



Elections: A Trap for Fools

(The following is an abridged version of an article which appeared in *Les Temps Modernes* no. 318, Jan. 1973; it was written by Jean-Paul Sartre.)

When we go to vote tomorrow, we will once again be substituting legal power for legitimate power. The first, which seems precise and perfectly clear-cut, has the effect of separating the voters in the name of universal suffrage. The second is still embryonic, diffuse, unclear even to itself. At this point it is indistinguishable from the vast libertarian and anti-hierarchical movement which one encounters everywhere but which is not at all organized yet. All the voters belong to very different groups. But to the ballot box they are not members of different groups but citizens. The polling booth standing in the lobby of a school or town hall is the symbol of all the acts of betrayal that the individual may commit against the group he belongs to. To each person it says: "No one can see you, you have only yourself to look to; you are going to be completely isolated when you make your decision, and afterwards you can hide that decision or lie about it." Nothing more is needed to transform all the voters who enter that hall into potential traitors to one another. Distrust increases the difference that separates them. If we want to stand and fight against atomization, we must try to understand it first.

Men are not born in isolation: they are born into a family which forms them during their first years. Afterwards they will belong to different socio-professional communities and will start a family themselves. They are atomized when large social forces—work conditions under the capitalist regime, private property, institutions, and so forth—bring pressure to bear upon the groups they belong to, breaking them up and reducing them to the units which supposedly compose them. The army, to mention only one example of an institution, does not look upon the recruit as an actual person; the recruit can only recognize himself by the fact that he belongs to existing groups. The

army sees in him only the man, that is, the soldier—an abstract entity which is defined by the duties and the few rights which represent his relations with the military power. The soldier, which is just what the recruit is not but which military service is supposed to reduce him to, is in himself other than himself, and all the recruits in the same class are identically

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ELECTION COVERAGE
plus Nicaragua, Chile,
American Criminal Justice,
Funky La Jolla, Komix, and
the Resurgence of the Right

other. It is this very identity which separates them, since for each of them it represents only his predetermined general relationship with the army.

Universal suffrage is an institution, and therefore a collective which atomizes or serializes individual men. It addresses the abstract entities within them—the citizens, who are defined by a set of political rights and duties, or in other words by their relation to the state and its institutions. The state makes citizens out of them by giving them, for example, the right to vote once every four years, on condition that they meet certain very general requirements—to be French, to be over twenty-one—which do not really characterize any of them.

From this point of view all citizens, whether they were born in Perpignan or in Lille, are perfectly identical as we saw in the case of the soldiers. No interest is taken in the concrete problems that arise in their families or socioprofessional groups. Confronting them in their abstract solitudes and their separation are the groups or parties soliciting their votes. They are told that they will be delegating their power to one or several of these political groups. But in order to "delegate its power," the series formed by the institution of the vote would itself

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B.C.C. Fights Eviction

What is more important to SDSU, a parking lot or Black students? At a recent meeting with Alpha Phi Alpha, a black fraternity, President Thomas Day stated that a parking lot was more important "because it will help Black students." The controversy over space for the Black Communications Center continues to grow.

The center became an issue when the administration made plans to demolish part of Hardy Avenue to put up a parking structure. The building that currently houses the Black Communications Center will be torn down in the process. The problem for the Black Communications Center is that President Day has said that SDSU has no space for their program. The problem for President Day is that the BCC is

demanding that adequate space be found.

The roots of the strife between Black students and the administration go way back. Ill feelings were generated last year when the AS Council denied a waiver for a fundraising activity for the Black Student Council Awards Night meanwhile allocating themselves student money for their own Awards Night. Another preceding conflict arose when the Aztec Center Board passed a plan to turn the Women's Resource Center and the Black Student Council Office into a TV Lounge which triggered an immediate Black student protest.

This year on September 1, the BCC received an eviction notice from the Dean of Student Affairs. The BCC, having previously moved from another house to cooperate with University

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"Blanket Men" Face Starvation in English Prison

Seven prisoners in the H-Blocks of Northern Ireland's Long Kesh prison have begun a hunger strike "to the death" in an effort to force the restoration of political prisoner status revoked by the English government in 1976.

The prisoners were arrested under the draconian provisions of the Special Powers Act, tried in no-jury courts and, according to Amnesty International, some 70-90% of them were convicted solely on the basis of confessions obtained under torture.

For over four years, now, the prisoners have refused to wear a prison uniform (symbol of the new "criminal status") and have lain naked in their cells, except for a blanket (see n.i. Vol. 6, No. 3).

As the hunger strike began last week, 30,000 supporters marched through the streets of Belfast in the largest demonstration since the early 70s.

In Long Kesh, 142 prisoners announced that, in solidarity with the prisoners on hunger strike, they would no longer wear a prison uniform. This brings the total of "blanket men" to 500.

Among the seven prisoners on hunger strike are individuals from each of the six Irish counties occupied by English troops. Irish sources have told them that additional groups of prisoners will join the hunger strike at regular intervals until the demands are met.

Locally, supporters demonstrated last weekend at the English Consulate in Los Angeles and a group of sympathizers undertook a symbolic two-day fast in solidarity with the prisoners.

The English government, meanwhile, has refused to meet the prisoners' demands, and has announced that it

will let the prisoners die before agreeing to restore political status.

However, the government has already launched two major efforts to defuse the hunger strike. The first came a few days before the hunger strike was to begin, as the government officially announced that the prisoners would once again be allowed to wear civilian clothing. The concession stopped short of restoring political prisoner status, and was rejected as what one observer termed "last minute window-dressing."

The second effort was to discredit the hunger strikers as perpetrators of crimes. This propaganda barrage was launched by the BBC world service on Monday, Oct. 27, the first day of the hunger strike, with a report asserting that 3 of the 7 prisoners were "convicted murderers." Major wire services and "objective" dailies immediately followed suit. Several local newspapers (*L.A. Times*, *Union* and *Daily Guardian*) carried Associated Press report in which the prisoners were referred to as "convicted Irish Republican Army guerrillas." Greg MacArthur of the AP Foreign Desk in New York told n.i. that the original AP report contained extensive background information regarding the questionable practices of Northern Ireland courts. Specifically, MacArthur claimed that AP had explained that the convictions had been obtained in no-jury courts under the Special Powers Act. It seems that no local editor found this to be newsworthy.

The *New York Times* and the *Evening Tribune* (UPI), meanwhile, went so far as to refer to the prisoners (70-90% of whom, again, were convicted solely on the basis of forced confessions) as "terrorists."

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Military Invades UCSD

Once again military recruiters are beginning their annual assault on UCSD, seeking volunteers to help dominate the world. Military recruiters have gone largely unhindered of late, being confronted on only a few occasions (such as last Spring's Work Opportunity Week). It has not, however, always been this way.

From 1969-1972 any military recruiter who publicized his visit to the campus was sure to draw at least a picket line, if not a sit-in or blockade. Several students were arrested on various occasions for interfering with recruitment.

Recruiters since then have, at times, been more subdued, and have made their appearances less noticeable. Over the last few years, however, military recruiters have become more and more visible. And as their visibility has increased, opposition to their activities has increased as well. Last year, several recruiters were visited by students who confronted them while they tried to recruit. Such actions culminated during Work Opportunity Week, with several students surrounding Navy recruiters and interfering with their efforts.

This year the military is back in force.

Already representatives of the Naval Ocean Systems Center (with which UCSD has extensive ties) and the U.S. Navy have visited UCSD. Representatives of the Navy (November 19), the U.S. Marine Corp Officer Selection (November 20) and the Pacific Missile Test Center/Department of the Navy (November 14) are scheduled to recruit this month at UCSD.

These recruiters receive substantial support from student Registration Fees, support that includes student-funded publicity announcing the availability of these recruiters, staff support for arranging and soliciting the interviews, etc. According to a survey conducted last Spring, students overwhelmingly oppose such subsidization of military recruiting.

Of course, Career Planning, which sponsors military recruiters here on campus, does no limit its services to the military—they also bring such defenders of freedom as Logicon (whose revenues are derived primarily from military contracts), Lockheed (which does quite a lot of work for the military), McDonnell Douglas (ditto) and the Bank of America.

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Profits Over People

Following the deaths at NASSCO of Michael Beebe, 22, and Kenneth King, 23, due to the hazardous working conditions, OSHA has cited the company with three safety violations. We of the New Indicator Collective are appalled that OSHA has not, and will not, state that the safety violations in any way contributed to the deaths of these two men. And we condemn the impotency of OSHA: the three safety violations carry maximum fines of \$800 each! When corporate heads can legally conspire to lower safety levels to a degree that puts workers in imminent peril, and government "watch dog" bureaucracies are incapable of insuring positive changes in those safety levels, we can have only contempt for the entire corporate-government-capitalist system which values profits over the lives of working people.



on just about everything and for wages that can't keep up with these prices; a vote for devastating unemployment rates among third world people in the U.S., not to mention the continuing deteriorating living conditions in our inner cities; a vote for keeping women unfree and unequal; a vote for keeping gay men and lesbians in the closet.

Although there are certain distinctions between these candidates, they are far too secondary, in terms of their overall common politics, for any of them to be characterized as the "lesser evil."

When President Carter was accused of weakening the U.S. military posture vis a vis the Soviet Union, the White House swiftly produced proof that the Carter administration had squandered far more on the arms race than had its Republican predecessors. We find the evidence wholly persuasive.

When John Anderson was taken to task for opposing such boondoggles as the MX missile system, he hastened to explain that he favored, instead, still further militarization of Western Europe. There is no reason to doubt that he means it.

This is the stuff of which the 1980 Presidential campaign is made, and we want no part of it, thank you. The quadrennial exercise in balderdash is mercifully drawing to a close. Perhaps it will be possible, beginning on November 5, for some of us to resume a serious

discussion of the grave problems confronting the United States.

To be sure, some Presidential candidates have been addressing the issues. They are the candidates you will not see on the television screen or read about in the press. They do not figure in the public opinion polls. And we suspect they will not win. Many will hesitate to vote for these candidates out of an aversion to throwing away their votes, or fear of a Reagan presidency.

One is not "throwing your vote away" by choosing a candidate who can not possibly be elected; one throws a vote away by casting it for a candidate who should not be elected. We do not feel we are "helping to elect Reagan" by not voting for Carter, or "helping to elect Carter" by not voting for Anderson; one helps elect a candidate by voting for that candidate—not by exercising a preference for the candidate or party whose politics approximate one's own. We will not feel obliged to choose a "lesser evil"; if one must vote for evil, whether lesser or greater, the franchise is meaningless.

Carter, Reagan and Anderson are in basic agreements on the issues confronting the people of the U.S. Their small disagreements—the aspect the establishment media concentrates upon in order to popularize the myth of a choice—are invariably located in secondary issues which can be easily disregarded once elections are over.

In 1964, "lesser evil" Lyndon Johnson defeated Barry Goldwater and went on to vastly expand the Indochina war. In 1976 "lesser evil" Jimmy Carter defeated Gerald Ford and reversed nearly all his major campaign promises. This year, with liberalism virtually dead and reform only a rhetorical echo of past campaigns, Jimmy Carter is being touted by some as a "lesser evil" than Ronald Reagan.

Under these conditions there are only two things which can be done November 4th: (1) don't vote, or (2) vote protest.

We deal with the second option elsewhere in this issue, and voting for a third-party candidate can be productive if it is part of a strategy, and part of an

ongoing movement. Registering a protest vote is a relatively small political act. It must be seen in the context of a commitment to helping to build the left and advancing the struggle over the coming years in order to be effective. These goals are not obtained through the ballot box in capitalist elections, they are realized over a long period through organization and struggle.

Meanwhile, the same people run the country, make the decisions, and rush us headlong into war and economic catastrophe. The system's not working, and electing one or another person to government isn't going to make it meet our needs. What's needed is a radical transformation of society—and that can be achieved only through organization. We can gain control over our lives only by seizing it, not by relying on some politician to give it to us.

We in the New Indicator Collective are committed to building a society in which people have control over their own lives, and elections are irrelevant to this goal. Much can be said for the argument that voting only encourages those in control, and only serves to legitimize their continued domination. Some 50% of the people will not vote this year—more than will vote for any candidate. Objectively, this represents a massive indictment of the election process, and a growing realization that elections don't change anything.

Abstention can be an important, although basically passive, political act. As one pundit once observed: "If elections could change things, they'd be illegal." Whatever happens on election day is not nearly as significant as what must happen afterwards.

Sooner or later we must begin to fashion a meaningful political process in the United States. We must analyze the distribution of wealth and power, and formulate a program for redistribution. We must confront the grim and growing menace of the nuclear arms race and formulate a program for peace. We must create a movement which offers real choices in the day-to-day decisions of people's lives.

N.I. Elections Stand

The New Indicator Collective opposes Democrat Jimmy Carter, Republican Ronald Reagan, and "independent" John Anderson for the presidency. If the 1980 election campaign reveals anything about American politics, it is that the two-party system does not meet the needs of the American people.

