

new indicator

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Deukmejian Imposes Immediate 2% Budget Cut...

California Students Face Massive Fee Hikes For Spring '83

As administration deliberations proceed, new information is clarifying the likely impact and extent of the massive upcoming fee hikes reported in our last issue (see: "Tuition at UC in Spring '83?", Jan 4-17), and subsequently in the *Guardian*.

The new fee hikes—precipitated by recent and anticipated budget cuts—will leave students attending all of California's state-supported institutions of higher education facing the prospect of massive increases in spring quarter; students at San Diego State face a \$64 fee increase this term.

Current indications are that a "one-time assessment" of \$100 will be added to University of California fees this spring, to be replaced with a permanent fee hike of between \$150-\$300 next fall. Administrators continue to debate the extent to which fees should be increased, as well as the manner in which the increase should be distributed.

Meanwhile, the UC Student Body Presidents Council has accepted the "need" for fee increases, and is attempting only to reduce their size, although publically maintaining that it is opposed in concept to any increase. Systemwide, UC student governments appear to be doing little besides passing resolutions to oppose the fee hikes, although UCSD's Associated Students did hold a rally yesterday.

Proposed Fee Hikes

Although state officials are quick to claim that there is no tuition at any of California's state colleges, this claim—with the exception of the state's community college system—ceased to be true several years ago. Up until the mid-1960s, students paid less than \$100 per quarter in student fees. Under Reagan's reign as governor, however, things began to change. In 1970 the education fee was imposed. Unlike earlier fees, which went solely to support student services, the education fee supports buildings, administration, research and the like; thus it is tuition in all but name. The education fee was imposed—amidst protest from students, faculty and even some Regents—in the name of making students pay a greater share of the costs of education.

Since 1972, fees rose slowly until recently, when—faced with stagnating state appropriations and declining

research funding—the Regents and U.C. administration implemented a program of massive fee hikes; fees at UCSD have risen 55% in the last two years alone, to the current level of \$398.50 per quarter.

Thus, fee hikes began not so much out of economic necessity as out of a conscious policy of transferring a greater

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

Mexico's Electoral Fraud, USA Today, History of Socialism, Kulture, Building a Student Movement, Life in Liberated Spain, Funky La Jolla and much more...

share of the costs of running the University onto the backs of students. Deukmejian's recent 2% budget cut—which took effect this fiscal year, affecting all state agencies except those tied to the prison system—created an immediate, short-term cash shortfall for the University which could be met through only one of three ways (barring a return of the funds): budget cuts, dipping into reserves and investments, or raising student fees.

Given these options, the University's response was predictable. Even in the most difficult of economic times, the administration would never cut such "necessary" expenses as administrative salaries, maintenance of chancellor's mansions, or the recently approved \$200,000 anti-union campaign. Nor would the University voluntarily dip into its invested capital—much of it invested in corporations doing business with the racist South African regime. Thus, it is not objective reality, but the priorities and interests of the administrators who run this institution, that explains the recent comments to the press—by administrators and "student leaders" alike—that large increases in student fees (euphemistically avoiding the word tuition) are "inevitable."

Community Colleges, State Universities Also Affected

Up to this point, increases in student fees have affected primarily the University of California system, leaving the State University and community college systems relatively untouched. The new proposals, however, would hit students at both systems with fee hikes proportionately much greater than similar proposals being discussed for the

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The above mural was unveiled on Thursday January 13th. One of the seven demands made by the Third World Students prior to the June 1981 sit-in at the Chancellor's Office which resulted in 34 arrests, included the establishment of a Third World Center. Although the Administration refused to build such a Center, minor improvements to the existing facilities in the Student Center were granted. One of these improvements was funding for the mural painted by artists Victor Ochoa and David Avalos. A listing and description of the figures in the mural is shown on page 7.

Draft Update: No New Indictments

No new indictments have been handed down since pre-trial motions were heard in the case of Los Angeles non-registrant, David Wayte. The case was dismissed by U.S. District Judge Terry Hatter, Jr. on the grounds that the govt. failed to prove that Wayte had not been selectively prosecuted—singled out for his vocal opposition to draft registration. Judge Hatter also ruled that the presidential proclamation resuming draft registration (issued by then-president Carter) was invalid due to an insufficient lapse of time prior to its implementation. In other words, the entire program was declared invalid.

Presently, the government is appealing both decisions. The outcome will have a substantial effect on other cases around the country.

Less than two weeks after the Wayte victory, Iowa U.S. District Judge Edward McManus ruled in the case of Rusty Martin that men have "no

continuing obligation" to register beyond the specified period at their 18th birthday.

This ruling will make it far more difficult for the govt. to prove that defendants "knowingly and willfully" did not register. Significantly, the govt. included language about continuing duty in all of the indictments issued so far. As expected, the govt. is seeking a rapid appeal of this decision as well.

The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in Dec. that the gag order placed on Ben Sasway by Judge Thompson was clearly a violation of his 1st Amendment rights and ordered it removed. The gag order was a condition for Ben's release on bail pending appeal of his convictions, and it was intended to prevent him from speaking out against the draft.

Elsewhere, Ed Hasbrouck was recently convicted in New England for

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UCSD Students March For King

Last Friday, UCSD students commemorated the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. with an upbeat march and rally. Following an hour of first-rate jazz by local musician Hollis Gentry and his band on Revelle Plaza, about 70 people assembled for the nearly 4-mile march through Funky La Jolla.

Although lacking signs to adequately explicate their purpose for marching, participants were high-spirited, and the overall feeling was fresh, spontaneous and collective. Passing motorists were generally supportive; however, many La Jollans were noticeably uneasy about so many non-white people chanting and marching through their exclusive community.

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UCSD students march in support of M.L. King National Holiday photo: Luis Cueva

New Indicator
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Letters

On Placing One's Head Upon The Bayonets Of The Enemy...

Dear New Indicator Collective,

In the last issue of the n.i., you printed an interesting interview with two public draft resisters. However, although overall it was a good piece, parts of it rankled.

I refer especially to Marsh's argument that the people in El Salvador should restrict themselves to nonviolent resistance. Marsh claims that the more ruthless the enemy is, the more likely nonviolent resistance "to the bayonets, the bullets" is to "frustrate" the enemy. He describes the process this way:

"While you're showing strength, they're showing weakness. They resort more and more to scare tactics; more and more to fear and fright. So they crack down and they get more ruthless." He then goes on to argue that this escalating spiral of violence from the authorities met with "tougher" nonviolence by the people will lead to outrage from the U.S. government, which will cut off arms, thus undercutting the ability of the repressive regime to survive.

Ignoring the ridiculous assumption

that atrocities—whether reported or not—have any effect upon U.S. government policy (in the absence of concrete resistance activities at home). Marsh's policy of "toughness" calls for people to cooperate in their massacre, to be willing and cooperative victims in the hope that their murder or their repression will lead their oppressors to back down and give in. History shows that such tactics have only worked at all in very specific circumstances, where the oppressor was not able to escalate the level of oppression, and even then only at great costs. It is a strategy that assumes the incapacity of the masses, that assumes that oppression can only be ended by the oppressor.

In short, Marsh would urge the people to place their heads upon the bayonets of the Salvadoran army (and their U.S. "advisors"), serene in the unfounded belief that this will "spiral the government downward." This is a program of defeat, not victory; of massacre, not resistance. If implemented, it could only lead to the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans, before the survivors, cowed by the massacre and nearly drowning in the blood of their comrades, capitulated, prepared to finish their lives in stark terror. As such, it is a program that has no business being articulated in a progressive newspaper.

Charles South

Ms. Management



Dear Ms. Management:

Stephanie, my five year old daughter, is dead. And I can't help blaming President Ronald Reagan.

I bought a station wagon in Alaska and, around the middle of November, I brought my family back to Oceanside, where I had served in the military, a few years ago. I began looking for a job, but without luck. We lived out of our car, like many people do, and when our savings was used up, I went to the Welfare Office. There, I was told that we did not qualify for "immediate relief" because we had no address. We sneaked into the cheapest motel we could find and promised the manager we would pay her in three or four days. When I went back to the Welfare Office, the receptionist told me I did not qualify for "immediate relief" because I had a place to live. They made us wait two weeks during which time we sold our blood plasma to live, as many people here do. Finally, they mailed us a Welfare check for \$500. After paying our Motel bill, we had only \$100 left for the rest of the

month.

Desperately short of money, I drove to a car dealer and sold my station wagon for \$100. (The dealer was going to phone up to Alaska and try to reduce the last \$600 payment owed on the car by saying it had been in a wreck and was almost worthless. I would get \$100 and he would get a \$2,400 car for two or three hundred dollars.)

I was depressed and my wife and I decided to use this last bit of money to leave Oceanside and look for work in Phoenix, Arizona. We arrived at the bus station in Phoenix, left out little Stephanie at Children's Emergency Shelter provided by the local police and we lived on the streets, looking for work by day and sleeping in doorways at night. The Saint Vincent de Paul Center gave us a few dollars, but still we were unable to find work before our money began to run out. Between visiting our daughter every day, dozens of blocks from the center of town, and looking for work, we grew exhausted as well as discouraged. A church organization helped us catch a free ride back to Oceanside before Christmas.

My daughter had fallen ill in Phoenix and it was getting worse. We took her to an Oceanside doctor who prescribed several medications. But, we had no money and we were told Welfare no longer covered this expense. I went to the Salvation Army Center, but was told by an official there that their ready cash fund did not cover emergencies such as this one. The Women's Resource Center in Vista would not lend us money for Stephanie's medicine, either. And on

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Sunday, January 23, 6 pm. Chilean writer Ariel Dorfman, author of the book *Missing* about the plight of Chile's *desaparecidos*, is featured poet on *Latin Voices*, KPBS/FM 89. 265-6431.

Monday, January 24. Lesbian Solidarity meeting. 233-8984.

Monday, January 24, by appointment. Free, confidential draft counseling at the Wesley Foundation on Campanile, near SDSU. 583-0772.

Tuesday, January 25, 6 pm. New Indicator Collective meeting. New contributors welcome. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

Tuesday, January 25, 6 pm. UCSD Committee Against Registration and the Draft meeting. 565-1224, 755-2826, 284-2344.

Tuesday, January 25. Quaker discussion group on draft resistance, conscientious objection, etc. La Jolla Friends Meeting. 456-1020.

Wednesday, January 26, 6 pm. Committee for World Democracy meeting. Help plan the Political Film Series. Suggestions welcome. UCSD Student Center, Room 209.

Wednesday, January 26, 6 pm. Free, confidential draft counseling with professional National Lawyers Guild legal workers. 3000 E Street. 233-1701.

Wednesday, January 26, 7:30 pm. Lambda Pride meeting. 298-4379.

Wednesday, January 26, 7:30 pm. *Blue Plate Special*. Emmy Garnica, Ron Jackson and Gay Willis perform at the Old Time Cafe. 1464 North Highway 101, Leucadia. 436-4030.

Thursday, January 27, 7:30 pm. San Diego Lesbian Organization meeting. 224-7530.

Thursday, January 27, 7:30 pm. *San Diego is Harboring Nuclear Weapons*. New slideshow on local nuclear menace. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 1947 30th at Grape, Golden Hill. Peace Resource Center. 265-0730.

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WINTER PROTEST CALENDAR

Thursday, January 20, Noon. NO NUKES! Nuclear-Free Future Rally. UCSD Revelle Plaza. Sponsored by UCSD Alliance for Survival.

Sunday, January 23, 11 am. NO NUKES! Protest MX missile tests. Ryan Park near Vandenberg Air Force Base. Lompoc, California. Locally, call Community Energy Action Network (275-1162) or the Peace Resource Center (265-0730).

Support Privacy Rights! Protest Involuntary Servitude! Hoping to identify some of the more than one-half million men who have refused to register for the draft, the Selective Service System has requested California driver's license lists. The San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft urges readers to contact Governor Deukmejian and ask that the administration not cooperate with the SSS: Governor George Deukmejian, State Capitol, Sacramento, CA 95814, (916) 445-2841. — Please support CARD's **Counter-Intimidation Campaign** by sending donations to CARD, P.O. Box 15195, San Diego, CA 92115.

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copy which is printed without a byline may be assumed to represent the position of the New Indicator Collective. contributors and workers: kevin, jon, monty, lee, jori, paul, mike, robin, kyr, casey, coll, barry, nancy, reggie, iraj, lisa, daniel, mark, karl, greg, susan, antone, karen, stu-art, karl, steve, shirhan, laura, randall, robin, marylynn, robin, penny, javie, rick, david, vic, victor, beth, charles, charlie, & shirley. thanx a lot.

