

new indicator

Volume 8 No. 15

UCSD

16th year of publication

May 31st - June 13th 1983

Student opinion ignored...

University of California Renews Attack on Affirmative Action

Flying in the face of student opinion, the University of California is in the process of completing a renewed attack on Affirmative Action. A five-year Student Affirmative Action plan recently submitted to the California Legislature undermines existing affirmative action programs, and offers

INSIDE THIS ISSUE:

History of Socialism, UCSD Medical School Policies, Rape and Sexual Liberation, Kulture, Pornography, S & M and much much more...

no new programs or solutions designed to counter steadily declining minority enrollments.

Related plans for each campus in the UC system are also being drafted. The systemwide and campus five-year plans are being developed in response to supplementary budget language, and no significant student input has been sought despite the fact that the budget language specifically mandates the UC to "involve the existing student affirmative action committees in the formulation of all aspects of the University's SAA (Student

Affirmative Action) plan."

UCSD's Five Year plan is approaching completion, and should be submitted to Systemwide administration within the coming weeks. Although the text of the most recent draft claims that the plan has been approved by a wide variety of constituencies including the Associated Students, this has not yet occurred.

Meanwhile, the state is considering a proposal to transfer affirmative action programs from the University of California to the State Department of Education. Such a move represents a danger to the continued viability of these programs—insofar as they are viable—due to the state's precarious financial position. Much of the current funding for affirmative action programs is not drawn from state funds, and serious question exists as to whether, in this time of budget deficits, the state would be willing to make up the funds necessary to maintain the programs at their existing levels, let alone carry out the kind of expansion and redirection that is necessary to increase their effectiveness.

The main feature of the UCSD plan is continued on page 6

San Diego City Council Refuses Moratorium on Sleeper Hold

Last week the San Diego City Council paid what amounts to lip service to the community's outrage over the strangulation death of Barry Preston, Jr. at the hands of San Diego police officer, Christopher Ball. Preston died of asphyxiation after a sleeper hold was used to subdue him despite the fact that he was handcuffed and shackled in the back seat of a patrol car.

San Diegans, including many Black, peace and community activists, took turns angrily speaking out against both the use of the sleeper hold and the racist brutality of the San Diego Police Department.

By unanimous vote, the City Council passed a motion introduced by Councilperson William Jones—the Council's only Black member—calling for more "restrictive use" of the sleeper hold, reviews of both police complaint procedures and human relations training procedures, and expressing support for Assembly Bill 1530 (that would prohibit such holds). None of the above, however, constitute actions that would effectively alter the behavior and/or policies of the Police Department in any substantial way; yet, there was some controversy as to whether City Council has even this level of authority with regard to Police Department policy.

Council member Jones had backed down from his original position that a moratorium be declared on the hold, and contented himself with the watered-down motion and a short scolding levelled at the Police Department before the hearing broke up.

Police Chief William Kolender, as expected, came out against A.B. 1530, refused to consider Jones' admonition against "casual use" of the hold, and remained true to form by proclaiming that "we will use whatever force necessary to carry out an arrest."

It was noted that the San Diego Police

Department uses the sleeper hold an average of 500 times per year—or 3 times every 2 days. The hold renders the victim unconscious by cutting off the flow of blood through the carotid artery.

Kolender went on to announce minor policy changes related to the use of the hold (e.g., taking PCP-intoxicated sleeper hold victims to the hospital for evaluation before taking them to jail), and the formation of a task force to "determine the most effective, efficient and humane (sic) methods for dealing with persons resisting arrest in a violent manner, with emphasis on those under the influence of PCP or other hallucinogens."

Barry Preston was under the influence of PCP at the time of his arrest. Police have used this fact to gloss over the brutal and essentially racist nature of the incident and justify their use of the controversial hold.

In a further act of insensitivity, the Police Department showed one of their own films on PCP users at the hearing in which users were stereotypically presented as being only Blacks. SDSU professor Shirley Weber noted that the racist nature of the film was indicative of a systemic problem, and stated that the film should be banned. Council member Jones agreed that the film was inappropriate and shouldn't be shown.

All in all, the Police Department received little more than a verbal slap on the wrist from City Council. The Department instituted a few superficial changes in their procedures, but made it quite clear that they would continue to use the sleeper hold whenever they felt it necessary.

While there can be no doubt as to the racist nature of the attack on Preston, the problem of racism and police repression belongs to all of San Diego.

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NINTH WEEK

Solar Turbines Unleashes Strong Union Busting Campaign

On April 27 Solar Turbines Inc. fired 10 members of Machinists Local 685 and suspended another 4 for 30 days for allegedly engaging in an "unlawful work stoppage" on March 31. The original suspensions of the 14 took place on April 5 & 6, but the company stalled around for 3 weeks, desperately trying to dredge up some kind of "evidence," before it was forced to make its final determination.

The case of the Solar 14 is part of the widespread pattern of concession contract demands and union-busting tactics by Big Business during the current deep recession. Caterpillar Tractor Co., the owner of San Diego-based Solar Turbines Inc., recently settled a 7-month strike with the U.A.W. on the basis of a labor agreement with major wage and benefit cuts. The current attack by Solar on Local 685 is a big part of the company's effort to weaken and immobilize the union in preparation for contract negotiations in 1984.

Included among the 14 are a number of the more vocal and progressive union activists in the local who have been outspoken in protesting company policies and practices relating to discrimination, job combinations, and work rules. The fired members include 3 committeepersons and a number of former committeepersons, a steward for one of Solar's 3 major facilities, an executive board member of Local 685, and a number of members of the Machinist Action Committee, a rank and file caucus within the union.

By firing some of the union's most outspoken and active members, Solar is trying to intimidate and pacify the rest of the membership of the local and cripple its ability to negotiate the 1984 contract. And by singling out mainly one group for firings, the company hopes to exploit

any divisions within the union and bust it up as any kind of cohesive fighting force.

Solar's assault on the union, however, has only helped to create a larger, stronger, and more unified movement against its union-busting tactics. The 14 have filed a group grievance to be reinstated with full back pay, and the union has filed unfair labor practice charges on their behalf against the company. Gate collections have been taken up every week at the plant to prevent the company from trying to starve the 14 out. And other locals and community groups, especially in the Black and Chicano communities, have been contacted and have expressed their support for the Solar 14.

It is easy to see how trumped up the charges are against the Solar 14. Like 240 other workers at Solar, the 14 took some time off on March 31, the day before the 3-day Easter weekend and the last day before a new restrictive company attendance policy went into effect. Many of the 14 got passes from their supervisors to leave the plant and were told not to expect any discipline. The only difference between the 14 and the 240 others who may have gone fishing, gone to the Padre baseball game, or gone to the desert or Mexico, was that the 14 happened to stop by a particular area of Balboa Park in the vicinity of the plant.

The company had hired spies to tail the 14 to the park and take photos and movies of them to try to cook up some kind of evidence of a collective work stoppage and protest rally against the company's new attendance policy. But the 14 were never there at the same time and the extent of their activities included

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New Indicator
Student Organizations
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Notes From The Collective Desk...

Alternative Media Attacked By AS

As the new indicator goes to press, the Associated Students are involved in deliberations that may well determine whether or not alternative media will continue to exist at a desired level at UCSD.

In a budget that features substantial increases in A.S. funding to more mainstream journals, the Media Board—handpicked by *Koala* editor Timothy Pickwell—has recommended devastating budget cuts for the new indicator, *Voz Fronteriza* and *The People's Voice*, *L'Chayim* and *KSDT* Radio. The Board's recommendations for the new indicator involve more than three thousand dollars of budget cuts, in areas ranging from printing to photography, from typesetting paper to our modest work-study salary position. These cuts would force us to reduce our publication schedule by three issues per year, to curtail our office hours and distribution, and prevent us from serving students as a information and research source.

In a related move, the Media Board passed—with absolutely no prior warning to the media concerned—a series of Media Board Charter amendments, which threaten the autonomy and continued viability of alternative media. These amendments, which require A.S. approval (and are expected to go to vote June 1), would give the Media Board control over advertising revenues and donations, set strict restrictions on the format of alternative newspapers (although conveniently exempting most more

mainstream journals), and limit the number and size of issues, among other changes.

The Board seeks to justify these attacks by claiming that they are attempting to "deal with each publication in an equal and fair manner." What this means, at least in theory, is that all publications will be treated the same, whether they come out annually or every other week. In practice, it is even worse. Not only are publications not judged on their relative merit (and throughout the entire budget process Communications Commissioner Tim Pickwell has stressed the need to avoid judging publications on their merit, and to avoid prioritization of some media), but the Board is actively moving toward homogenization of campus media; in appearance, content, regularity, etc.

In 1981 UCSD students approved a referendum question to increase Campus Activity Fees by \$2 on the condition that it be distributed to Student Organizations and alternative media. However contrary to student's wishes, what we have seen this year is an increase in the AS's administration budget (phone calls, pencils, paper, etc) and a decrease in funding to media and Student Organizations. If the commitment to alternative media as mandated by the general student body is to survive, these moves by the Media Board must be blocked. And students must remind the Associated Students, in no uncertain terms, of their commitment to alternative media.

LETTERS

Support Ballast Point Blockade

So, what does this mean for students at UCSD? Quite often we hear students being labeled as apathetic towards the issues outside their daily lives. We think, rather, that this is a feeling of powerlessness and helplessness. Recently students have watched our state legislators chop the UC budget without consideration of the consequences. Yet, here at Ballast Point submarine base the Federal Government has stationed more than 25 nuclear powered fast attack submarines armed with nuclear tipped SUBROC torpedoes. General Dynamics Convair in Kearny Mesa is producing the sea launch and ground launch missiles. There have been test firings of the new generation of sea launch cruise missiles from submarines just off San Clemente Island. San Diego is one of the most beautiful places in America to live—it is also a prime target for Soviet nuclear missiles.

The time to act is now. We will join in protest with people the world over, especially the people of Europe against Reagan's "winnable nuclear war". Students need to realize that they can make a difference in the world. Once the bombs start dropping it will be too late.

Many Americans still hide under the illusion of peace guaranteed by the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). Recall Jimmy Carter's Presidential Directive 59 which contained three points. First, it called for the creation of a rapid deployment strike force; second, it instituted the

registration of all young men in preparation for a draft; third, and most importantly, it ordered the re-targeting of U.S. missiles from Russian cities to Russian missile sites. Thus began the shift in U.S. strategy to the use of nuclear weapons in an offensive manner. Nuclear war has now become "winnable", not in the minds of the American people, but in the minds of the Pentagon and our governing elite, Republicans and Democrats alike. The



unreliability of high technology makes it impossible to knock out all of the Soviet missiles in a "First Strike" maneuver. Even if 10% of the Soviet missiles survive such an attack, you can kiss this country good-bye. America's finest city will become America's finest cemetery. Tens

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

TUES. MAY 31

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting. New volunteers welcome! No previous media experience necessary. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

7:30 PM: *No Frames, No Boundaries* film showing at Carlsbad Library, 1250 Elm. Pilgrim Peacemakers. 729-3790.

WED. JUNE 1

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

7:30 PM: *Militarism: A Forum on the Social Impact(s) of Militarism—On the Economy, on Society, and on the University*. Speakers Herbert Schiller, Norris Clement and Frank Gormlie, plus short documentary film on economic conversion, *Who's In Charge Here?* Free admission. UCSD Humanities Library Auditorium. UCSD Student Cooperative Union, UCSD Progressive Coalition. 452-2016.

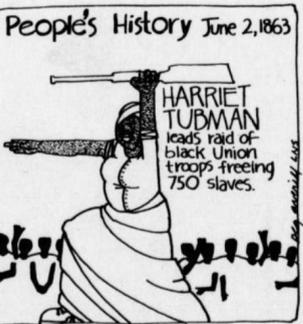
THURS. JUNE 2

5 PM: *Bombs Will Make the Rainbow Break*, film about how children feel about nuclear war and what they think should be done to prevent it. Fellowship of Reconciliation. 479-4125.

7:30 PM: *The News Media and El Salvador*. Local journalists describe recent experiences in El Salvador and show video tape. Benefit for Mexico-U.S. Border Conference. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 30th & Grape. Golden Hill. 232-5009.

8 PM: *Toward Peace in Palestine*. Lecture on latest developments in the

Middle East by Hatem I. Hussaini, Deputy Observer of the Palestinian Mission to the United Nations. UCSD TLH 107. ASUCSD Programming Commission.



FRI. JUNE 3

1 PM: *Bilingual and Bicultural Education in the 1980's* presentation with Raymond Buriel. UCSD TLH 104. Chicano Studies Program. 452-2136.

2 PM: *Can Machines Be Studied Sociologically?* presentation with Bruno Latour. UCSD HSS 7077. Sociology Dept.

7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series. *Blow for Blow* (1972) directed by Marin Karmitz and *A Time To Rise* (1981) directed by Anand Patwardhan. Free admission. UCSD USB 2722. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

9 PM: Non-Sexist Dance. UCSD Che Cafe. UCSD Lesbian and Gay Organization.

SUN. JUNE 5

9 AM: *Jog/Walk-a-Thon/Picnic*. 28th & Grape. Fundraiser benefit for Center for Women's Studies and Services. 233-8984.

TUES. JUNE 7

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting. Bring suggestions for 1983-84 *Disorientation Manual*. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

WED. JUNE 8

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

FRI. JUNE 10

4:30 PM: Groundwork Books TGIF party. UCSD Student Center. 452-9625.
7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series. *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* (1969) and *The Ceremony* (1971), both directed by Nagisa Oshima. Free admission. UCSD USB 2722. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.
7 PM: *Night in Solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese People*. Speakers, photo exhibit, more. Oneira Club. 4649 Hardy. Committee for a Democratic Palestine.

SAT. JUNE 11

11 AM: *Fourth Annual Sherman Block Party*. Musica, comida, ballet, folklorico. 21st & Market. Sherman Unidos.

SUN. JUNE 12

2 PM: Discussion with Jerrold Johnson, personal representative of the U.S. Secretary of Defense to SALT II talks. USD School of Law. Grace Court Room. Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control. 425-8356, 222-2745.

7 PM: *Mexican Gay and Lesbian Posters*. Gallery closing presentation by Frente Internacional de las Garantias Humanas de Tijuana. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 30th & Grape. Golden Hill. 232-5009.



WED. JUNE 1

NOON: Picket to protest U.S. nuclear weapons production and deployment. Federal Building. Front and Broadway. Community Energy Action Network. 275-1162.

Funky La Jolla

By Rambling Rosie

If you're tired of dealing with pre-meds, pre-dents, econ nurds and your ever present engineer at UCSD, a change is in the air if things go according to plan...The UCSD Academic Senate and a committee of UCSD faculty and administrators have approved a merger of California Western School of Law and UCSD to create a public law school on campus...Now all we need is a football team and then we can expect UCSD to quickly climb from its current rank of 17th among universities in the country...

Meanwhile over at the Medical Center one of the most up-to-date *in vitro* fertilization/embryo transfer labs has been in operation for over three months now and rumor has it that it's doing brisk trade with over three hundred women on the waiting list...

By now most of you must have picked up the latest copy of that noxious rag commonly known as the *California Rearview*. Apart from their usual petty personal swipes (which they call "political analysis"), this time they also displayed their true colors on the issue of rape...According to the *Rearview*, the gang-rape of a woman in a tavern in Mass. by six "brave" men is considered liberating. Need I say more at the risk of

Rape and Sexual Liberation

"The sexual liberation movement scored another victory on March 6th in New Bedford, Mass. when six brave men in an effort to break down taboos, inhibitions and self-repression gang-raped a woman in Big Dan's Tavern while patrons watched and cheered, showing that they too were liberated."

—California Review, May 1983

Contrary to the beliefs expressed in the *California Review*, rape is not a "victory" for the sexual liberation movement. A disturbing aspect of their assertion is that "in an effort to break down taboos, inhibitions and self-repression" gang-rape can be liberating.

Any sexual act that employs force or coercion by one person over another is not liberation, but the expression of the unequal power relations that tolerate and encourage such action. Moreover, as long as the existing social relations continue, wherein the male dominates society and the woman continues to experience stereotypes concerning her basic nature, her capabilities and her "proper" social role, (all of which are manufactured and reinforced by the male dominated society), women will remain trapped in inequality and subject to continued oppression.

