In a paper submitted to the International Atomic Energy Agency in March Dyer wrote that core samples taken in the mud and sand near the Pacific dump site showed the level of plutonium contamination to be from two to 25 times higher than the maximum concentration expected from weapons testing fallout.

At the Atlantic site, cesium concentrations were three to 70 times higher than the maximum expected fallout concentration, Dyer wrote.

POOR BEAR TAX BURDEN IN MAJOR CITIES

NEW YORK (LNS)—The tax burden falls heaviest on low income families in twenty or thirty of the nation's largest cities according to a recent study conducted by the District of Columbia's Finance Department.

In Seattle, for example, a family earning \$5,000 was taxed a total of \$502, or 10% of its income. In contrast, a family earning \$40,000 was taxed \$1987—only 4.9% of its income.

WHAT DEPRESSION?

Los Angeles (L.A. Times)—The L.A. Times reported May 16 that "America's worst economic setback since the Great Depression took only a modest bite out of the sales and profit performance of California's largest companies last year." Net income for the top 100 industrial firms fell 9.5% to \$4 billion from \$4.4 billion a year earlier.

However, a year ago the Times roster showed a profit increase for the largest industrial firms of 44%—termed by the Times a "dramatic gain in the face of the nation's worst recession since the 1930's."

As in each previous year since the Times initiated its roster in 1963, Standard Oil of California led the pack. The oil giant reported 1975 sales of \$17.5 billion, as compared to \$2 billion in 1963.

Pacific Lumber Co. holds the #100 spot this year with sales of \$130.6 million. In the first Times roster 13 years ago, a sales figure of \$21.9 million sufficed to take the 100th spot.

CIA ABUSES—PART OF THE POLICY

"There have been some abuse in which the CIA has clearly been doing things without the knowledge of the President of the National Security Council (NSC) or against the President's orders, but these are exceptions, and I think that for 25 to 35 years now the CIA has done by and large, with few exceptions, exactly what the President and the NSC have told it."

"Having said that, it follows that the CIA has not been an agency that has been out of control and that the abuses have been part and parcel of the CIA's overall programs and that it has been a necessary function of the definition of American society that we have had."

—Ex-CIA officer Philip Agee in an October, 1975, interview in Vancouver, B.C.

CALIFORNIA FOOD CONTAMINATED

NEW YORK (LNS)—Vowing a "hard-line crackdown" on processors of contaminated food, L.A. City Attorney Burt Pines recently showed news reporters a dozen soft drink bottles containing broken pieces of glass, dead insects and pieces of metal. Pines said the bottles were only a sample of items turned in by enraged consumers in recent months.

The state of California receives 50 contaminated food complaints a day from consumers, according to Pines, but has refused to crack down on food processors. The state has chosen instead to follow federal Food and Drug Administration guidelines which tolerate a certain level of insect and rodent infestation.

LONG STORIES IN SHORT :

STERILIZATION A JOB REQUIREMENT FOR WOMEN

NEW YORK (LNS/Women's Communications)—A woman employed in a plant run by General Motors of Canada Ltd. says she had herself sterilized in order to keep her job.

"I shouldn't have done it," Norma James said, "because I know it's not right that they should tell you you're not going to have any more children or else you can't work here any more."

James works in battery assembly, where lead oxide emissions are potentially harmful to unborn children. She was one of six women at the plant who were told they would be transferred to another department unless they could prove they cannot bear children. Four of the other women have filed a complaint with the Ontario Human Rights Commission, charging the company with sex discrimination.

James said in an interview that she needs to keep the steady night work because it pays \$6.50 an hour and a night differential, and enables her to look after her four children, who are between the ages of six and thirteen.

Findings at Johns Hopkins University have established the danger of lead oxide emissions to unborn children, and so rather than clean up emissions, GM forbids women to work in battery plants as a matter of policy.



AND TONITE ON SWAT...

NEW YORK (LNS)—In two separate incidents in Miami and Los Angeles in early April, Special Weapons and Tactics (SWAT) police officers nearly had shootouts with teenagers who were armed with toy guns.

The first incident was in Miami April 7 when a retarded 14 year-old boy pointed a toy gun at some elderly neighbors and told them, "Don't move, this is the police." About two dozen armed police, including nine SWAT snipers, surrounded the building for two hours before the boy's stepfather arrived and explained to police that it was probably only his son in the building.

The frightened boy had refused to obey police and come out because his mother, who had heard a radio report that a "gunman" was holding siege in the area, phoned the house and told her son that whatever happened not to answer the door.

An equally frightened 15 year old girl was surrounded by 40 police officers, including 20 SWAT snipers, in Los Angeles on April 13. The girl, who had fired a starter's pistol (which makes a noise but doesn't shoot bullets) she had found in her apartment, was too terrified to respond to police commands to surrender. The siege finally ended when SWAT members, backed up by machine guns, broke down the door of the apartment.