Funky La Jolla

by Rambling Rosie

Ever wonder how those petty bureaucrats masquerading as "your representatives", put your Activity fees to use... Well it seems as though the best way to "represent the students" is to spend it on themselves... A few days back those power-hungry fellows used the pretext of an "orientation meeting" to lavishly spend student fees for hors d'oeuvres and refreshments... All this, while student organizations are taking drastic cuts in their programming budgets. Sources indicate that many student organizations—including those who have existed for over five years—have suffered ghastly cuts in their budgets, like their entire spring programming eliminated and this quarter's programming reduced...

According to sources, one reason for this—although AS' misspending still remains a major determinant factor—may have been due to an accounting "slip up" to the tune of \$23,000. The money in question has now been restored to the student organizations account; this does not, however, mean that the organizations' budgets will be restored... It appears that the prolific AS spending pattern has virtually eliminated their unallocated accounts, so the newly discovered money cannot be considered a blessing for student organizations...

Speaking of gratitude... The Lesbian and Gay Organization (LAGO) was recently bestowed with a gift from E. Classen Young, editor of the *California Review*. According to an informant, the editor of the homophobic *Review*, donated it to LAGO and in turn received a receipt for tax purposes.

Over at our Triton pub things have deteriorated from bad to worse, enough for some people to consider a boycott of

Ms. Management

Sunday morning, January 9, my little girl died in Oceanside.

Now, my wife and I are without a home, without jobs, and without money. What advice can you give us?

Dear "Still Grieving":

You brought your family to an Imaginary community in an imaginary country where imaginary economic opportunity awaits anyone who "really tries." The reality you discovered was a territory where individuals play aggressive, competitive games only to survive the next day or the next week. In reality, the people of this land often regard compassion as a sign of individual weakness and they understand human suffering as deserved punishment. The Imaginary country where this imaginary community is located stands for "freedom and justice for all." The real country is governed by men and women who represent the interests of a very small part of the total population. This very small ruling class aspire to control the rest of the real world through war, the threat of war, and many other techniques. One of their techniques of controlling real people all over the world is by controlling the imaginary world of these real people. In this Imaginary world, we are all brothers and sisters wanting to make life more pleasant on our planet. The real world is

the the Triton if things don't change fast... Since the ownership of the facility changed hands, the new owners have reached the depths of depravity in their quest to make money and ignore student wishes... None other than Killian's Red has hit the shelves of the Triton. For those of you unfamiliar, the brew is manufactured by that anti-worker, racist, anti-gay company known as Coors. This gimmick is Coors' latest vain attempt to mislead the public and recapture heavy losses suffered in the market since the boycott started several years ago... Several people are especially upset because UC systemwide student-committees have voted to uphold the boycott, and UCSD it particular had reached an informal agreement to keep Coors away from the pub.

Noticed that the administration has finally made token gestures towards the demands of the UCSD 34—those arrested for sitting in at the Chancellor's Office last year. Along with minor renovations of their existing offices, the Third World Student Organizations received funding for a mural. That mural was unveiled last week. While it is remains an inspiring piece, certain ironies that week were far from inspiring... The *People's Voice* showed a total lack of sensitivity to the idea behind the unveiling—despite the fact that members of its staff last year were part of the 34 arrested—and printed a statement from the Chancellor, verbatim from the UCSD Catalog, extolling UCSD's virtues. Ah well, equal time is not what it used to be...

According to latest reports the search for the UC President is continuing—with no student rep on the search committee—and under strict secrecy. All we know at this point is that the number of candidates has been reduced to 25. In the meantime the ASUSCD and other UC student committees have abandoned the idea of pressing for student input or other any other actions...

being perpetually divided and subdivided into regions controlled by private businesses and against public interests. In the real world, hierarchies are devised to keep people separated from one another and more useful to top management. This real power structure maintains itself by deliberately misdirecting discontent away from the real causes and orienting it toward scapegoats (i.e. racism, sexism, ageism, etc.) and sometimes into self-destructive activities (i.e. alcoholism, drug addiction, religious guilt trips, etc.).

The imaginary and the real are very different: The Imaginary is one dimensional, ahistorical, and individualistic; the Real carries with it many levels of meaning in a specific, material, and historical context. By its very nature, the Real carries involved groups of real people, as distinct from empty spaces peopled by imaginary individuals. The Ecumenical Service Center is a group of Real people in Oceanside offering to help poor people looking for work. This Center is located at 216 South Tremont Street in Oceanside and the telephone number is 722-2896.

Too little, too late! Perhaps a meaningful end to this letter is a quote from Mother Jones, the old coal mining labor organizer. She has helped us remember that we must: "Weep for the dead, and fight like hell for the living!"



—HEY! So who's the guy here asking for financial aid?

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Fee Hike Set For Spring...

UC system.

Last Monday, the California State University trustees voted to impose a \$64 spring semester fee for the term beginning next week; and CSU students face a proposed \$230 per year fee increase for next year, a 60% increase over current rates. In response to these moves, two former student government officials from San Diego State University (part of the CSU system) have filed a class action suit to block the \$64 fee. Their suit argues that California residents "have a right to a public post-secondary education and must be ensured access," seeking a preliminary injunction against the fee increase because it would deny needy students that access.

Meanwhile, students at community colleges—where fees have traditionally been as low as \$6 per semester—face a proposed \$50 per semester fee, which could more properly be termed a tax. This "fee", unlike those proposed for the UC and CSU systems, would not go to the colleges or to student services, but would instead be paid directly to the state general fund. Thus, this fee is in reality a tax, directed against the most disadvantaged sector in public education, students at community colleges (who tend to be disproportionately poor and working class, and minorities).

U.C. Students to Pay \$500 in Spring

Fees at UCSD will rise to \$498.50 this spring (a \$100 increase) according to sources in the administration, and a

member of the Board of Regents contacted by the new indicator. This increase comes on the heels of last Fall's \$100 increase and will be approved at the Regents meeting taking place Thursday and Friday this week, amidst little more than token opposition from the UC Student Body President's Council. This new fee increase follows increases that have led to UCSD students paying 55% more in student fees today than they did two years ago.

Thomas Rutter, director of UCSD's Student Financial Services office (which administers financial aid programs here), told the new indicator that he has been assured that his office will receive a portion of the increased fees to enable it to offset the increase for those who currently receive financial aid from UCSD. However, he was unsure as to whether his office would be able to offset the entire amount of the increase. Already, most students on financial aid have \$1,000 or more in unmet needs, according to Rutter.

Fee increases for next year will be considered by the Regents in the coming months. The proposed governor's budget imposes an increase of \$150 per year for UC students, but this proposal has been dismissed as impractical by many legislators and administrators, who feel that larger increases will be necessary to maintain U.C. expenses at the desired level. Although discussions are continuing, our administrative sources have cautioned us to expect

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UCSD's University Events Office presents

West Coast Premiere

THE CONSTANT FACTOR

A Film by Krzysztof Zanussi

"Best Director" Cannes Film Festival 1980

Polish with English Subtitles

Krzysztof Zanussi (along side Wajda) is the undisputed leader of Poland's "cinema of moral unrest," but unlike Wajda who attempts to portray a whole cross-section of Polish Society, Zanussi concentrates on the "nature of the freedom an individual can exercise in deciding his own fate."

January 27, Thursday, 8:00 p.m.
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American Journal: Seeing the USA Through the USA Today

It looks like a TV set on a pole out there on the corner, or maybe like E.T.'s head and spindly neck. But no, it's a newsrack for USA Today, the color-washed daily newspaper that's debuting around the country these days. The paper's parent Gannett Corporation spent big bucks putting that paper and those machines out there and it wants you should drop a quarter into the slot and take the baby home.

USA Today is billed as America's first national general interest daily, and reading it does tell you something about the state of the nation—and about American media. Although USA Today is produced near Washington, D.C., facsimile pages are beamed via satellite to regional printing plants so the paper doesn't have to be flown in on old-fashioned airplanes. Then a few inches of local news are crammed into an already busy design and—voilà!—the paper hits the streets just hours after its been assembled at headquarters.

The first thing you notice about USA Today is how it looks. The paper's crazy-quilt design is a direct result of extraordinarily strange news judgement. Major news stories are played cheek-by-jowl with trivia and filler—and run at about the same length. There are no banner headlines racing across the page, so you may have trouble deciding just which story to read. But then, you're not expected to read USA Today, exactly. You're supposed to watch it, like you would your favorite TV show.

That brings us to the color. It's plentiful and gorgeous. USA Today has

a managing editor just for graphics and photography, and it shows. The paper pops with sharp, multihued photos that make the color shots in other papers look hopelessly amateurish. And the weather map! Bedazzled readers have been known to stare for timeless moments at the color weather map on the back page of the skimpy news section in rapt admiration. It's practically psychedelic.

It's when you start reading the paper that the bumper begins. If USA Today's use of color is inspired by TV, it's hyper-departmentalism is a take on the weekly newsmagazines. Every page is labelled "nation," "newsmakers" or whatnot up top so the reader won't get mixed up, and the choppy, toneless stories are little more than predigested info-bits. Nothing here to put undue stress on the heart, like investigative reporting, or tax the brain, like the nuance and detail you might need to understand a complex issue.

The USA, as seen in the pages of USA Today, is a curiously bland, endlessly giddy country obsessed with celebrities and numbers, numbers, numbers. There are statistical charts—again, in color—to tell us how our cars and housing stack up and numerical tables in the sports pages that tell us more about nothing at all than does any major paper on the market. Did you know that Chicago Black Hawks defenseman Doug Wilson lists the Eagles as his favorite group, and Styx as his sixth-favorite? You would if you read USA Today.

The best American newspapers come



by much of their grit and immediacy by conveying a sense of place about the locales in which they publish. Usually, that place is a big city or a small town; few of the modern suburban papers are editorially distinguished. USA Today has to convey this sense of "is-ness" about the whole country. Its editors try to do that by printing items from every state in the union, every day, and by making up for the lack of color in the writing by splashing color on the illustrations, but it doesn't quite work. To paraphrase Gertrude Stein's famous remark about Oakland, "There's no here there."

Gannett's attempt to blanket the nation with a single newspaper is made

possible by the interface of two factors; high technology and money. Techbucks have helped other papers to dominate, too, of course. The New York Times recently started a West Coast edition, and the Washington Post is reported to be readying one. The Wall Street Journal has published nationally via satellite for several years now. Throw in the Associated Press and one or two other daily newspapers, and you have all of the primary sources of national and international news in the United States. The broadcast networks that USA Today is trying so hard to imitate pick up most of their information from that handful of print outlets.

If Gannett's ambitions are realized, USA Today will join that select group, but the paper's deliberately dumb editorial formula won't contribute to its readers' understanding of the USA or the world. Instead, it will epitomize the accelerating trend in the mass media toward homogeneity, triviality and, above all, the triumph of form over content.

—David Armstrong

USA Today is scheduled to hit the streets in San Diego on January 24th. In Northern California, a boycott of USA Today has been launched by the labor movement, because of the paper's anti-union policies.

A Job Is Looking For You...

After filling out an application you go into the personnel office for an interview. The interviewer asks for your personal political views on capitalism, communism, voting, political climate in the U.S., etcetera. Are you applying for a job with the CIA, Coors, ITT, Chase Manhattan?

Well, no, not quite. It is Cal-PIRG. The student-consumer "progressive" organization which they assert supports Ralph Nader, or else was started by Ralph Nader depending on which one of the Cal-PIRG people you ask.

If you are not in "the middle of the road gang," or have any politics other than the Democratic or Republican parties you had better keep your mouth shut when you apply for a job with Cal-PIRG.

The job you are applying for is a canvasser, door-to-door. What is this? In

plain language, it is begging to support Cal-PIRG because the alternative sources of funds they had been getting from the government are drying up.

What happens on the job is you carpool out to different neighborhoods and are dropped off at a certain pick-up point. Then you go door to door, begging for money for the organization. This takes salesmanship, fast talking and truth stretching in order to make quota to keep your job once you get it. Why do you have to make a certain quota? Because you are paid a portion of the money you beg, and they will fire you and get someone who is a better beggar if you aren't up to snuff. The hours are afternoon and night, and are dangerous in certain neighborhoods because of dogs. If you get one of these jobs, good luck. You'll need it.

—U.N. Owen

Draft Update...

failure to register. By his request, no legal defense was raised on his behalf.

Indicted resister, Paul Jacobs of Arkansas remains underground. He refuses to accept the U.S. judicial process as just or legitimate.

It is not certain as to why there have been no new indictments since the Wayte case. Some feel that the government is waiting for the results of the various appeals before moving ahead. Others feel that they are waiting to prepare cases

against non-registrants who've come to light through "active detection" rather than openly proclaiming their non-registrant status, as have all those indicted to date.

Government agencies involved in the active detection scheme include the Internal Revenue Service, Social Security Admin., some state Motor Vehicle Depts. and the U.S. Dept. of Education.