The role women have adopted as "natural" and "preferred" is precisely that which has been force-fed through the various medias, church, educational systems and family structure. The passive, submissive and flirtatious way women approach dealing with life, promulgates disrespect, domination and disgust from their male counterparts. The "lady" who is taught to "sit with her legs crossed" beckons the prying open of "Pandora's Box" to release all the evil and the beauty previously held prisoner within the imagination. Woman's sexuality is (and should be) considered her own, not to be subject to stimulation by the whim of men. When woman can be said to control the gratification, reproduction and preference of her own sexuality, then will there be a "victory" in the movement toward sexual liberation.

It is the control of female sexuality that has so completely consumed male-dominated American society (numerically women out-number men). Fallacious examples of femininity flutter across television screens, magazine covers and assorted promotional for industry (movie, cosmetic, fashion, etc.). In keeping pace in an atmosphere of competition and profit expectation, industry has expanded its control over female sexuality to include a broader

—Bernadette Blake

being nauseous...
Ostensibly the *California Rearview* hails itself as a "conservative" newspaper and "the most prestigious journal on campus." It goes onto proclaim itself to be an alternative, when in fact there is nothing alternative about it. Representative of a recent trend surfacing on some of the more upper-middle class campuses around the country, the *Rearview* is a neo-conservative student publication that generally offers little more than intellectual tailings of the corporate-university-military complex currently in power. In reality—based on its last year of publication—the *Rearview* offers no creative insight into the building of a constructive future perhaps because it mimics the perspectives of a dying breed and its exploitative and destructive way of life...

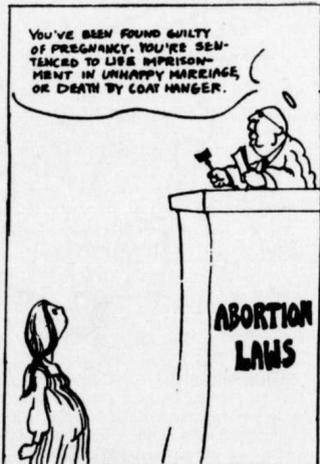
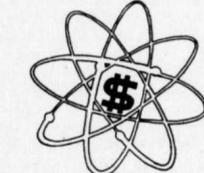
But make not mistake, the *Rearview* is not an apologist organ for the powers-that-be; *Rearviewers* haven't reached that point yet. Their role at this point of their nascent careers is that of sibling sycophants competing for a future place at the oligarchy's table. To this end, toxic wit and right-wing adventurism serve as attention getting devices...

Enough said of those siblings...Onto other things. Over at Revelle College, once again the Revelle College Council (RCC) has been allowed to conduct business in a most blatantly questionable manner without any reaction from the administrators in that part of the campus...According to sources, RCC appointed its representative to the AS Council by narrowing the applicants down to two candidates. It appears that one candidate, Jeff Meyers, had a few friends on RCC who would stop at nothing to see him get the post...to the point of calling executive session—with the other candidate asked to leave the room and Meyers allowed to remain—ostensibly to "decide" on the finalists...According to sources, RCC

wanted so badly to make sure that Meyers got the post that he was allowed to vote for himself...Oh well, there's nothing like friends in the right places...

In the Student Center, in the meantime another coup was neatly planned and executed...Not relishing the prospect of working with an uncooperative Student Center Board (SCB) Chairperson for the coming year, the administration according to sources had no choice but to violate the SCB Charter and convince administration yes-man and last year's SCB chair, Paul Jansen, to run for a second term...this despite the SCB Charter stipulation that "the Chair shall be elected for a one year term" which Jansen and the administrators who support him claim doesn't preclude him from running for two consecutive one-year terms...There's a lot at stake, and obviously Joe Watson and his designates who "arranged" for Jansen to be re-elected are not afraid to do whatever is necessary to keep control of the Student Center. At stake is the future of the entire Student/University Center proposal which has been heavily opposed by students, and Watson's desire to re-write the SCB Charter to seat staff and alumni reps on the Board. Last year's Board, despite Jansen's underhanded manipulation of the Board and deals with Watson, managed to defeat the proposed amendments, but with Jansen at it again students may have to take other action to see that their interests are served...What's Jansen's constituency? No one knows, save Joe Watson and his underlings...

That's all for now...See you next time.



The fact that women have encountered so much hostility and outright humiliation (sexual harassment on the job) when trying to enter the male dominated job arena, is proof enough of an encapsulated fear men have of sharing an already competitive job market. This fear extends into the bedroom and makes no stops along the way. Into the courtroom, into the hospital, into the restaurant; in the case of rape, on the streets and in front of our own children on the television set and in newspapers. When the fear has become too much to bear, the frustration and disgust of women in competition and control of their own lives (to say nothing of their sexuality) comes full circle to be vented in hostility and impotent desire. As Peggy Sanday asserts, "Men seek to preserve a threatened identity by retaliating by force and engaging in competition for status with other men."

TOWARD PEACE IN PALESTINE

A Lecture On The Latest Developments In The Middle East

Dr. Hatem I. Hussaini Deputy Observer of the Palestinian Mission To The United Nations

Thursday June 2 8:00 p.m. UCSD TLH 107

Sponsored by ASUCSD Programming Commission

the new indicator is officially recognized as a campus newspaper... the new indicator is a collectively produced university-community newspaper... articles and letters are welcomed. Please type them double-spaced, on a 55-space line and send to: new indicator collective/UCSD B-023/La Jolla, CA 92093. ph: (619) 452-2016

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MS. MANAGEMENT



Dear Ms Management:

I went to the Reuben H. Fleet Space Theater in Balboa Park last Wednesday. I bought a ticket for the show, two films: "Tomorrow in Space" and "Voices from the Sky". Very promising indeed as I cannot ever have enough information about outer space discoveries. Furthermore, "Tomorrow in Space" was made by the same animation team that works for NASA. When the show began, I was impressed by the technical ideas. But, unfortunately, as it went on I realized the emptiness of the whole thing. The entire show was only a series of advanced technical gimmicks; nothing interesting in either movie. As the "animation" went on (only drawings of fake man-made satellites and pseudo-complicated machines traveling in space) the monologue had no information at all, not the slightest scientific fact but only platitudes and self-adulation about how smart scientists are, especially Americans, of course. The level was not even addressing children, as most of them know more than what was said at this Space Theater. It sounded like a show made twenty-five years ago, because of all the "cliches" used. Even Jules Vernes would not have sat through it! I am outraged to witness how money is wasted for so-called scientific education. No doubt that the persons who made the films had only in mind to show how

technically clever they are, only to make more money.

I felt they despised the public! Besides, not only the government spends our tax money to finance this kind of uninteresting program, but we also had to pay \$4.00 to see such garbage.

What is worse is that, being films for the masses, the whole collective consciousness is lowered by such low quality propaganda. How can we impeach money-grubbing philistines and get started to promote true education of the public in whatever subject treated.

signed,

"Unhappily Uninformed"

Dear "Uninformed",

Already you suspect that information is being withheld from you—information which you wish to possess—and this makes you one step ahead of many of your brothers and sisters. Knowledge is truly a treasure chest guarded jealously by those in power. "Smoke screens," "red herrings," and a whole bag of magicians' tricks have been concocted to assure the privileged their private access to knowledge. Gargoyles and bureaucrats, drugs and high tuition all work to assure that knowledge will seldom fall into the hands of "the wrong people"—those hands which could change the status quo.

The shallow narcissism of many technocrats is enough to transform curiosity into outrage. Contemporary bourgeois ideology is promoting quantitative work and discouraging qualitative analysis and philosophical inquiry. It is encouraging premature and narrow specialization, and cultivating resentment towards any interest shown for interdisciplinary studies.

The castrating division of labor has been successfully preformed. We are no

longer expected to possess a general culture: OBEDIENCE is enough. Not educated to be responsible to our own needs and the needs of our environment, we are instead "trained" to be RELIABLE: Our task must be preformed! The mold for such a mind of interchangeable parts was forged in a furnace of Patriotism fueled by callow self-sacrifice.

You seem to have escaped this particular model of "perfection" and do not "fit" in well. You are irate at the injustice of technocrats withholding information from you about your universe. You have discovered that your interest in the stars must begin with your feet, where you stand on this earth and in

signed,

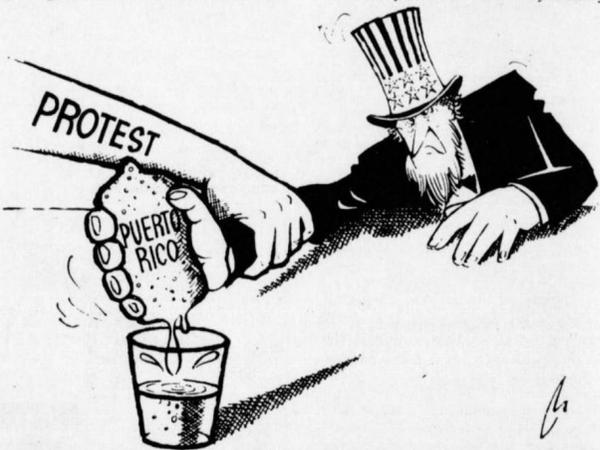
Ms. Management

Puerto Rican POW transferred to San Diego...

State Continues Harassment of Puerto Rican Independence Movement

During the first week of May, Puerto Rican Prisoner of War Haydee Torres was abruptly taken from her prison cell in Pleasanton, CA, and transferred to the Metropolitan Correctional Center in San Diego. This move came just 4 months after an intensive campaign throughout the country succeeded in getting her transferred out of M.C.C.

the Puerto Rican people. Today, Puerto Ricans face debilitating poverty, high unemployment and genocidal conditions: 40% women sterilized, 25% of the men; 1/2 the nation forced to migrate to the U.S., and a U.S. scheme called the 2020 Project. The 2020 Project plans to turn Puerto Rico into 11 industrial parks, surrounded by military



and to Pleasanton. Doctors have diagnosed Haydee as having serious health problems which could develop into cancer. The M.C.C. is a high rise holding tank where there is no access to fresh air, exercise, fresh food, etc.—conditions essential for Haydee's health.

This transfer of Haydee Torres is part of a campaign of harassment and intimidation by the U.S. government of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement. Haydee Torres is one of 11 Puerto Rican revolutionaries currently serving long prison terms in the U.S. They are accused of membership in the Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN), an armed clandestine organization fighting for the independence of Puerto Rico inside the U.S. From the day of their arrest in April, 1980, all 11 have steadfastly refused to recognize the right of the U.S. to judge them or their actions. They have demanded Prisoner of War status, a right accorded to them by the United Nations, which has been forced to acknowledge that all colonized people have the right to take up arms to free themselves and their nations.

Puerto Rico has been a colony of the U.S. since it was invaded in 1898. 85 years of colonization has meant that the political, social and economic life of that nation has been destroyed and distorted to benefit the colonizing power and not

bases. The center of the island is to be strip mined for valuable minerals like copper, manganese, nickel and cobalt. If this plot is successful, it will mean not only the physical destruction of the Puerto Rican island, but the destruction of a nation of people.

Haydee and her ten compatriots are part of a growing movement that will not allow the U.S. to impose its genocidal will on their nation. Despite repressive conditions, the 11 P.O.W.s remain firm in their commitment to driving out the U.S. from Puerto Rico and reclaiming the nation for the good of the people.

Our support for them and their struggle is very important. The government wants them isolated, and we must not allow this to happen! We are urging people to write letters of protest, demanding that Haydee be moved from the M.C.C. Send letter to: Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C. and to: Warden, M.C.C. 808 Union Street, San Diego. We are also planning a demonstration in San Diego in late June. Contact us: New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican and Mexican Revolution, P.O. Box 60925, Los Angeles 90060, (213) 392-8733.



Write for the new indicator

Send submissions to:
new indicator, UCSD, B-023, La Jolla, CA. 92093



UCSD Medical School Policies Leaves Much To Be Desired

"clinicians or physicians" (which oddly enough they are). I hope you will see the following parallels.

Policy Origin: Here "clinical policy" parallels our academic review policies, the process you are subjected to as an essential requirement for passage through medical school. As Dr. Eddy point out, although some clinical policies are produced by organizations with direct legal or economic control over implementation, the overwhelming majority are produced not by a recognizable group, but by hundreds of physicians acting individually. As a relatively new medical school, our dependence upon questionable recommendations by the first policy makers could have set the tone for subsequent conflict between students administrators and faculty about what is a fair academic policy. Faculty administrators are not to blame for this evolution of policy that has now come to

should be accompanied by an equally compassionate academic one. Please don't misinterpret my point, the level of academic standard is a moot issue in this instance. I am referring instead to the process of evaluation given our rigorous exam schedules where we take 6 final exams in 5 days our first quarter, and time-pressured in fewer and lengthy exams our second quarter, that cause many students to leave question unanswered and 5-10% of our student body forced to repeat the grueling experience, not immediately after notice of poor performance, but at the end of the summer. What do these exams policies actually measure? More importantly, how has a group of physicians and academicians that make-up these different committees come to see these practices as fair? As the oversimplification problem is stated by Dr. Eddy, we tend to be satisfied with documenting one or two immediate measures of outcomes, apparently taking for granted that this implies a benefit for the real outcomes of interest, such as longer life, less suffering, and decreased disability. Do you see the analogy, Rachel?

Empiricism: What blame can be placed on individuals when they bring to the policy-making table the best of their empirical knowledge? People tend to over-emphasize factors that can be easily observed (test-scores for example), that have occurred recently, or that have a high emotional impact, and to



Only four out of ten entering students ever graduate from UCSD, according to official university statistics. Thus the odds are that you will either leave this institution, or if you choose to continue, find the experience here a "grind." The following piece explores the arbitrary nature of policies that determine our continuance at this school by examining the dismissal of a student from the School of Medicine.

After hearing of my close friend's unfortunate dismissal from the UCSD School of Medicine (UCSD-SOM), my fate was to find a useful article while perusing through the New England Journal of Medicine, that made me believe something more needed to be said about her case. I will refer to her as Rachel:

Dearest Rachel,

I extend my deepest sympathy to you after receiving word of your official dismissal from our medical school. I sincerely hope that your career goals will survive these two turmoil-ridden years. Certainly you should realize that you are not an undesirable student, nor should you find fault in our school faculty or administrators for they did not intend to be malicious. When tragedy strikes, it is our tendency to personalize the situation and we fail to see such events as opportunities for perspective thought. I hope that I can facilitate a learning process completely separate from the vindictive stance I have seen taken by many of our classmates by making some important points.

You see, you must understand the fundamental role decision-making processes have in the various course committees and academic standing committees that have reviewed your case ever since you began this trek two years ago. If it is of any therapeutic use or consolation, I suggest that you read the excellent Special-Article section in the August 1982 issue of the New England Journal of Medicine (Volume 307, No. 6, pp. 343-347). There you will find the article, "Clinical Policies of the Quality of Clinical Practice" by David M. Eddy M.D. PhD. Certainly after reading this article you will begin to realize how your dismissal is simply an extension of a basic problem that plagues our medical system insidiously.

Dr. Eddy's article is like a pint of fresh blood to an elderly victim: it helps to profuse the dying tissues of an already dying person, providing nutrients in huge concentrations long unseen by the elderly person's own bodily system. Dr. Eddy is familiar with the medical system enough that his knowledge has deemed space in one of the most respected medical journals. I guarantee you Rachel, that it will not be difficult to extrapolate from Dr. Eddy's descriptive critique of clinical decision-making to the sort of decision-making that occurs at this medical school. It is easy to see parallels between us medical students as "patients" in this article and faculty and administrators assuming the role of

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S.D. City Council...



Police brutality is not limited to Black and Latino communities, but can occur wherever people are not among the empowered of this society. The repression that is represented so clearly in incidents of police brutality can only be successfully fought when people come to understand that the struggle needed must be a collective one involving many communities. And this realization was evident in the community outcry that occurred at the City Council meeting last week.

underemphasize, says Dr. Eddy, factors that are not easily observed, difficult to measure or difficult to identify with. These are not grounds for blame, Rachel, think clearly. These are grounds for understanding. You see, Dr. Eddy is strikingly precise in pointing out that empiricism in medicine is a legacy of the ancient Greek empirical school of medicine thought which based all knowledge on experience alone and had a deliberate disregard for theoretical study. Theoretical study for UCSD-SOM translates into finding means to end the execution of unapproved procedure year after year, where full make-up exam policies for each and every class be made a reality instead of the present make-up exam policy that awards you the opportunity to take a make-up exam but only after failing one, and only at the end of the summer. In the face of our faculty and administrators' empirical training, this almost seems impossible to except. One of the most important consequences of empiricist thinking is the tendency to draw sweeping conclusions from a few observations. That the poor performances of some students may be a reality at any medical school, the consequences suffered here are larger in magnitude as easily observed when some 10-15 students have scored failing grades on 80% of our exams.