None of the three big contenders is capable of governing in our interests. None are capable of promoting economic and social policies that would benefit the masses of the people. All are devoted to increasing the profits of the capitalist class. None are equipped to alter the course of U.S. foreign policy from aggression and war to international cooperation and peace.

A vote for any of these is a vote for the kind of aggressive interventionist foreign policy that has led the United States into war in the past; a vote for inflated prices

discrimination, work assignments, forced overtime, and lay-offs because of "reorganization," but we have also repeatedly demanded quality childcare for staff, an employer-paid dental plan, real cost of living raises, fair and equitable grievance procedures, the right to buy back surplus vacation and sick leave, improved retirement benefits, improved transfer and rehiring conditions, more on-the-job training, equal rights for "casual" employees (i.e., students and other part-time workers), additional holidays, and this is one we won—the right to take a holiday on the preceding Friday or following Monday if a holiday falls on a weekend. If these aren't the terms and conditions of employment at UC, what are?

Seeking the support of a strong union, many CSEA members have left that organization to join AFSCME. Several had grievances that were being handled by CSEA, but they were dissatisfied with the representation they were receiving; they therefore decided to join AFSCME in the middle of their grievances. If CSEA is now finally representing its members adequately, we are glad to hear it—it's about time!

No officer of the Local gets paid anything for participating in or administering the Local. We work for our union because we believe that the only way to insure good working conditions at UCSD is through an organized work force. And we think it is

a plus that our International sends us organizers to help us get UCSD organized. These International reps, together with many volunteers from among Local 2068 members, enabled AFSCME to file with the PERB (Public Employees Relations Board) for collective bargaining, elections systemwide in all units (Service & Maintenance, Clerical, Skilled Crafts, Technical, and Professional)—with more than 50% signatures in some of these units! As a matter of fact, CSEA also has paid organizers and a roving steward, but CSEA didn't qualify with the PERB in any systemwide unit (they weren't able to file with even the minimum 10% signatures).

AFSCME is a democratically-run, rank-and-file controlled organization. The Executive Board acts as a steering committee, but the members have final decision-making powers in General Membership meetings. Members also make many policy decisions in the Committees (Stewards', Organizing, Health & Safety).

A basic problem for both AFSCME and CSEA at UCSD is the five-year average term of employment at UC, i.e., we have to replace 20% or more of our members every year due to attrition. AFSCME hopes that with the advent of collective bargaining, UC workers will elect a representative that will negotiate a strong and democratic contract and make this appalling turnover a thing of the past.

And now we come to the primary point: Why is AFSCME a better vehicle than any Association to improve the terms and conditions of employment at UCSD? AFSCME, the second largest union in the AFL-CIO, is composed specifically of public employees. It is the

only labor organization in California that has successfully negotiated a statewide contract anywhere in the U.S. From its headquarters in Washington, D.C., it lobbies powerfully for legislation favorable to public employees. No association can offer this sort of support and savvy.

Despite the size of AFSCME International, AFSCME's locals are totally independent—we make our own decisions, keep 70% of our members' dues, elect our own Executive Board, and will participate in contract negotiations. And we belong to CUCE (Conference of University of California Employees—the independent organization of all the UC-AFSCME locals).

AFSCME is the only organization at UC that has the experience to negotiate the kind of systemwide contract we need. None of us can afford the luxury of waiting for CSEA to gain enough experience to lock horns with the UC machine and win. We believe that the time for Associations is over. It is time to get a union contract that will insure us—UC employees—a say in the terms and conditions of our working lives.

We are eager to discuss the issues of collective bargaining with all staff members so that you can make an informed decision and vote for representation when collective bargaining elections finally take place. Representatives from our Local would be pleased to meet with people from individual offices, shops, departments over lunch or after work to talk about these issues. Call us at 297-1396 to set up a time.

—Susan Orlofsky
President, AFSCME Local 2068

The Real Union Responds

At our General Membership meeting on October 16, 1980, we discussed the articles and letters on UCSD employee organizations that have recently appeared in the new indicator and Daily Guardian and decided to respond.

First of all, we don't want to get dragged into a mud-slinging contest with CSEA. Such an argument among UC employees would only play into the hands of UC management, which more than anything else wants to see UC remain unorganized. Our primary concern is to give UC employees an effective voice in determining wages, hours, and working conditions (through a collective bargaining contract). For the record, we would like to clarify the following points:

We in no way solicited the new indicator article (appearing in Vol. 6, No. 1), although we appreciated the recognition.

CSEA's Executive Board has stated that three of their number left AFSCME because they felt that we lacked "concern with the terms and conditions" of employment at UCSD. It is a matter of historical record that AFSCME has not only handled many complaints and grievances having to do with

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

The new indicator is a collectively-produced campus-community newspaper, distributed from Leucadia to Ocean Beach.

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: 714-452-2016. The new indicator subscribes to Liberation News Service (LNS) and is a member of the Alternative Press Syndicate (APS).

Copy which is printed without a byline may be assumed to represent the position of the New Indicator Collective.

Collective contributors and workers: Kevin, Jon, monty, lee, jorj, paul, mike, chris, barry, fuzzy, nancy, reggie, daniel, mark, paul, juri, greg, sven, rick & diana, thans a lot.

Charles A. Patterson



Funky La Jolla

Promised last week a few words on the status of Urban and Rural Studies, which still faces the threat of a hatchet job from the Committee on Educational Policy. Well here goes...

Seems several CEP members want to dump URS—which was instituted as one of the original Lumumba-Zapata programs—which has been having some problems of late. They claim it's not academically rigorous enough, that it's

not a discipline, the standard garbage that they spew out. Latest word I have is that, a student member of the Committee proposed departmental status and more faculty as solutions to URS's problems, they're planning to let it hang around a while longer. Department status or—especially—a few faculty couldn't hurt, though...

Speaking of programs under the axe... Communications isn't right now, but for all the critical theory being taught there it almost might as well be. Program Coordinator Cole and the Communications Course Group did finally get through some very temporary media positions, but mass communications is still in bad shape. Of course, critical theory isn't something very close to Mike Cole's heart anyway. He was seen at a Course Group recently, by the way, drinking a can of Coors...

While we're talking about irresponsible cretins, a few words about the military... Yesterday at Career

Planning military recruiters held forth, as they will do several times this quarter, trying to recruit people for their erstwhile organizations. Offering "management careers" in "Navy Surface Warfare" (to quote the ad in last Wednesday's copy of the Disreguardian) they come here and use student fees to offer careers in murder and terrorism. You might think about stopping by and harassing them for awhile, if you can get Career Planning to divulge where they're hiding them...

Noticed a while back where the A.S. Council voted to rescind the Daily Guardian's status (soon—I hope—not to be quite so daily) as a student organization, and repudiated their debt. Good work. The administration, however, according to recent reports, is refusing to carry through and is allowing the DG to remain a registered student organization despite their fiscal irresponsibility and the A.S. vote. Seems certain administrators want to make

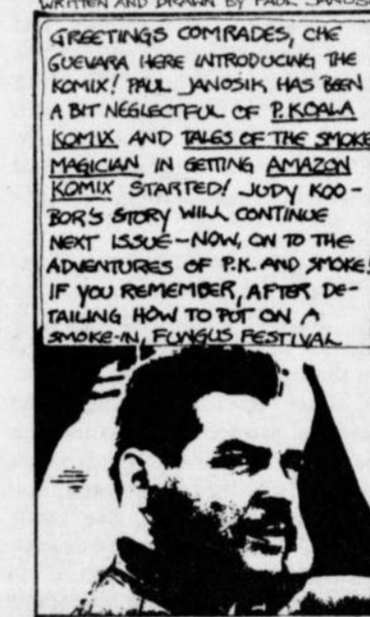
sure the Disreguardian can still raid student fees when they come out short at the end of this year...

Speaking of the A.S.... I noticed where Prez Topkis is working on some scam with the administration to set up an administration-controlled committee to investigate the events at the A.S. picket line, and suggest guiding for police to follow in such instances. Really, now...

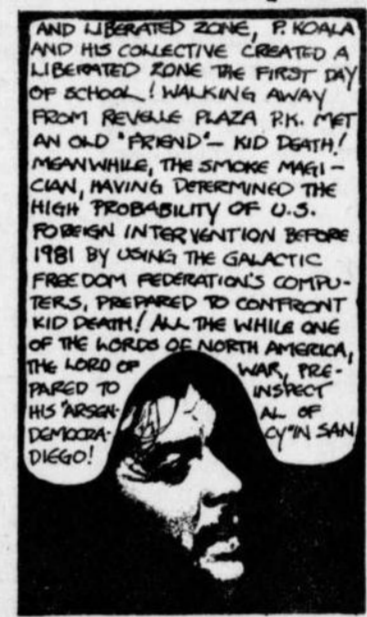
Those forced to cram into USB 2622 for the Committee for World Democracy's showing of three films on the plight of the Palestinian people two weeks back might be interested to know that no event was scheduled for the Mandeville Auditorium that night (although the University won't let CWD use the place)...

Well, that's about it... The proposal to allow UCSD students to take ROT Corp and Military Science at State for credit isn't going anywhere. Somehow it didn't seem properly academic to the CEP. Good Riddance.

P. KOALA KOMIX/TALES OF THE SMOKE MAGICIAN #314



ABBREVIATIONS
EECS—Electrical Engineering and Computer Science
NSF—National Science Foundation
AFPA—Advanced Research Process Agency—IDA
IDA—Institute for Defense Analysis—DoD
JASON—DoD think tank—meets summation at Bishop's School in La Jolla
AEC—Atomic Energy Commission



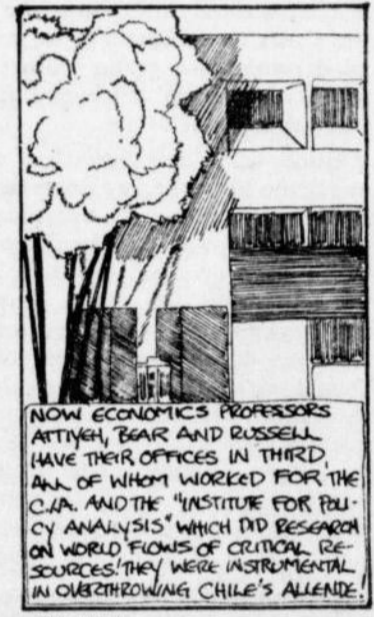
SIU— Scripps Institute of Oceanography
DoD—Department of Defense
URBY
Chern—Wilson, Kent—3284 UH
Chern—Shuler, Kurt—4282 UH (IDA)
AMES—Duke, David—5238 UH (IDA)
AMES—Ranks, Sinal—5238 UH (IDA)
AMES—Ellis, Albert—6238 UH



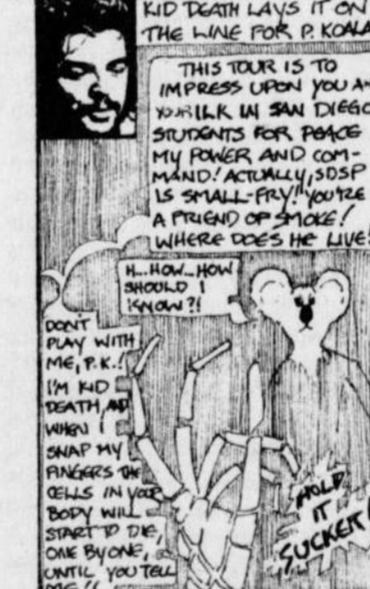
Energy Center—Prenner, Stanford—6254 UH (IDA, research on missiles and propellants)
AMES—Libby, Paul—7130 UH
AMES—Bradler, Hugh—7218 UH (Los Alamos Labs)
MAYER
Physics—Mack, George—382 Mayer (TRW Corp)
Chem—Mayer, Joseph—4414 Mayer (Los Alamos)
Physics—Kroll, Norman—5230 Mayer (IDA, JASON)



Physics—Kohn, Walter—5422 Mayer
Physics—Halpern, Francis—5430 Mayer (IDA, Convair, missile research)
NAVY ELECTRONICS LAB
Duntley, Subert—image restoration (visibility lab) Naval Ocean Systems
Anderson, Victor—Director Marine Physics Lab working Free Spine on \$1,987,329 (79-80 excluding summer)



DoD contracts
MID SCHOOL
Chem—Ditax, Marlene—406 BUB
WARREN
Physics—York, Herbert—412 (ARPA, IDA, JASON, Manhattan Project, Livermore Lab, Defense Consultant)
Office of Naval Research—502
Contractors and Grants—91—three big file cabinets on Air



FORC, DoE, Navy Research
Chancellor's Office—101—former head NSF—recommended NEI scientist of the year Slaughter to succeed him there
ECS
Econ—Attieh, Richard—215 (CIA)
Econ—Bear, Donald—228 (Kand, CIA)
Econ—Roulet, Robert—no office (CIA)
Worked together through "Institute for Policy Analysis" on