The legality of these inter-agency collaborations will be tested when a prosecution of this type occurs.



UCSD student rally against fee hikes, Revelle Plaza, Jan. 17th 1983.

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California Students Face Massive Fee Hike For Spring '83

increases of between \$150 to \$300 per quarter next year (including the \$100 to be added in spring), which would mean that fees would have more than doubled over their 1980 rate.

Throughout these discussions, administrators and legislators have been careful to avoid using the word "tuition" when discussing these fee hikes, instead attempting to maintain the illusion that public post-secondary education in California is tuition-free. Some, however, have been less coy. Marjorie Dickinson, associate director of the California Post-secondary Education Commission (CPEC), stated to the San Diego Union that "most of the reasons behind having tuition-free education in this state (such as guaranteeing access to women, minority, and low-income students) have already been lost." Thus, the proposed increases can best be viewed as part of an ongoing attack against precisely those groups in whose name the commitment to avoid charging tuition was originally made, and as part of an overall attack which has included increased restrictions on admissions to the University (even more restrictive conditions are to be imposed next year) and a steadily declining commitment to recruitment of traditionally disadvantaged students.



Financial Aid Won't Pick Up Slack

At UCSD, at least, the financial aid office is unlikely to be able to fully cover the costs of the increased fees for those already receiving financial assistance, let alone help those who will be forced to turn to the school for assistance as a result of these fee hikes, or drop out. Currently, UCSD is able to meet, on average, only 23% of the aggregate need of known needy students; a situation caused primarily—according to Student Financial Services Director Tom Rutter—by a combination of dramatically increasing need and stagnating funding levels.

Over the last three years, total work-study and loan (excluding GSL) support has remained roughly steady, while there has been a slight increase in grant support. Over the same period in time, however, the number of needy students has risen from 2158 to 2666, and the aggregate need has increased by 14 million dollars. Thus, over these three years, the percentage of met need has dropped from 33% to 23%, in a decline that is continuing as financial aid funds are cut on a state and national level.

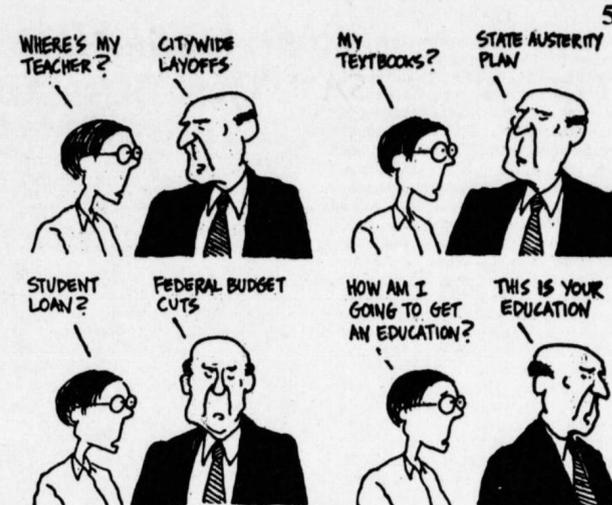
For many students, the problem of securing financial aid will be aggravated by recent federal law requiring all recipients of federal financial aid monies to prove that they have either registered for the draft, or are not required to do so. At new indicator press time it was not clear exactly how these new regulations (which take effect at the end of June) are

to be implemented; however, SFS Director Tom Rutter stated that although UCSD was hoping to minimize its responsibility for "verifying students' registration status, that it would comply with the law. He confirmed that funds were not likely to be made available to maintain financial aid to students who had not registered (or would not complete the verification), and added that the federal government has threatened those schools which have announced a policy of maintaining financial aid to such students (from non-federal sources) with reprisals, perhaps including a total cut-off of federal assistance to those schools.

All of these factors combine to make the scheduled imposition of massive fee hikes have a greater impact on the ability of needy and disadvantaged students to attend college.

Potential for Legal Action

Among the considerations likely to be weighed by the Regents in coming months as they debate the nature and extent of future fee increases is the potential for legal action similar to that underway against San Diego State. This concern was forcefully raised as early as 1970, by then-Regent William Coblentz, who noted that "such fees are scarcely distinguishable from a flat tuition



The Regents, being accountable to no one (after their initial appointment by the governor), are able to make decisions without concern for the needs and interests of the students, staff and faculty who constitute the University. Neither are they accountable to the broader community, which must pay for the bulk of the University's operations, and suffer the consequences of Regental and University actions. Instead, the Regents are drawn from large corporations, from the society's elite, and the decisions they reach are shaped by this background. (For a discussion of the social role of the Regents, see: "The Board of Regents: The University's Power Elite," *Disorientation Manual 82-83*)

Resistance is Possible

At this point, it seems clear that massive fee increases will be imposed this Spring, and followed by larger increases in fall, if the administration is allowed to proceed as it wishes. However, these increases can be stopped through determined, militant action. At Boston

University—to cite just one example—students have held massive demonstrations against tuition hikes, and have forced the Trustees there to cancel meetings in order to escape student protesters. Students in England have formed a National Union of Students which has won stipends for students in the country's universities, by building a grass-roots national student union capable of posing a real threat.

Student governments throughout the state and the country have proved incapable of mounting effective opposition to tuition and fee increases, just as they have proven incapable of maintaining and extending the availability of financial aid programs. Nor have associations of student governments (such as the UC Student Body Presidents Council) proven any more effective. Only by building strong, grass-roots campus, regional, and national unions of students can we hope to gain the strength necessary to effectively defend our interests.

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LINEN

Lenin was a Marxist, but he interpreted Marx's central ideas in a particular way. Lenin also made additions to Marxist revolutionary theory, ostensibly to adapt Marxism to conditions in Russia after the turn of the century. The small Russian proletariat (13% plus of the population), the even smaller industrial proletariat (9%), the imperialized Russian feudal social system with its vast peasantry (65% plus) rationalized along capitalist lines, the autocratic Czarist state that made revolutionary organizing illegal; these factors affected Lenin's analysis, as did Russian Narodnik socialism. Without a doubt, Lenin achieved the virtually unchallenged leadership of his party at a crucial historical moment, a "revolutionary situation" as Lenin himself characterized the times. But a simple fact must be remembered; whereas it would be next to impossible to conceive of the Chinese Revolution without Mao, the Russian Revolution happened without Lenin.

This is not to say that the outcome of the 1917 Russian Revolution would have been the same without Lenin, only that the revolution was neither initiated nor controlled in its first phases by Lenin or the Bolshevik Party. Lenin was in the right place at the right time, and Lenin himself struggled furiously to insure he remained in such a position after 1917. Having moved to take advantage of the revolutionary situation they found themselves in after 1917 in Russia, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party then proceeded to make history. Bolshevik consolidation of power during the Civil War catapulted Marxism-Leninism to pre-eminence as a revolutionary socialist ideology. But the emergence of a dictatorial, single party, increasingly bureaucratic proto-socialist state out of the Civil War in Russia precipitated the crisis in modern socialism known as Stalinism.

Born Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov on April 10, 1870 of bourgeois parents raised to noble rank, Lenin was deeply

A History of Socialism, Part Six Continued The Russian Revolution Lenin, Bolshevik Consolidation

influenced by his brother Sasha, member of the terrorist wing of the Narodniki "Peoples Will" caught for conspiring to assassinate Alexander III, and by Marx. Lenin's thought can best be understood when compared to Marx's.

Lenin began as a student university radical and like so many Russian Revolutionists, he experienced police harassment, prison and finally, exile for his labor organizing efforts in Russia. He accepted Marx's idea that the working class, and the industrial proletariat in particular, was key to making the social revolution, but organizing in autocratic Russia for such a revolution was far more dangerous than organizing in democratic Britain or even Prussian Germany.

Marx held that a political party was necessary to aid in fomenting a proletarian revolution, something that Lenin wholeheartedly agreed with. For Marx, however, the party was an open, democratic, parliamentary workers' party in any given European society. International formations—a communist party with its militants in individual parliamentary workers' parties, or an international association of socialist and working-class militants—were also important for Marx, who saw them employing parliamentary and extra-parliamentary methods to bring the working class to class consciousness. Bismarck's suppression of German socialism brought Marx to acknowledge temporary phases of clandestine organizing for the party and the need for radical alliances with the peasantry.

Lenin formulated additions to Marx's concepts on the party in his work *What Is To Be Done*, keeping in mind Russia's century old institution of the secret police, known as the Okhrana in Lenin's

time. He called for a clandestine, highly disciplined and centralized vanguard party of professional revolutionaries in order to operate within autocratic Russia. When conditions were right, the party could emerge to do work aboveground, but whether above ground or secret, engaged in parliamentary, trade union or insurrectionary work, allied to this or that group; the party was to maintain a correct line, ideological purity and its leadership of the working class, according to Lenin.

The proletariat required a party vanguard to make the social revolution, because as a class the proletariat was only capable of achieving trade union consciousness without revolutionary intervention from outside of the labor movement. From this Lenin reasoned that the party, relying upon the "science" of Marxism, embodied the proletariat's class consciousness and needed to be flexible in its strategy and tactics in order to bring the working class to recognize its leadership. This contrasts sharply with Marx's class-conscious industrial proletariat using a parliamentary workers' party as one of its class organizations and instruments. But Lenin was also following a Marxist logic in formulating his vanguard party.

Marx understood that the will of a ruling class in society often found expression in dictatorship during times of revolution or crisis. Marx's study of the French Revolution coined the phrase Bonapartism for this phenomenon as it applied to the bourgeoisie, and many Marxists consider fascism the extreme form of capitalist Bonapartism. Lenin contended that a revolutionary vanguard party in a similar fashion could represent the will of the proletariat as a ruling class during the social revolution, not to mention under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In addition, Lenin took much from Narodnik socialism on clandestine revolutionary organization, in particular from Bakunin who championed the idea of clandestine revolutionary cells as an underground network within insurrectionary mass movements and who called for a "dictatorship of the secret organization."

Both Marx and Lenin held that the peasantry in any country had to be approached cautiously. And unlike Bakunin, who considered the peasantry and even the lumpenproletariat as revolutionary classes alongside the proletariat, Lenin had to learn of peasant insurrectionism the hard way, from anti-Bolshevik peasant revolts after 1920. Forced collectivization of peasant holdings, no less than forced grain requisitions, was not socialism according to Marx. Lenin adopted Marx's suggestion of proletarian alliances with a radical peasantry in his strategy for Russia by using the Left SR slogan "Bread, Peace and Land," but he had Engels' impatience with "peasant socialism" and he could not stomach interparty alliances from principles of vanguardism.

Emphasizing the working class and its industrial, proletarian core, Marx considered violent revolution virtually inevitable in advanced industrial societies, with the full structural contradictions of capitalism, for the working class to seize hold of those societies. He postulated that there might be many roads to socialism—peaceful and parliamentary, even proletarian revolution without capitalist social hegemony—only in his later years. He considered the working class's trade unions and cooperatives important in the process of social revolution as independent class organizations and instruments. Marx also studied the

numerous bourgeois wars of his age, but he did not conclude that war under capitalism was inevitable. The liberation of colonized and imperialized regions, according to Marx, would occur with proletarian revolutions in their mother countries.

It was Lenin, in his *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, who advanced the thesis that war between imperialist powers was inevitable, given structural features in monopoly capitalism and in the world capitalist market. The international proletariat could turn these wars between capitalist powers into revolutionary civil wars in order to achieve socialism. Lenin placed crucial importance upon national liberation struggles because imperialized and colonialized regions were weak links in the chain of world capitalism. Successful national liberation struggles would eventually counter the tendency in advanced capitalist societies toward creating a labor aristocracy, and the international proletariat would join national liberation movements to usher in a world socialist revolution.

Lenin understood that the proletarian revolution, once begun in any one country, had to be internationalized in order to succeed. In this Lenin agreed with Marx and saw the working class taking power in a cluster of advanced nations before spreading their revolution across all national boundaries. Unlike Marx, Lenin considered the party to be the supreme revolutionary form. All other working class organizations and instruments—unions, cooperatives, soviets—ultimately needed to be subject to party leadership, discipline and centralism. Before Bolshevik consolidation of power, Lenin was satisfied to adopt the anarchist/syndicalist slogan "All Power To The Soviets" and to work for the acceptance of Bolshevik leadership in the Soviets. After Bolshevik consolidation, Lenin bridled the self-activity and self-organization of the Russian proletariat with party priorities, planning and privilege.

Marx saw the proletariat making a revolution first in capitalist societies highly advanced in industrial development when the objective (structural) crises of capitalism coincided with advanced, subjective (class consciousness) forces among the proletariat. Because Russia was a weak link in the chain of world capitalism, revolution could break out even in such a backward country as Lenin saw it, but he agreed with Marx that a Russian Revolution would require help from a revolutionary western proletariat in order to achieve communism.