Policy by consensus: Dr. Eddy states that the achievement of a consensus about a clinical recommendation is often interpreted as evidence that the recommendation is correct, and it is an unfortunate truth that a consensus can be determined as much by the number of statements that advocate a certain position as by the quality of those statements. Can you see Rachel how this occurrence could totally redefine consensus as being the point at which the errors, oversimplification, and biases converge only to unnecessarily identify what is not best?

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MILITARISM:

A forum on the Social Impact(s) of Militarism: On the Economy, On Society, and on the University



SPEAKERS:

- Herbert Schiller**
Professor of Communications, UCSD
- Norris Clement**
Professor of Economics, SDSU
- Rick Nadeau**
Community Activist
- Frank Gormlie**
Community Activist

FILM:

"Who's In Charge Here?"
A short documentary on military spending and economic conversion

Weds., June 1 7:30 pm
H.L. Aud. Free

sponsored by: Student Cooperative Union (OSG)
co-sponsored by: Progressive Coalition, ASUCSD

CAMPUS NEWS

University Of California Renews Attack on Affirmative Action

to establish goals for the proportion of American Indian, Black and Chicano students in entering classes, based upon, but substantially below, their representation among high school graduates. Thus, UCSD has established a goal of attaining a level of representation for Blacks, Chicanos and American Indians well below their representation in the general population (a situation aggravated by the fact that these groups have historically lower retention). These goals, Student Affirmative Action Committee (S.A.A.C.) chairperson Taiji Miyagawa notes, "are far too low." Moreover, "there isn't any real, substantive evaluation of why the programs have failed up to this point, and nothing in the plans—either Systemwide's or UCSD's—really speaks to that. Why is it that these programs haven't been working? The tendency is to blame problems on the high schools and the secondary education system. Many of the things that are being raised are valid, I'm sure; but the question is What's UCSD going to do about it?"

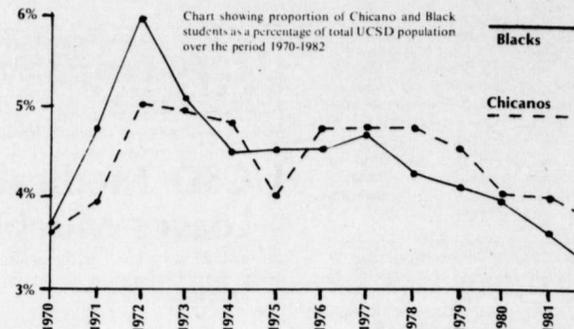
Declining Enrollments

Perhaps this question can best be answered by looking at what UCSD has done about affirmative action in the past. As the graph shows (page 7), enrollments of Black and Chicano students at UCSD have been declining as a percentage of the undergraduate student body ever since 1972, when Chancellor McElroy and now-Vice Chancellor Watson suppressed Lumumba-Zapata College. The administration's policy of suppressing all independent student initiatives aimed at transforming the nature of this institution—the most significant of which was the three-year Lumumba-Zapata College movement—has had a

clear and negative impact upon the numbers of minority students at this campus. Similarly, the administration has consistently ignored the concerns of students in structuring and administering affirmative action programs. This administration policy has had disastrous effects. Expressed both in absolute numbers and as a percentage of the undergraduate student body, the number of Black and Chicano students at UCSD have consistently declined, a trend that has accelerated since 1978.

The administration's five-year plan, however, ignores this reality; instead claiming that "from the late 70's to the present, minority enrollments at UCSD continued to increase, but levelled off as a percentage of total undergraduate enrollment." This claim flies in the face of the facts. In 1978 there were—according to a document prepared by the Associate Vice Chancellor for Planning's office—365 Black undergraduates at UCSD, in 1982 there were 325. Similarly, the number of Chicano students dropped from 395 to 375. Thus, the UC is making no progress in increasing minority enrollments from their abysmally low levels.

This trend of declining minority enrollment is directly attributable to administration policies according to Taiji Miyagawa: "The Regents never supported Affirmative Action in the first place. Some of the demands that people were raising on different campuses were met with National Guard, tear gassing and a lot of police beatings, and things like that... This has been happening over a period of time, since the programs' inception, and I think its definitely consistent with things we've seen in the past. The cuts in ethnic studies, the



merger of EOP (Early Outreach Program) with the Office of Relations with Schools, stripping it of its autonomy, it's perfectly consistent with that."

"Across the board the student concerns haven't been addressed," he continues. "One of the things that's consistent in the five-year plans, both at Systemwide and at UCSD, is that they totally deny all of the concerns that have been raised by students... So 34 students could get arrested two years ago, raising mass concerns about not just recruitment and retention, but also the type of education we're getting, and just be ignored."

Attacking Affirmative Action

Many of the criticisms of the UCSD Affirmative Action Plan focus on the underlying ideological assumptions. Throughout the report, virtually no mention is made of curriculum and faculty issues—issues the University insists, in the face of all evidence to the contrary, have no relation to recruitment and retention. Similarly, the document asserts that "The University has historically pursued a policy of non-discrimination in all of its operations." Like many, Miyagawa questions this claim: "My position in the meeting that I attended, which was rejected by Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Affairs

nothing less than "normal, everyday life." We are living that dystopian nightmare and we are scarcely aware of it.

Difficult choices must be made: either the future will be Bell Telephone's, the computer's, capital's, or it will be ours. Lewis Branscomb, IBM's Chief Scientist, has argued that the "ultimate computer" will be biological, patterned on DNA, grown in a petri dish, implanted in the skull, and "interfaced with the brain." Whether or not these sorcerers will accomplish their designs, the world they are creating today in their laboratories will be unfit for human life, for love, and for freedom—words which do not compute.

If we are to salvage what semblance of humanity there is left in us unutilized by modern warfare, mechanization and mass society, we must call up that spirit to destroy this way of information and its pseudo-promise. Don't be lured by science fiction paradises or the wonder of machines taking over tasks which should never have been done in the first place. Let us not be thwarted or cowed by the smug and satisfied computer specialists and their apologists who liken our "irrational" fears and our resistance to a "primitive nostalgia" and a latter-day luddism—epithets which we proudly acknowledge. *The luddites were right.* The social and ecological horrors we see today are the result of the industrial promise which they opposed.

Contrary to what the bosses, bureaucrats and corporate hustlers tell us, computerization is not inevitable. It does not have to come about if human beings make the conscious decision to stop it.

Use the tools at hand, simple handtools, neolithic tools, hammers and sledgemothers, even stones will do. Of course, these tools won't be enough. We will have to create communities of resistance—but there must be resistance.

Watson is that its completely irresponsible to make such statements... that is just blatant distortion of fact."

"By the end of the meeting," he continued, "speaking to the graduate school programs, Joe (Watson) was saying something to the effect—and he was dead serious about it amidst the laughter among his staffers and myself—that the beauty of the graduate school plan was that it didn't take into account historical inequality, it didn't take into account history, and the Affirmative Action goals can be broadened to include any member of society. The example he used was, for example, if you say that a certain graduate school, professional area, if you had 'over-representation' of Jews against an 'under-representation' of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, the beauty of this document is that it can be applied to Affirmative Action for White Anglo-Saxon Protestants so that they can achieve parity within that particular graduate school."

Vice Chancellor Watson was not available for comment, and his staff would not make an appointment for our reporter to interview him until late June, after classes are out. Similarly, other administrators—including Assistant Chancellor for Affirmative Action Joyce

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Affirmative Action...

Justus—did not return our calls.

Pilipino Students Dropped

Another significant change in the new plans is a proposal to drop Pilipino students from the list of traditionally under-represented students meriting affirmative action recruiting. The U.C. justifies this action by claiming that the University has reached "parity" for Pilipino students (i.e., that the proportion of Pilipino students at the University of California has been equal to or greater than the percentage in California's high school population for five years).

This decision has been protested by students at U.C. Berkeley, Davis and Los Angeles. Taiji Miyagawa, chairperson of S.A.A.C., raises two

primary objections to this development: "There are a couple of problems with this, because (1) We have information that actually refutes that they're (Pilipinos) at parity by the university's own definition... Based on their own figures and their own definition of parity, parity only existed for two years, not five. So it's not even accurate by that definition. The other problem is where did this five-year parity view come in. And nobody knows. You ask some of the staff people, the high-level staff people here at UCSD, and nobody knows where it came from. It didn't come from them. It didn't come from the students..."

Solutions Needed

The Five Year Plans do not address issues such as curriculum, composition of the faculty, budget cuts, Financial Aid cutbacks, and entrance requirements; all of which have a major impact upon recruitment and retention of minority

LETTERS

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of millions of American deaths are now an accepted side effect of a "winnable" nuclear war. While ordinary citizens get fried, those directly responsible are whisked safely away. The choice of who is to live and who is to die is out of our hands. While the House and Senate vote on a nuclear arms freeze (a powerless, symbolic gesture with no consequence), it is up to all of us concerned people to take direct action to turn the situation around. Non-violent civil disobedience is clearly civil defense.

Anyone interested in finding out more about the demonstration at Ballast Point and the affinity group, Quetzalcoatl,

which participated in the recent Vandenburg demonstration can contact Jesse Smith at 452-2311. The group's next meeting will take place on May 31, 5:30 pm. at the Ché Café. Those planning to participate in the June 20th Ballast Point blockade are required to enroll in a non-violence training workshop on any Saturday until June 20th. For more information regarding the Ballast Point legal vigil or to make reservations for the workshop, call CEAN at 275-1162. For additional information concerning the blockade, call the Ballast Point Organization Project at 282-8510.

Quetzalcoatl Affinity Group

Kirkpatrick and Free Speech

Guess who's coming to champion freedom of speech: U.S. Ambassador to the UN, Jean Kirkpatrick, that's who. No, not for repressed people under the foreign neo-fascist regimes she supports, but on American campuses where students find her imperialist message more propagandistic than educational.

ABC's Ted Koppel (Nightline), in a government-inspired stint on TV (5/18/83), rounded up college presidents and other respectables to shift the focus of student confrontation to the sole issue of freedom of speech for Kirkpatrick. By publicly spanking "bad-mannered" students, they might deter future college audiences from demonstrating disapproval, since free speech is a concept which few would contest. Our military salesmen who back repression abroad would have student dissenters observe Gentleman's Club rules in life-and-death issues.

Koppel et al must not be allowed to steer us into arenas of their choosing. The most important freedom is freedom to live—a freedom denied those ruthlessly murdered by the power-hungry rulers of oppressive governments receiving unstinting largesse from the Reagan administration. "Bad-mannered" student encounters are a direct way of showing Kirkpatrick, a government representative, how they feel about untenable policies. The respectable, approved means of dissent, siphoning off outrage into sage channels, is to "send a letter to your Congressman", a frustrating dead end

Florence Fox

Malcolm X Honored at UCSD

A day long event commemorating Malcolm X May 19th drew more than 300 students at its peak. Beginning at noon with a concert by the UCSD Jazz Ensemble, a program alternating speakers with music continued into the evening, when a forum featuring Ron Karenga (former leader of U.S.) concluded the commemoration.

Perhaps the most rousing speech of the day was delivered by former UCSD Black Students Union Ken Overton,

who spoke on the historical legacy of Malcolm X and its relevance to contemporary struggles. Other speakers mentioned the recent police murder of Barry Preston, the need to become involved to a greater degree in San Diego's Black community, and other issues.

The events were sponsored by The People's Voice newspaper, the Black Students Union, and the Black Science Student Organization.

students. Indeed, stricter entrance requirements recently approved by the Regents can be expected to further limit the numbers of minority students entering the University.

The University cannot continue to attribute all responsibility for its miserable affirmative action record to the inadequate preparation of minority students in the high schools. Instead, the

continuing decline in minority enrollments.

"Right now the UCSD administration, and the Regents as a whole, are going all out to raise fees, to go along with the cutbacks in financial aid, to eliminate ethnic studies and special programs" concludes Miyagawa. "A lot of it has to do with the fact that the student movement right now is in a



June 1981: 34 student are arrested after sitting in at Chancellor's Office

U.C. must work both to enable students to overcome these deficiencies in the short term, and to establish coordination between the higher education systems and the primary and secondary schools aimed at improving the quality and breadth of education in those schools. The current program of continuing programs which have proven to be unsuccessful can only lead to a

relative low, it's building, and it's on its way back up, as indicated by some of the demonstrations over the past couple of weeks, but the administration is not taking into account any of the concerns raised by students... The only thing that's going to change the Regents is something along the lines of '68, the mass movement that pressured the Regents into giving up these concessions"

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UCSD Medical School Policy...

The Burden of Proof... rests squarely on the shoulders of those who seek to change existing policy solely because of the false premise on which existing policies may be based. Dr. Eddy's statements have epitomized the situation at UCSD—SOM when he phrased the "burden of proof" point this way, "problems arise when a policy that was admittedly arbitrary when it was created, becomes time-honored, standard and accepted."

Decentralization: The UCSD—SOM severest wounds have been inflicted by the policy structure's fundamental flaw of decentralization. There are separate course-committees that review our academic standing each quarter, administering their separate policies completely exclusive of their course-committees. As you know Rachel, the final decisions are merely forwarded to the highest governing body to do with academic-standing, the Standing and Promotions Committee (SPC) without extensive discussion between these two bodies about student performances. It's as if the telephone wires are down between the small town called course-committee and the large city called the SPC. With absolutely no mechanism for thorough analysis of an academic problem between course-committees and the student, nor extensive enough communications between course-committee and the SPC, is it not plain to see how present policy structure limits true networking that can coordinate many interests with a higher incidence for deliberations and mutual conclusion? The decentralization issue exempts no department at UCSD—SOM from this infection, as self-interest motivates each department, be it admissions, the Office of Student Affairs, or course-committees.

Utilization Review: It humors me Rachel, that Dr. Eddy can be as precise and empathetic as he has been through the article. His view concerning

utilization review and the impact it has on students confirm my belief that his student days are not far behind. The parallels are between school assessment methods and quality of care or utilization in a clinical setting are stunning. He states that many of the methods currently used to review utilization or assess the quality of care can inhibit the modification of bad policies. Assuming existing policies to be correct only leaves identification and investigation of cases that deviate from an average as the completing step to quality control. What is wrong with this approach? It is that these methods do not re-evaluate the policies themselves, only whether current policies are being followed. The institutionalization of false assumptions causes us all to miss out on opportunities to improve the policies themselves.

I hope that consolation can take the form presented to you in this letter. The tragedy of such concerted tribute to the study of medicine for two years, only to succumb to UCSD—SOM policy for many of the reasons presented above should be thought-out carefully. None of these policies are explicitly stated as parts of existing policy, they can only be considered in a separate light to the implicit rules of conduct for any institutional member to follow. That they do not exist at UCSD—SOM may be the easiest confirmation to receive from any of the school's committee members. But the reality of my own futile effort to remain with the first year class greets me everyday when I must continue business as usual at our school and have been given the luxury of extra time for thought, only to confirm my belief that a great injustice is taking place exactly for the reasons stated above. Recall for consolation if nothing else, that understanding should be exercised as much as possible; you can't blame a blind person for not seeing. Finally, Rachel remember, as once told to me by a respected doctor: if medicine were an art it would be referred to as the ART OF MEDICINE...that is why we more commonly refer to it as the PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

Sinceramente,
Joe Nieto (UCSD—SOM)

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



Selected Blasphemy

Our Selected Blasphemy this issue is an abridged version of an article published in the Spring, 1983 issue of Fifth Estate. One of the best and most interesting anti-authoritarian papers on the continent, Fifth Estate offers a radical critique of technology, militarism, the state, and related matters. Subscriptions are \$5.00 (5928 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48202).

It had to happen eventually, and it did. That repository of pre-masticated mediocrity, that script for dullards, Time magazine, declared its "Man-of-the-Year" a machine-of-the-year, the computer. The magazine gave a lavish spread to this loathsome invasion, joining in the corporate chorus with its declaration, "A new world beckons."

In the wise-cracking, cynical style of the hawk and the confidence man, an editor wrote in the introduction, "...I want to sell you one of these beauties, 'cause you need it and 'cause you want it, no matter what you say. Deep in your all-American heart (you are American, aren't you, pal?), you crave this little honey, which will count for you and store for you and talk for you, and one

day it might even kiss for you (no offense, miss)." A text then follows which demonstrates how the computer will store more and more information, rid the world of disease and, and "save you time," and it presents a rogue's gallery of the entrepreneurial creeps and the technocratic morons who are making it all come true behind our backs.