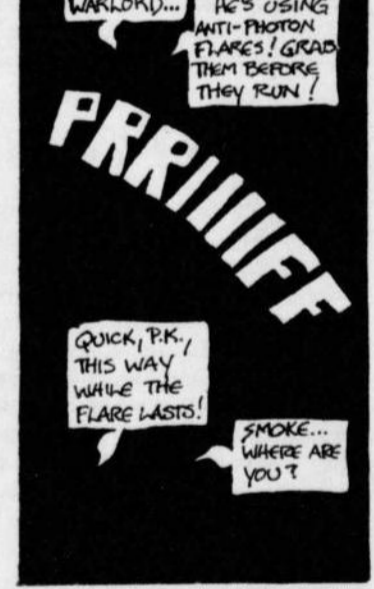
CIA research on world flow of critical resources, diversions, and manipulations. This kind of research was instrumental in the overthrow of Allende
APM
EECS—Chang, William—1011 APM
EECS—Baker, Henry—1181 (on active duty) on ongoing military projects—let UCSD right now—implementation of technology for military



EECS—Lee, Sing—1302
Physics—Caffrey, Richard—4872
EECS—Marty, Elan—5111
EECS—Ha, Fe—5202
Math—Rosenbatt, Murray—7355
P AND E
Psych—Norman, Donald—1537
SCRIPPS



Too many to list after
Iman, Douglas—Ocean Research Division (worked in '65 building harbors for military in Vietnam)
Guzon, Robert—Shore Processing Lab (SIU)
Winnar, Clinton—Shore Processing Lab (SIU)
These three are currently working on an ONR—Navy Research grant on fluid-sediment interaction on beaches
Fisher, Walter—1017 (Geophysics, IDA, JASON)



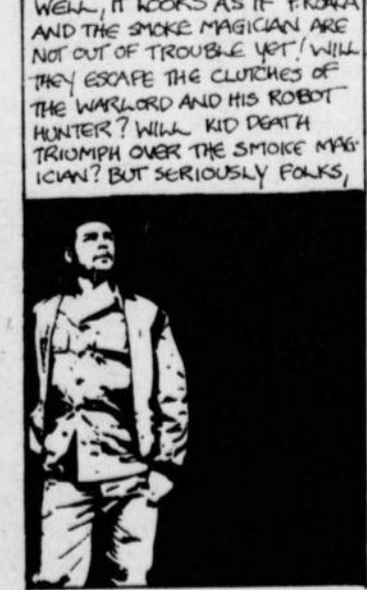
Spence, Frederick—SIU, sonar, underwater detection currently (79-80) working on a \$2 million DoD research contract
Vorenberg, William—SIU director (Los Alamos, JASON, DoD Panels, "If there's a DoD panel, I've been on it.")



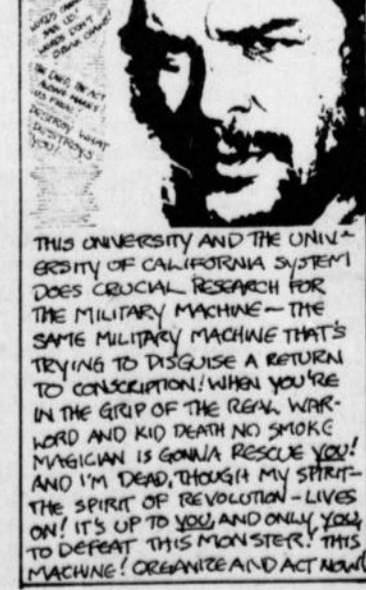
LET THEM GO! I SHALL CONTACT MY JET AND HAVE THEM RELEASE THE ROBOT HUNTER! AND NOW ABOUT YOUR PATRIOTIC MANAGEMENT OF THIS AFFAIR, KID DEATH!



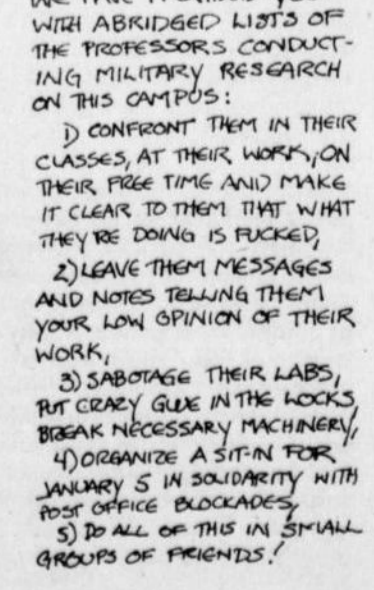
WELL... IT LOOKS AS IF P.K. AND THE SMOKE MAGICIAN ARE NOT OUT OF TROUBLE YET! WILL THEY ESCAPE THE CLUTCHES OF THE WARLORD AND HIS ROBOT HUNTER? WILL KID DEATH TRIUMPH OVER THE SMOKE MAGICIAN? BUT SERIOUSLY FOLKS,



THIS UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SYSTEM DOES CRUCIAL RESEARCH FOR THE MILITARY MACHINE—THE SAME MILITARY MACHINE THAT'S TRYING TO DISGUISE A RETURN TO CONSCIOUSNESS! WHEN YOU'RE IN THE GROUP OF THE REAL WARLORD AND KID DEATH NO SMOKE MAGICIAN IS GONNA RESCUE YOU! AND I'M DEAD, THOUGH MY STRIFE—THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION—LIVES ON! IT'S UP TO YOU AND ONLY YOU TO DEFEAT THIS MONSTER. THIS MACHINE! ORGANIZE AND ACT NOW!



WE HAVE PROVIDED YOU WITH ABRIDGED LISTS OF THE PROFESSOR'S CONDUCTING MILITARY RESEARCH ON THIS CAMPUS:
1) CONFRONT THEM IN THEIR CLASSES, AT THEIR WORKS, ON THEIR FREE TIME AND MAKE IT CLEAR TO THEM THAT WHAT THEY'RE DOING IS FUCKED;
2) LEAVE THEM MESSAGES AND NOTES TELLING THEM YOUR LOW OPINION OF THEIR WORK;
3) SABOTAGE THEIR LABS, PUT CRAZY GLUE IN THE LOCKS, BREAK NECESSARY MACHINERY;
4) ORGANIZE A SIT-IN FOR JANUARY 5 IN SOLIDARITY WITH POST OFFICE BLOCKADES;
5) DO ALL OF THIS IN SMALL GROUPS OF FRIENDS!



WARLORD... HE'S USING ANTI-PROTON FLARES! GRAB THEM BEFORE THEY RUN!
PRINCE
QUICK, P.K. THIS WAY WHILE THE FLARE LASTS!
SMOKE... WHERE ARE YOU?

What Is Crime?

This is the second in a series on the American Criminal Justice System:

In its simplest, yet still accurate, form, crime is that which is contrary to the law. So, in order to understand crime we must comprehend the nature of law: what it is, who makes it, its purpose, and its dynamics in concrete applications.

Perhaps the best way of discovering what law is, is to examine its origins. Historically, law has not been necessary to prevent the harm of an individual by another. Primitive cultures have no need of law; certainly they will have rules, that it cultural expectations for behavior, but these more closely resemble the modern notion of morals than law. In the Eskimo culture of a hundred years ago, for example, no laws existed. Yet these people were noted for the congeniality and general good nature. In Eskimo culture we have a small, close-knit group of families; they are highly egalitarian and had no class structure. Each family met its own needs and those of the group, there was no competition for material goods within the group—rather, there was a high degree of cooperation. All without any hint of law.

Historically, law seems to appear about the time when a culture begins to specialize its labor. At this time trade develops (if only on a local level) and economic classes develop. With specialization of labor comes a heightened sense of personal property; the man who grows a field of grain should rightfully feel that he is more deserving of its yield than anyone who has not tended that field. As the person no longer produces all he requires to survive, he must trade to obtain the necessities he does not produce; in this primal level of trade the concept of "profit" is born.

But who would have created law, whose purposes would it serve? Freely roaming hunter-gatherer bands certainly had no use for laws. Involvement in such a band was voluntary, and important decisions could be made communally. However, those who planted crops, and

so controlled land, had a vested interest in perpetuating their control; early merchants and traders needed their goods protected and debts paid. In short, those who had more (i.e., the wealthy) codified and so legitimized their ownership through law. With personal property and the distinction of society into economic classes comes law: written

MAN		EARLY (MAN-APES)	PRE HISTORY	HISTORIC	NOW
BEHAVIOR, OR ATTITUDE TOWARD		COEXISTENCE	COEXISTENCE	CULTIVATION	CON-QUEST
NATURE	EMPHASIS ON	COEXISTENCE	COEXISTENCE	CULTIVATION	CON-QUEST
OTHER SPECIES	INDIVIDUALITY	COEXISTENCE	HUNTING (TECHNOLOGY)	DOMESTICATION	TOTAL UTILI-ZATION
MEMBERS OF OWN SPECIES	US	CO-OPERATION (SOCIAL PRIMATES)	INTENSE CO-OPERATION (STRATIFICATION BY ABILITY)	INDIVIDUALITY (ALLENATION) ECONOMIC STRATI-FICATION	SENATE
	AND THEM	SUPER FAMILY (AVOIDANCE (TERRITORIALITY))	TRIBAL (RITUALIZED AGGRESSION (BLUFF...))	CITY STATE-EMPIRE (WAR TRADE)	SENATE

Thaux to R. COBB

prohibitions and privileges with penalties for violations. Law legitimized the protection of property from those who might wish to obtain the property without the consent of the "owner." And, in its more developed form, law also defines ownership.

But law itself cannot prevent actions deemed illegal; penalties and a method of enforcing them are necessary: magistrates, constables, jailers, etc. This of course entails more highly specialized labor. Those not producing food or other material objects lack the ability to trade for the necessities of life, an economic system is required to compensate those who provide services to the community rather than physical objects. In this way a state is born.

Who would want to create a state? To whose advantage is it? A State arises in one of two ways: (1) a power majority usurps the decision-making process by force; or (2) the society develops to the degree of economic complexity where, in order to keep things running, a bureaucracy (or state) is desirable for the

upper economic class. In either case, direct power changes from the hands of the many into those of the few. If the state is instituted by force, we have what amounts to a military dictatorship wherein the State is created for the personal gain of the creators. With such a state it is obvious that law can become highly oppressive. Such a state uses the law to sanction any and all activities to its liking, and to eliminate all opposition. But what of a State formed available for but a little work in hunter-gatherer and early agricultural times). Laws which at first glance seem good and proper (e.g., "Thou shalt not steal"), can be tools for oppression if the ruling class has allowed no sufficient alternative method for the underclass to obtain the necessities of life. This "no win" situation has often existed. If one was not an autonomous farmer, merchant or artisan, and were unfortunate enough not to be part of the ruling class, you had to work at whatever was available in order to survive; this work might well involve highly dangerous situations for almost no pay. In fact, for most early civilizations, the population of slaves or indentured servants greatly exceeded that of freemen. In these "no win" situations the law is of no use to the majority of the population. (The concept of law giving "rights" to all is a very modern one which has had no effect in the bulk of the historical past.)

But once the upperclass instituted the State, why should it remain in their control? As stated earlier, a wealthy class operating a State should easily flourish and so increase their wealth; money is one way of retaining power. Money buys an army, to put down revolts, and police to prevent them. In a different, less brutal, yet not less effective, method, the rulingclass will choose who to allow into its ranks and by so doing, choose who will rule in the future. This is done through selective education and advancement of those thought suitable by the state.

This short article has dwelt mostly on the past, but the present is not so different. The underclass still sees little advantage to involving itself with the State, so the upperclass retains control. And in those few cases where the underclass has pressed its demands, the State has replied with brutal force, which of course was fully legitimate under law (e.g. Paris Commune 1870, the Draft Riots of the U.S. Civil War, uprisings in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, etc.).

In the final analysis, as long as an upperclass runs the State they will do so in a way which maximizes their profit, even if it harms others. And the upperclass will maximize profit through legal channels as much as possible, using the law to define crime and ownership.

When I vote, I abdicate my power—that is, the possibility everyone has of joining others to form a sovereign group, which would have no need of representatives. By voting I confirm the fact that we, the voters, are always other than ourselves and that none of us can ever desert the seriality in favor of the group, except through intermediaries. For the serialized citizen, to vote is undoubtedly to give his support to a party. But it is even more to vote for voting, as Kravetz says; that is, to vote for the political institution that keeps us in a state of powerless serialization.

The ballot method, always chosen by the groups in the Assembly and never by the voters, only aggravates things. Proportional representation did not save the voters from serialization, but at least it used all the votes. The Assembly accurately reflected political France, in other words repeated its serialized image, since the parties were represented proportionally, by the number of votes each received. Our voting for a single ticket, on the other hand, works on the opposite principle—that, as one journalist rightly said, 49 percent equals zero. If the U.D.R. candidates in a voting district obtain 50 percent of the votes in the second round, they are all elected. The opposition's 49 percent is reduced to nothing: it corresponds to roughly half the population, which does not have the right to be represented.