Marx had contended that, as a rule, the bourgeoisie stage of social development was necessary for any country to pass through before proletarian revolution was possible. Lenin contended that the introduction of industrial capitalist relations full-blown into feudal Russian society meant that two revolutions were advancing simultaneously in Russia; a bourgeois revolution and a proletarian revolution after 1860. Marx postulated that the proletariat majority of society, once having initiated their social revolution against the bourgeoisie, had to carry out a permanent revolution to go beyond the revolution's petty-bourgeois limitations until all vestiges of the ruling class had been dispossessed. Lenin interpreted this as the need for an uninterrupted revolution, and claimed that Russian society—having never experienced true bourgeois social hegemony as a capitalist ruling class and not possessing a working class majority—must pass from its nascent bourgeois stage under Kerensky's provisional government to a proletarian dictatorship bent on building socialism. The Russian proletariat, the only democratic force in the revolution according to Lenin, nevertheless was a minority in a sea of peasants, so again the proletariat's power needed to be represented by the

continued on page 11

With The Peasants of Aragon Life In Liberated Spain

With the Peasants of Aragon (Libertarian Communism in the Liberated Areas); by Augustin Souchy Bauer & trans. by Abe Bluestein. Soil of Liberty Press.

Culture is more than mastering Pac Man or debugging your FORTRAN program. Yesterday's militants carry a legacy as well as lessons to be learned. The difference between a bourgeois hero and a genuine exemplary model of revolutionary behavior is that the latter is vulnerable to critique while the former is so immersed in mystique and rationalized by clichés that any critique would appear as an assault on common sense. The exemplary behavior of Augustin Souchy Bauer is a case in point.

Souchy Bauer's book, *With the Peasants of Aragon*, is a first hand account of social revolution in the liberated zones of north-eastern Spain during the Spanish Civil War, 1936-39. Souchy Bauer's life reads like a poem of liberation (which he is still writing at the age of 89). He escaped the repressive atmosphere of his homeland in 1917 after resisting the military draft in Germany. He was expelled from Sweden, then Norway for his persistent anarchist activity. He worked in Denmark until 1920, when he traveled to Russia where he participated in the First International Congress of Red Trade Unions. In 1921, he returned to Germany and edited an anarchist workers' publication, *Der Syndicalist*, until 1933. He was involved in the founding of the new anarchist International Working Men's Association (IWMA) and worked as its co-secretary with Rudolf Rocker and Alexander Shapiro. He was sent to Spain when the Civil War broke out on July 19, 1936, and there he remained with his comrades, the peasants of Aragon, until 1939.

When Franco started his military "putsch," with the help of Mussolini and Hitler, the Spanish people carried out heroic resistance. With the anarcho-syndicalist movement playing a significant role, Franco was dealt a military defeat in one half of the country within the first week. Thus, the stage was set for a protracted Civil War which saw the Spanish Republic abandoned by the "democratic western world" leading to the Franco dictatorship.

With the Peasants of Aragon is a fascinating book that describes in detail not the military struggle, but how people in the liberated zones of north-eastern Spain constructed a new economy and lifestyle:

Without the interference of politician

"Nature's Movement—Our Voice"
Acrylic on Canvas, January 1983
Victor Ochoa and David Avalos, Centro Cultural de la Raza

- 1. A rebellious convict, Attica Correctional Facility, New York, 1971
- 2. Malcolm X, revolutionary Black leader, assassinated in 1965.
- 3. Lightning emanates from the convict's fist.
- 4. Patrice Lumumba, first Premier of the newly independent (1960) Democratic Republic of the Congo, now Zaire. Assassinated in 1961.
- 5. African dancer in a trance.
- 6. African dance mask from Basongwe, Zaire.
- 7. The Earth is opened by an earthquake as magma glows from below the surface.
- 8. The profile of a Digueno Indian, one of the tribes native to this region.
- 9. Geronimo, leader of a band of Chiricahua Apaches who refused to live on reservations in Arizona. Died in 1909.
- 10. Teu-mahs Katchina, a kachina dancer of the Hopi Indian tribe. The "Crow Mother" is a leader in the children's initiation into the kachina cult.
- 11. El corazon, a heart.
- 12. A tidal wave forms the image of a female Chinese garment worker on a picket line.
- 13. Larry Iliong, Filipino farmworker organizer at a United Farmworkers rally, 1968.
- 14. A Japanese elder. He is an Issei born in Japan and an immigrant to the U.S.
- 15. Tlalocuitl, Aztec goddess of childbirth.
- 16. Aztec sculpture, a skull carved from rock crystal, 15th century A.D.
- 17. Mayan sculpted head of a priest from Kulkulkan, at the Temple of the Inscriptions at Palenque, 7th century A.D.
- 18. Emiliano Zapata, the inspirational leader of Mexico's 1910 revolution, assassinated by government forces in 1919.
- 19. Flames form the image of an impassioned Chicano face.



GREED MILITARISM, WAR—THIS IS FASCISM. UNITE TO DESTROY IT.
Artist: Badia Vilato Issued by the CNT

or government. While the Russian Revolution of 1917-18 was the realization of the theory of Karl Marx, the Spanish Social Revolution was carried out in the spirit and thought of Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin. (p. 11)

With the Peasants of Aragon is a story of how nearly half a million voluntarily committed themselves and their belongings to the establishment of libertarian communism.

The book is a record and study of the collectivization of industry and agriculture. Bauer notes:

Collectivization was not a gift from heaven, but the result of action by working people. The goal of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists from their very beginning was to take over

the economy and organize it on a collectivized basis.

Prior to the Civil War, the State crushed attempts to collectivize the economy. However, with the military defeat of Franco early in the Civil War, "power was in the hands of the Revolution." We are told that the Chief of Police of Barcelona was himself an anarchist and sympathetic to the anti-fascist movement. With power in the hands of the people "there was no power to prevent the realization of the old dream to build a new free society based on social equality and justice."

A New Way of Life
The social transformation was achieved through the voluntary cooperation of members in the collective. The work group, the smallest unit of the collective in Aragon, was comprised of between five to 10 members. Influenced by anarchist principles, the collective was "the free

community of labor of the villagers." Each work group was assigned tools, machinery and animals by the collective and was responsible for the cultivation of the collective's land.

The fruits of collective labor was brought to a common warehouse for distribution equally among the members; surplus goods were used for barter with other communes. Rationing occurred only when supplies were low.

Everyone, whether able to work or not, received the necessities of life as far as the collective could provide them. The underlying idea was no longer "a good day's pay for a good day's work" but "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." (p. 21)

In the minority are individualists, but they are not coerced by the collectivists to join the collective. Individualists cannot hire people to work for them, however they are allowed to cultivate as much land as possible with their families.

It is characteristic of the collective that they do not want to use force against the individualists. They are seen as defenders of capitalist immorality who do not understand the high ideals of brotherhood and solidarity. However, the collectivists do not want to compel them to take the road to liberty. The great difference between bolshevism and anarchism, between state and libertarian communism, is based on this. The social movements of our times have not understood this difference. But the time is not far off when it will be understood. (p. 60)

Finding themselves in a historical context of turmoil, these peasants and workers rose to the occasion. They had a sufficient base to construct an alternative culture which required nothing more than the will and determination to fulfill their potentiality. By placing a rock over a seed, you can keep a flower from blooming; thus the Church and the Army sat heavily on a potential growth which had nothing to do with a rising stock market or a growth in interest rates.

This book is valuable! It is a testimony, a diary of a wiseman who survived barbarism. The Spanish Civil War, we are told, cost the world the lives of 1,000,000 revolutionaries, visionaries, architects of the future. How can we assess this loss, in non-capitalist terms? As yet, there is no language. The heavy burden was returned to its place... The seed lies dormant in the fertile ground.

The peasants of Aragon stormed the gates of liberty, justice and equality, and they lost. This story must be told again, and again until the heavy rock of repression is finally pulverized and absorbed into our fertile soil.

—R. Freewill
With the Peasants of Aragon has been ordered by Groundwork Books, and should be available within a few weeks.

LIBERTY THROUGH THE AGES

EVERYTHING IS ALRIGHT... THE EARTH IS FOR US, BUT THE HEAD IS FOR THE WATER IS FOR THE WINDS, BUT THE POWER IS FOR YOU... THE POWER IS FOR US, BUT THE WOOD IS FOR YOU...

MONIST PA of RUSSIA

THE SOVIETS (COUNCILS OF WORKERS, SOLDIERS, PEASANTS & CITIZENS), THE IRON LANCE OF THE REVOLUTION, HAVE BEEN DEFEATED BY THE BUREAUCRACY, THE TCHERKA, AND THE RED ARMY REPLACE THEM. RUSSIA IS MARCHING IN CAECIDE.

EVERY PROTEST FROM WORKERS AND PEASANTS IS CONSIDERED COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. ON THE FIRST OF MARCH IS THE REVOLT: THE MUTINY OF...

KRONSTADT

A TEMPORARY COMMITTEE OF WORKERS, SAILORS, AND RED SOLDIERS IS ORGANIZED ON THE SHIP PETROPAVLOVSK. IN THE SUCCESSFUL DAYS, OTHER SOVIETS ARE BORN ALL OVER THE U.S.S.R.

THE LOCAL LEADERS ARE ARRESTED IN THE CALM. AT THE START, THEY AFFIRM THE NECESSITY OF REORGANIZING SOCIAL LIFE. HOWEVER, THE PARTY ANSWERS: "THEY ARE THE WHITES!"

THE REVOLUTION OF FEBRUARY (KONOVNIK) AND OF THE SHIP PETROPAVLOVSK IS, IN FACT, BY AGENTS OF THE ENTIRETY... LIKE THE MAY FIRST REVOLTS OF THE WAR, THE GUARDS...

THE REVOLT SPREADS TO PETROGRAD AND GRANIENSK. ZIMOVIEV IS DISPATCHED TO THE SPOT. KRONSTADT IS ISOLATED. THE TCHERKA AND RED ARMY CADETS ENTER INTO ACTION.

WE HAVE ONLY ONE GENERAL HERE, THE COMMANDER OF THE SHIP, AND HE'S IN THE BRIG.

FROM L'ÉCHO DES SAUNES, No. 21. © BY ÉPISTOLIER & VOLNY 1977. TRANSLATION BY BERNADETTE LORANT.

Behind The Presidency of Miguel de la Madrid: Mexico's Electoral Fraud of 1982

When I went to vote for the Mexican Unified Socialist Party (PSUM), they told me that my name didn't correspond to the list. But the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) supporters were voting at every polling place; they were running from one to another—voting two or three times each. How can they say that this (Miguel de la Madrid) Hurtado has won the elections?

—a representative of the PSUM in Juchitan, Oaxaca

Last month, Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) took office as Mexico's President, ending the 6-year term of his predecessor, Jose Lopez Portillo. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the banks it represents see this Harvard-educated neo-Monetarist as the key to the implementation of Mexico's austerity program, agreed upon as a condition for a series of emergency IMF loans beginning in November. Austerity means a major decline in real wages, the elimination of many popular subsidies (such as for fuel and basic food staples), the loss of many public works jobs, in sum, a general worsening of living conditions for the vast majority. Only three hours after taking office, De La Madrid fired Carlos Tello, the left-nationalist director of Mexico's National Bank, whose hostility toward foreign corporations (favoring exchange controls) had caused problems in the negotiations with the I.M.F. Notably, the announcement of De La Madrid's candidacy last year came two weeks after a consultation between Lopez Portillo and George Bush.

One might wonder how the Mexican populace would choose Mr. De La Madrid to rule over them. Considering



A portrait of outgoing President Jose Lopez Portillo (upper right-hand corner) smiles over a Mexico City slum.

the circumstances surrounding this July's elections in Mexico, one might also ask whether they really chose him at all.

The day after the July 4th elections, the papers announced a "thundering majority for Miguel de la Madrid and the PRI." But the people that filed into Mexico City's subway trains that morning were all reading a different news story dealing with "Brazil's Humiliating Defeat" in the World Cup Soccer games; the change from one president to another, from Jose Lopez Portillo's "Alliance for Production" to De La Madrid's "Moral Renovations of Society" was no surprise; "De La Madrid's election," recalls UC Berkeley professor Woodrow Borah, "had been a foregone conclusion for months."