Yes, a spectre is haunting this decaying, accelerated world—the spectre of computerization. We are on a threshold reminiscent of the hucksterism of the post-World War II period, when scientists and engineers heralded the brave new world of unlimited affluence, nuclearized houses, artificial foods, and a freeze-dried antiseptic life for all. That world turned a little sour, with chemical dumps leeching into the basement and near-nuclear wars almost started by flocks of geese on radar screens. But somehow they grind and wind up the machine again, and newer, greater, more terrifying promises are revealed.

"Inventions come along when they're needed," mumbles Time. And when its world is fissuring and listing dangerously under the weight of its own contradictions, along comes a new

Oshima's Shinjuku Thief: Stealing Ideas

The television show opens without a view of the woman guest. Her identity is hidden from viewers by the camera angle or rippled glass, but she is obviously sobbing and wiping her eyes.

A female announcer tells the story of this 36-year-old woman: she was married 15 years ago, but soon afterwards her husband was stricken and bedridden. They have had no sexual intercourse for a decade. Torn between her own desires and her loyalty to her husband, she now implores, "I need your guidance, please".

The moderator appears. "Among the various problems for which we are consulted here," he says, "the most painful are those involving illness when normal marital relations are impossible. Today's is such a case.

Who is this moderator? A psychologist? A doctor? Maybe a lawyer?

Not The moderator of this "Dear Abby"-type program is Nagisa Oshima, the 51-year-old Japanese filmmaker whose *Diary of A Shinjuku Thief* and *The Ceremony* will be shown at UCSD on Friday, June 10, at 7:00 p.m. in USB 2722.

Oshima's live TV "School For Women" is the most popular daytime counseling program for women in Japan. Oshima, with the help of a lawyer and three laymen, listens to the problems of each week's anonymous guest, asks questions and suggests solutions. "Often just talking about the problem helps considerably," he says. "There is no one else to listen to them."

Under the panel's guidance "Ms. X." relates that she has been doing her best, listening to her husband's daily tales of aches and pains while repressing her "desires for sex—and also for a divorce. "I just feel so awfully lonely," she says.

By the program's close the consensus, including the wife, was that a divorce was desirable. "I'm sure your husband has been watching this," Oshima said, "and now he knows how you feel, and perhaps now you can have a real talk about the problem."

"Sometimes I get very depressed about all this," says Oshima, who occasionally is sought out on the street by troubled women. "Of course," he notes, "Japanese men have their own problems. But for them the bar women and mama-sans play the same counseling role. They listen. They sympathize. They console. And maybe they suggest solutions. They're just not on television."

The following text is based on statements, past interviews, films, writings and speeches given by Nagisa Oshima. Insightful questions from leading critics will provide the contexts.

Barry Hyman: How do you decide on a particular theme when making a film?

Nagisa Oshima: Although critics seem to think differently, a filmmaker no more makes his films around a single theme than people go through their lives with but a single thought.

Joan Mellen: Could you sum up what effect the existence of the emperor system has had on the mentality of the ruled?

Oshima: It created a mentality in the

population that they allowed, even wished to have, such a system in Japan, and allowed that such a person as the emperor should exist.

Hyman: Is that patriarchy?

Oshima: The idea of the father as the ruler of the family could be considered as an analogy to the rulers of the state itself, which for two thousand years has been ruled by an emperor who represents power.



Hyman: Do you think the existence of a State or a Government is fucked?

Oshima: I do dream of the distant day when the State will perish.

Hyman: Are these themes part of *The Ceremony*?

Oshima: Ceremonies are a time when the special characteristics of the Japanese spirit are revealed. It is this spirit that concerns and worries me, my own spirit, which wavers during such occasions. One might easily reject, both intellectually and emotionally, militarism and xenophobic nationalism in daily life. But these forces, once beyond the realm of daily life, are not so easily denied. I fear for the present that the Japanese people have undergone no basic change.

Mellen: Have you seen Makavejev's film *W.R.: Mysteries of the Organism*? Have you noticed any similarities between this film and your *Diary of a Shinjuku Burglar*?

Oshima: Yes, I have seen it. I thought there were definite similarities between the two films. But I saw the film after I made *Diary of a Shinjuku Burglar*.

Mellen: What is the relation between sexuality and politics in your film? Does the film *Diary of a Shinjuku Burglar* express the idea that sexual liberation must come before political liberation?

Oshima: Well, not so much in any order. One doesn't have to precede the other. I think that both are what humanity is after throughout our historical struggles.

Hyman: I would go further and suggest that both sexual liberation and political liberation are intertwined.

Oshima: In either case, liberation itself doesn't mean the end of problem solving. To me liberation is the momentary triumph you feel when you succeed in doing something in a liberated manner. You must challenge the new and reach for another liberation right after. *Shinjuku Burglar* is not a liberated

arrival point or anything fixed. It refers to a certain political and sexual liberation attained by the student movement in 1968. It doesn't mean that Shinjuku became a completely liberated case. It was a moment when a step had been made, but these things change again.

Mellen: In what way do you express a progress toward or pursuit of political liberation?



Oshima: At the end of the film when rocks are thrown at the policemen in that big demonstration.

Mellen: What was the issue of the actual demonstration in Shinjuku on which the scene in the film is based?

Oshima: That was the most violent and largest demonstration since 1950. We call the incident "6.29," which refers to its date. It was nothing like a real political demonstration. It was simply a huge gathering of hippies, street people, students, and everybody in the district. To me this incident has a very significant meaning. It was very important that a demonstration not organized by a political party should arise.

Mellen: Then the importance of the demonstration lies in its being an expression of the alienation of a large number of people and their spontaneously coming together? What was their level of consciousness? What were they revolting against?

Oshima: I described their conscious level through the two protagonists in the film. These two, the boy and the girl, are a representation of the people I described, the young people who revolted that day.

Mellen: What is the relationship between the fact that those people are a representation of the spirit of the revolt and the fact that they exhibit particular neuroses; the girl is masculine and the boy is effeminate. There would appear to be a specific inversion, a role change, at least at a literal level, or don't you see it that way? It looked like an extreme sexual inversion happening simultaneously with the political spirit of the demonstrations.

Oshima: You have just said a very illuminating thing here. A male being a female figure was the most significant aspect or spirit of that time, the era of the demonstrations from 1968 to 1969.

Mellen: Homosexuality?

Oshima: No, it is rather that the male is not being a male figure at all, but very feminine—a phenomenon at the heart of the spirit of the demonstrations.

Mellen: Does bisexuality represent a particular group of people or a particular time?

Oshima: No, not bisexuality. I mean simply that the male figure, rather feminine, is getting weaker and gentler and soft. Before, the male figure was more masculine.

Hyman: Also, don't the characters change roles throughout the film?

Oshima: Yes, after the girl takes off her skirt, the boy will now wear it. Or, when the boy tries to "sell" the girl, he in turn will be "bought" by the girl.

Hyman: This seems to be your debt to Jean Genet's *The Thief's Journal*?

Oshima: Exactly, one is always told by the society what identity one is. Rarely are we able to define our own identity; let alone control it.

Tom Milne: Thus, coming from Genet comes the conception of the masquerade as a means through which people can enact their secret dreams and desires, thus demonstrating the nullity of what is normally called reality.

Hyman: Huh?

Mellen: Is it that the male is getting away from the old norms defining the so-called male role? To say he is gentle is to suggest that the student demonstration represented something pure?

Oshima: No, not so much as the result of being a gentler figure. I am saying that his psychic change expresses the general sentiment of the younger people.

Mellen: Is this then a criticism of the demonstration? Does it imply ineffectuality?

Oshima: No, it is related to the fact that the boy and girl are representative of the generation who joined in this demonstration. The unmasculine part of the boy was in the whole spirit of the time. It does not mean that I was critical of this demonstration although the boy feels frustration at being weak. It is just that boys are expressing their maleness differently. But it has nothing to do with the result, whether the demonstration was successful or not. Everyone who throws rocks shares the feelings of this boy, the same kind of spirit.

Mellen: Does this say something positive about the people in the demonstration?

Hyman:—To fight for liberation is always positive—

Oshima: I don't know if I approve or disapprove. Things were that way at that time. I am describing it as it appeared to me.

Mellen: Why do these two characters, a boy and girl, suffer from sexual inadequacy? The boy is impotent, the girl is frigid.

Hyman: Hold on; I'd say the scene wasn't about literal impotence or frigidity, but about immature expectations interfering with natural sexuality, particularly the loss of one's virginity. The consequent failure was inevitable and, in that light, normal.

Oshima: In any event, their relationship doesn't work very well. Don't all of us suffer if we cannot operate very well sexually? The boy needed maternal characteristics in the girl. But Japan as a country cannot have the characteristic of being a mother. No Japanese girl could have such motherly quality, and so Japanese men are constantly dissatisfied at not being able to get what they are looking for, which means also the girls are not satisfied.

Hyman: So, ironically, they have to lose their selfishness in order to provide for their own satisfaction. Was that why when the man points to the scar under the woman's breast, facing directly her fear of men, that she was able for the first time to allow herself to become vulnerable and communicate about her own welfare to him.

Oshima: Yes, after that they make love in a fulfilling and erotic way.

Hyman: So do you see a correlation between sexual excitement and political protest, similar to Richard Rush's *Getting Straight* which came out about the same time as *Shinjuku Thief*?

Oshima: Yes.

Hyman: Thanks. I'll have to pay more attention when I see them again.

—Barry Hyman

The CWD Film series will feature *Diary of a Shinjuku Thief* and *The Ceremony* at 7:00 p.m., Friday, June 10, at USB 2722.

SOVIET DESTALINIZATION

When Stalin died in March of 1953, a short-lived thaw set in with regard to the winter of Stalinism. Now, before going any further, it must be remembered that all who survived the Stalin era to retain high positions in the state and party were Stalinists in so far as they had participated in Stalin's criminal regime not only to survive, but to accumulate power. Malenkov, Khrushchev, Bulganin, Molotov, Koslov, Mikoyan, Kosygin, Brezhnev, et. al. could not have held to their power under Stalin without accepting many of the tenants of Stalinism, though most thought Stalin had been too harsh and his terror too cruel for Soviet society. Is it any wonder that de-Stalinization proved to be half-assed, based as it was from the start upon attacking superficial and not fundamental aspects of Stalinism. That even Khrushchev's inadequate de-Stalinization was halted and Khrushchev toppled by elements more closely aligned with Stalinism only demonstrates how far Soviet proto-socialism is from attaining real socialism.

Under Stalin and his henchman, Beria, the Soviet secret police became a state-within-a-state; an instrument of Stalin's increasingly paranoid terror and of Beria's own ambitions against Soviet society, state and party. The trioka of Malenkov, Molotov and Khrushchev asserted their combined power to liquidate Beria in July of 1953 and place the secret police firmly under party control. Molotov, by far the most Stalinist of the three, maintained the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Malenkov as first deputy prime minister, proved to be the most willing of the three to entertain notions of a new socialism for the Soviet Union. He announced his New Course in 1953; more consumer goods, better conditions for peasants on collective farms, amnesty for many of Stalin's political prisoners, end to the show trials as well as to most prison labor camps, banishment and the liability-of-kin.

Khrushchev, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, remained between Molotov and Malenkov in terms of his commitment to heavy industry and moderate de-Stalinization. His program of agricultural development for western Siberia and Kazakhstan gave Khrushchev, as head of the party, the power he needed within the state apparatus to ease Malenkov, head of the state, from power. Bulganin assumed the position of prime minister in 1955 and withdrew promises of increased consumer production. In turn, Khrushchev initiated his attempt to de-Stalinize party and state, which culminated in his unofficial address to the 1956 20th Party Congress in which he denounced Stalin's cult of personality and dogmatism as the source of Stalin's "excesses."

Instead of addressing Stalinism structurally to attack the autonomy of power achieved by the Soviet state under Stalin's dictatorship of terror, centralization, terror, bureaucratization, and more terror, Khrushchev attended to Stalin's crimes against "socialist legality" by citing solely Stalin's personality cult and crude simplifications and revisions to Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev's speech sparked neo-Socialist revolt in Eastern Europe on the one hand and civil unrest in Georgia (Stalin's home) on the other hand, but Khrushchev's analysis of Stalinism was far from Marxist (not to mention Marxist-Leninist). In contending that Stalin's "excesses" were the product solely of subjective factors, no material base for de-Stalinization was targeted, and de-Stalinization became a matter of "liberalization" within the tradition of Stalinism.

Khrushchev first moved to ban Stalin's writings, monuments, pictures and place-names. He then expelled Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovick and

History of Socialism, Part Thirteen The Socialist World

Shepilov from the Central Committee of the party in 1957 for their opposition to his policies, consolidating his power by assuming the position of prime minister vacated by Bulganin through resignation in 1958. As first secretary of the party as well, Khrushchev chaired a Central Committee that included Koslov, Brezhnev and Kosygin.

Khrushchev wasted no time from 1955 to 1958 in terms of economic reforms. He decentralized economic administration from bureaucratized state ministries to some 104 regional and industrial economic councils comprised of local factory and business managers still appointed by the state in their respective enterprises while stepping up industrial production quotas. In agriculture the MTS tractor stations were dissolved, replaced by state farms (Sovkhoz), and large collective farms (Kolkhoz). Agricultural quotas and methods were stepped up, animal husbandry was promoted and new crops, such as corn, were introduced. To bolster both industry and agriculture, and to help coordinate economic and intellectual endeavors, Khrushchev opened polytechnic and professional schools. By 1959, he announced a 7-year plan to overtake the United States economically at the 21st Party Congress, the same congress that severely criticized Mao's people's communes. By the 22nd Party Congress in 1961, Khrushchev had pushed forward the program of the "all-round building of Communism" that contended that when the Soviet Union achieved the American standard of living (sometime around 1980, according to Khrushchev) true communism in all its glory would be achieved in the Soviet Union.

Stalin had eliminated everything of Marx's definition of communism except for "from each according to ability, to each according to need." State and party, the distinctions between town and country and manual and intellectual labor, managers and a state managed economy all existed in Stalin's understanding of communism for one country, and Stalin refused to elaborate much beyond Marx's single formulation. This is a far cry from Marx's stateless, nationless, classless communism. In contrast, Khrushchev described communism as a utopian society of little work and much leisure time, characterized by a public, self-administered state and coordinative party. Crime would disappear, monogamy would continue, and the future creation of a world communist society would see to the victory of this form of communism worldwide.

Much attention was paid to the high standard of living that would exist under communism. Modeled as it was upon the achievements of American capitalism, Khrushchev's communism has an unusually consumerist vision, albeit collectivist. The communist society of course would produce the individual with true communist consciousness—industrious, disciplined, devoted to the public interest, lacking egotism and self-

interest, and inspired by solidarity and community to a new perfection. Communist individuals would use society's vast wealth for the simultaneous development of individual and society by advancing knowledge in science, the arts and industry for the sake of the social betterment that that knowledge produced, not for profit or private property.

This collectivist consumerist utopia envisioned by Khrushchev was complemented by his thesis on coexistence. Khrushchev contended that there could indeed be a peaceful political coexistence of states with different social systems, thus denying Stalin's thesis on the inevitability of war between the capitalist and socialist camps. Economic competition between capitalism and socialism, coupled with ideological purity and struggle against capitalism, would eventually produce a peaceful victory of a world communist economy over capitalism. Still in support of Third World revolution, which was seen as an autonomous, temporary third force to be allied with (the other two forces being the socialist block nations and the international proletariat), the Soviet Union nevertheless renounced the intention of spreading communism through military means. This dramatic departure from Stalin's two-camp theory in turn defined the excuse for an irreversibly split in world socialism between the Soviet Union and China. In turn, the thesis of coexistence and Khrushchev's consumer communism became cornerstones of the academic discipline of "scientific communism" invented by Khrushchev.

Coexistence as a thesis emerged concretely out of the Korean and Vietnamese settlement of 1953 and 1956, and was muddled by Soviet efforts at a rapprochement with Yugoslavia. Provisional acceptance of Yugoslavia's "autonomous path to Socialism" in 1955 was accompanied by disarmament proposals and the discharge of between 1 and 2 million soldiers from the Red Army to reduce international tensions. On balance, the Soviet Union also took to the offensive after 1957, in an effort to deepen what it considered the "third crisis of world imperialism" produced by de-colonizing national liberation struggles after two world wars; intervening in the Suez crisis, issuing the Berlin ultimatum of 1958, cancelling the 1960 Paris summit after shooting down an American U-2 spy plane, and culminating in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis. But with the 21st Soviet Party Congress's rejection of the Chinese Communist Party's claim to international leadership in 1959 and the withdrawal of Russian economic advisors from China, China used Khrushchev's departure from Stalin's 2-camp theory to denounce co-existence at the 1960 Moscow Conference of 81 communist parties.