We can go even further. Since by voting I affirm my institutionalized powerlessness, the established majority does not hesitate to cut, trim and manipulate the electoral body in favor of the countryside and the cities that "vote

the right way"—at the expense of the suburbs and outlying districts that "vote the wrong way." Even the seriality of the electorate is thereby changed. If it were perfect, one vote would be equal to any other. But in reality, 120,000 votes are needed to elect a Communist deputy, while only 30,000 can send a U.D.R. candidate to the Assembly. One majority voter is worth four Communist Party voters. The point is that the majority voter is casting his ballot against what we would call a supermajority, meaning a majority which intends to remain in place by other means than the simple seriality of votes.

Why am I going to vote? Because I have been persuaded that the only political act in my life consists of depositing my ballot in the box once every four years? But that is the very opposite of an act. I am only revealing my powerlessness and obeying the power of a party.

Actually, everything is quite clear if one thinks it over and reaches the conclusion that indirect democracy is a hoax. Ostensible, the elected Assembly is the one which reflects public opinion most faithfully. But there is only one sort of public opinion, and it is serial. The imbecility of the mass media, the government pronouncements, the biased or incomplete reporting in the newspapers—all this comes to seek us out in our serial solitude and load us down with wooden ideas, formed out of what we think others will think. Deep within us there are undoubtedly demands and protests, but because they are not echoed by others, they wither away and leave us with a "bruised spirit" and a feeling of frustration. So when we

are called to vote, I, the Other, have my head stuffed with petrified ideas which the press or television has piled up there. They are serial ideas which are expressed through my vote, but they are not my ideas. The institutions of bourgeois democracy have split me apart: there is me and there are all the Others they tell me I am (a Frenchman, a soldier, a worker, a taxpayer, a citizen, and so on). This splitting-up forces us to live with what psychologists call a perpetual identity crisis. Who am I, in the end? An Other identical with all the others, inhabited by these impotent thoughts which come into being everywhere and are not actually thought anywhere? Or am I myself? And who is voting? I do not recognize myself anymore.

There are some people who will vote, they say, "just to change the old scoundrels for new ones," which means that as they see it the overthrow of the U.D.R. majority has absolute priority. And I can understand that it would be nice to throw out these shady politicians. But has anyone thought about the fact that in order to overthrow them one is forced to replace them with another majority which will keep the same electoral principles?

To vote or not is all the same. To abstain is in effect to confirm the new majority, whatever it may be. Whatever we may do about it, we will have done nothing if we do not fight at the same time—against the system of indirect democracy which deliberately reduces us to powerlessness. We must try, each according to his own resources, to organize the vast anti-hierarchical movement which fights institutions everywhere.

LEFTOVERS SDSU's Only Alternative

BCC Demands Space

continued from page one

parking lot plans was not unaware that they would be asked to move again. However, they were completely unaware that adequate space would not be made available for the BCC program.

The space that the administration has made available is a 200 square foot closed in back porch with a tin roof. This space, smaller than one room of the house currently occupied by the BCC would be shared by two other ethnic groups, the Pewam House, a Native American group and the Philipino-Guamanian-Samoan Education House.

This ethnic quarantine has been rejected by the BCC. Ingo Beard, president of the Black Student Council explains, "The issue is adequate space to house a variety of programs for Black students at SDSU." Programs include help for freshmen, athletes, fraternities and other activities like rap groups, bible study, journalism projects, study groups and social activities. Says Beard, "That obviously cannot happen in 200 square feet shared by two other groups with their own needs and constituents."

When Ingo Beard questioned Dean Nowak, Dean of Student Affairs, about the issue of suitable space he was told that if he didn't like the space he could find his own and that "the program will be phased out anyway."

Richard McKinley, a spokesperson for the Black Fraternity Alpha Phi Alpha, was told by SDSU's assistant Vice-President that there was "no need for the Black Communications Center."

That idea is strongly contested by the Black Student Council and the Black Communications Center who claim that SDSU is ignoring affirmative action recommendations in terms of minority support and retention. On this campus of over 33,000 students there are about 1,000 Black students. The BCC asserts that without space there can be no program—a desk and a phone can't do it. Blacks receive no other support for their academic career.

On October 8, the BCC responded to their eviction notice, which had given them until the 10th to get out, with a letter requesting President Day's immediate resignation. This request was ignored.

Meanwhile Dean Nowak had told the Director of the BCC, Corrine Conway, to report to her new job in the Student Resource Center on Oct. 13. Claiming that Conway couldn't serve only Black students, her new position has virtually no job description. The BCC contends that her move is the first step to remove the Black activist from campus. The Oct. 13 date was extended to Oct. 27 when the BCC was given until the 17th and then the 24th to be out. According to Dean Nowak, the reprieve was due to a "delay in the construction schedule" and not the student-community uproar or the fact that the BCC is on state owned land and that the University doesn't have the power to evict them afterall.

In the meantime, Corrine Conway has been warned by Nowak that "appropriate action may be initiated" if she did not report to her new job in the Student Resource Center by Oct. 27. On Oct. 29 Corrine Conway discussed the issue and her role in helping Black students in her office at the BCC. "The need is where the crisis is right now. This crisis doesn't allow me the luxury of deciding where I would like to be."

The student and community response to the crisis at the BCC has been very supportive. On Sept. 14 there was a community gathering at the BCC followed by a prayer vigil at SDSU's "free speech area." The spirit of racism

was addressed. At a later date a group of Black students had a silent prayer in the lobby of President Day's office. Students claimed that it will take a higher power to reach President Day.

On Oct. 24, student and community people began a fast and a 72 hour sit-in at the BCC to dramatize concern for Day's response to them and their importance as students on the SDSU campus.

During a speaking engagement at SDSU, Dick Gregory, social activist and former comedian, expresses his concern for what was happening to the BCC. "Keeping that center shouldn't even be negotiable," and "You should have taken care of that the first day."

Perhaps in response to a suggestion by Gregory, Black athletes issued a statement of support for the BCC. The idea of boycotting Homecoming Activities was discussed.

AS President Paul Cashman responded that if Black athletes boycotted homecoming it would be because the teams standing was embarrassingly low.

At this point the issue has boiled down to money. Money for space. In the past, the SDSU foundation of which Thomas Day is also president has given the BCC \$8,000 a year for space. The AS Council, which is the board of directors of a \$1.4 million dollar corporation of student money allocates \$3,000 to \$4,000 each year for programs. The directorship has been a temporary state funded position for the past six years. The SDSU foundation receives over \$19 million each year, 72% of which is federal dollars. The BCC asserts that the SDSU Foundation has not been fair in providing adequate services for Blacks in terms of access and retention programs.

With no support from the administration, or the SDSU Foundation, the BCC finds little support from the AS Council. On Oct. 15 the AS passed a resolution which essentially endorsed the administration's relocation plan. It refused to recognize the issues of how much and what quality space should be made available to Black student programs.

The latest turn of events is that the state has given the BCC some 3 months to relocate. Apparently the University was attempting to insinuate that they had the power to evict the BCC. The property is state owned however and SDSU must deal with the state in this matter.

The future of the BCC and programs for Black students will remain uncertain to everyone with the possible exception of the Black Student Council and the Black Communications Center. Ingo Beard sums the situation up by saying, "We're not going anywhere until we have the space we need for Black students."

FORUM:
THE NEW DRAFT
Wednesday, November 5, 7:30 pm
Council Chambers
San Diego Students for Peace

LEFTOVERS
Articles and letters are welcomed. Please type them, double-spaced, on a 55-space line and send to: SDSU LEFTOVER's collective/UCSD B-023/La Jolla, CA 92093. ph.: 714-483-3769
collective contributors and workers: Laurie, mel, dan, mary, diana, randall forj, and bullwinkle. thanx a lot.



Ingo Beard, President of the Black Student Council, discusses the Black Communications Center eviction by SDSU with Dean Nowak.

Who are these clowns?

More AS Council Antics

On October 13, 1980, an election was held at SDSU. That election was for seats on the AS Council. AS Council is our "student government" and board of directors for a \$1.4 million dollar corporation, Aztec Shops, Ltd. Approximately 2.8 percent, or 835 out of 33,000 students voted.

In addition to the election of college representatives, an opinion poll was taken on student issues and the local, state and national elections. Proposition O, rent control, and proposition 10, non-smoking sections, were overwhelmingly approved by the electorate. Students disapproved of the police video on top of Love Library, a plurality thought that financial aid was doing a fair to good job, and a 2 to 1 majority would rather raise fees than reduce services (good-bye Jarvis mentality). But the real question that should have been asked is why are students not participating in these elections?

One reason for the low turn-out was the lack of information about the elections. A good voter turn-out is the result of information, high participation and confidence in the government. The only people who knew anything about the elections were incumbents and a few newcomers to the AS. Most students did not or if they did they weren't interested.

The AS Council is conservative, pro-corporate, pro-administration and ultimately anti-student. AS President Paul Cashman said in the October 22 meeting, "The AS Council is a corporation of which the AS Grassroots Councils are affiliates."

At that meeting the AS Council voted to support the NO on O position in the elections. Prop. O is a moderate rent control measure which would require landlords to roll back rents to 1977 levels and establish a series of rent control boards. These boards would be comprised of 2 landlords, 2 tenants and 1 homeowner. Rent increases and evictions would have to be approved by these boards.

Support for the YES position was lead by council member Dave Cranston, undeclared rep., Bill Calkins, disabled student rep. and John Gavares of CalPIRG. The NO position was lead by Paul Cashman, AS President, Bob Moore, VP of Finance and Roy Melvin, a landlord, developer and leader in the NO on O campaign.

Everything short of red-baiting was used to argue against the rent control initiative, although one council member did call it un-American. Following the debate Council endorsed the NO position in a roll call vote. Not only does the AS take a position which is detrimental to student interests but it continues to ignore other issues of vital

concern to students such as the draft, the lack of free speech on campus and continued institutional racism.

Students have rejected the AS Council as their representatives as evidenced by the voter participation. It is time to consider an alternative. Students at SDSU could form a Student Union. A Student Union operates like a trade union and can use various tactics like student strike to advocate in the student interest and deal with problems like the high price of books and supplies in Aztec Shops. Aztec Shops Ltd. is student money (\$1.4 million). We could turn Aztec Shops into a student-run cooperative which could maintain low prices and be directly controlled by students.

In no way can the AS Council consider itself to represent students with only 2.8 percent students voting. The recent anti-student stand on rent control adopted by the AS further shows that it doesn't represent student interests either.

Censorship

The following rebuttal to a Spaztec article by Brad Fikes was rejected for publication by Brad Fikes. Due to very short notice and our small space, almost all of the letter was not printed. Sorry, we'll do better next time.

Bradley Fikes' article (Oct. 6, Spaztec) on Barry Commoner's talk at SDSU is an outstanding example of biased reporting and inept journalism. Anyone who attended Dr. Commoner's talk would be inclined to dismiss Brad's article as the kind of sophomoric cleverness designed to fill up the pages of a paper desperate for copy. Alas.

From reading the article it seems obvious that Fikes went to Commoner's talk with his mind made up in advance about what he would write later. And instead of bringing us a fair and accurate account of the ideas Commoner presented that night, Fikes seized upon the opportunity to parade his own brand of political prejudice.

Commoner's ideas evidently over stimulated what was left of Fikes' fledgling journalistic intelligence: reading his article is like watching him disappear down the black hole of his own stylistic narcissism. Besides biased reporting and a bad case of stylistic overkill, the charges against Fikes' article would have to include: not presenting the facts, getting the facts wrong, (Brad seems to think that only 5 candidates will appear on the ballot for president this fall), deliberately misrepresenting Commoner's positions, and insinuating his own political ideology.

Karen Carkhuff Austin Gallaher

The declining rate of relevance infecting America's classrooms is a reflection of the fragmentation and disintegration of the institutions of everyday life which for so long have been the unquestioned foundation of the Holy American Empire. This declining rate of relevance is linked to the declining rate of intelligence which prevents the American people from even raising questions concerning the possibility that the United States is the organizing center of a counter-revolutionary empire which inflicts an immense amount of suffering on the have-nots of the world. The "Iran Crisis" and the taking of American hostages has raised the question of Empire, but a public discussion of this question has been ruthlessly suppressed by both the mass media and the State. Yet the crisis in American institutions continues to force the question upon us: "Is the existing American 'way of life' based upon Empire?"

The signs of crisis in American society are real enough. They are not, as some have smugly suggested, mere creations of the mass media. Stagflation—the combination of high unemployment and inflation—has continued to foster a decline in working people's real wages and has generated an ideological crisis concerning the future of capitalism and the role which the State plays in its reproduction. The fiscal crisis of the state, which means that the state has been spending more than it takes in through tax revenues, has placed

Apparently for the Right there is a difference between Carter and Reagan...

objective constraints on the liberal welfare state's ability to provide the social services which historically have arisen as a means of alleviating the social injustices and costs (human and environmental) of production for profit.