Since the victory of Carranza's U.S.-funded forces over those of campesino leaders Villa and Zapata 60 years ago, the "revolutionary family" that governs Mexico in the name of the "Institutional Revolutionary Party" (PRI) has consolidated an almost insurmountable

mechanism to guarantee its continued control of political and economic power in the country. Of the unionized workforce—almost 5 million people—95% work under government-controlled "charro" unions that rarely, if ever, go on strike but obligate their members to participate in PRI functions—from the annual "Thank you Mr. President" May Day parade to the closing rally of De La Madrid's campaign. The general rule is that workers who are absent from these events lose three days pay. In the countryside, generous portions of meatballs, torta sandwiches, soda pop and chicharron (fried pork rind) lure hungry campesinos to PRI rallies, where participants applaud upon command. As with the labor unions, membership in an ejido—a small rural community which grants small plots of land—automatically makes many campesinos members of the party.

Mexicans often joke of the "acarreados"—campesinos who attend the PRI rallies in exchange for a free meal. In one story, Mexico City's mayor Hank Gonzalez, renowned for his Anglo first name, his mansion in Connecticut, and his title as "The Inter-American Development Bank's Man of the Year," is attending a PRI campaign rally in a backwoods village. Local party officials have instructed campesinos, whose Spanish is still a bit rough, to shout, "Viva Hank Gonzalez," upon his arrival. As Hank enters the village, they shout "Viva Juan Gonzalez!" "Stop!" the party boss shouts back at them. "His name is Hank Gonzalez, not Juan Gonzalez." One of the campesinos then asks, "Do you really expect us to shout in German for just one torta sandwich and a bottle of tequila?"

Political Parties and Electoral Confusion

Until recently, only four parties had been able to legally participate in Mexican elections: the PRI, the National Action Party (PAN), the Popular Socialist Party (PPS) and the



Oaxaca, 9 p.m. December 1981: Police stand guard for the obliteration of a Unified Socialist Party (PSUM) wall painting. By the time the PSUM candidate arrived in Oaxaca no announcements of his presence remained on the walls.

Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM). Because of strong support from conservative tendencies in the Catholic Church, and because it was the only legal opposition to the PRI for over 40 years, the PAN has achieved recognition as the main opposition force in the country. The PAN campaign bases itself on one premise: the anti-democratic, fraudulent and repressive nature of the PRI. Many PAN voters state that they are "voting against the PRI," unaware of the party's base in the old land-owning classes, who, displaced by the "revolutionary family," organized the party from the fascist "sinarquista" movement during the '30s. In his proposal to reverse Mexico's limited land reform, for example, PAN candidate Madero proposed that the community-owned ejido farms be returned to private ownership "so that the PRI will no longer be able to take away plots of land from campesinos who don't support them." The PAN received more than fifteen percent of this year's vote, but party members claim to have received a far greater percentage.

The PPS and the PARM have functioned as the right and left flanks of the PRI, serving to confuse voters with the image of a choice. Both of these parties, heavily subsidized with PRI funds, always support PRI candidates at election time; in this way, the same PRI candidate may appear three times on the ballot. The Popular Socialist Party, PPS, has played a key role in maintaining confusion among the electorate, as their vast number of PRI-funded wall paintings make this party appear as the main force on the Left; in reality, the PPS and the PRI candidates are one and the same. Many suspect that the PPS as an actual party exists only in name: when asked about his party's membership, PPS spokesperson Francisco Ortiz Mendoza stated, "An army does not publicize its size." On the last night of the 1982 campaign, only two parties had ads on the radio: the PRI and the PPS; unannounced to listeners, both parties had Miguel de la Madrid as their candidate.

Political Reform and the Left
The "Political Reform" enacted over the past three years by President Jose Lopez Portillo claimed to open the electoral system to groups previously excluded, particularly to the Left. This year's Presidential elections were the first in which independent socialist parties, not collaborating with the PRI, were able to participate. While neither

could expect to win, the PRT (Revolutionary Workers Party) hoped to use the elections as an organizational tool, and as a means of access to the Congress and Senate, while the PSUM (Mexican Unified Socialist Party) hoped to establish itself as the "second electoral force," to perhaps set the base for the elections of a socialist government six years from now.

Neither the PRI government, nor for that matter the U.S., showed any intention of allowing the Left to

advance. From the outset of the campaign, the PRI engaged in violence and fraud to sabotage the Left parties. When the PSUM or PRT campaigns reached a certain municipality, they would often find that every announcement of their arrival had been scrupulously painted over. As the government controls the supply of newspaper, and can cut off those who print the wrong messages, wall paintings are the main source of propaganda for the Left. When large numbers mobilized themselves for PSUM or PRT rallies, the organizers often ended up in jail. On March 18, one of the founders of PSUM, campesino leader Dario de la Cruz, was assassinated by a non-uniformed paramilitary unit (with army equipment) in the State of Guerrero. The only mention of the incident appeared in a letter to the editor of the Mexico City paper *Uno Mas Uno*. PRT candidate Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, who had risen to prominence in the search for her "disappeared" sons, received 32 death threats during the campaign; several members of her party did disappear in the months before the voting. On election night, she received a phone call that her supporters were "dying one by one."

U.S. Intervention

The U.S. government, concerned about tens of billions of dollars of investment in Mexico, took a keen interest in the campaign. According to embassy sources, the day that five socialist parties merged into the PSUM last fall, officials in Washington called the US ambassador in Mexico at 3 am to discuss the matter.

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) took an active role in local elections of Ciudad Acuña, near the Texas border, where "UD," a Leftist coalition, appeared to be on the way toward victory. The *San Angelo Standard Times*, a Texas paper, warned:

The Mexican people... are getting more restless every day. Some say that they have turned to Communism with the hope of reaching their basic human necessities. Communism, stretching its heavy hand North... is now a stone's throw away from the Texas border of the U.S....

Prompted by these fears, the INS began to intervene directly last December, posting a list of names and photos of "Democratic Unity" (UD) supporters, which Mexican officials had supplied them. When the residents of

Ciudad Acuña and other border towns (legally) crossed into Texas to work or shop, US immigration agents would ask them for whom they were planning to vote, according to Mexico City's *PROCESO* magazine. Those who supported PRI or PAN could pass, while the border agents detained UD supporters for interrogation. Nine UD organizers have remained in Texas jails since December, 1981, under a legal stipulation that members of a foreign Communist party can be prohibited from entry into the U.S. Their only crime had been to "belong to the Mexican Communist Party" and to "participate in political rallies."

Electoral Fraud

As the July fourth election drew near, PSUM candidate Arnoldo Martinez Verdugo announced, "A fraud is in preparation; the PRI is in the process of multiplying its number of votes." In leftist strongholds, the Federal Electoral Commission distributed tens of thousands of bogus electoral I.D. cards to PRI supporters, while PSUM and PRT members clamored that they had not received their cards, without which they cannot vote.

"We have a mechanism here in Mexico," explained a socialist priest who preferred to remain unidentified. "If you are from PRI and I am from PSUM, the Federal Electoral Commission will register you to vote at least once, but they will not register me to vote at all; I won't get my I.D. card."

On election day, according to Mexico City's *Punto Critico* magazine, the Federal Electoral Commission (F.C.E.)



In this year's May Day parade, clubs became necessary to maintain order among workers forced to march in support of the government.

opened numerous surprise polling places, as a way of keeping out representatives of opposition parties. *Punto Critico* estimates that only 20% of the polling places had the representatives of parties other than PRI present.

As the returns came in, the opposition began to report widespread fraud across the country. In Tula, Hidalgo, PSUM claimed to have had four polling place representatives kidnapped. Many voters in polling places without opposition reps reported that the ballot boxes (constructed of a translucent plastic so that one can see inside) were already full when they voted at 6 am. In Cholula, Puebla, the ballot boxes were filled with PRI votes even before the polls had opened. In Monterrey, Nuevo Leon,

PRT members discovered municipal police to be enacting an elaborate plan for robbing and stuffing ballot boxes in which the PRI appeared to be losing. In one Mexico City precinct, PSUM reps noted that 100,000 more votes had been cast than there were voters in that precinct—all of the extra votes were for the PRI.

The "irregularities," as fraudulent activities were called in the press, tended to be more blatant in isolated regions, especially where the Left had gained strength. In Chiapas, near the Guatemalan border, opposition parties denounced the fact that local "caciques" or coffee/cotton plantation owners had forced over 150,000 Guatemalan and Salvadorean refugees to cast votes for PRI under the threat of deportation. In Sohojovel, Chiapas, where 3,000 Tzontil and Chol Indians had marched for the PSUM earlier in the year, the "caciques" used the threat of violence to keep the entire population out of the polling places.

The Left claimed to have been defrauded of victory (for Congressional candidates) in several parts of the country: In the district surrounding Tlapa, Guerrero, PSUM appeared to have won in virtually every polling place to which its representatives had been admitted. In the other polling places, municipal governments prevented PSUM reps from entering, and arrested several of them. The CFE refused to concede PSUM's victory in Tlapa, but according to PSUM members, the CFE offered to double PSUM's vote count in the region if the Unified Socialists would

elections, and claims that PSUM won overwhelmingly there this year. Sócrates H*, a campesino and part-time construction worker in the Juchitan district, recalls that many "Juchitecos" put their jobs on the line this year to vote for the Left:

candidates out of the Congress and Senate. The Federal Electoral Commission did not give an explanation for these rather drastic changes, but the Left cried fraud. "They were afraid to have us in the guts of the system," said Rosario Ibarra



A lot of us campesinos work in the oil refining project near here. At work, the bosses told everyone to vote for PRI; if you didn't, you would lose your job... Since we're all "conocidos" recognized by everyone in town, the 'PRI's' in the voting booths were watching to see whom everyone was voting for. About 200 of us decided to vote for PSUM anyway. We lost our jobs, but we preferred that to voting for the PRI.

Sitting in front of his palm-leaf home, Sócrates explained his opposition to the PRI:

At the PRI rallies, they always kill two birds for tacos and have lots to drink, as if it were a party. This year, they were even offering us tacos in the voting booths if we would vote for the PRI. They say we will have lights, a road and a school, but once in power they take everything that the campesinos have... At our rallies (for the Left), we campesinos go hungry, because we don't have the money for any bulls. But we're organizing for our rights, for the land. The 'PRI's' want to keep the campesinos under their slavery.

Despite the efforts of Sócrates and other "Juchitecos," the CFE claims that De La Madrid and the PRI were also victorious in Juchitan.

A Unique Way of Counting the Votes
The day after the elections, the CFE announced that with 73.1% of the votes counted, PSUM had 1.13 million votes—or 8% of the PRI's 13.6 million. In the upcoming week, however, the CFE closed its doors to the press, later announcing that with 100% of the votes counted, the PSUM vote now stood at only 822,000—a reduction of almost 300,000 votes. Over that week, the PPS and PST, two parties subordinated to the PRI, increased their vote counts just enough to reach the 1.5% necessary to maintain ballot status. The other left party, the PRT, suffered just enough of a reduction (percentage-wise) to keep its

of the PRT, explaining her exclusion from the Congress. "They know that the first thing we'd do there is ask where the 500 'desaparecidos' are."

At a rally against the electoral fraud, Carmen Fuentes of the PRT stated, "Because they left us too wide a space (in letting us participate in the elections), the government had to violate its own laws... The fraud began with the 'Political Reform' itself."

U.S. Ambassador John Gavin, however, saw this year's elections in a different light—as part of "Democracy's triumph in Latin America."

When President Lopez Portillo saw the elections in El Salvador, he said it was a very beautiful spectacle. In the case of Mexico, I think we can say the same; it was a very beautiful spectacle.

*Sócrates preferred not to reveal his last name for fear of reprisals.

—Steve Edinger



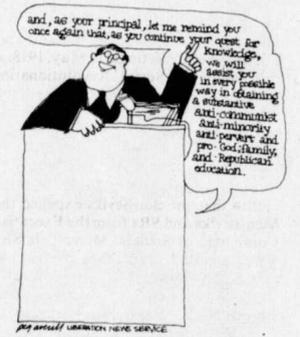
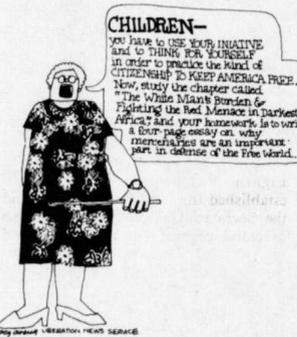
What Directions For the Student Movement?

The following article is a report on the annual conference of the Progressive Student Network, which took place last October. Although the event itself is somewhat dated, that conference reflected a dilemma which is widespread within the student movement. The question of direction, of the shape our movement should take, and the tendency to avoid and/or suppress the issues which confront us is all too typical, not only of the student movement, but of the movement in general.

150 student activists from around the country converged in Detroit for the third annual conference of the Progressive Student Network. The conference, held at Wayne State University, took place October 16th and 17th.