The conflicts exposed in world communism at the 1960 "Red Council" only deepened with time. The 1962 humiliation of the Soviet Union over

Cuba and the 1963 Test Ban Treaty proved to be the final straws for a China claiming the heritage of Stalinism under Mao. In 1964, Mao accused Khrushchev of ideological treason and China broke with the Soviet Union. This, on top of the 1961-62 agricultural failures in the Soviet Union that produced price increases, administrative reforms that gave more power and planning to the state and costly grain purchases from Canada and Australia, brought down Khrushchev's regime in 1964. Mikoyan became president, Kosygin attained the position of prime minister, and Brezhnev became first secretary of the party.

This marked a turn away from active de-Stalinization of any type. By 1966 and the 23rd Party Congress, pro-reform and even anti-Bolshevik writers allowed to publish under Khrushchev were attacked. Criticism of Stalin was halted, though Stalin was not officially rehabilitated. Khrushchev's "all round building of the Communist society" gave way to a much more conservative formulation of the "transition to Communism." Instead of utopian visions of the future, Brezhnev and Kosygin preferred the glories of the past, in particular the heroism displayed during the second World War. And scientific Communism was reformulated closer to Stalin's ideology.

Stalin's "inevitability of wars" thesis was not fully resurrected, but Khrushchev's co-existence notions were buried. World socialist revolution, in Brezhnev's and Kosygin's understanding, might or might not come about through war, depending on whether the struggle against imperialist aggression could be balanced by the struggle for peace and coexistence. The idea that Soviet "socialism" was the model for all other socialist societies to follow was further emphasized by Brezhnev's doctrine of "limited sovereignty" for socialist countries other than the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, as the socialist model, was therefore the leader of the "emerging world socialist system" with an "international duty" to protect socialism in other countries from whatever threatened it, in particular from "creeping counterrevolution." Based in the "laws of international class struggle," this doctrine led to the notion of the necessity for an international proletarian dictatorship capable of transcending national boundaries not only to protect other socialist societies from western imperialist aggression, but to suppress internal counterrevolution in those socialist societies as defined by the Soviet-led international proletarian dictatorship. Czechoslovakia and the invasion of 1968 gave rise to this doctrine as a justification and future threat to Eastern Europe that "creeping counterrevolution" would not be tolerated. The Soviet Union's support for the Ethiopian and Polish military dictatorships as ways of bringing about and maintaining socialism demonstrates how far the Soviet Union has been re-Stalinized.

In relation to the capitalist block, a socialist nation was sovereign, but in relation to the "world socialist system" led by the Soviet Union, a socialist country had only limited sovereignty.

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PALLBEARERS CARRYING STALIN'S BODY IN 1953*

BLACK • LABOR • LATIN AMERICA • ECOLOGY • WOMEN
MARXISM-HUMANISM • POLITICAL ECONOMY • MID-EAST • GAY
ALBANIA • NON-VIOLENCE • MARCUSE • CHINA • U.S.S.R.
HEALTH
ENERGY
ART • MEDIA
MARXISM
U.S. LEFT
IRELAND
ORGANIZING
SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE • ASIAN AMERICAN • ANARCHISM
NUCLEAR POWER • MARXIST/LENINISM • YOUNG PEOPLE
LEGAL HASSLES • NATIVE AMERICANS • LIBROS EN ESPANOL

Groundwork
Books
UCSD Student Center
1-5 to Gilman, left at wooden
footbridge, right into parking lot
452-9625
Mon-Sat 11 am-8 pm

RECORDS
POSTERS
COMICS
BUTTONS
PERIODICALS
CHICANO
MILITARY

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History of Socialism... The Socialist World

Subordinated to the interests of the "world socialist system," socialist countries were to be policed by the "world socialist system" even to the point of internal military dictatorship to prevent counter-revolution and promote the international dictatorship of the proletariat. Such a frightening doctrine was immediately rejected by China, Albania and Yugoslavia, and unity in the "world socialist system" was limited to the Soviet Union and its puppet allies.

WHICH CENTER?

The Soviet Union can lay claim to a sphere of influence within the present world capitalist economy comprised of its crude territorial imperialism along its borders (Northern and Eastern Europe, Afghanistan in the Middle East and Mongolia) and allied or dependent regimes in the Third World. From this, the Soviet Union has left to the claim of leadership of a "world socialist system," a claim hardly justified considering the objections of various socialist countries (China, Albania, Yugoslavia) and the neutrality or hostility of others (Tanzania, Sweden). Further, the development of Eurocommunism in the Italian, French and Spanish Communist Parties has cut short Soviet influence in Western Europe which, combined with resurgent neo-socialism in Poland, has further challenged Soviet claims to world socialist leadership.

We do not have space to consider the balanced foreign policy of Nyerere's Tanzania, nor call attention to social democratic Sweden's active, armed hostility to the Soviet Union as an ally of the United States. And we would like to briefly consider other claims to leadership in socialism and Eurocommunism before detailing the Polish workers movement after 1970 to bring an end to the historical portion of this series. A sketchy conclusion—**Part Fourteen**—follows to wrap up *A History of Socialism*.

The Chinese Communist Party center kicked out the Gang of Four shortly after Mao's death, and speculation ran high that in de-Maoizing China, the CPC and Chinese state under Deng Shao Ping would move closer to the Soviet Union, despite Mao's own claims to the tradition of Stalinism with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. China, while remaining an ally to the United States and a staunch, often reactionary opponent of the Soviet Union in international affairs, has attempted to initiate dialogue with the Soviet Union to resolve political differences. Whether this will produce socialist unity, or another series of largely fruitless negotiations (as in the 1969 Kosygin/Chou En-lai talks) is too early to predict.

In domestic matters the CPC has moved toward more state and administrative control over the economy and away from Mao's peoples communes. This has not become an aping of the Soviet Union, in part due to the clear problems in the Soviet model of socialism. Rather, the Chinese leadership has begun considering other models of socialism and Yugoslavia's system of self-management has come under consideration. Economics, and not politics are firmly in command in modern China as the CPC strives for more "objective" methods to modernize an extremely poor country.

So far, the Chinese leadership has not renounced the label of Maoist in criticizing Mao's mistakes, though most of the Maoist parties and splinters outside of China have either denounced the current Chinese regime as revisionist or gone on to post-Maoist ideologies. The American New Communist Movement and Maoist formations in Western Europe were set adrift with Mao's death, and a few of them have

reoriented themselves toward Albania. Enver Hoxha, Communist Party chief and leader of the Albanian Popular Front during the second World War, came to power in 1945. When Yugoslavia broke with the Soviet Union in 1948, Albania broke with Yugoslavia to align itself fully with Stalin's policies.

Khrushchev's de-Stalinization brought eventual outcry from Hoxha's thoroughly Stalinized Albania and realignment with a China claiming to be truly Stalinist. Khrushchev's visit and effort to break this tie in 1959 only pushed tiny Albania into Mao's sphere of influence, until Mao's death when Albania launched out on its own as the only consciously un-Stalinized socialist regime left in the world. That Stalinism



might be considered a virtue is hardly conceivable, and that political parties outside of extremely underdeveloped, autarchic and xenophobic Albania might single out Albania as the center of world revolution is almost humorous.

The poverty of mountainous, rural Albania was compounded by its intentional isolation and small-scale Stalinism. Pistol shoot-outs in the Albanian Communist Party's Central Committee to resolve political issues has demonstrated the crudity of Albanian Stalinism, so we need not spend more time with Albania.

Yugoslavia was accused early on of a Balkan imperialism by Albania for its efforts to bring Bulgaria and Albania into federation with Yugoslavia's own six nationalities. And nationalism has been a strong divisive factor with Yugoslavia's "autonomous path to Socialism." Croatian nationalism came to influence the Croatian Communist Party with separatist nationalist elements culminating in the 1969-70 Croatia/Belgrade conflicts over secession, producing the 1971-72 series of personnel changes, arrests, expulsions and trials in the Croatian Communist Party.

The economic development of Yugoslavian self-management has also been mixed. Oscillating between decentralization and government centralization, the workers councils of Yugoslavia's market socialism have consistently been dependent upon the

state for financial assistance, becoming severely dependent upon the state. Monetary reforms and economic liberalization in 1966 was followed by the admission of foreign capital after 1967 in the attempt to stabilize, strengthen and develop the economy, and the combination of foreign economic aid and International Monetary Fund penetration has placed Yugoslavia deeply in debt to western capitalism.

Politically, Tito's comrade-in-arms Djilas accused Yugoslavian socialism of producing a new bureaucratic class of state administrators and party hacks under the dictatorship of the party and the personality cult in 1953, leading to his removal from office in 1954 and

Eurocommunism is complimented by a process that closely resembles social democratization. Given the historical strengths of the Italian and French communist parties in the post WWII working classes of their respective societies this has resulted in making these communist parties into national communist mediators between the working class on the one hand and the bourgeois state on the other hand.

This role of mediation means that the Italian and French CPs, more often than not, act to control and diffuse working class militancy when it arises. The French CP's participation in the French state and the Italian CP's willingness to do the same in Italy is used by the ruling classes of these respective societies to contain working class mass action, to coopt militant reform, to enforce austerity and ultimately to provide a scapegoat for the economic and social woes that continue to multiply under French social-democracy and Italian Christian Democracy. National Communism in eastern Europe takes on a revolutionary direction against Soviet hegemony, only to compromise its own reforms as was the case with Gomulka in Poland. National communism, as eurocommunism in western Europe, has been compromised from the start by social democratization. Eurocommunism, as a new direction in world socialism, provides no real focus for development in world socialism, and so we must look for the revolutionary center to world socialism in something that would astound most modern socialists but that would come as no surprise the Marx and Bakunin. The center of world socialism resides in social revolution.

SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN MODERN SOCIALISM

Social revolution, first off, arises out of the real material conditions in a society, not out of military struggle. Political power may come from the barrel of a gun, but social revolution cannot. Second, social revolution is characterized by mass action in large sectors of the population—including workers, farmers, students, and intellectuals. Insurrectionary mass action initiates social revolution, and democratic mass action gives rise to popular self-activity and self-organization. Third, it is not a struggle for national liberation that gives rise to social revolution, it is the struggle for social revolution that gives rise to human liberation in all its dimensions. And fourth, the organization of militants and revolutionaries in the social revolution is both necessary and subordinate to the social revolution. Social power is realized through the maturation of mass action and the popular organs of class management that are realized by mass action. The principled action, revolutionary education, coordinative capacities and historical continuities of a revolutionary organization are necessary for this maturation, but the revolutionary organization cannot be permitted hegemony over the social revolution, let alone mass action.

In considering these criteria, the revolutionary social movement in Poland after 1970 qualifies as a profound struggle for social revolution in modern socialism that has occasionally achieved the initial stages of social revolution. Before going into the history of the Polish movement we must deal with the pro-Soviet allegation that Solidarity is run by the United States CIA. Solidarity, as the following history will demonstrate, is as rooted in Polish history, as say the current Quaker/American Friends Service Committee is in American history. That both the American peace movement and the Polish labor movement have foreign agents in them is a far cry from contending that those foreign agents run these respective movements. Contrary to Reagan, the Soviet Union does not run the American peace movement, and contrary to Soviet apologists, the Polish

Realizing this, western European Communism in Italy and to a lesser degree France and Spain, have taken up the cry of party autonomy from the USSR. As Eurocommunist, the Italian party has gone so far as to reach an accord with Italian Christian Democracy to uphold and defend Italian parliamentarianism, the infamous Historic Compromise of 1974. In France, a number of Communist Party officials serve as ministers of Mitterand's social-democratic regime. The renunciation of Stalinism and the movement away from the defense of the Soviet Union that characterizes

5th Annual Women's Leadership Conference To be Held at SDSU

We can look forward to the 5th annual International Management and Leadership Institute for Women, coming to San Diego State University this summer. Last summer Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, Tom Hayden and about two dozen other leaders spoke at this warm and cordial conference. I was one of only a few male participants among perhaps 500 women. The five day conference cost \$150 to attend, or \$200 if participants wished college credit. Nineteen sessions were offered over five days, from August 1 through August 5.

Literature described the Institute as "powerful" and being "dedicated and committed" to developing the leadership capacities of women and to build "upon their talents to further their contributions in a time of kaleidoscopic change." The goal of the conference—to provide women with a wide variety of opportunities for growth—was achieved by promoting four specific aims: a) to develop personal awareness, b) to develop resources for career advancement, c) to develop skills for personal and professional growth, and d) to develop avenues of support for personal and professional fulfillment.

The governing metaphor of the conference was the Kaleidoscope, and there were as many views as there were participants. The energy level was high and the audience response was positive. Often speakers turned questions over to people in the audience to answer. Soon familiar themes began to appear in new patterns as communication became animated. A new sort of festival was occurring, not the "either/or" of controversy but the "both/and" of mutual recognition. The women here were validating one another without being self-congratulatory.

I attended this conference determined to criticize prevalent categories' hidden assumptions. I began to realize that what was not being said was just as important as what was being said. A few observations make this point clear:

A. The professed goal of the conference was "to provide a wide variety of opportunities for growth", but for whom were these opportunities provided? Invariably, the people who benefited were those able to afford the \$150 to \$200 fee and four days off the job. No one spoke of those women unable to be there. No one spoke of strategies designed to support the most exploited members of their sex.

B. The basic aims of the conference dealt with individual development. Collective issues such as salary scales, vacation time, medical benefits, etc. were not discussed. The re-distribution of wealth and benefits was clearly not on the agenda.

C. At a conference of working women you might expect discussions on subjects such as injustice, inequality, or new aesthetics. Instead, the theme was Power—how to win it (from body

language to meta language) and occasionally how to share it (in formalized groups) in order to increase productivity and advance into upper management.

One might answer: these criticisms with the observation, "you don't go into a shoe store looking for potatoes." I have begun by describing what subjects were excluded from discussion. This, of course, reflects what people were excluded from the conference, from actively listening.

I spoke to Ms. Abzug and Ms. Friedan about legislation which was undermining female leadership. Several years ago, I was fired from a job when a female desk clerk reported to our employer that I was trying to organize the domestic workers at the Motel where we worked. I appealed to the National Labor Relations Board only to learn that an employer in California who grosses less than \$250,000 a year may fire his employee(s) for trying to organize a union. Furthermore, this legislation was considered for change—a new bill would raise the amount to \$500,000 if passed in Sacramento. This legislation is clearly designed to bust union organizing and to subvert the development of leadership. There were several elements in this experience which I felt the women's leadership conference should address:

- 1) The lowest paid service jobs are held mostly by women.
- 2) These women have no opportunity to protect themselves through union activity.
- 3) No new female leadership can emerge from the rank-and-file through organizing activity in these jobs.
- 4) No effective consciousness—whether of class interests or gender discrimination—has been developed to counter the "divide and conquer" tactics of employers.

These were issues *not* addressed at the Conference.

The Conference was a "Kaleidoscope," as the introductory brochure had promised. And in this context we can easily move from a critical evaluation of what was not stated to a critique of some of the basic categories used at the Conference. The dominant category which governed Bella Abzug's speech was the major supposition of conventional political thought: "Reward your friends and punish your enemies." She announced "the next step" after losing the ERA battle was to identify those congressmen who did not support ERA and to campaign against them. Tom Hayden, on the third night of the conference, made the major premises of this conventional binary thinking even more explicit: Our society today is a Jungle and "the law of the Jungle" is "survival of the fittest"; "We are headed for the Dark Ages," public policy is decided in "the War Room," where

women are not allowed to enter.