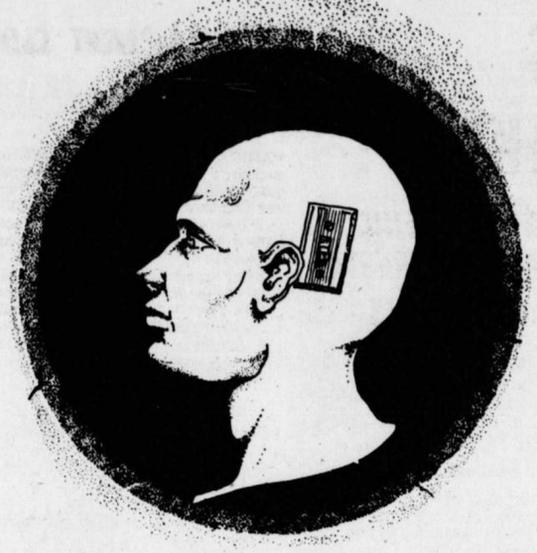
Media Plan

Cont. from page 1

distribution of student media funds. The Comm. Board was also presented a detailed report from a member of MEChA documenting the T.T.'s history of racism and sexism (both by commission and by omission). The Board approved a proposal to upgrade the status of all news print media to the "official" status the T.T. has previously monopolized. The T.T. has kept very quiet about all of this area of "news".

The \$15,000 the Chancellor wants to tie-up in "reserve" for an unofficial publication was requested by the Board instead to divide up amongst ALL the official student media (including the T.T. had they but filed for recognition). Radio KSDT will be hit hardest by the Chancellor's favoritism: they will not be funded at all and may have to terminate an operation in which students have for years invested in building a station capable of getting a Federal Communications Commission license.

Several students interviewed on the campus over the week-end all agreed on two points. First, the Chancellor has no right to dictate to students what news we can read or hear. Second, he will live to regret his decision if he tries to force it upon the campus in the Fall.



Questions of a reading worker

Who built the seven-gated city of Thebes? In the books there are the names of kings. Did the kings drag the boulders to the building sites? And the repeatedly destroyed city of Babylon? Who rebuilt it repeatedly? Where, when the great wall of China was completed, did the masons go in the evening? Young Alexander conquered India. He alone? Caesar beat the Gauls. Didn't he at least have a cook with him? Phillip of Spain cried when his fleet had sunk. Did nobody else cry? Frederic the Second won the Seven Years War. Who else won?

Every page a victory. Who cooked the victory dinner? Every ten years a great man. Who paid the expenses?

So many reports. So many questions. Bertolt Brecht: (Trans.: R. Lettau)

middle class blues

we can't complain. we're not out of work. we don't go hungry. we eat.

the grass grows, the national product, the fingernail, the past.

the streets are empty. the deals have been clinched. the sirens are silent. all that will pass.

the dead have made their wills. the rain's become a drizzle. the war's not yet been declared. there's no hurry for that.

we eat the grass. we eat the national product. we eat the fingernails. we eat the past.

we have nothing to conceal. we have nothing to miss. we have nothing to say. we have.

the watch has been wound up. the bills have been paid. the washing up has been done. the last bus is passing by.

it is empty.

we can't complain.

what are we waiting for?

by Hans Magnus Enzensberger b. 1929 translated from the German

Advertisement for The Left Bank Bookstore featuring a sun illustration and details about a fundraising program and discussion.

Advertisement for Groundwork Books featuring a tree illustration and details about a summer program at the Student Center UCSD.

Graphic advertisement with text: 'THE REIGN OF THE WOMEN WILL BE ENFORCING THE PEOPLE FREE ONK WATER FREE OURSELVES'

APOLITICAL INTELLECTUALS

One day
the apolitical
intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated
by the simplest
of our people.

They will be asked
what they did
when their nation died out
slowly,
like a sweet fire,
small and alone.

No one will ask them
about their dress,
their long siestas
after lunch,
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with "the idea
of the nothing."
No one will care about
their higher financial learning.
They won't be questioned
on Greek mythology
or regarding their self-disgust
when someone within them
begins to die
the coward's death.

They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd
justifications
born in the shadow
of the total lie.

On that day
the simple men will come,
those who had no place
in the books and poems
of the apolitical intellectuals
but daily delivered
their bread and milk,
their tortillas and eggs,
those who mended their clothes,
those who drove their cars,
who cared for their dogs and gardens
and worked for them,
and they'll ask:
"What did **you** do when the poor
suffered, when tenderness
and life
burned out in them?"

Apolitical intellectuals
of my sweet country,
you will not be able to answer.
A vulture of silence
will eat your gut.
Your own misery
will pick at your souls
and you'll be mute
in your shame.

— Otto René Castillo

[Otto René Castillo, one of Guatemala's leading poets, was killed in 1967 while fighting in a guerilla movement. Our thanks to National American Congress on Latin America for its book, *Guatemala* from which this poem is reprinted.]