The most interesting speaker was the activist from Solidarity, who spoke of the need to support Solidarity and, more importantly, to build similar groups in our midst. An economist, he noted the irrationality (from an economic point of view) of the arms race, and the material hardships that continued diversion of resources into weapons was creating. He also challenged the assumption that authoritarian control of the economy was more efficient, arguing that "the situation in Poland not only permits, but requires active participation by the people... This is the only chance for socialism."

He noted that the government's tactics in suppressing the workers' movement in Poland were "inhuman, and completely contradictory to the principles of socialism."



Built around the slogan "Education, Not Annihilation," the conference had a strong emphasis on the growing wave of U.S. militarism. Other issues given major attention at the conference included fighting resurgent racism and student organizing.

Those in attendance heard speakers ranging from Black activist (and DSA officer) Manning Marable, to a member of Solidarity who is scheduled to return to Poland in a few months. Other speakers included several activists from the struggles of the late sixties and early seventies, several of whom appeared to have entered into vanguard politics of late. A variety of panel discussions were conducted on topics such as the Struggle for Reproductive Rights, Alternatives to Reaganomics, and the Struggle for World Peace.

More successful, however, were a series of workshops, all of which were scheduled at the same time, thus preventing conference participants from attending more than one. The workshops—which provided opportunities for activists from around the country to share information, discuss tactics, etc.—were designed to appeal to a wide political spectrum. Among the topics discussed were the draft, the disarmament movement, militarism on campus, reproductive freedom and equality for women, fighting racism on campus, and two workshops on coalition building. Workshops on gay rights and violence against women were cancelled at the last minute.

The workshops were definitely the highlight of the conference, offering opportunities for real dialogue and sharing of information, unlike the windy speeches that dominated the rest of the conference. Unfortunately, conference organizers scheduled only one round of workshops (last year's conference had two), thus forcing participants to choose only one of a variety of interesting topics. The workshops themselves, however, were much improved from the previous years, which had concentrated on drafting resolutions to be voted on in the conference's final session.

socialism," but was pessimistic about the short-term potential for change. Following this speech, Black activist Manning Marable spoke of the struggle against racist violence, the need to build coalitions, and socialism.

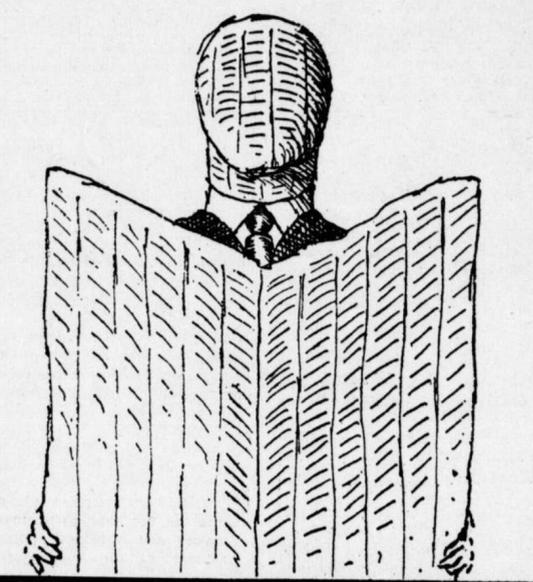
Stating that "the struggle is not merely against the narrow reactionaries... the struggle is to gain power for the people themselves," Marable stated that neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties would confront the basic inequities in society. He was followed by three speakers—each more boring than the last—who spoke on the struggles in the late sixties and early seventies, their roles in those struggles, and how they saw those struggles relating to the current situation. All three targeted the Democratic party for heavy criticism, one stating that "the Democratic party is the graveyard of every movement that goes into it..."

Despite these warnings, conference participants went on, in a frenzied two hour meeting, to endorse a national-lobbying effort to support "friends of education" in Congress. At that final session, a number of resolutions were passed, a new structure of the Progressive Student Network was adopted (the third in three years), and a slate of officers was elected (in 30 seconds flat).

The meeting was kept under strict control from the chair, who ruled several amendments to motions out of order because they had not received prior approval by the conference's coordinating committee, prevented some resolutions that had gone through these channels from reaching the floor, cut off speakers in the middle of their remarks to either rule them out of order or to proceed to a vote, and the like. One participant stated that it was the most undemocratic meeting he had ever seen.

Among the amendments barred from discussion was one calling for a same time/same place demonstration to confront the November 6th Washington D.C. Klan march. Amendments to the PSN structure were not considered unless okayed by the authors of the proposal. Many participants left that

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Announcements (continued from page 2)

Thursday, January 27, 7:30 pm. *The Role of Religion in Our Nuclear Age.* Local representatives for seven different religious denominations address the issue. Church building at 4190 Front Street. Forum sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility. 483-7774.

Friday, January 28, Noon. *Accidental Nuclear War?* Slide presentation with Cedric Garland. Cal Western School of Law Auditorium. 350 Cedar. Lawyers' Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control.

Friday, January 28, 7 pm. UCSD Political Film Series. *Atencingo*, directed by Eduardo Maldonado. Free admission. UCSD TLH 107. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

Friday, January 28, 7:30 and 9:30 pm. *Soldier Girls.* Film documentary on women in the Army. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 1947 30th at Grape. Golden Hill. 232-5009.

Saturday, January 29, 9:30 am- 4:30 pm. Become a draft counselor! Training and information session on draft registration, prosecution of non-registrants, Selective Service System policies, deferments, exemptions, conscientious objection, more. Participants will become qualified counselors for registrants and non-registrants. Western State School of Law. 1333 Front Street, San Diego. (Room number will be posted.) National Lawyers Guild. 233-1701.

Monday, January 31, by appointment. Free, confidential draft counseling at the Wesley Foundation on Campanile, near SDSU. 583-0772.

Tuesday, February 1, 11:15 am- 3:15 pm. Discussion group on Social Security, inflation, unemployment. Cedar Community Center. 320 Date. 235-6538.

meeting, which concluded the conference, outraged over the suppression of discussion.

In many ways, the meeting symbolized a problem that is plaguing the PSN at this time. The PSN lacks a vision of what kind of an organization it is, and where it is trying to go. Many in the PSN leadership seem to view the organization as the reincarnation of SDS, while many members seem to view the organization more as a network of activists and groups. There was no opportunity in the conference to discuss broader goals or direction, although such issues frequently popped up (and were quickly suppressed) in the course of other discussion. In short, PSN is a group grasping for roots and for a sense of purpose and identity, and its leadership is working to ensure that such issues are not discussed.

These problems are reflected in the fact that attendance at the PSN conference has fallen significantly each year they have been held. The conference was not a total failure, the workshops alone could make the conference worthwhile (if structured such that one could over the course of the weekend attend several). And it did offer student activists from two-thirds of the country (no one attended from the west coast) an opportunity to get together to talk about the issues that confront them.

But it could have been much more. The flyer for the conference summed it up well: "We see the need for a broad-based, multi-issue network which facilitates communication and exchange of experiences between student activists. Every year the PSN has a national conference which serves two functions. First, to educate ourselves about current issues... And second, to provide an opportunity for students involved in different issues to meet and discuss their ideas and activities..."

That didn't happen, and it remains necessary.

Russian Revolution, Continued

iron rule of the revolutionary vanguard party.

Marx called the proletarian seizure of power the social revolution. Lenin called the proletarian party's seizure of power as the sole representative of the proletariat the socialist revolution. For Lenin, the first World War created a "revolutionary situation" in Russia, a revolutionary opportunity that Russia's small working class, led by the vanguard Bolshevik party, could take advantage of through an armed proletarian uprising. The 1917 Revolution had smashed the state machinery of the Old Order and had established a proletarian rule through the Soviet system, according to Lenin after Marx's interpretation of the Paris 1871 Commune. The Bolshevik Coup of October, 1917, backed by an armed proletarian uprising, eliminated the vestiges of *bourgeois* rule and inaugurated Soviet rule, under a Bolshevik-held majority that secured the party control over the Soviet's leading executive organ, the Council of People's Commissars. Both Marx and Lenin called their versions of proletarian rule the *dictatorship of the proletariat*, but Lenin made critical additions to Marx's concept.

Since the social revolution, for Marx, would occur in highly industrialized, advanced capitalist societies, Marx's *dictatorship of the proletariat* marked a brief transition period in which the working class—society's majority—would democratically rule society and would socialize the means of production to eliminate class divisions for the transition of society into classless, stateless communism. Lenin faced quite a different situation in backward Russia, and his *dictatorship of the proletariat* had to be different as well.

The rule of Russia's minority working class, expressed according to Lenin through a single vanguard party commanding all of society, truly represented a minority dictatorship in Russia's overwhelmingly peasant society. Lenin added the stage of socialism in the transition from capitalism to communism as a "lower level" of communism in Marx's schema, and he contended that a forceful *dictatorship of the proletariat* through a single, vanguard party was required to make the transition, as well as to build socialism as a transition to communism.

Lenin's formula for War Communism ("Soviet Power Plus Electricity") notwithstanding, the transition to communism would be long for Lenin, requiring the co-existence of capitalism and socialism in the transition to socialism, and the socialization of private property under socialism. A single party representing the will of the proletariat as a ruling class and holding state power was needed throughout as a "power beyond the law" using the state and revolutionary terror to expropriate the ruling class, suppress counterrevolution, liquidate class antagonisms and discipline demoralized elements in the peasantry and the proletariat. The vanguard was also required to organize and rationalize the socialized economy under socialism before the transition to communism was possible, but the use of force and terror was central to Lenin's conception of the proletarian dictatorship. Toward the end of his life, Lenin downplayed this aspect of Bolshevik rule and after 1921 preferred to use administrative measures within and by the party to discipline opponents.

Lenin's emphasis on the vanguard party—its role and its power—never wavered. Nearly everything Lenin wrote was directed toward party practice, and it was Lenin who changed Marx's focus on the industrial proletariat to a focus on the vanguard party. Lenin considered the vanguard party the pre-eminent revolutionary form, and for Lenin's "scientific" Marxism there could be only

one vanguard to express the proletariat's revolutionary will. Party centralism and unity had always been essential principles for a vanguard party, as Lenin saw it.

Lenin, however, did not always dominate Russian socialism. In 1903 his ideas split the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party into Menshevik and Bolshevik factions. The Bolsheviks sided with Lenin, but even the Bolsheviks were split after 1905 around the question of whether to participate in the Czar's Duma. Lenin himself waffled on the issue, first opposing then favoring participation. And the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party Congress of 1906, comprised of all Russian social democratic tendencies seeking unity, remained divided among Duma boycottists, recallists, ultimatumists, liquidators, partyites and conciliators. The period from 1905 to 1912 saw Bolshevik decline in exile, until the party's hardcore once more rallied about Lenin. Formal party consolidation of both Bolshevik and Menshevik factions occurred after 1912.

The 1917 Russian Revolution took Lenin and the Bolsheviks by surprise, and many Bolshevik leaders opposed Lenin's direction in his April theses. Lenin gained complete control of the party only when the provisional government outlawed the Bolshevik party after July of 1917. He was then able, with the party forced underground and temporarily dispersed, to hand-pick a party politburo and move ahead with his strategy for an armed uprising. Yet Lenin did not have party unanimity. Zinoviev and Kamenev opposed the politburo's call for armed insurrection. When faced with Brest-Litovsk and Lenin's willingness to accept the terms of the peace, Bukharin and other Left Communists in the party called for continuing Soviet involvement in the world war as a revolutionary war against German imperialism to inspire the German proletariat into revolution.

What follows, then, is not just a history of Bolshevik consolidation from 1918 to 1921 or Bolshevik rule from 1921 to 1924. It is also a history of socialist resistance to Bolshevism outside the party and to Leninism within the party. For while anarchist and SR notions of socialism were utopian in 1917, imperialist intervention ended in 1919 and the "White" counterrevolution was defeated by 1920. Worker and peasant revolts followed, and an anarchist, syndicalist 'peasant socialist,' even council communist revolutionary society had been possible for Russia in 1920-1921. But again, saying that something was historically possible is not the same as saying it was historically probable.

BOLSHEVIK CONSOLIDATION

The Russian Civil War was a complex experience—it was a regional civil war fueled by nationalist uprisings, a class war between revolutionary socialist workers and peasants and counter-revolutionary generals supported by feudal and *bourgeois* elements, an anti-imperialist war against German and allied intervention, and a war between socialist forces within the revolution. Sorting out these various dimensions to the Russian Civil War, however, is essential to determine the character of Soviet society and what was possible out of the revolution.

With the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, Mensheviks and Left SRs attempted to maintain a socialist opposition to Bolshevism based in revolutionary proletarian and peasant elements not represented by the Bolsheviks within the Soviet government from January through May 1918. The Bolshevik-dominated Third Congress of Soviets approved the dispersal of the Constituent Assembly as well as Bolshevik proposals for central management of the economy. In March the Brest-Litovsk settlement led to imperialist intervention and "White" military counterrevolution which in turn

led to the appointment of Trotsky as Commissar of National Defense in April 1918 and plans for the creation of a Red Army to counter imperialist intervention and "White" counterrevolution.