Natasha Josefowitz and Betty Friedan introduced a new dimension to the conference. Ms. Friedan was more explicit in rejecting old patterns of thinking. Management, she told the group, is making new distinctions for its own survival: the typically hairy male, binary "either/or" fashion of thinking is being supplanted by a "both/and" mode of thought. This latter, systemic style of thought is in need of new models which make a clean break with the traditional Male Role as well as with the "Super-Mom" role. Dr. Josefowitz, although her presentation preceded Ms. Friedan's, exemplified this style by arguing that Ambivalence is reality and men *must* learn to accept distraction as part of normal life. I found it personally irritating to hear Dr. Josefowitz try to establish a distinction between "hazing" and "discrimination," until I considered the alternative. (Are we to learn to take these brutalizing fraternity pranks as normal? Do business institutions have a vested interest in employing battered bodies and souls?—these were the questions which struck me when I hear her rationalize wanton acts of violence against women *and* men.) All acts of violence are not tactics employed for the same objective of *expulsion*. By "reasonably" responding to acts of violence, employees are acknowledging rules and legitimizing practices. These acts are tactics employed for *inclusion*. Much like those of fraternities and sororities, these patterns of behavior are derived from a general alienation: We are brought to feel we "belong" by our common experience of a long and painful delivery. Again, the "I-thou" relationship is engineered against the background of an "us-them" world view. (An "I-them" pattern of thinking, more befitting a barbarian society, would hardly be an acceptable alternative due to its predatory implications. A "thou-

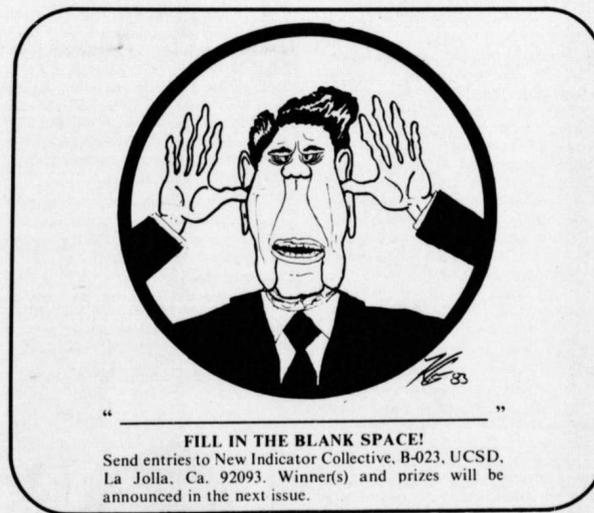
us" behaviour pattern likewise would not be appropriate, because of the climate of scarcity.)

No matter how we look at management, through the kaleidoscope and in isolation, we find no exit from the paradoxical injunction: Choose either "both/and" or "either/or" patterns of behavior! The only real latitude for change here is to bring more women into managerial positions. The policy makers, in Mr. Hayden's mind, will remain behind closed doors "both" before "and" after women have been allowed entry. The removal of those doors was not on the agenda at this conference, and his statement on "a return to the Dark Ages" was a warning and a protest on a specific linguistic terrain. Betty Friedan observed, in a more optimistic frame of mind, the victories women have won, forcing management to make "new distinctions for its own survival." Both Mr. Hayden and Ms. Friedan spoke to the issue of a power struggle brought on by current crises of legitimacy. All the speakers at this Conference acknowledged the need for change. However, class struggle against exploitation was factored out of the equation, and one could not help but notice a gaping hole inviting despair.

One of several films shown at the Conference and entitled "Supervision" seemed to address the managerial paradox: A manager cannot motivate an employee. He/she can only delegate tasks, communicate with and discipline an employee. Motivation must come from the employee!

After the third day, I felt that there was a consensus at the Conference: (a) there exists a political power vacuum in the U.S.; (b) a large variety of tools and tactics for power have been developed in this country; and (c) no strategies for a significant change in broad social policy have yet been agreed upon.

—F.F.



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Union Busting at Solar Turbines Inc...

drinking beer, throwing a football around, and engaging in small talk. Some people stayed no more than 15-20 minutes, a couple of people just stopped by on the way to a Padre baseball game, and others were just walking through the park to enjoy the day. There was no literature, no podium, no speakers, no banners or signs—nothing that would normally be associated with a rally or protest.

Some of the 14 are not even members of the Machinists Action Committee or union activists, but were fired or disciplined simply for running into or "associating" with MAC members. The company is obviously desperate to prove somehow that some kind of rally, even if it is only 14 people out of 1200 union members, took place on March 31.

Already the 14 have begun to file civil suits against Solar for wrongful discharge, invasion of privacy, defamation, and intentional infliction of emotional and mental distress. Solar's actions represent a gross violation of the 14's civil rights and First Amendment rights to free speech and free association. The first suit filed seeks \$10 million in damages against the company and a quarter of a million dollars apiece against two members of Solar's Industrial Relations Department.

In addition, the 14 are filing charges of discrimination against Solar with the Fair Employment Practices Commission. 10 of the 14 are Black or Mexicano, and many of them had already filed grievances or suits against Solar for discrimination. The 4 whites among the 14 are also filing suits because they have been active in opposing discrimination at the plant or because they are friends and associate with minorities.

In his April 27 letter explaining why

Solar took the action it did, John Hansen, President of Solar, stated that "the company has had a long and stable collective bargaining relationship with IAM Local 685" and accused the 14 of "breaching the mutual trust developed over the years between the Company and the Union."

Any union member familiar with the conflicts between the union and the company in the last decade would recognize Hansen's statement as an obvious distortion of the facts and the height of hypocrisy. Whatever contract gains the union won in the 1960s and 1970s the company has been trying to take away ever since.

The contract settlement which ended the 123-day strike in 1975 took away the right to strike during the life of the contract. This was an important right won by Local 685 which helped to ensure that the company would not try to undermine the grievance procedure. Hansen accuses the 14 of bypassing the

grievance procedure and taking direct action, but the company has been doing everything it can in the last few years to undermine the grievance procedure and render it ineffective.

As part of Solar's efforts to illegally undermine the union in 1975, it hired spies to infiltrate the union and gather information about its activities. And in 1983 the company is hiring spies again to do surveillance on union members. So much for mutual trust developed between the union and the company.

Solar is finding out that it has launched an attack against 14 workers and a union that are ready to fight back in every way they can. Not only will the company accusations against the 14 be proven false, but the whole struggle to defend the Solar 14 will help to build a stronger and more united union, and a broader movement to beat back the many corporate attacks against working people and the poor in this period. one of the Solar 14 —Terry McKinley

Sex talk. Contemporary feminists have always asserted that "the personal is political" and this maxim couldn't better apply to the new dialogue in the feminist movement about sex. Some of the dialogue is revelatory and some of it is reactionary. While some women are wondering why they haven't talked about sexuality before, others are wondering if they should at all.

To be sure, bringing the personal and private into the public domain is a controversial undertaking, and it's shaking the women's liberation movement at its roots. The rift that's developed—between "pro-sex" feminists and anti-pornography activists—is having far-reaching implications for the feminist movement. The anti-pornography movement contends that pornography is inherently oppressive to women; the "pro-sex" would like to turn the discussion on its head by emphasizing the issue of women's pleasure over the issue of sexual victimization.

Pornography, like most other mass media in our culture, is contradictory. It can be sexist, misogynous, misanthropic, upsetting; it can be titillating, thrilling, life-affirming, fun. Its potential for any of these variations is nearly infinite, and its effect differs from person to person, as does sexuality itself. Pornography, in its graphic depiction of sex of all stripes, can undermine the often unspoken taboo against open sexuality that our society rests on. At the same time, it can display and reflect the most sexually oppressive and alienated tendencies of our society.

Feminists have usually maintained an uneasy ambivalence towards the issue of pornography. But it is a new phenomenon in this century for a movement on the Left to organize against pornography. Not so for the Right, for which porn has always provoked much consternation, less for its sexist content than for its potentially subversive qualities.

Feminists in the 19th century, in the Social Purity movement, lumped pornography with other vices, such as prostitution and "male lust" in general, and sought to protect women from these evils. Given the context of the mid-19th century, a time which did not afford to women safe abortions, effective, available contraception, or prevention of sexual disease, an anti-sexual attitude such as the Social Purists' should not be surprising nor perhaps dismissed as mere prudishness or puritanism. The traditional right-wing opposition to pornography is also to be expected, given the ultra-conservatism the Right manifests in all its stands on sexuality, from abortion to homosexuality.

Today's anti-pornography movement posits porn as the central and most powerful element of women's oppression in our society. The anti-porn activists give somewhat different reasons for their opposition to pornography than does the Right. But the anti-porn movement's single-issue approach to pornography has made it an unusual but apparent bedfellow with the New Right which, in the past few years, has helped to create a climate of intolerance for sexual freedoms (witness the proposed "Family Protection Act," which attacks lesbians, male homosexuals, and women heading households, among others; the proposed anti-abortion "Human Life Amendment"; and last year's Teenage Chastity Bill).

Despite this unwitting accompaniment, the anti-pornography movement has gained much support for its cause from within the feminist movement. We would do well to scrutinize here the anti-porn analysis of pornography as well as the reaction of other feminists to this movement.

The most prominent group in the anti-porn campaign is Women Against Pornography (WAP), begun in 1979 and is now a New York-based but nationally active group of about 7000 members. The group has created a groundswell of anti-porn activity across the country,

The Feminist Portrayal of Sex, Sex, Love & Desire

and the movement has taken on the proportions and rhetoric of a crusade. Its members stress their role is not to censor, but to educate, to get at the "truth" behind the pornographic image. That truth, they say, is that "pornography has nothing to do with sex." (What they mean is, the kind of sex they would sanction.) Rather, pornography, as a "male design for male entertainment," is concerned with violence, and with the objectification, thus oppression, of women. WAP insists not only that all pornography is degrading to women but also that all pornography leads to violence.

The movement's cause-and-effect theory is embodied in their assertion "Pornography is the theory; rape is the practice." In this way, sexual violence against women is seen as directly resulting from porn consumption.

Sensitive to charges of anti-sexuality levelled at them by women outside the anti-porn movement, anti-porn activists respond that, while porn is unacceptable, "erotica" is O.K. By introducing the notion of "erotica" as acceptable material for sexual stimulation, anti-porn theorists hope to differentiate themselves from earlier moralistic movements such as Social Purity, a group which included nearly all sexuality in its denigration of male "lust" as the source of women's oppression.

The irony in today's anti-porn movements is that, in its attempt to circumvent the traditional representation of women in pornography, WAP has instead helped to reinforce the traditional role of women as moral caretakers/social purists.

WAP and groups like it have received an enthusiastic response from many women and from the establishment—from the press to city officials eager to clean up local porn districts. This might be read by some as a kind of coup for the feminist movement of the '80s. But is it? How can feminists embrace a movement of right-wing forces antagonistic to nearly every feminist goal?

The "pro-sex" feminists, as they have

come to be known in this debate, believe that the problem with the anti-pornography movement stems from the basic premise of its theory, not simply from the notion that a good idea has somehow gone astray. The assumption that all pornography is degrading to women—this decontextualization of porn's content—not only screens out material that is potentially pleasurable but also screens out the women who find it so. Thus, a woman who gets turned on by a film, magazine or book that doesn't fall under the WAP's rubric "erotica" must suffer the judgment of a movement which has deemed sex either "politically correct" or "politically incorrect." "Pro-sex" feminists recognize this kind of judgment as merely one more in the string of moralistic judgments about women's sexuality which have been aimed at women throughout history. Who, for example, decides what is erotica and what is pornography? WAP—mainly a group of white, middle class women? Many feminists consider it an outrage of WAP to demand that their prescription for sexual pleasure fit every woman.

It's also disconcerting that the movement focuses primarily on sexual images of women—as if standard advertising depicting women in their kitchens and bathrooms somehow comes closer to revealing women's true natures. This weakness in the anti-porn approach lends credence to the idea that the anti-porn movement is attempting to impose traditional sexual morality rather than to root out sources of female oppression.

In addition, the anti-porn theory rests on a dangerous conflation—that pornography and actual violence are intrinsically linked. But while pornography can show real contempt for women and for sexuality, the connection between images and violence, or words and violence, is highly contestable. Such a connection implies that every person who has fantasies which involve dominance and submission, or roleplaying of any kind, actually want to live out these roles in reality.

Blaming pornography for male violence against women—rape, battering, etc.—obfuscates the issues and deflects attention away from the real and frightening problems of sexual violence. Blaming pornography for the oppression of women casts into obscurity the nature of the family, church, and state and their role in women's subordination. In this way, the anti-porn activists are found on the wrong side of the discourse.

The disheartening tendency of the anti-porn movement to concentrate on women as sexual victims rather than as active sexual beings is only now being challenged by other feminists. But it is not as though sexuality has been completely overlooked in the women's liberation movement before. An understanding of the way in which women (and men) have been denied the full expression of their sexuality informs the growing sophistication of the feminist theory of reproductive rights. This theory builds from the basic principle that today's New Right attack on reproductive rights, including abortion, contraception, daycare and others, is an attack on female sexual assertion, rather than a struggle in the service of "life" as its acolytes in the Right-to-Life movement would maintain.

But sexuality, apart from its status as the Right's battering ram, has always proven difficult to discuss. We hardly have a language with which to talk about women's sexuality and desire, about pleasure an how it's had. We are also not accustomed to the pursuit of such a dialogue in a political context. Feminists are rapidly learning that sex is too important to be left out—and to politicize it is not to decide what kind of sex is "right" and which is "wrong." It is to acknowledge the realities of women's sexual desires, fantasies and experiences. It is to assert that women's claim to their sexuality is a radical act in a culture which demonstrates contempt for sex.

The Left has never adequately addressed sex in a political context. Even feminist debate has been known to place sex as a secondary issue behind "bread and butter" economic issues. Other traditions have also played a large part in the hesitation to engage in a comprehensive discussion of sexuality. Dare it be said that most of us have little more than an inkling of what our personal sexuality is all about. We're taught to believe sex is "natural," a given, rather than a social construction, with infinite variety and complexity. In this way sex is mystified and human curiosity discouraged. This holds true for women and men alike—who are, after all, products of the same anti-sexual culture—but there are stronger social norms that restrain women from sexual expression, from physicality even. Women thus find themselves in the odd position of maintaining "good girl" status—rising above lustful, "male-valued" sex in favor of romantic love and pure ideals—lest they sink to "bad girl" notoriety for acknowledging desire, with all the social consequences this implies.

WAP has been helpful in upholding this oppressive dichotomy by accounting, in condescending terms, for feminists who reject the anti-porn theory as hopelessly "conditioned by patriarchal values" or "anti-feminist." That's another way of saying "bad girls."

All of this then makes "sex talk," from the most private to the most collectively organized, imperative. Many of the "pro-sex" women, those who oppose the anti-pornography movement, are women who are and have been active feminists. Where are they leading the movement?

The largest event to date in response to the current reactionary fervor was also the first of its kind. In April, 1982, New York City's Barnard College hosted the now-historic controversial conference entitled "The Scholar and the Feminist IX: Towards a Politics of Sexuality."

"Sadism is not a name finally given to a practice as old as Eros: it is a massive cultural fact which appeared precisely at the end of the 18th century, and which constitutes one of the greatest conversions of Western imagination: unrest transformed into delirium of the heart, madness of desire, the insane dialogue of love and death in the limitless presumption of appetite.

—Michael Foucault

The Marquis de Sade was born into nobility in 1740 and his life spanned the French Revolution until his death in an asylum in 1814. de Sade chose to redefine the popular maxim "back to nature" by creating his own world with its own moral code. With this, he tried to establish that a person could "under a different code become the representative of a moral system based not on any hypothetical laws, but on the true nature of man." This roused our age-old legal dilemma that some 230 years later remains unsolved: that laws and institutions can be based on a morality that has no foundations, let alone can be proved. This is most directly applicable to sexual morality.

There are those, both on the left and right-wing ends of the political spectrum and influenced by Judeo-Christian attitudes of sex (their moral code!) who would argue that sadomasochism (S/M) is a perversion or deviation caused by society. It is exactly these "defenders of freedom and liberty" who seek to limit or downplay S/M even among consenting individuals. Parenthetically, I may add that it is the same arguments of "perversion or deviation" that continue to be used to describe a person's sexual orientation if it does not coincide with the social norm of heterosexuality. For these moral pruders there are two classes of sex: correct and incorrect. For de Sade the flesh, the sexual act, is an emancipator from the existing unnatural code of morality, especially when applied in the combination of lust and pain (real or imagined as per personal preference) to which his name has found a place in our modern vocabulary. He expressed this superbly: "There is nothing greater or more beautiful than sex, and no salvation without it." Marquis de Sade's work concerns the nature of sexual freedom—free from the established moral code; and of particular significance to women because he

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Sex, Love & Desire...

colloquially known these days as the Barnard Sex Conference. Organized by the highly respected Barnard Women's Center, the day-long event attracted an international crowd of over 1000 women. The Conference distinguished itself by posing the prime questions for the new movement, among them: Is it possible for us to define a "feminist sexuality" today? Do we want to? Or do we first want to discover our variety? The big theme is reflected in the titles of the eighteen afternoon workshops which included "Concepts for a Radical Politics of Sexuality," "Beyond the Gay/Straight Split: Do Sexual Roles (Butch/Femme) Transcend Sexual Preference?" "The Defense of Sexual Restriction by Anti-Abortion Activists" and "Popular Sex Literature." Heady stuff, indeed, for any who thought sex was simply one of life's little pleasures, as "natural" as food and sleep. Or one of nature's huge mysteries, better left undisturbed. It was heady enough, certainly, to spark to controversy that still rages today, almost a year later.