Other non-economic tensions exist as well. Social phenomenon such as divorce, homosexuality, feminism, single parent families, and day care centers all reflect a crisis in the nuclear family and its foundation of the patriarchal organization of sexual relations and the subordination of the female sex. Increasing racial tensions—as evidenced by the riots in Miami, the kidnapping and murder of Black children in Atlanta, the brutal butchery of Black men in Buffalo, and the revival of fascist paramilitary organizations like the K.K.K. and the American Nazi Party—threaten to turn numerous American cities into battle zones of hatred and destruction. These increasing tensions in sexual and racial social relations are in turn compounded and exacerbated by the contracting economy which places those on the lower rungs of the economic ladder in increasing conflict with each other. Arguments that Blacks should stay in their place and that women should get back into the kitchen are related to these socio-economic conditions.

The crisis has its international dimensions as well. The whole capitalist world economy is suffering from higher rates of inflation and unemployment. Third World revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua and increasingly strong resistance movements in South Korea, the Philippines, El Salvador and Chile are threatening America's hegemonic role as the organizer of world capitalism and its intricate system of neo-fascist client states. This situation has in turn fostered tendencies of increased imperialist rivalry and the possibility of a World War Three collision between the United States and the Soviet Union. The military madness seems to be spreading everywhere.

In short, America's imperial way of life is in jeopardy and its citizens face a choice between admitting that we are an empire and need to develop an alternative, non-imperial way of life, or retrenching and defending the existing imperial system with its cost and benefits. So far the direction has been

Social Regression and the Resurgence of the Right



one of retrenchment.

Signs of Social Regression

The resurgence of a strong rightward trend in American politics and culture must be examined within the context of these domestic and world-wide crisis tendencies and the stresses and choices which they engender. One such response to stress and choice is to psychological and social regression—the reversion of individuals and groups to an idealized earlier period of historical development. Numerous symptoms of social regression have already begun to manifest themselves throughout American society. A few of these symptoms are:

(1) A virulent nationalism based upon strong ethnocentric feelings and a "my country right or wrong" patriotism.

(2) A collective megalomania characterized by suspicion and aggression towards stereotyped outgroups, especially those who are "weak" and less capable of defending themselves (e.g. Iranians).

(3) The emergence of a secularized "cult of leadership" ideology which portrays the leader as the righteous symbol of an almighty and protective father (both Reagan and Carter have tried to cultivate and project this "strong man" image).

(4) An increased social inclination towards mythical and mystical forms of thinking which invoke a folkish sense of "oneness" and "unity" and a fatalistic acceptance of the way things are. This includes an irrationalist retreat from reason and an increasing emphasis on "faith" and "belief." Witness the Dead-Again Christian movement.

(5) A general "escape from freedom" characterized by a narcissistic avoidance of choice and social responsibility and a blind and submissive stance towards those in positions of power and authority.

(6) Increasing psychological and physical violence against women (rape, wife-beating, sexual harassment) and the macho renunciation of traditional "feminine" qualities of receptivity and gentleness. Male types of aggression and power are once again being worshipped everywhere.

(7) A strong necrophilic trend of increasing militarization and the reproduction and expansion of the arsenals of nuclear destruction, wealth and human energy which could be better used for the protection and enhancement of life.

The "new right" represents a socially organized manifestation of these regressive tendencies, a social defense mechanism which looks backwards to an idealized past for its vision of the future. It represents a defense of empire, a fear of change. Fortunately, there are counter-tendencies and social forces

which are moving in the opposite direction towards a new way of life, groups whose theory and practice contradict the requirements of the capitalist empire because they emphasize non-competitive play, a rejection of the capitalist performance principle of productivity and success, and new types of non-hierarchical social relations.

The New Offensive of the Reactionary Right

In the United States, rightwing social movements have generally coincided with periods of economic contraction, crisis in international relations, outbreaks of racial and sexual violence and a not incorrect perception that the liberal-center coalition (the Establishment) is bankrupt and cannot solve the country's problems. In a sense, there is a rational moment of protest in the right's attacks upon the liberal establishment and the policies of its governmental elites. There is also the ironic fact that the liberal sector of the ruling class has contributed immensely to the right by sporadically fostering a strong anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria which fuels the fears and national insecurities of the American people.

History gives us some interesting examples of how right wing movements emerge as responses to liberal politics. McCarthyism, for instance, arose partially as a response to the anti-communist Truman doctrine which propagandized about the "Soviet threat" and proclaimed that the United States would offer economic and military assistance to all regimes (no matter how dictatorial) opposed to communism. The successful communist revolution in China (1949) and the possession of atomic weapons by the Soviet Union was exploited by the Truman administration and made the pretext of an increasing interventionist foreign policy. Senator Joseph McCarthy and the right further exploited this atmosphere and the insecurities and fears which it nourished, denouncing thousands of Americans as "bad security risks" and "communists." Hundreds of writers and actors were blacklisted and prevented from working, thousands of others were harassed as unpatriotic. Liberalism had contributed to its own demise as the Republicans' "Uncle Ike" prepared for his term in the White House.

The Carter administration during the last four years has exploited international events to divert people's attention from the failures of our contradictory capitalist economy. It has revived strong anti-communist sentiments. It has exploited the hostage crisis and promoted nationalism. It has approved a record 157 billion dollar defense budget, the largest in American history. It has approved of the MX missile system. It has backed the

conservative movement which looks backwards to an idealized past for its vision of the future. It represents a defense of empire, a fear of change. Fortunately, there are counter-tendencies and social forces

They have stacked the deck with two equally repulsive choices for the American people.

Pentagon in its plans to renew the production of deadly chemical weapons. It has backed programs that would require the United States to make 17,000 new nuclear weapons in the next ten years. It has backed a new draft registration program and threatened military intervention in the Persian Gulf. It has set up an insidious Rapid Deployment Force and requested that N.A.T.O. and Japan begin a process of militarization to counter the "Soviet threat." Its economic achievements and social programs have left the country in a state of near depression. Black unemployment is at a record high, and the inner cities are plagued by the existence of a growing underclass of desperate people who sleep in the streets and feed out of garbage cans. So much for the progressive human rights record of the Carter administration.

The policies of the Carter administration have contributed greatly to the rightwing trend in this country. In 1980 we are facing a new rightwing coalition which is probably stronger and more organized than at any other period in American history. It has already managed to turn back many of the political, ideological and economic gains achieved by the radical movements of the late 60s and the feminist movement of the 70s. It has waged an increasingly aggressive campaign against property taxes (e.g. Proposition 13) and the federal government, while at the same time calling for increased defense spending and military might. In the name of defending the family and the sexual politics which place women under the thumb of male domination it has waged a vile war against feminists and homosexuals, opposing abortion, the E.R.A., gay rights, and "soft" divorce laws. It has mobilized its angels in armor, the Christian fundamentalists and the "Moral Majority" into an immoral campaign against "godless communism" which is blamed for the decline of the family, homosexuality, and all other perceived "ills" of American society. It has opposed all attempts to end racism and integrate American society—thus it opposes busing, integrated schools and affirmative action. It is for the bible, capital punishment, tougher laws against criminals, Americanism, and increased military spending by the federal government.

This new right coalition has successfully exploited the fears of many middle class and upper working class people who are finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet and are extremely concerned about their ability to survive the future. It has also found a new Messiah in Ronald Reagan, who has the support of the most reactionary sector of the ruling class and has been made the Republican nominee for the presidency. In fact, every major new right organization—Falwell's Moral Majority, Anita Bryant's Save Our Children, Weyrich's Evangelical Christianity, Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum—has endorsed the Reagan candidacy. They are angry at the fact that Reagan has made compromises with the liberal sector of the Republican party (Ford, Bush, Kissinger), but have accepted these compromises as necessary evils to be tolerated as a means to acquiring State power. As one letter in the new right magazine, *Conservative Digest*, has put it: "It is clear that in President Reagan we will have a sympathetic ear and even a friend in the White House..."

In fact, the above mentioned issue of *Conservative Digest* (August 1980) displays an interesting cover which is representative of its hawkish ideology—it shows Gerald Ford and Kissinger dressed in "Star Wars" uniforms, with

continued on page 9

Beating the Election Blues

You'd gladly vote for the candidate of your choice if you could just find a choice, right? And Tweedledum and Tweedledee just don't make it, do they? Even with the White Rabbit in the race this year, the one-party system (a.k.a. the two-party system) is still the only reality on the ballot, right?

Wrong. Of course, the Party of Property is going to win no matter which of its three candidates gets the most votes, but there are other choices for the compulsive voter who just has to punch that ballot and doesn't want to throw support to Carter, Reagan or Anderson.

In California there are four parties on the ballot (plus several others waging write-in campaigns) in the Presidential race in addition to the Big Three. The Citizens Party, the Peace and Freedom Party, the Libertarians, and the (gasp, shudder) American Independent Party—similar to, if not congruent to, the John Birch Society—about whom we shall say no more, not wishing to sully our pages. Elsewhere in the country the Workers World Party, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party and the Communist Party are on the ballots, and you could certainly write them in here.

Now, you understand that a vote for any of these parties is strictly a protest vote. If you're into winning, you'd be better off dialing for dollars. But the other choices do represent an intriguing array of alternative ideologies, and the color of Ronald Reagan's hair dye is the only thing even remotely unpredictable in this year's election, you might as well check out the raps on the also-rans.

The Libertarians

The Libertarians are likely to get the most votes after Carter/Reagan/Anderson. They fully expect to get five percent of the popular vote in 1980, and they may just make it. In 1978 the 200 Libertarian candidates for state and local office won an astounding 1.3 million votes, and one of them was actually elected, to the Arkansas state legislature. Their 1980 presidential candidate, Ed Clark, a lawyer for the Atlantic Richfield Corp., polled almost 400,000 votes in the 1978 race for governor of California.

An important reason for their strength is that they have substantial financial backing. Much of it comes through their vice-presidential candidate Charles Koch (chosen for that reason, who is the head of a family-owned oil distribution company that *Forbes* magazine says "may well be the U.S.'s most profitable business." The Libertarians bill themselves as the "Party of Principle," the principle that government has no business interfering in business' drive for profits. Although they call for a noninterventionist foreign policy, complete decriminalization drug use and the like, they also call for the abolition of the departments of Energy and Education, not to mention the elimination of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration and the Federal Trade Commission. They call for an end to social security and welfare, a "free market" approach to nuclear power and business in general; they believe that the capitalist economy, if left to its own workings, would provide full employment, solve the "energy crisis" and, if sufficiently universalized, do away with war.

Basically, Clark and the Libertarians believe that if 29% of the labor force now employed directly or indirectly by government were thrown onto the street, along with the 10% (or more) who are already unemployed, a reawakened, unfettered private sector would quickly employ them. American economic history would argue the contrary; that without substantial government intervention the U.S. would never have gotten out of the Great Depression. The absurdity of the Libertarian economic philosophy becomes most apparent when they talk about the environment. They argue that there would be less

pollution if the air and water were privately owned. The Libertarians are on the ballot in all 50 states, and expect to spend \$3.5 million on their campaign, which just might give you an idea of where their support comes from.

The Citizens Party

The Citizens Party is also getting a certain amount of media attention, primarily because their candidates are already well-known political activists. The Citizens Party is running environmentalist Barry Commoner for president and Native American activist LaDonna Harris for vice-president.



Commoner seems to be the driving force behind the Citizens Party. Its platform—public control of energy industries, a halt to nuclear power, a strong push for conservation and solar energy and a limitation on the political and economic influence of corporations—seems to come right from Commoner's latest book, *The Politics of Energy*.

They also advocate an immediate reversal in the rate of military spending, support for human rights at home and abroad, a guaranteed job for everyone who wants to work, and stable prices for basic necessities. The party is currently on the ballot in 30 states, and hopes to use the 1980 presidential elections as a springboard for building a national left electoral process. A NBC-UPI poll at the beginning of September showed the Citizens Party with one and a half percent of the vote—more than the Libertarian Party which had spent thousands of dollars on media. Now, in October, two state polls show the Citizens Party at 3% in Maine and 11% in Oregon.

The Citizens Party was just getting underway in October—their earlier efforts have focussed on gaining ballot access across the country. Their campaign is intended as a challenge to the corporations and their stranglehold on the economy and the political process, as well as the first step in bringing about a major realignment of the American political spectrum.

Reds and Pinks

The Peace and Freedom Party slate includes Maureen Smith for president, Elizabeth Barron for vice-president and David Wald for senator. These candidates are on the ballot in no other states, but the P&FP has been on the ballot in California since 1968, and offers a long-standing socialist alternative. The P&FP platform calls for "social ownership and democratic management of all industry and natural resources," the 30-hour work week, guaranteed jobs, decentralization of energy production, disarmament, gay rights and the adoption of a socialist medical system—to cite just a few of their platform planks. The party is also running candidates for a variety of other offices.