After the Bolshevik Coup of January 1918 a Bolshevik-inspired Red Army emerged out of the old Russian army. Governed by mass soldiers and sailors general assemblies, with few officers and little military hierarchy, the Red Army from February to May 1919 included irregulars and independent militia units. The Bolsheviks had the support of over half the Russian army and navy which served as the Red Army's nucleus. Non-Bolshevik rank-and-file elements in the military supported the Mensheviks or the Left SRs, and anarchist support was growing. Most of the Czarist officers had joined the "White" generals.

Trouble began when non-Bolshevik elements in the Red Army and the Russian armed forces in general resisted Bolshevikization. The Soviet government had already responded to nationalist agitation after March 1918 with the suppression of non-Russian nationalities, particularly within the military. Mensheviks, SRs and anarchists began anti-Bolshevik agitation in the form of worker and soldier general meetings. In May, 1918, a convention of Social Revolutionaries was raided by the Bolsheviks and the delegates were arrested. The Cheka arrested or attacked a number of prominent Menshevik leaders as well. Right-wing Mensheviks declared Georgia independent in June, the same month that the Bolsheviks expelled the Mensheviks and SRs from the Executive Committee of Soviets. Many Left SRs were arrested and the party was unofficially proscribed. The Left SRs instigated a peasant uprising against the Bolshevik-dominated Soviet regime in July and August, having demanded an end to grain requisitions from the peasantry at the 5th Congress of Soviets in July 1918.

Trotsky set about to systematically build a Red Army along modern lines.

He supplemented the few Czarist officers loyal to the Bolsheviks with commanders drawn from the inexperienced ranks of Bolshevik soldiers and workers, and even resorted to restaffing his new army with ex-Czarist officers captured during the course of Bolshevik victories in the Civil War. He imposed the death penalty for any failure to carry out orders, abandonment of post, and attempts to sell or throw away weapons and other military equipment. And Trotsky, having abolished the general assemblies and reinstated military rank, sought to incorporate under the Red Army's stringent new discipline all irregular detachments and independent units. The "military opposition" within the Bolshevik party, composed of army delegates, complained at the Eighth Party Congress in 1919 that Trotsky was shooting prominent party members serving at the front simply because they disagreed with him, that Trotsky's Czarist officers were betraying the Soviet revolution, that the irregulars and independents who did much of the fighting were being wiped out, and that Trotsky's Red Army was more severe in its discipline than the old Czarist army. Trotsky eventually "rid" the party of its opposition.

In July, 1918 the Bolshevik provisional constitution, based on the principle of soviet power in a dictatorship of the proletariat, led to the establishment of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. And the Eighth Party Congress of 1919 established the Politburo, Orgburo and the Secretariat as the party's supreme executive organs. The first contributed to the July/August peasant revolt instigated by Left SRs, the second to a further centralization of power in the party on the eve of Bolshevik military offensives to consolidate their base territory in Russia.

By the spring of 1918, the Soviet regime had embarked upon War Communism—economic measures

continued on page 12



Russian Revolution, Continued

designed to increase the nationalization of industry, encourage poor peasants to assist the Soviet regime in confiscating grain hoarded by Kulaks, and requisition grain from the peasantry. Lenin considered the nationalization unwise as it was proceeding at too fast a pace, but he justified the grain requisitions claiming that the peasantry was providing the Soviet regime produce on credit for the sake of a large-scale industrial production that could not provide the peasantry with anything immediately. As Trotsky's disciplined new Red Army enforced the grain requisitions within Soviet-held territory in the summer of 1918 the Left SRs responded with peasant revolts.

The Red Army suppressed the SR-instigated rebellions in July and August, and the Social Revolutionaries once more turned to terrorism, attempting to assassinate Bolshevik leaders, including Lenin and Trotsky, during the summer and fall of 1918. Anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists took the lead in the working class and the Red Army with anti-Bolshevik agitation in 1919 under the slogans "All Power To The Soviets" and "Soviets Without Bolsheviks." In contrast, the Menshevik Central Committee acknowledged that the Bolshevik October 1917 Coup had been necessary and popularly supported while condemning the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly in its October 17-21, 1918 meeting.

An allied blockade of Russia was total by 1919. Having thrown their support behind the "White" Generals, in particular after the January 28, 1918 cancellation of Russia's national debt to western capitalism (80 billion golden rubles or 2/3 of the total national wealth), the allies continued to occupy Russian ports and encourage "White" counterrevolution and nationalist uprisings. The "Whites" held 60% of the railways and key regions of industrial and grain production by spring 1919. And the war within Soviet Russia continued, as the Cheka turned its full attention and revolutionary terror against dissident revolutionary socialists and anarchists, who responded with the Left SR/anarchist bombing of Moscow Bolshevik Party headquarters on September 25, 1919.

In 1919, in the middle of this Civil War, the Bolsheviks formed a Third International. More will be said of this Third International in Part Seven, for now its role in trying to foment international communist revolution needs to be mentioned. The Bolsheviks hoped for an internationalization of the Russian Revolution, both to stop imperialist intervention in the Russian Civil War and to aid the Russian proletariat in building socialism. The Third International collected together many notable revolutionaries, among them Gramsci, De Leon and Dimitrov.

It sparked many proletarian agitations and uprisings, while inspiring the formation of a number of communist parties in other countries. This spread of working class agitation, to include the growth of anarchism as a result of the First World War and German workers revolt that ended the war, did help convince the imperialist powers to eventually withdraw from Russia. But the International categorically failed to spread proletarian revolution to the west.

This left the battle against the "White" Generals and their allied supporters to the Red Army under Trotsky's command and various irregular detachments and independent units. On the defensive through the winter of 1919, the Red Army mounted offensives in the east (Spring, 1919) and in the west (by Fall, 1919) that secured a base territory for the Bolshevik controlled Soviet government, around Petrograd and Moscow along a narrow corridor to

the Caspian Sea. Allied forces, already confused over strategy, withdrew late in 1919. Trotsky commandeered what railroad system remained in Soviet hands (the bulk of locomotives being located in Petrograd and Moscow) and proceeded to use the Russian railways to spearhead attacks into "White" territories, transporting troops, artillery, even cavalry into battle by rail.

Steady Soviet advances through the 1920 winter captured "White" territory between the Black and Caspian Seas down to the Georgias by spring, and secured the Soviet eastern frontier with the capture of Archangel and Murmansk. Soviet advances along the west in the 1920 summer against the "Whites" succeeded in the southern Ukraine, defeating General Wrangel's last "White" army and forcing the allies to evacuate Wrangel from the Crimea in November, 1920. In the northwest, however, Soviet armies were confronted by the strong nationalist forces of Poland and weaker Ukrainian resistance forces. Poland defeated the Red Army and established a border with the Soviet regime well to the east of the 1919 Curzon ethnic line. The Red Army's retreat on the Polish front produced grim orders from Trotsky to detain those retreating and shoot one in ten to deter the route. The Ukrainian forces were easily defeated, but a western-supported, independent Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania insured the new Soviet nation and its Bolshevik rulers limited access to the Baltic.

By fall of 1920 the Bolshevik Red Army and the Bolshevik-dominated Soviet regime had defeated the "White" counterrevolution and defined a border with Slavic nationalities to the west. The "Whites" had been defeated because there was no overall cooperation among the "White" forces (due to their sponsorship by different allied forces with different strategies), their indiscriminate, mass use of "White" terror against peasants, workers and intellectuals and their reactionary, feudal monarchist outlook which had no program for agrarian reform. Differing allied attitudes toward continued intervention and worries about revolutionary unrest spreading, in turn, split support for the "Whites" and led to eventual withdrawal. The first phase of the Civil War had been concluded, in which the Bolsheviks established an iron discipline over the Red Army and the new Soviet regime and expanded state command over the economy through the militarization of factory and local soviets. From 1918 to 1920 the Cheka executed between 12 and 50 thousand people in its revolutionary terror directed not only against "Whites," but against leading Left SRs, Mensheviks, anarchists, syndicalists—in short all non-Bolshevik socialists who came to oppose the Bolshevik regime. More-discriminating than the "White" terror, Bolshevik terror focused on leadership in the socialist opposition. In 1920, the war within Soviet socialism remained.

Anarchist, syndicalist and Left SR forces in the Russian proletariat and peasantry led the revolutionary unrest from 1920 to March 1921, with anarchists spearheading working class uprisings. After the split in the First International, anarchism and Marxism existed as roughly equal forces in the international working class/socialist movement until Marx's death in 1883, but anarchism experienced a general decline in support from 1880 to 1914 as a result of a number of factors. First was the growth of syndicalism proper, coming to dominate the French proletariat, accompanied by the consolidation of reformism in the English working class through trade unionism and revisionist, Fabian Marxism. And second, anarchism itself took an unfortunate turn with the *attentat*, individual terrorism that emerged as a byproduct of Kropotkin's communist anarchism. By the first World War, anarchism's base had been reduced to the proletariat and peasantry of southern Europe. All branches of

revolutionary socialism increased in influence as the first World War dragged on.

Russian anarchism produced Tolstoy, Bakunin and Kropotkin, but its influence was sharply curtailed by the use of Narodnik-style terrorist tactics of assassination. From 1905 to 1917 anarchist, anarchist-syndicalist and syndicalist forces established themselves firmly once more in the Russian working-class with ideologies of decentralized soviet-power. Throughout

Russia's insurrectionary peasant socialism and an insurrectionary proletarian sovietism, an alliance that Bolshevism under Lenin's demands for party vanguardism, centralism and unity could not make.

The second phase of the Civil War from 1920 to spring 1921 was nothing less than an anarchist/Left SR-inspired uprising against Bolshevik rule that was supported by the Russian peasantry, proletariat and minority elements in the Bolshevik military. And a decentralized,



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Kulture: Godard's Art: Film As Prostitute

Feminists in Minnesota asked Jean-Luc Godard why he portrayed women as he did for his last film, *Every Man for Himself*. He replied, "I use prostitutes, what's wrong with that?" This wasn't my only thought before I went to J.P. Gorin's "Hard Look at the Movies" class. He was showing Godard's film that night, but I was thinking that the quarter shouldn't have started so quickly. I had gotten used to the routine of waking up at 5:30 in the afternoon, eating a meal, falling in love and going back to sleep again. What's wrong with that?

Godard is always praised. When he makes a statement it becomes history. His cinema is so well informed (with his quoting of literature, painting and the history of film) that criticism of his work becomes almost impossible. Even if you dislike or disagree with what he says, you are still convinced that he is saying exactly what he meant to say. You can argue with Godard, but you can't really criticize his films.

The respect for his work also stems in part from most people's compassion for his crucial preoccupation with the "politics of the image." Let's face it: "politics is a question of signification." Thus, the story is not important; representation of the image becomes the main concern.

Godard strives to establish an identity between the nature of the women within this film and that of the historic role relegated to "Woman," which is mother, prostitute or lover. By showing women under the guise of the above roles he flatly shows repression and subsequent violence as inevitable.

The film contains a search for passion; yet three times in the film that word is denied. If passion exists, it must not be shared. When the prostitute (Isabelle) is introducing her sister to the tricks of the trade, she asks to examine her sister's breasts to see if they are of correct size. As she lifts her shirt to expose her breasts, the sister becomes in that moment desexualized. The image functions to make her body a commodity thus denying her any chance to live with her breasts in a different and erotically liberating way.

Isabelle's defense against the well-established commoditization of her own body is attempted by living within her fantasies. Yet even these fantasies always end in failure just as her body always acts in service of her clients' needs rather than her own.

Even the "lovers" in the film, Paul and Denise, are denied any sexuality between them and can only touch through inevitable violence.



Finally, Paul's family (his ex-lover Collete and daughter Cecile) witness Paul being hit by a Mercedes Benz only to walk away claiming it's none of their business anymore.

Godard's representations have a human force that is politically ambiguous. In Godard's system of belief, ideology is collapsed. Nothing is more real than Godard's own agony in trying to create (what?) within a world where all systems guarantee failure. What we are presented are women who are blind and mystified, defined by the immediate character of their needs and their total alienation at the hands of their masters—employers, lovers and husbands. This idea of total separation between men and women with no hope for reconciliation gives the film its atmosphere of a feminism dulled by surfeit and excess.