Despite the fact that pornography was one of the central issues to the Conference theme, Women Against Pornography protested the event, claiming that their group's view had been "barred" from Conference planning sessions and that the Conference had been "taken over by sado-masochists and presented only their point of view." A small cadre of anti-porn activists picketed outside the premises on the day of the event, wearing T-shirts

A Look At S & M



Exploration of the dim area of pain and pleasure: These two pictures are scenes from the movie *The Story of O*. *Historie d'O* has become a classic of erotic literature, along side *My Secret Life* and the works of de Sade. In early 1955 the book received the Prix des deux Magots. The police attempted to suppress the work, but as suddenly as the investigation began it was shut down amid rumors that a high official had read the work and ordered it left in circulation.

refused to view the sexuality of women in relation to her reproductive function, a position that was rare in the 18th century as it is in the 20th century which is dominated by "anatomy is destiny" teachings of Freud; he advocated free sexuality for women and gave them positions of power and influence in his imaginary worlds.

"Charming sex, you will be free: just as men do, you shall enjoy all the pleasures that Nature makes you duty, do not withhold yourselves from one. Must the more divine half of mankind be kept in chains by the others? Ah, break those bonds: nature wills it."

proclaiming "Against S/M. Towards a Feminist Sexuality," and circulating a leaflet full of slanderous accusations regarding a number of the featured speakers and/or planners. These actions might have been merely mild irritants but surrounding events helped to create a climate of anger and apprehension. Due to reports of WAP's planned protest, the Barnard Administration confiscated the major text to be distributed at the Conference—the *Diary*. As a result, the Conference was deprived of its official document; Barnard College's affiliation was removed from the document (and, in effect, from anything to do with the Conference, save financing the reprinting of the *Diary*, which became available later that summer); and the Helena Rubinstein Foundation withdrew funding for future Scholar and Feminist conferences. Furthermore, the independence of the Barnard Women's Center has been threatened and the Center itself is currently under review.

The stated rationale behind the seizure of the *Diary* was for "inappropriate graphics." One of the designers of the *Diary*, Beth Jaker, has said that the Barnard Administration panicked because, in general, "Colleges feel so threatened. They want to suppress any element of innovative feminism because they're scared they'll lose their funding." This is indicative of a larger trend but it doesn't explain the role of WAP and the contribution of the anti-porn politic to this unfortunate turn of events. WAP protested the Conference for its inclusion of a variety of perspectives on sexuality, and it protested the *Diary* for its use of "violent images" to represent women and female sexuality; the *Diary* included punky, witty, brazen graphic

chief and central motivating force to describe the human condition.

Erotic violence, as practiced by consenting individuals, is rejected without reservation by those hanging onto sexual taboos. Violence of one person against another, violence of police against civilian and violence of one nation upon another remain acceptable and commonplace and is beyond the reach of the censors. But erotic violence of men upon women, men upon men and women upon men and other women, taking place in the privacy of the bedroom is not immune from censorship and condemnation. It is a great shame indeed that we have allowed society to condemn and moralize against these acts which many find pleasurable for indeed there is a "strange" pleasure from fear!



de Sade treats all sexuality as a political reality as opposed to viewing it as a moral dilemma, a reality that advocates overriding one's socialization. In this sense, individuals can find liberation if they cast aside taboos established for them by society, and practice sadomasochism if it is a part of their sexual fantasies/desires. For it is only through the abandonment of one's socialization, along with the chance for men and women to make their own personal decisions, can we look forward to having a free society.

PGH/RW

sexuality as it is without abandoning a critical perspective on it, and we can be critical without becoming moralistic." Given the current environment, this is radicalism.

Sexual radicalism can mean many things. For some women it can mean acknowledging desire in the first place. For others it can mean talking about it. For still other it can mean taking risks to find out what gives pleasure. In the past, the taking of those kinds of risks entailed dealing with other kinds of threats; not only the threat posed by the law and by general social intolerance, but also the threat of expulsion from a movement that may have given one an identity and a voice. This is particularly true these days for the so-called "sexual outlaws" in the feminist movement, whose sex can involve s/m, lesbian butch/femme roleplaying or ornate fantasies that don't fall into the WAP "erotica" category. They are thus labelled "anti-feminist" by the anti-porn movement which holds these "deviants" in special contempt.

I look forward to the day when an article can be written about the advent of feminist sexual radicalism without the use of a foil such as the anti-pornography movement to introduce the issue. While all feminists feel true rage about the sexual vulnerability women have suffered throughout the ages, this anger cannot short-circuit into sexual contempt without women losing in the long run. For feminists, it is not a time for reaction nor a politics of despair. It is time to relinquish the status of victim and to take back sex, in all its variety.

—Barbara O'Dair

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Illustration © 1981 by Vanylic Green. Based on a performance, "Unmade Beds."

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The History of Socialism... The Socialist World

labor movement is not being run by the CIA. But on to the history to demonstrate the inadequacies of such claims.

During the "Prague Spring" of 1968, students rioted and intellectuals within the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) tried to initiate dialogue on more fundamental political reforms without the backing of the Polish working class. Still complacent under the illusion of Gomulka's 1956-57 reforms, the Polish proletariat was only just becoming aware of the erosion to the workers councils, self-management and political liberalization since 1956. In the wake of Czechoslovakia, Poland experienced an ideological hardening and a wave of anti-semitism meant to give the Polish people scapegoats for Poland's economic and social problems. Just before Christmas, the Polish state announced a substantial food price increase and bloody rioting broke out in the Baltic area. Resurgent workers committees were formed in factories and Gierek, PUWP head in Silesia, replaced Gomulka as head of the party and state.

Food prices were lowered, wages were increased and social services were improved by January 1971, as Gierek set about rapidly industrializing Poland with the aid of western capitalism in the form of loans. In March of 1971 prime minister Jaroszewicz met with Cardinal Wyszyński to try and normalize Church/State relations and in March of 1972 hardliner Cyrankiewicz was replaced as president of the Council of State by Jablonsky. By the summer of 1976 the enormous foreign debt accumulated by Gierek's regime to finance the hasty industrialization of the country produced a financial crisis in "socialist" Poland. Agriculture had been undervalued and undeveloped, in part because the PUWP refused to aid independent farmers who had won their own private lands from the state to conduct an entrepreneurial agriculture, and so the state announced an increase in food prices, still highly subsidized by the government.

Strikes broke out and workers committees reemerged—particularly in Ursus and Radom. The government took harsh measures to suppress the workers, but the price increase was also revoked. Kurn, Michnik, Kolakowski and a number of other Polish intellectuals inside and outside the PUWP came to the realization that the Polish working class, unsupportive of their efforts at social revolution in 1968, were fighting for nothing less than social revolution in 1976. In response to Government plans to modify the Polish Constitution of 1952, the "Letter of the fifty nine" intellectuals protested acknowledging Poland's allegiance to the USSR and demanded freedom of conscience and religious observance, freedom to work, of speech, of information, and freedom in the sphere of university research was circulated in 1975 to collect 40,000 additional signatures before being presented to the state. In September 1976, the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR) was formed by Kuron and other Marxists to provide the workers with legal, medical and financial assistance. For the first time in neo-Socialism a true revolutionary organization committed to support of working class social revolution emerged alongside working class mass action.

KOR set out to accomplish three things: first and most important to support the Polish workers struggles, second to evaluate the experience of the working class under Gomulka and Gierek and third to develop a strategy for social revolution capable of comprehending past mistakes toward the realization of true socialism in Poland. Its efforts on behalf of ex-strikers quickly gained KOR popularity.

KOR halted judicial harassment and obtained the release of prisoners. It stopped torture and won the reinstatement of dismissed workers, all the while working openly and publicly to publicize its activities. In 1977, having realized its immediate objective to

democratic and non-violent was most effective not when there was a high level of oppression and terror, but rather in times of relative social peace resulting from the disintegration of the machinery of government.

SOLIDARNOŚĆ

defend the workers of 1976, KOR became the Social Self-Defense Committee (KSS—KOR).

KSS—KOR launched an unofficial publishing campaign of three periodicals to provide the Polish working class with information, analysis and popular opinion. "Flying universities" to educate workers and expand their social-revolutionary consciousness were begun, and KOR's founding inspired the formation of a number of Catholic, liberal and Christian Marxist dissident organizations.

KSS-KOR, by submerging itself in support of the social revolution within Polish proletarian mass action, served to build working class action in Poland, culminating in the February 1980 strike in the Lenin shipyard at Gdansk in protest of the transfer of a militant member advocating "free trade unions." A strike wave followed in July of 1980 at Ursus, in the suburbs of Warsaw and at Tczew in the Gdansk region as a result of sharp increases in the price of meat, and Solidarity was born.

In every way KSS-KOR prepared the way for Solidarity. The period of "self-management" that ended Stalinist autocracy in Poland was thoroughly examined. From Gomulka's 1956-57 reforms workers participated directly in the economic management of the country's industries through their workers' councils and the first autonomous trade unions, and these reforms had been won by a concerted working class policy of popular civil resistance which so reduced the standard of living of the population as a whole and the party elite in particular that a social crisis was brought about. But a law passed in 1958 cut short the role of working class management by replacing the workers councils with "autonomous workers' meetings"—tripartite organs made up of workers, the Party and management—which effectively eliminated workers self-management.

After 1970, Gierek promised independent trade unions, but gave the working class the Polish Trade Unions under strict Party supervision meant to control the workers and align production with the requirements of the Party's economic plan. The large, well-developed industrial working class of Poland had been betrayed twice by promises of reforms that were either not realized, or realized and then subverted, teaching the Polish proletariat that none of the factions within the PUWP could be trusted to implement such reforms. Only the working class, through proletarian power achieved by its own organization and activity, could insure that changes would be properly implemented.

Kolakowski, perhaps Poland's most renowned Marxist philosopher, went on to develop a strategy of resistance for a working class no longer willing to entrust social revolution to the PUWP. His strategy of resistance and revolt was based on what Kolakowski called the Polish tradition of "civil resistance" and "civil disobedience," a tradition of mass action capable of taking up the popular offensive against a state that was demoralized and suffering from internal strife between rival groups. Kolakowski understood well that a popular resistance movement that is both

Solidarity and its demands for free trade unions spread quickly throughout Poland with this analysis and strategy, gaining many millions as members. A Solidarity union of independent farmers was formed, and waves of strikes, occupations, and sit-downs followed after mid-August 1980. One of the first demands of the Gdansk strikers was the erection of a monument to the dead of 1970 when Gomulka ordered the army to fire on the workers at Gdansk. But this was only one of the 21 demands presented by the Gdansk inter-factory committee that included recognition of free trade unions, the right to strike, freedom of expression and press, restoration of the rights of workers dismissed in 1970 and 1976 as well as of students barred from higher education do to political views, the release of political prisoners, publication of the strikers demands by the media, concrete projects aimed at getting Poland out of its economic crisis, holiday pay, raises and sliding wage scales, maximum food supplies for domestic consumption at the expense of exports, the appointment of managers on the basis of qualifications and not party membership, the right of earlier retirement, improvement of working conditions for medical workers, setting up day care centers for working mothers, extended maternity leave and an end to housing shortages, longer holidays, and the like.

From its inception, Solidarity had to contend with a number of problems. Anti-Soviet Polish nationalism threatened to make the focus of Polish labor unrest the effort to liberate Poland from Soviet hegemony, and so Solidarity had to maintain a social revolutionary perspective over the population's anti-Soviet sentiments, in part by contending that the Soviet people, having experienced the worst ordeal of modern history, were still being used as tools in the imperialist policy of their masters, the Soviet red bourgeoisie. Second there were the problems of maintaining Solidarity's democracy and non-violence in constant confrontation with the Polish state and the PUWP. Work strike committees were elected by all the workers in a given factory, the various work strike committees were coordinated within the inter-factory strike committee (MKS) both industrially and regionally, and permanent supervision was instituted to assure the full delegation of powers. And Solidarity consistently promoted the idea that the Polish police and army were comprised of Poles who had to be brought to sympathize with the demands and activities of Solidarity through a popular non-violent resistance that would not attack them as police and soldiers but rather would try to unionize them.

The most serious problem that confronted Solidarity was the debate between moderate and maximalist tendencies within the union. The moderate tendency claimed that a reserved mass action movement would gradually be able to achieve the goals of free trade unions, Polish sovereignty and social reform, and the example of Solidarity did precipitate fundamental reforms in PUWP by the summer of 1981. A radical democratization of the PUWP resulted in bottom-up representation based on secret, free elections that threw out much of the PUWP's entrenched elements and replaced them with neo-Socialist party members. The maximalist tendency argued for maximum demands and a quick realization of Solidarity's demands through the organized power of the working class engaged in social revolution, and this tendency gained the upper hand by September of 1981 at Solidarity's first national congress. This congress contended that Solidarity's goal was the creation of decent living conditions in an economically and politically sovereign Poland free of poverty, exploitation, fear and deception. Democracy was fundamental to such a Poland, and Solidarity went on to demand trade union control over production, distribution and prices in cooperation with the Solidarity of Individual Farmers, authentic workers self-government with the abolition of party hegemony and the initiation of effective economic recovery measures, social control of the mass media, Polish schools and culture in order to insure truth, democracy by free elections to the Parliament and national councils, the freeing of all prisoners imprisoned for expression, justice by equality of all before the law, environmental and health protection measures, and the distribution of coal that guaranteed proper living and working conditions for the miners.

The challenge to PUWP hegemony and the call for free elections proved to be too much for those in Poland committed to alliance with the Soviet Union. In December of 1981 a military coup led by General Jaruzelski took power in Poland in the name of national restoration. Solidarity was banned, its militants and supporters were jailed and harassed and martial law was declared to restore social order. Ever since, the Polish economy has been at a virtual standstill, despite the lifting of martial law and the release of those interned under martial law. The Polish working class has once more taken up mass passive resistance against the Polish state and party, as in 1956 when work slowdowns, strikes, sick-outs, sabotage and the like were used to paralyze society and severely reduce the Polish standard of living to create social crisis.

The struggle of the Polish working class for social revolution and true socialism has not ended, despite the suppression of Solidarity. The Polish economy is at a virtual standstill, and the stagnation of Polish society is the product of a Polish working class bridling under state and party dictatorship. Jaruzelski's military coup has only delayed the inevitable; social revolution carried out by the Polish working class through the self-activity and self-organization of proletarian mass action. That Jaruzelski saw fit to ban the activities of the PUWP itself indicates that Soviet modeled and supported socialism in Poland has degenerated into military dictatorship in the name of socialism. Military socialism, no less than national socialism, is the socialism of fools.

The most serious problem that A History of Socialism Part Fourteen Conclusion

The present, advanced stage of danger—ecological, nuclear, economic, social and political—that we are in requires nothing short of the realization of true socialism through social revolution in order to affect the rapid, qualitative changes needed to head off

global holocaust. Socialism is nothing less than working-class democratic hegemony over society, the democratic transformation of advanced forces of production to eliminate scarcity and class distinction, and the democratic transformation of the relations of

production to introduce workers' management and social planning into the economy. We emphasize the word democratic because, while socialism will be achieved through social revolution, democracy is central to socialism.

Socialism is nothing less than revolutionary socialist, advanced industrial societies mutually allied with proto-socialist and pre-socialist societies to create, internationally, the socialist world economy-in-embryo. As the socialist world economy becomes global, and as wage labor and the distinction between "metropolitan" and "countryside" regions disappear within that socialist world economy, socialism will come within the reach of communism—the withering away of all national boundaries and national governments. The anarchist must settle for the transition of socialism to achieve communism, but socialism is nothing less than a social revolution-in-permanence until communism is achieved.

Social revolution, in turn, is the decisive overthrow of the capitalist ruling class and the decisive victory of the working class in society and globally. Social revolution originates with the mass insurrection of working class and oppressed people, and social revolution cannot succeed in achieving socialism unless it is broadbased and democratic. The more broadbased and democratic, the less violent the social revolution. But make no mistake about it, no ruling class in history has relinquished its power without a fight. Those engaged in making social revolution seek to have their efforts be as democratic and non-violent as is possible. Those opposed to social revolution seek to halt it by any means necessary.