The Communist Party slate—kept off the ballot this year despite turning in more than enough signatures to qualify for ballot status—includes party chief

Gus Hall for president and well-known Black activist Angela Davis in the v-p slot. Davis is clearly the star on this ticket. *Newsweek* did an article on her candidacy and managed to mention Hall only once. The CP will appear on the ballot in 24 states, and the District of Columbia, and is running on a platform of "People Before Profits."

The Socialist Workers Party is running Andrew Pulley for president and Matilda Zimmerman for vice-president. We don't have too much info on the SWP, but based on past performance they're likely to be on the

ballot in several states, and to outpoll all left candidates except Commoner. (They're not on the ballot in California even though they turned in well over the number of signatures needed to qualify for ballot status.) The SWP is a Trotskyist organization which runs around tailing any mass movement to be found, hoping to latch on to the next Vietnam and ride it into victory. Thus, after thousands refused to register the SWP reversed its position and announced that henceforth it was ok—even laudable—to refuse to register. Recently they forced a transsexual member to resign on the basis of her

Big Money Fights Prop O

November 4th, voters are faced with a proposition that will, in all probability, have more effect on their lives (in terms of effects resulting from their decision-making) than all of the candidates put together. Proposition O is a rent control measure, put on the ballot after three years of struggle with city officials.

Proposition O would set up neighborhood boards to decide fair rents, would restrict the conversions of rental units into condominiums, would further protect tenants from unfair evictions, and establishes civil and criminal penalties for landlords who violate this law.

Although rent control, by itself, can never be a solution to a community's housing problems, initiatives such as this one are needed in order to protect people from ever-increasing rents and the removal of rental units from the market. In the long term, of course, only the recognition of the fact that the land belongs to those who live on—or work—it can solve our housing problems and end this situation in which an individual or corporation, with no right to the land, extorts resources for its own use.

Proposition O, predictably, has come under heavy attack from landlords and realty interests who are engaging in fraudulent advertising campaigns and a lavishly-funded media campaign in their efforts to prevent rent control from being enacted in San Diego. Mailers from groups such as Renters Against Rent Control (which includes in its membership such illustrious "renters" as Mayor Wilson, the entire City Council, the Vice President of San Diego Federal Savings & Loan, Assemblyman Jim Ellis

violation of the party's dress code. Dress code? That's right. The party defines any form of transvestism or cross-dressing as "exotic and incompatible with SWP membership." SWP doesn't have much truck with things exotic or peripheral. A spokesperson for their group made this comment about the transsexual incident: "The Socialist Workers Party is not a party of social rejects but a serious party." La-dee-dah.

In direct contrast to SWP's rejection of lesbians and gay men, the Socialist Party, USA has nominated an openly gay man for their presidential candidate. David McReynolds is a long-standing gay rights activist and a member of the War Resister's League. Running with him is Sister Diane Drufenbrock, a Catholic nun who teaches in Milwaukee. They are on the ballot in about ten states, and are calling for the decommission of all nuclear power plants, no draft or registration, an immediate 25% cut in military spending, public ownership of major corporations and the like. They won't be on the California ballot this time. If you want to vote for a gay atheist and a nun—which, you must admit, is a kinky idea—you'll have to do the write-in number.

The Workers World Party is an SWP offshoot which has drifted towards Stalinism over the years. Running Deidre Griswold for president and Larry Holmes for vice, they appear only on a few ballots. Other than that, we really don't know a whole lot about them.

All of these choices should give you something besides weeping to do in the voting booth. Some of these parties run candidates for lesser offices too. The Libertarians and P&FP are likely to show up in many places on the ballot, and the SWP is running Mark Friedman in a write-in campaign against Tom Metzger (of the KKK) in the 43rd Congressional district. Since electoral politics are absurd in America anyway, you might as well have some fun. Satisfy your guilt feelings, and vote for the minor party of your choice.

Adapted from: *Post-American, Berkeley Grassroots & the Guardian.*

(twice), the Chairman of the Board of Home Federal Savings & Loan, the President and Executive Director of the San Diego Chamber of Commerce, Dixieline Lumber Co., Drummond Investment and the like) threatening unlimited rent increases should rent control be enacted, and claiming that the initiative would prevent new construction, maintenance of rental units, and cost ten million dollars to implement have arrived in the mailboxes of many of San Diego's voters. Many of the claims made in this mailer are totally fraudulent, while others are mere distortions.

One example is the attempt to claim that rent control would end up resulting in even higher rents. To quote: "Proposition O promises to cut back housing costs to August '77 levels. But it places no limit on allowable rent increases. And think about this, property owners are the majority members on all nine rent boards established by Proposition O. There's no telling what could happen to our rents!"

The elements of truth in this—each board would consist of one appointed homeowner, two elected renters, and two elected landlords. While it is true that this gives a disproportionate voice to landlords, there is no reason to believe that a board elected with such a composition would be inordinately sympathetic to unjustified rent increases. In addition, the landlord and tenant members of the rent boards would be chosen through elections, and it is highly unlikely that landlords who are vehemently hostile towards tenants

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Four More Years

There's no use denying it. Either Jimmy Carter or Ronald Reagan is almost certain to be our next president. And the contest between them may well be decided by the superficial shortcomings which the media love to play up: will Reagan's foot-in-mouth disease or Carter's image of ineptness trouble the voters more on November 4?

Such issues come to the fore because the candidates are so similar in their more basic shortcomings, like their economic policies. Differences in rhetoric aside, Democrats and Republicans have largely agreed on what the economy needs. (John Anderson, too—see box.) By now, the lack of significant differences among major Presidential candidates is a national tradition, so obvious that even the networks and wire services cannot avoid noticing.

The more remarkable fact about the 1980 elections is that the bipartisan consensus is so much more conservative than it used to be. Gone are the promises of job programs to combat recession, the pledges for reforms of the welfare and tax systems, the hopes for national health insurance. This year the candidates are offering tax cuts for corporations and the rich as the route to a new prosperity, and calling for tens of billions of dollars worth of new weapons to terrify the Kremlin.

The two-party system doesn't just produce these wonderful choices every four years by accident. Like a pair of dice that always roll snake-eyes, like a roulette wheel that always stops at double zero, there's more than chance involved here. The realities of the economic crisis of the 1970s dictate that policies that capitalism needs in the early 1980s—and dictate that they will be more conservative than the policies of the recent past.

the year of the tax cut

Both candidates promise to make 1981 the year of the tax cut. Reagan's proposed cuts for next year total \$36 billion, Carter's \$28 billion. The difference between the plans may be surprising: Carter's gives a much larger share to corporations—55% of the 1981 tax savings. Reagan's would give only 11% of next year's cuts to business, reserving the lion's share for rich individuals.

For business Carter offers increases in investment tax credits and higher depreciation allowances (which means more money can be set aside in non-taxable depreciation accounts, rather than being counted as taxable profits). Businesses and individuals would be allowed to deduct 8% of their Social Security payments from their income taxes, and other minor changes would make individual income taxes slightly fairer and lower.

Reagan also advocates higher depreciation allowances, but the guts of his proposal is a 10% across-the-board cut in personal income tax rates in each of the next three years. At first blush an equal 30% reduction in all rates may seem fair enough. In fact, however, the scheme is steeply tilted in favor of the rich, as the following example indicates.

Consider Rhonda Rich who pays the top tax of 70% on her dividend and interest income and Paula Poor who pays the much lower rate of 20% on her

salary. Under Reagan's plan both tax rates would be cut by 30%, to 49% in Rhonda's case and to 14% for Paula. But when we look at what really matters—how much more money they will have left after paying their taxes—the results are dramatically unequal. Out of \$1000 of additional income Rhonda would get to keep \$510 rather than \$300—an increase of 70% in after-tax income. Paula, however, would find that her after-tax proceeds from an extra \$1000 would rise by just 7½%—from \$800 to \$860.

On taxes, as on some other issues, there is an apparent difference between the candidate's constituencies: Carter is more clearly in tune with the needs of the large corporations, while Reagan tends to appeal more to smaller businesses and rich individuals. The difference is not surprising, since Carter has spent the last four years administering some of the bureaucracies that big business loves best, while Reagan has been out walking on the wild side of the Republican party.

Reagan's tax plan, in fact, grew out of the new economic theory of the far right: the extreme form of supply-side economics (see Dollars & Sense #59), which alleges that a big cut in income tax rates will stimulate the economy so much that tax revenues will go up rather than down. While this concept captured Reagan's imagination, it did not exactly overwhelm the mainstream of the Republican party. George Bush, back when he was running against Reagan in the primaries, referred to this approach as "voodoo economics."

Former Nixon and Ford economic advisors such as Alan Greenspan and Arthur Burns lobbied hard and apparently successfully for Reagan to back off from the exaggerated claims of the extreme supply-siders and to combine his tax cut plan with promises to cut spending as well. And increased pressures from corporate interests and mainstream economic advisors make it likely that any tax-cut actually adopted under a Reagan administration would be even more along traditional Republican pro-big-business lines. More, that is, like what Jimmy Carter is pushing now.

Meanwhile, the business community has been waxing enthusiastic about the Carter approach to cutting taxes. **Business Week**, for example, rejoiced that "not since John Kennedy pushed the investment tax credit through in 1962 has a Democrat proposed a tax program so heavily weighted towards business."

Heads They Win

On other economic issues the two candidates sound astonishingly similar—and similarly bleak.

•**Budget-balancing**, an article of religious faith for the Carter administration throughout the last four years, is still worshipped by both parties. Everyone recognizes that it can't be achieved during a recession, with income and taxes down while unemployment, welfare, food stamps and other payments are up. As soon as the recession is over, though, the goal of budget-balancing will be back. Reagan in 1980, like Carter in 1976, estimates it will take about four years to balance the budget.

•**Inflation fighting**, no matter who wins the election, will be pursued on the same two fronts. On the first, increased

unemployment will be used to stamp out "excessive" wage demands and consumer spending. On the second front, businesses will be handed massive incentives to "revitalize" industry and increase output. (Nothing, of course, revitalizes a tired industrialist as fast as a big dose of cash.)

The likely failure of these policies to make much of a dent in the rate of inflation may force whoever is President to enact some form of wage and price controls; but for now both candidates remain adamantly opposed to even considering the possibility.

•**Military spending increases**—big ones—are urged by both Carter and Reagan. Who wants to build the MX Missile, develop a new bomber, gain enough nuclear superiority to threaten a "first strike" that could wipe out the Soviet military, and create a mobile strike force that could intervene throughout the Third World? Who runs a serious risk of starting a war in the next four years? Whichever candidate you named, you're right.

•**Domestic spending**, the candidates agree, must be held down. Neither candidate is calling for any major new effort to meet employment, health, housing, transit or community development needs. Given the rest of their economic programs, they are forced to try to keep social spending growing more slowly than the rate of inflation. That is, neither Carter nor Reagan can simultaneously increase military spending, cut taxes, and balance the budget without reducing the real level of government services and benefits. They are both understandably reluctant, however, to specify in advance just where the knife will fall.

There are issues on which Carter and Reagan sound quite different. Carter speaks the language of cautious, not to say boring, pragmatism. Reagan, on the other hand, speaks of unleashing the free market, of stripping away government interference so that private enterprise can do the job. Yet despite Reagan's frantically pro-capitalist tone, it is

Carter who is more realistic about what business needs. If elected, Reagan would start acting much like Carter does today.

Take energy, for instance. Reagan has variously claimed that there is as much oil in the ground in the U.S. as in Saudi Arabia, and that the Department of Energy should be abolished in order to unleash the energy industry. President-elect Reagan would undoubtedly be visited by some leading representatives of the energy industry, who would explain just where the world's oil is located—and why the industry finds it so profitable to have the Department of Energy securely under its thumb, as it has been during the Carter administration.

There are, of course, some real differences. These should not, however, cause us to lose sight of the fact that neither candidate is capable of, or even interested in, addressing the very real problems that confront us today. The 1980 presidential campaign is, in short, nothing more than a referendum on "the evil of two lessers."

adapted from Dollars & Sense

The Anderson Difference

Anyone hoping to find that independent Presidential candidate John Anderson offers a genuine alternative on economic policy is in for a big disappointment. The basic thrust of Anderson's proposals is similar to that of the two major candidates: big tax breaks for business to stimulate investment and growth, increased military spending, a move towards budget balancing, and no significant social spending initiatives.

There are some differences: He favors no personal tax reductions at all for 1981 (although he promises them for the future). He proposes strengthening the system of wage-price guidelines and using the tax system to reward those who comply (and to penalize those who don't). And Anderson still (quietly, now) advocates his "50-50" plan to use the proceeds of an additional 50¢ per gallon gasoline tax to reduce workers' Social Security taxes by 50% (although this idea is so unpopular with voters and with Congress that it stands no chance of being enacted).

New Right, cont...