For Godard, women are conduits of relationships. Their constancy of nurturing, whether it be as objects of humiliation or as anchors for men in life's streams, makes them ultimately traditional. The Left defends this representation for they hold in adulation Brecht, who defined—in stone—Socialist Art as always brinking Man on

the eve of Revolution (that is to say, alone, still blind, on the point of having his eyes opened to the revolutionary light by the "natural" excess of his wretchedness). When we watch someone who is blind of what is in front of them, we see someone who does not see; we, in compensation, then become intensely aware of what that person does not see. The film doggedly exclaims that our reality guarantees failure. There is no hope for our world, only that we live and exist and fold up like roadmaps. Thus, by turning the audience into accomplices to his pessimism and leaving them gutted, Godard is able to desexualize women and cut-off debate.

What's wrong with that? Healing a sick human being by making them sicker or by showing wretched human beings never revolting doesn't seem to hack it. Film as a prostitute only foils Godard's attempt to liberate. For no matter how passionately he boxes and packages his tool of emotional destruction he can only disassociate meaning from its form and leave us with a cliché. What compels a man to use prostitutes, to come face to face with his own inability for passionate human contact with a woman.

—Barry Hyman



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



Selected Blasphemy

In this issue we reprint excerpts from Jean Paul Sartre's statement to the Swedish press representatives in Paris the day after he had been awarded, and refused to accept, the 1964 Nobel Prize for Literature. (From *The Philosophy of Jean-Paul Sartre*, ed. Robert D. Cumming.)

...My reasons for refusing the prize are both personal and objective.

These are my personal reasons. My refusal is not a sudden decision. I have always declined official honors. ...A writer who takes a position on political, social, or literary questions should rely only on the means which are his—the written word. Any honors he might receive expose his readers to a pressure which I consider undesirable. The signature 'Jean-Paul Sartre' is one thing; the signature 'Jean-Paul Sartre, Nobel

Prize winner,' is something else.

...The writer should then refuse to allow himself to be transformed into an institution, even under the most honorable circumstances, as on the present occasion....

These are my objective reasons for refusing the prize. The only struggle at present possible on the cultural front is for the peaceful coexistence of the two cultures, East and West. I do not mean that reconciliation is in order. I fully realize that their confrontation must necessarily take the form of a conflict, but it should be between (people) and cultures, without the intervention of institutions.

...This is why I cannot accept any honor awarded by the cultural authorities, whether of the East or of the West, even though I appreciate the

justification for their existence. Although all my sympathies are socialist, I would be just as unable to accept, for example, the Lenin Prize, should it be offered, which has not happened

...In the present situation the Nobel Prize appears objectively as an honor restricted to writers from the West or to rebels from the East. For example, it has not been awarded to Neruda, one of the greatest South American poets. Louis Aragon has never been seriously considered, but he deserves it. Unfortunately it was awarded to Pasternak before Sholokhov, so that the only Soviet work to receive the award has been a work published abroad and prohibited in its own country.

...In the citation of the Swedish Academy, freedom is spoken of. This is a word that lends itself to numerous interpretations. In the West it is taken to mean abstract freedom. But to me it means a more concrete freedom—the right to have more than one pair of shoes and to eat when hungry. There seems to me less danger in declining the prize than in accepting it. To accept it would be to lend myself to what I would describe as an "objective salvage operation." I read in *Figaro Litteraire* that my controversial political past should not be held too much against me. I realize that this article does not express the opinion of the Academy, but it clearly indicates the interpretations that would have been put upon my acceptance in certain right-wing circles. I regard this 'controversial political past' as still valid even though I

am entirely ready to admit to my comrades past mistakes I have made.

I am not implying that the Nobel Prize is a 'bourgeois prize,' but there you have the bourgeois interpretation that will inevitably be offered by circles I know well.

UCSD Students Rally For King...

continued from page 1
within the military and disproportionate numbers of non-white people who are jobless and poverty-stricken. Robert Tambuzi gave a rousing interpretation of King's life and outlook. He brought up many of King's ideas that, no doubt, would be considered too radical by organizations like the Urban League—ideas like the immorality of military intervention and the necessity of civil disobedience when confronted with unjust laws or institutions.

The rally was followed by a cook-out and stimulating discussion among participants. Organizers for the event must be given credit for their fresh and innovative approach to what could have been an otherwise unnoticed commemoration. In the future, however, more attention should be given to tightening up the focus. Lack of adequate media coverage may well have been the result of the event's political ambiguity. One positive note: once people get a taste of what it feels like to engage in collective political action, the repressive powers-that-be had better watch out!

Long Stories In Short

A Cohesive Group

Surgeon Commander Morgan O'Connell, of the Portsmouth (England) Naval Hospital, a psychiatrist who accompanied the British task force to the Falkland Islands, as quoted in *The Guardian* of London: "Yes, we indoctrinate them in the forces. Otherwise they wouldn't fight. That's why we cut their hair the same, make them wear the same uniform, make the same salute, and march together. We indoctrinate them in order to enhance group cohesiveness. That's how you get people to fight."

—the Progressive

UC Chancellor Spies For NSA

Ira Michael Heyman, chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, is on a committee to devise new codes for the National Security Agency. *Grassroots* was told by an unimpeachable source. The NSA is the largest secret organization in the United States. With a payroll of over 90,000 people (plus Heyman), it listens in on all the commercial and personal telephone and telegram traffic throughout the world.

It started out during World War I to listen and/or read only government communications, friend or foe. Today, its automated listening devices print literally miles of tape each day. Your phone call or telegram may be included, especially if you are sending a message overseas or to the White House.

Within the past couple of years, however, NSA officials felt its codes were being compromised—i.e., being understood—so it called upon the academic community for help to design a new code system.

This is where Berkeley's chancellor comes in. He is a member of a group doing just this. Heyman's talent for codes has never been acknowledged in Berkeley, at least officially.

—Berkeley Grassroots

Only His Hair Stylist Knows

Ronald Reagan has become famous for his public speaking bloopers. He's invented phony welfare shirkers and told Brazilians he was happy to be in their country—Bolivia.

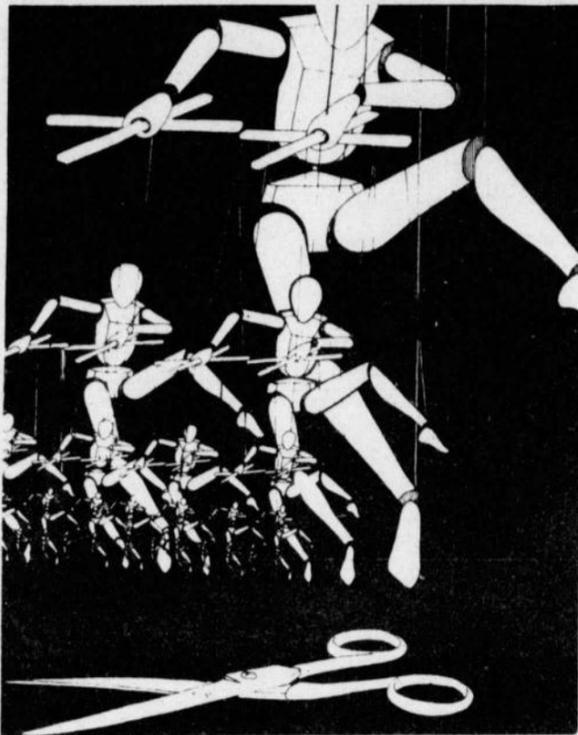
But it's not just *what* he's talking about that Reagan doesn't know. When asked whether he was going to visit the Vietnam veterans' memorial, Reagan replied, "I can't tell until somebody tells me. I never know where I'm going."

—Dollars & Sense

Reagan Perfectly Clear

President Reagan on civil defense, as quoted in Robert Scheer's new book, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War*: "I think we're going to have to start a civil defense program. I think—see, they violated and we kept to the premise that McNamara, in the original getting together and what resulted in our doing away with our antiballistic missile system, at a time when we were ahead in technology on that."

—the Progressive



CORE: Sinking Deeper and Deeper

In 1976, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) created a furor when executive director Roy Innis announced his intention to recruit U.S. Blacks to fight alongside the forces of Unita, the group which was seeking to topple the newly established government in Angola.

Although the plan was eventually dropped, Black and progressive activists severely condemned CORE for supporting Unita—an anticommunist group supported by the white minority regime in South Africa—in its challenge to the Marxist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

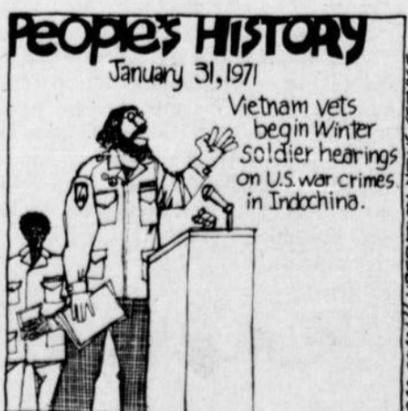
Activists charged CORE with actively siding with the forces of racism and imperialism.

Six years later, however, CORE's objective support for imperialism against third world liberation struggles has apparently continued.

At its 40th anniversary convention in New York City early this month, CORE presented an award to Gen. William Westmoreland, who directed U.S. combat troops against the Vietnamese liberation forces during the height of the Vietnam war.

A CORE spokesman said that the award was a tribute to Vietnam-era veterans who, he said, "never got their due recognition" and that Westmoreland was selected by the civil rights group to receive it on the veterans' behalf.

Westmoreland played a major role in the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the suffering and killing of millions of Vietnamese civilians, Vietnamese liberation fighters and U.S. soldiers. Yet according to a report in the Dec. 11 *Amsterdam News*, Innis "said (at the convention) that whatsoever criticism may have been directed against the general during the height of the Vietnam conflict is unfair because 'the man was carrying out orders'."



At the same convention that honored Westmoreland this month Innis, in an equally gratuitous move, presented a "Corporate Affairs Executive Award" to a Black vice-president for the Anheuser Busch brewery. The presentation of the award to Wayman F Smith comes at time when Rev. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH organization has been trying to build Black community support for a boycott of Busch products.



Innis was not available for comment when contacted at the CORE office in Harlem. But a spokesman, Phil Boynes, defended the award and the choice of Westmoreland as the recipient. He called Westmoreland "a decent fighting man" and said CORE blamed "the politicians," not Westmoreland, for U.S. involvement in Vietnam. "He carried out his orders like any other soldier," Boynes said. "He had no choice."

Boynes stressed that CORE did not and does not support the Vietnam war. Another spokesman, George Holmes, said that Innis opposed the ideas of presenting the award to the general but was overruled by a majority of CORE's 17-member board of directors.

While deploring the U.S. government's "genocidal wars" around the world, Boynes however said that CORE has a policy of encouraging Blacks to serve in the U.S. armed forces. Such a move, which he called "common sense" approach, would serve two purposes, Boynes said: the opportunity to get military training for Blacks that could be used as liberation fighters in the future and, reducing skyrocketing unemployment in Black communities. "Learning skills in the army is a reasonable alternative to starvation and pushing drugs."

Guardian

Bosses Admit To Killing You

There's great controversy about the proportion of cancers in America that are work related.

The estimates go from 1 percent-5 percent favored by industry, to as high as 40 percent from a report by the National Cancer Institute a couple of years ago.

The American Industrial Health Council (an industry group formed to simply fight OSHA cancer standards) recently hired a consultant to challenge the report.

He estimated that only 20% of cancers are occupationally caused.

That means even the companies admit that at least 200 people each day die from cancer they got at work.

Strike!

Pentagon Loves Unemployment

"We're getting all the recruits we need," Defense (sic) Secretary Weinberger stated after presenting President Reagan with a report from the Military Manpower Task Force. The Pentagon's total task force objective for Fiscal Year 1982—which ended September 30th—was 2,107,000. Actual strength as of June 30th was 2,107,000. The report noted concerns that while the eligible military-age population is 12% Black, over a third of the enlisted people in the Army are Black, and Blacks make up 22% of the Armed Forces overall. "I think it reflects primarily the basic patriotism of Black volunteers," Weinberger declared. "As the President has very well said, it's an honor to wear the uniform again, and there's been quite a change in the country with respect to the way the military profession is viewed."

—Industrial Worker

Windmills Not Quixotic

In a recent discussion of alternative energy programs, White House aide Ed Meese asked rhetorically, "What can a few windmills do?" Southern California Edison and a couple of alternative energy firms are hoping to give Meese an answer in a few years based on pilot projects in California's San Geronio Pass near Palm Springs. By 1990 it is predicted that 2,000 windmills could be operating in the gusty 175-square-mile patch of desert, producing 1,000 megawatts of power—more than the energy output of Hoover Dam.

In These Times

Directory Censors

All abortion clinics in Sidney Australia were informed by phone that the words "abortion" and "termination of pregnancy" would no longer be permitted under the family planning listings in Sydney's Yellow Pages—to be listed only under "the pregnancy counseling" section. All clinics were told to decide on the phone, whether they would withdraw the listing they had already paid for or agree to the limited listing.

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