Social revolution is based on the maturing of mass action, and the self-activity and self-organization of working class and oppressed people cannot be forced through military methods. That arms may eventually have to be taken up to defend the social revolution does not mean that the social revolution is made by force of arms. Any military measures must be thoroughly subordinated to the social revolution they are intending to support, and cannot be allowed to shape the course of the social revolution. By contrast the revolutionary organization, though subordinated to the social revolution as well, will help to define the social revolution by principled action and education within the social revolution.

To say all of this is to confront the fact that modern socialism has never witnessed the revolutionary victory of socialism in an industrially advanced

country, let alone globally. The two prerequisites for socialism defined by Marx have not been met, and since anarchism has won no permanent victories in this world, we must also confront the fact that there are no socialist societies to crown the history of modern socialism. To say this is to obscure the fact that, at present, a few quasi-socialist societies do exist—social democratic Sweden and communist Czechoslovakia among them—which possess both advanced forces of production and some socialist relations of production coupled to severely compromised political regimes, given the dynamics of world capitalism. Yet the vast majority of countries claiming to be "socialist" are either proto-socialist (Russia) or pre-socialist (China) because of reasons we have gone into in great detail with this series.

The US left exists in an advanced industrial society, a country that is the center of a global economic and military empire. And on the American left today we have the options of a vanguardist "New Communist Movement" wishing to "lead" popular discontent and protest, a social-democratic movement hoping to "represent" popular unrest, and an anarchist/autonomist movement trying to "galvanize" popular unrest into action through action. None of these movements possess forms of revolutionary organization capable of acting within the mass action that is emerging on a number of fronts in the United States.

In part, this is due to the nature of the mass action that is currently surfacing in the United States among workers, students, youth, oppressed people, the poor, etc. Whereas mass action was associated, in the past, with the emergence of mass proletarian organizations, the United States as a "mass society" is witnessing mass action emerge in a much more "molecular" manner. Unable to be led, divided or incoherent politically, yet too big for strict decentralism, current US mass action requires a revolutionary organization capable of democratically redefining the tasks of working class and oppressed peoples for the United States today and democratically realigning the popular forces for social revolution so that they become aware of their own combined power for self-activity and self-organization.

This can only be done by a revolutionary organization through theory realized in practice—praxis—coupled to continuous education. The revolutionary organization can neither lead, catalyze nor represent mass action; it will help to define the direction of the

social revolution only through principled action and education within the maturing mass action. The history of socialism, if nothing else, reveals that two things are essential for social revolution: mass action and revolutionary organization. Neither spontaneous mass action, no matter how vast and militant, nor an organization of revolutionaries, no matter how broad and democratic, can capture the essence of social revolution. Social revolution comes from the interaction of these two elements in the transformation of society.

Similarly, the revolutionary organization will develop out of the interaction between the Marxist commitment to organization, the social democratic commitment to democracy and the anarchist commitment to direct action. The organization of revolutionaries that succeeds in including, and eventually synthesizing these three tendencies will be capable of working within mass action under the conditions of its emergence in the United States. It is far easier to state this than to try to realize the synthesis of revolutionary Marxism, social democracy and revolutionary anarchism. The only clues to be gleaned from the history of socialism point toward a revolutionary organization subordinated to the social revolution with a policy of support for mass action.

Working class and oppressed people, historically, have achieved instances of such unity through revolutionary practice, when mass action becomes social revolution. In Russia under the slogan "All Power To The Soviets" and in Spain through the CNT/UGT industrial and agricultural collectivization, a unity-in-practice was forged between diverse mass political elements. Only an organization of revolutionaries clearly subordinated to the social revolution that is committed to promoting and supporting mass action can hope to attain any significant, creative position in the process of social transformation called social revolution and socialism.

What forms will the revolutionary organization and the relationship between mass action and the revolutionary organization take? The history of modern socialism, though demonstrating the significance of workers councils as a form of mass

YOU READ THE SERIES, NOW READ THE BOOK

The new indicator will be publishing *A History of Socialism* as a book next year, and we are now busy revising the series. The book will be available free to classes and seminars interested in supplementary readings, and it will be sold off campus through the new indicator. Please get your comments, criticism and concerns about the series in to the new indicator as soon as possible so that our revision can be as comprehensive as possible. And look for our book on the history of socialism next year!

CHEAP EATS

I like eating food, but I also like eating at places where I can watch the people who also eat there. Cheap eateries are often the best places for people-watching because the most interesting people to watch are working class and poor people, the denizens of cheap eateries. All the pretty in La Jolla tends to become boring after a while, and university students need reminding now and again of how "The Masses" look, talk and act.

A nice cheap place to eat for people-watching is *Margarita's* at 4955 Newport Ave., Ocean Beach. Again, the large menu for breakfast, lunch and dinner have a number of items that are more expensive than my criteria of \$2 a meal/\$3 for a lot of food. *Margarita's* qualifies as a cheap eatery for a number of reasons. First, it has many items on the menu well within my criteria, especially for breakfast and lunch. Second, it has daily lunch and breakfast specials that, depending on the day, can get you a lot of food for little money. Third they have a weekly breakfast special; 2 eggs, hash browns and toast for 99¢ and Huevos a la Mexicana with rice or beans and tortillas for \$1.75. Fourth, you get chips and salsa free and the portions are large. Finally, they serve

alcohol in a congenial atmosphere of families and beachfolk, little kids and morning beers, boisterous conversation and a jukebox with some amazingly funky tunes.

The salsa tends to be very basic at times and the chips may not always be absolutely fresh. When they say beef its ground beef, and the service tends to be slow, especially at peak hours. Open Friday and Saturday from 7 to 10, and Monday through Friday from 8 to 10. I recommend their El Dorado Burrito (\$3.50) and their La Reina Tostada (\$4.50) which is big enough for two, especially with a side order of beans.

If you're in Pacific Beach, and you have a little extra money to spend, *Manitas Taco Pub* is the place. At 2768 Garnet Ave., *Manitas* is truly a fine eating experience. The authenticity and excellent quality of the food more than make up for it being more expensive. To begin with, the salsa is exceptional and the chips are always fresh. The salsa is just hot enough for you to order a beer, and by the time you've finished your entire meal the sting has left your lips. *Manitas* serves good Mexican beer, including Corona, but the treat is the food.

There are chicken and carne asada tacos in flour and corn tortillas (.75¢), and carne asada, chicken, machaca con huevo and chorizon con huevo burritos (\$2.50). The tostada suprema (\$4.50) is massive, so they offer a chica (\$3.75) as they do with a number of other items on the menu for the same reason. The trully colossal carne asada con guacamole (\$5.95) also comes with a chica and is the specialty of the house. There's a succulent chile relleno (\$2.25) and an egg menu of carne asada, machaca, chorizo and omelette mexicano (\$4.25).

What makes the food so exceptional? They use top sirloin steak miraculously braized for all their carne asada, and their chicken comes in massive chunks. Each item on the egg menu comes with del la olla beans cooked whole in a sauce made savory by celantro, as well as all the tortillas you can eat. This place cooks with a lot of celantro as a spicing, and the cookig is done in an open kitchen at the center of a three-sided bar, so you can watch your meal being cooked, again while helping yourself to the best salsa in town.

Manitas advertises almost entirely by word of mouth and a few well placed ads. It is open from 11 am to 11 pm every day and it has recently opened and adjoining Mexican bakery with fine pastries.

action for social revolution, provides little to go on with regard to this. The inadequacies of a mass organization and popular front alliances contending with "molecular" mass action on the one hand and the problems with cadre organization vanguardism and affinity/cellular activism with respect to the maturation of mass action on the other hand, demand that the American left take up the tasks of building a truly democratic, revolutionary organization capable of addressing present conditions in the United States.

Again we emphasize the word democratic because of the nature of social revolution as this history illustrated with Russia and Spain. The dynamics of social revolution give rise to mass anarchistic tendencies, while the conditions of social revolution permit well-organized revolutionaries to seek after power over the social revolution. Only a revolutionary organization committed to democracy can enhance the self-activity and self-organization of the social revolutionary movement through principled action and education while retaining the ability to co-ordinate activity and maintain historical continuities.

This is particularly important for organizing in the strong democratic tradition that the United States lays claim to, not to mention for achieving the democratic social revolution-in-permanence that we have defined as socialism. Such a social revolution is not imminent, nor is it probable in our lifetime. Yet its necessity cannot be understated. The United States and its global imperialism continue to define a world capitalist economy that distorts world socialism and threatens annihilation. Not only does the United States possess highly advanced forces of production, but as the center of a global empire the United States commands the ability to give birth to the socialist world economy-in-embryo as a realized socialist society. Social revolution in the United States to create socialism then goes beyond unyoking the world from American imperialism. The American left has the opportunity to create socialism in an advanced industrial society and the beginnings of world socialism. The magnitude of what can be accomplished is matched only by the difficulty of the tasks to accomplish it confronting the American left.

Now, I don't usually care for stand Mexican food, and when I do go for take-out Mexican, I don't make the fuss that amateur eaters, such as those associated with the *Koala*, seem to think is necessary. Roberto's and Alberto's are both cheap stands, and I've frequented both. I also like *El Indio's Tortilla Shop* at 3695 India for take-out because the guacamoles good and their package meals are large and filling. I'm bringing up stand Mexican food to lay a warning on my fellow roving diners—stay away from *Elvira's Taco Shop* at 3756 5th Ave. I've eaten there twice—the first time finding half a button in my carne asada burrito and the second time becoming physically ill. I've talked to others who've had similar experiences and *Elvira's*, so enough said.

MARGARITA'S ***
MANITAS TACO PUB **
ROBERTO'S & ALBERTO'S ***
EL INDIO TORTILLA SHOP ***
ELVIRA'S TACO SHOP *

—Andrew Chumley

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

Long Stories In Short

Sane

State

Segregation?

California has the reputation of being ahead of its time, but the state's welfare system has taken a giant step back to the age of Dickens. In 1982 the Sacramento County welfare office found its costs soaring—especially in the program known as "general assistance." This program services people who don't qualify for other state or federal programs because they aren't disabled and have no children, but are nonetheless out of work.

Since last November, applicants for general assistance have been told that they will not receive any financial help. Instead, they are sent to a shelter on the fringes of town where they are given a bunk and three meals a day. In exchange for these amenities, recipients must work seven days a month for the county.

While the welfare department saves \$29 per recipient each month under this new system, the county says its total savings are between \$50,000 and \$100,000 every month. That's because the number of people who are going to the poor house is 600 fewer than those that used to receive direct cash assistance. Plus, the average stay at the shelter is twenty-two days, compared to the sixty days people used to be on the welfare rolls.

Recipients have brought a suit against the county, charging that mandatory lodging at the shelter stigmatizes the poor and violates their right to "privacy, freedom to travel, and dignity." Residents face a military regimen: large dormitory rooms, set times for meals and recreation, a curfew, and rules prohibiting liquor and sex. When a married couple goes to the poorhouse, they are lodged in sex-segregated quarters and instructed to obey the rules.

Jeffrey Ogata, the lawyer representing poorhouse residents, cites clients who are divorced and have lost custody of their children after moving to the poorhouse, and others who have had to give up apartments that financial assistance would have allowed them to keep. "We don't think the county has a right to tell people who happen to be temporarily down on their luck and are in need of assistance that they have to live in a poorhouse if they want help."

—Dollars & Sense

Argentina Strikes!

More than 9 million workers walked off their jobs across Argentina recently to demand a massive wage hike in the face of a 400 percent annual inflation rate.

The strike paralyzed most activities in the country of 27 million people. Banks, shops and restaurants closed and subway and train drivers abandoned their jobs. The Interior Ministry estimated that 96 percent of Argentina's industrial workers in key manufacturing centers in Buenos Aires and interior provinces joined the 24-hour strike.

—Big Mama Rag

Socialist State?

Representative Larry McDonald, Democrat of Georgia, is convinced that in the Ninety-seventh Congress, at least eighty-five of his colleagues in the House were "committed to a totalitarian socialist state."

—the Progressive

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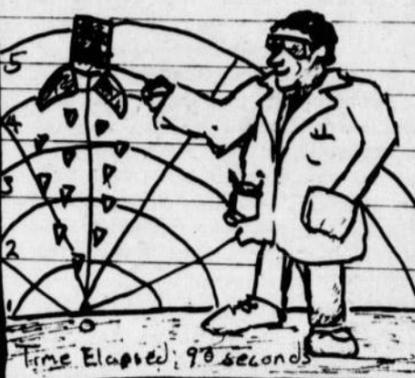


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Boycott Nestle!!

"Despite a massive publicity campaign to convince consumers otherwise," observes Infant Formula Action Coalition (IN-FACT) National Chairperson Douglas Johnson, "Nestle continues dangerous marketing practices which threaten the lives of millions of infants in developing countries."

In a move designed to convince the Nestle Company to abide by the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNICEF infant formula marketing code, INFACT has announced a new boycott campaign focusing on Nestle's Taster's Choice coffee.

The WHO/UNICEF International Code was developed to restrict certain forms of formula promotion said to be responsible for dramatic declines in breastfeeding world-wide. Health experts note that the shift to bottle-feeding has resulted in higher rates of infant malnutrition, disease, and death, where poverty and unsanitary conditions make proper use of the product virtually impossible.

The boycott against all Nestle products, the world's largest manufacturer of infant formula, was started in 1977 in an effort to convince the company to adopt a more ethical marketing policy. Taster's Choice coffee is the firm's largest selling product in the US, one for which numerous competing brands can be easily substituted.

—WIN

Mind Your P's & Q's!

An executive of the Guatemalan government admitted to reporters that six political prisoners should not have been executed just before the Pope's recent visit: "It was a mistake. It shows a lack of politeness to kill people when the Pope asks us not to do it."

—the Progressive

Lunch on the West Bank Anyone?

On March 27, 317 girls from six schools in Jenin, on the West Bank, were rushed to a hospital and treated for symptoms which suggested that they had been poisoned. In Yatta, over seventy miles from Jenin, another 400 Arab schoolgirls have been hit by the epidemic. This outbreak brings the number of victims to 1,000. The Israeli army has imposed curfews on Yatta, Tulkarm and parts of Nablus where cases of the epidemic have been reported. This epidemic is being depicted by the officials as "a mass phenomenon"—how odd then that it hit only Arab schoolgirls. An Arab journalist has been charged with "inciting people to become ill."

—Big Mama Rag

Win a Welfare Check!!

The latest American homage to competition is a cross between *The Dating Game* and *Let's Make a Deal*. Called *Help Wanted!*, the TV show features one employer and two job applicants, who trim poodles, dip bonbons, or do a striptease on stage to demonstrate their work skills. The employer makes the choice on the air; the winning applicant gets the job and the loser gets \$500.

Producers tout the show as a "great human document," explaining that, with unemployment so high, giving away real jobs is more exciting than the standard fare of luggage and refrigerators. As the recession and Reaganomics run their course, perhaps we can look forward to similarly lighthearted shows featuring contests for welfare, housing, health care, and public services. At this rate, they won't run out of contestants.

—Dollars and Sense

What's Your (Sexual) Preference?

The Associated Press (AP), the most distributed print and broadcast news service, recently refused to ban sexual preference discrimination in employment. The company also has criticized its major competitor, United Press International, for accepting bans against sexual preference discrimination in their labor contracts.

In negotiations for a new contract with the Wire Service Guild, AP rejected a clause banning discrimination on the basis of sexual preference or affectional orientation. In correspondence with Virginia Apuzzo, Executive Director of the National Gay Task Force, AP President Keith Fuller denied that the company was even considering a change in personnel policy about sexual orientation.

—Off Our Backs/GCN

Harvard Hunger Strike!

Seven students began a hunger strike at Harvard University April 18, demanding a moratorium on new investments and divestment of Harvard's \$460 million in corporations and banks operating in South Africa. The action was sparked by a Harvard trustee's statement that moral considerations had no role to play in the university's investment choices and followed coordinated April 15 divestment protests at Harvard, Dartmouth, Williams, Amherst and Wesleyan.

Two days into the hunger strike, seven more students joined the action and a tactical decision was made to culminate the fast with a major protest April 27th. During the entire week, daily rallies took place at Memorial Church in Harvard Yard and support has grown on campus and throughout the region.

—the Guardian