Kissinger pictured as Darth Vader whose laser sword is dropping powerlessly over his left shoulder. Under the picture is a bright red and yellow caption which reads: "The Empire Strikes Out." This cover symbolizes the new right's defense of the warfare state and its role of protecting the U.S. ruled multi-national empire from third world revolutionary movements. Inside its cover, the liberals—whether they are republicans or democrats—are chastized for having been too "soft on communism," for having lost the Vietnam war (which they feel could have been won if the U.S. had used all of its awesome military might), and for being responsible for the "decline" of the U.S. into a "second rate power." The issue also has an insidious article entitled "Carter Backing of Legal Rights for Homosexuals Is Another Plateau to Paganism." Apparently, for the Right, there is a difference between Carter and Reagan.

The Lesser of Two Evils?

There are increasing signs that the American ruling class—whose members dominate the major corporations, the

Pentagon and the C.I.A., the F.B.I., the large foundations, the elite universities, the executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government, and the monopolized institutions of the mass media—is becoming increasingly reactionary in response to the economic crisis and the unstable international situation, and has stacked the deck with two equally repulsive choices for the American people. A choice between Carter and Reagan is the choice between a wolf in sheep's clothing and a wolf in wolver's clothing. Both candidates are equally capable of leading us into World War Three. Yet, if we are to accept this choice and legitimate either candidate with our vote, it is clear that Carter is the lesser of the two evils, but not much lesser. It is a difference of degree rather than kind—both candidates represent different fractions of the American ruling class.

In the final analysis, the American ruling class will do almost anything to insure the maintenance of its privileges and power, to preserve its empire which controls a majority of the world's natural resources. The Carter administration's revival of the Cold War hysteria in response to Iran and Afghanistan, its program of coercive draft registration, its call for the revitalization of the C.I.A. and the F.B.I. has generated an atmosphere which has given the right added legitimacy. A choice between Reagan and Carter therefore is not a real qualitative choice—both candidates represent a rightward swing in American politics, an effort on the part of the ruling class to create a consensus which supports militarism and intervention. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said it all in **Time** magazine (Oct. 27, 1980): "It's one thing for a voice in the wilderness to be proclaiming a military buildup. It's another to create a political consensus. That takes time." American electoral politics is like a manure pile—the more you stir it, the more it stinks. —Sidney Ore

Ireland, cont...

The propaganda maneuvers make all too clear the government's determination not to yield on the question of political status. And this intransigence, many observers fear, has set the stage for a final and potentially tragic showdown.

Following is the second and final portion of an interview with Liam Carlin, recently released after 4 years as a "blanket man."

NI: The war in Northern Ireland has been going on now for over eleven years. How old were you when the violence first erupted in 1969?

LC: In 1969 I was twelve years of age, when I first witnessed people on the streets demanding civil rights. I didn't really know what was happening, but I saw women and teenagers and young men and old men marching together behind a civil rights banner. Then the RUC, the British police force, attacking them, beating them, clubbing them, dragging them away. Some of the people were badly injured. I saw them getting beaten but I didn't understand. From then all I ever saw was British soldiers coming on the streets. At first they didn't do too much where I live, they just came on the streets, and sort of patrolled the place. But then they too began kicking in doors, raiding homes, picking up people, beating people. Anybody protesting on the streets for civil rights, or anything anti-British was batoned down. And then it led to internment in 1971. And then the first deaths, in 1971, when two men were shot dead for throwing stones at the British soldiers. And from then all I've grown up to see is the hatred of the British Army and the RUC against the nationalist people in Ireland. Like myself, when I reached 15, in 1972, returning home from school, heading toward the nationalist area (they knew that by my college uniform), I was taunted by a British soldier. When I

turned to face him, he fired a rubber bullet into my face at point-blank range. I lay for three days unconscious in a hospital, and then when I came around, my whole face was busted open, and I had to get a skin graft for the scars, and I lost the sight in my left eye, and I've no chance of ever getting it back. In claiming [suing—n.i.], my people were told at first, the British soldiers weren't involved, and then, they turned around and said, they weren't at fault, it must have been a riot situation. It was their court, we were claiming in the British court, and we had no standing, being Irish people. Then, from after that, the house being searched, my father being arrested, I was arrested at 15, that was the first time I was arrested; my older brother Charles has been arrested, my younger brother Manus. In June of 1973, my mother and father were sitting in their own car outside my sister's house in Creggan when there were seven shots fired into it by a British soldier. Fortunately, he missed my people, and when they went to court on the claim, the British soldier said it was a gun battle, and that was accepted. Witnesses had come forward and stated the British soldier was the only one who fired, and then they just kept harassing my family, other families. Other people have been murdered. Then in '73 we got the first real bad touch. My brother Charles was arrested, tortured for three days, forced to make a statement. And it was on his statement of conspiracy with others to steal cars for purposes unknown. He was sentenced to five years in prison. That was the real first hurt to our family. And just as he was due to be released, in May of '76, I was picked up in March of '76, and put in a frame-up. It was sort of always victimization of the family, one brother was coming out of gaol, and one was going in. They were hurting, the family, they were trying to break us in all!

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What Is A Co-op?

The dictionary defines a cooperative as a jointly-owned means of production of goods or services, operated by the consumers for their mutual benefit. There are many types of cooperatives; food cooperatives, fuel cooperatives, housing cooperatives, etc.

Cooperatives are operated by consumers for their mutual benefit. One of the vest most cooperatives is the SunKist cooperative or orange fame, which has mutually benefited itself to the top levels of Agri-business in this country. Just an example of the potential power of people organizing into cooperatives. Unfortunately, SunKist, like government and public universities, has become more like the large corporations that dominate the economic landscape. They have become more concerned with profit margins and their own economic well-being than with the social or personal well-being of the earth's citizens. SunKist grows beautiful nutritious oranges for the people of the world. This is good. SunKist uses

harmful petrochemical fertilizers and pesticides to increase their margin of profit. This is bad. The University of California educates thousands of people every year, contributing to the social and personal well-being of this planet's people. This is good. University of California spends millions of dollars of the same people's money to develop weaponry that is designed to kill millions of people. These are contradictions that must be resolved by us, the students, citizens and consumers of the earth. It is toward this end that a humble beginning was initiated by the students of UCSD when they formed the food cooperative in the student center three years ago. There is one thing that we as citizens of earth must remember—co-ops, corporations, universities and governments all depend on our support for existence. Without us they all crumble. It is up to us as individuals to support those organizations that are most in line with our own personal beliefs and values, and to withhold support from those organizations which counter our values and beliefs. There is a growing cooperative movement here on the UCSD campus that supports life, liberty and justice for all the people of the world. We are concerned with the social, personal, economic and environmental well-being of all earth's citizens. Come grow with us, it will be mutually beneficial.

There is much hard work to be done in all of the following Inter-co-op Council members:

- Food Co-op
- Ché Café Collective
- "R" Gang Recycling Co-op
- New Indicator Collective
- General Store Co-op
- Assorted Vinyl Record Co-op

It's Time to Balance the Scales!

Since the end of the second World War, the power of the giant corporations has grown to dominate every aspect of our lives: short-term profit decisions by corporations determine everything from the price we pay for gasoline to the kind of air we breathe.

Without a new party dedicated to breaking the grip of corporate power, the energy and environmental crises will continue to get worse, inflation and unemployment will continue to rise and it'll be more of the same... more Three Mile Islands and more Love Canals.

The Citizens Party Stands For

- Public control of the energy industry.
- A halt to nuclear power; all-out development of solar energy.
- Opposition to the draft.
- Redirection of military spending to social needs.
- Protection of civil and human rights at home and abroad.

Don't Waste Your Vote, Consider the Facts:

- Reagan will win in California, a vote for Carter is wasted.
- Anderson can not carry a single state, his one-shot candidacy leaves us nothing after November 4—a vote for Anderson is a futile protest.
- Regardless of who wins the election, a vote for the Citizens Party is not wasted. With only 5% of the vote the Citizens Party will become an established party eligible for Federal Election Funds. We only need 5% to win!

Barry Commoner
President
LaDonna Harris
Vice-President



Vote Yes On Affordable Housing
Vote Yes On O

For more information on the Citizens Party, call 296-3871

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Sandino, Nicaragua and Latin America

Daniel Suman

In the fertile but arid terrain of progressive Latin American socio-political movements, another flower has blossomed: Nicaragua. The Sandinista victory in Nicaragua occurred just twenty years after the beginning of the Cuban Revolution in 1959. The Cubans opened a new chapter in the Latin American revolution, and similarly, the Nicaraguans have begun the most recent chapter whose manifestations will be disproportionate to the size of this small Central American country of 2.5 million people.

The Nicaraguan Revolution has its unique characteristics such as the relative weakness of the national bourgeoisie, widespread opposition to a 40 year dictatorship focused largely on the figure of Somoza, and international support from European and Latin American social-democrats. In spite of these peculiarities, this Nicaraguan Revolution has made valuable contributions to Latin American revolutionary theory and strategy. We will only offer a brief summary of the most important lessons that can be learned from the Sandinista triumph.

Armed Struggle

From the depths of the Chilean "experiment" and of the reformist positions of Latin American communist and socialist parties, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) once again vindicated the use of armed struggle in Latin America to destroy the political, economic, and social bases of the exploiting system. Left-wing political parties such as those forming the Popular Unity Government in Chile from 1970-73 are capable only of opening cracks in an oppressive system. When these cracks endanger the status quo, the State will unleash violent means of oppression. The FSLN understood that only violent popular resistance could defeat the enemy, Somoza and his National Guard.

Foco Guerrilla Theory or People's War?

While the Nicaraguan experience suggests deficiencies in the theories of left-reformist parties, it gives the foco guerrilla theory of "immature" leftists a coup de grace. The principle spokesman of the foco guerrilla theory was Regis Debray who in the 1960's contributed a book: *Revolution in Revolution*. He suggests that a small, rural, "spontaneous" guerrilla column isolated from the masses was all that was needed to kindle a revolutionary situation. The results, however, are confrontations with Latin American armies well-trained in counter-insurgency techniques which result in the ultimate reduction and defeat of the guerrillas. The lack of support of the masses leaves the guerrilla foco frightfully isolated and vulnerable. To this, Che Guevara could testify.

The FSLN also passed through an isolated foco stage during the 1960's in rural areas of Nicaragua which resulted

in a military defeat at Pancasán. The main strategy of the dominant group of the Front (GPP - "prolonged people's war") was reworked after 1970. The nucleus of the Front would develop and strengthen itself in rural areas protected by the population and geography. The bases were widened to permit the growth of extensive peasant support groups and organizations, the organization of the popular revolutionary army, and the establishment of international contacts, i.e. a people's war. Emphasis was placed on slowly developing the military skill and mass support to defeat the National Guard.

The FSLN was able to defeat Somoza because it realized the primary importance of a mass political organization in the struggle. Isolated from the people in guerrilla foci, the Sandinistas would have been extremely vulnerable and removed from any national sense of the struggle.

Revolutionary Unity

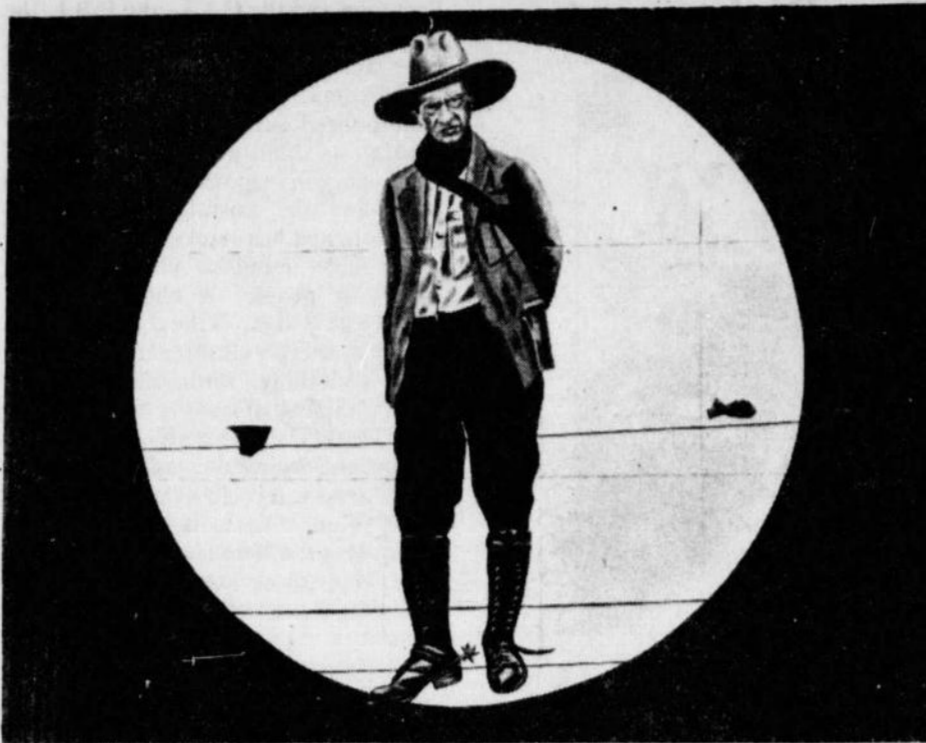
Until July 1978, just a year before the Sandinista victory, the Front was divided into three distinct tendencies with respect to revolutionary tactics rather than the final goal: the defeat of the National Guard.

The GPP (prolonged people's war) tendency was most active in rural areas where it developed strong ties with the peasants. This group planned a long-term strengthening of forces with the guerrilla vanguard which would eventually be capable of defeating the National Guard in a war of attrition.

The Proletarian Tendency analyzed modern Nicaraguan history differently and concluded that rural and urban workers represented the most revolutionary social class. These workers comprised a new national group due to the increased expansion of the agro-industry and the Central American Common Market industries. Opposition to any anti-Somoza alliance with the national bourgeoisie was a Proletarian Tendency belief.

The Tercerista Tendency emphasized the popular insurrection as a tool to bring down the dictatorship. Somoza's vulnerability to mass insurrection was recognized and taken advantage of, although at times it was underestimated. Spectacular operations such as the takeover of the National Palace in August 1978 and of the barrios marked the Tercerista style - to the relative exclusion of political and ideological work. An alliance with the bourgeoisie was seen as a positive step in Somoza's overthrow which was considered the immediate goal. Meanwhile, the construction of socialism could wait.

Time and experience lessened the divisions between the three tendencies. The GPP tendency began to establish urban groups in northern Nicaragua and to consider the values of the popular insurrection. The Proletarian tendency founded the Association of Rural



Sandino—the political-cultural legacy of the Nicaraguan Revolution

Workers (ATC) and created the popular militias. Moreover, the growing mass insurrections throughout 1978 convinced all tendencies that the masses were ready to take up the armed struggle.

The three tendencies which had maintained separate armies, leadership, mass organizations, and international contracts united in 1978 to create one revolutionary organization, the FSLN. This unity was possible because the tendencies were not dogmatic in their political theory, and without a doubt, this was a major factor in the success of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Without the resulting coordination of urban and rural guerrilla actions with the mass insurrection, victory would probably not have been possible.

The implications for the revolutionary struggles in El Salvador and Guatemala are enormous. The former country has recently seen the creation of one command of armed revolutionaries, the Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU), while left-unity in Guatemala is still not a reality.

FSLN, the Vanguard Organization

Whether the Cuban 26th of July Movement or the Nicaraguan FSLN, successful Latin American revolutionary experiences are led by a vanguard organization proven in action and capable of interpreting and learning from the actions of the masses and of giving direction and cohesion to the mass insurrection and struggle. The mass movements produced unification of revolutionary organizations, and the FSLN proceeded to lead and orient the people's spontaneous rebellions.

The relation of the vanguard organizations (FSLN) to the masses has been dialectical. Each has learned from and changed the other. Consider the spontaneous insurrections in Monimbó in 1978. The FSLN gave support and direction even though it was obvious that Monimbó's isolation would result in repression by the National Guard. By its direction of mass insurrections, the FSLN helped to consolidate its hegemony as the vanguard organization.

With the FSLN experience there has been an evolution in the term "vanguard organization." An isolated guerrilla foco does not deserve the classification as "vanguard" since it maintains no links to the people.

Neither has the traditionalist Leninist concept of a vanguard workers and peasants party been upheld in Nicaragua. The FSLN was not a worker-peasant party and has remained outside "traditional" politics. While the FSLN certainly carries the seeds for future party formation, the party was not a necessary prerequisite for obtaining revolutionary power.

Broad Coalition in the Revolutionary Struggle

The leaders of the vanguard movement, the FSLN, have proven themselves to be master and mature

politicians. In the struggle against the dictatorship they effectively united the complete spectrum of Nicaraguan social groups urban and rural, peasant and worker, young and old, religious and agnostic, men and women, and bourgeoisie as well as proletariat. The common goal sought after by all these groups was Somoza's overthrow. The Sandinista leadership has even managed to maintain this cohesion during the period of national reconstruction.

The alliance with the national bourgeoisie during the revolutionary struggle stemmed from this group's dissatisfactions with the limits placed on its maneuverability by Somoza's economic empire. The unique Nicaraguan contribution to Latin American revolutionary politics rests in the fact that a large part of the bourgeoisie continues to support the FSLN and its mixed economy during the reconstruction period. Yet this mixed economy is controlled largely by the FSLN through State controls and production centers.

In April 1980 upon the resignation from the Junta of National Reconstruction of Alfonso Robelo who represented the bourgeoisie, it appeared that the pluralist experiment might fall apart. That this did not occur and that Robelo's political party even agreed to occupy one seat of the 47 in the Council of State is proof that Robelo's actions were personally motivated.

The integration of the progressive sectors of the Nicaraguan church in the Revolution to the point where several cabinet ministers are priests again marks another Nicaraguan contribution. The general acceptance of the theology of liberation by revolutionary religious sectors has greatly contributed to counteracting the irrational anti-communist propaganda to which Central Americans have been exposed during the past decades.

The FSLN's flexibility has similarly allowed it to capitalize on broad international support and solidarity during the liberation period and the subsequent period of reconstruction. The great strength of these international alliances has considerably decreased the maneuverability of the United States' economic imperialism during the reconstruction.

Sandino-National Revolutionary Theory

The great successes of the FSLN can all be traced back to one generating factor: Sandino. The Sandinista movement, founded by Carlos Fonseca Amador in 1957, drew its revolutionary theory from an indigenous source, Sandino, the Nicaraguan revolutionary who fought against the U.S. Marines and then against the puppet Somoza's National Guard from 1927-32. Sandino's teachings and quotations which had remained alive in the popular memory were collected and published by

continued on page 11

Nicaragua...

Fonseca Amador in *Sandino's Ideas* (Ideario Sandinista), the bestseller in Nicaragua today. Sandino and his historical legacy represent a political-cultural link between the revolutionaries and the masses. Not at all abstract, this legacy is an active, concrete heritage left by a Nicaraguan who waged an anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorial campaign. Today Sandino's ideas are a guide for all revolutionary activity in Nicaragua. In short, the FSLN carries a torch passed to it by Sandino.

It should not be surprising that Sandino's political ideology has been closely followed by the FSLN. Among FSLN goals and tactics that can be directly attributed to Sandino are the following:

1. The struggle to defeat the dictator has been seen as the immediate step toward the defeat of imperialism.
2. The anti-imperialist victory leaves no alternative but armed struggle.
3. The army of the bourgeoisie and imperialists must be defeated as a necessary condition for national liberation.
4. A new type of army (popular and revolutionary) must be formed.

Chile "Democrático?"

We are printing this series on the Chilean plebiscite to further discussion of the issues involved. We, however, have serious disagreements with the analysis presented—especially regarding the role of Eduardo Frei.

Ronald Battag
Angharad Valdivia

"Buenos días país, aquí estoy conmigo. Tengo mucho que darle al trabajar, Buenos días país, yo estoy contigo. Ahora veo a mi país crecer. Y puedo ver a mi gente feliz. Hoy vamos bien, mañana mejor. Por eso quiero, a mi país."

(Good day country, here I am, count on me. I have a lot to offer with what I do. Good day country, I am with you. Now I can see that my country's growing. And I can see that the people are happy. Today we are doing well, tomorrow even better. That's why I love, my country.)

This patriotic jingle appeared on the Chilean airwaves in mid-July of last summer. Images of technological progress and farming, construction, transportation and science always accompanied this highly professional, upbeat tune on television. Newspapers, billboards and posters carried a thumbs-up picture with the slogan "Hoy vamos bien, mañana mejor." (Today we are doing well, tomorrow even better.) The theme seemed harmless and apolitical; simply a patriotic campaign. However this advertising campaign was the seeds of a sophisticated media blitz.

The next stage in the propaganda campaign was President Pinochet's announcement of a new Chilean Constitution on August 11th. Citing the failure of the old constitution to protect the country from terrorism, violence, political demagoguery, and mainly Marxism which had almost led "Chile to being another country slave to the Communist powers, and without any possibility of returning to liberty," Pinochet urged all patriotic citizens to approve the new document. What Chilean voters were really being asked to approve was Pinochet's regime which is characterized by violence, terrorism, and demagoguery.

5. The national bourgeoisie must be limited and imperialism eliminated to ensure the development of the exploited classes.

6. The masses must have increasing participation in the decisions of the State.

7. International solidarity is essential for the defeat of the dictatorship and imperialism.

The fact that the FSLN leadership has been able to crystallize Sandino's victory been able to crystallize Sandino's revolutionary thought, and in applying it, successfully unite broad sectors of Nicaraguan society in a revolutionary situation is nothing but brilliant. Today in Nicaragua there is no artificial, abstract political philosophy at play which is foreign to Nicaraguans. Sandino's political legacy (developed and tested in the mountains of Nueva Segovia) serves as the basis for all action.

Flexibility

The most valuable lesson of the Nicaraguan Revolution remains that successful revolutions are based largely in the national historical realities of a country. These conditions will vary from country to country and, therefore, so must revolutionary strategy. There are no mechanical generalizations or dogmatic pathways to follow. The revolutionary must base his or her actions upon concrete national



Future Sandinistas in Monimbó

conditions. Thus, the FSLN skillfully utilized the theories of Sandino who knew Nicaraguan conditions thoroughly. The Front's success has

been due to the flexible non-dogmatic use of Sandino's political theory while maintaining an uncompromising resolution in overall goals.

from political parties, and the action of members should in no way be political." "Public, municipal and utilities workers are forbidden to strike." Needless to say, there is little reason for a labor union to exist if it is not allowed to participate in politics or strike. Another article takes this idea even further by stating that there shall be a "diffusion of class struggles." Yet after all these oppressive measures, article four assures all Chileans that "Chile is a democratic-republic."

The conflicting rhetoric of the new constitution was intended to get the people to vote for something which would apparently protect them from the evils of Marxism, but which in reality exacerbated and increased Pinochet's power.

Immediately following the announcement of the plebiscite, a massive propaganda campaign was launched to gain the support of the populace. The plebiscite became the constant and daily theme of the newspapers, magazines, radio and television news programming. Every day the editorials would discuss the benefits of the new constitution and why the Chilean people must accept it in order to ensure economic and social progress. In all these pro-constitution pitches would be the threat of a return to the "thousand black days" if the constitution were rejected.

At this time Pinochet began a tour of the country taking his propaganda machine on the road. Making speeches almost daily from all the outlying regions of the country, he would warn the crowds of the Marxist threat and the need for ratification of the constitution. These speeches would then be carried on the national channel's evening news program nationwide in their entirety. The images portrayed on these news telecasts showed enthusiastic and supportive crowds, presenting a distorted image of the actual atmosphere of these rallies. We attended a rally in the southern city of Concepción. The crowds, mainly young students, filled the central plaza and were brought in by the busloads. One would expect such a crowd to make a tremendous amount of noise if they were even slightly enthusiastic. However, it was easy to sense a definite feeling of apathy or resentment among the crowd. Only a few people up front showed any enthusiasm, and these were the ones included in the news clips. Later we learned that many people are forced to attend these rallies. All military and their families, all municipal workers, and all school children and university students from

the surrounding areas were forced to attend. That explained why the crowds were so large while the response was so small.

There were other follow-the-leader tactics used to create further evidence of pro-constitution support. Lists would be passed out at work sites, in factories and offices, where workers had to sign saying they were going to approve the constitution. Anyone who refused to sign was jeopardizing his or her employment. These lists would then appear in the newspapers as paid ads stating, for example, that "the municipal workers of Talca say yes to the plebiscite."

The military also furthered their propaganda techniques by uniting the song and the slogan "Vamos bien, mañana mejor," with the "Sí a la constitución de la libertad" campaign (Yes to the constitution of liberty). The popular jingle which at first seemed disassociated from junta politics, became the carrier of the regime's new pro-plebiscite media blitz.

The uni-directional flow of patriotic rhetoric left the opposition fragmented and undecided as to what course of resistance to take. Some advocated staying away from the polls, which was against the law. Others advocated a blank vote which, although it would be counted as a "yes," would at least be a symbolic show of resistance. Others yet advocated a "no" vote. The unification of the opposition could come only under one man, Eduardo Frei. He, as ex-president of Chile, still exerted influence among most factions of Chilean politics. His return to Chile from a South American tour would unite and legitimize the opposition.

Next issue: *Frei and the Catholic church speak out.*

Recruitment...

Interestingly, in light of the growing anti-militarist movement, Career Planning has restructured their recruiting system. No longer will there be recruiters available on a walk-in basis—now you must have an appointment to find out when and where the recruiters will be and must have participated in an earlier, preparatory, orientation. This is, no doubt, a policy arrived at with an eye to minimizing confrontations between students and recruiters.

A rally to protest the use of student fees for military recruitment is currently being organized by the Progressive Coalition.



...nuestra causa seguirá viviendo.
Otros nos seguirán

...our cause will continue living. Others will follow us.
—a quote from Sandino

Ireland...

ways, as they've been doing to all the nationalist people in Ireland.

NI: In the prison protest, what is it that enables four hundred men and the thirty women in Armagh jail to resist the kind of dehumanizing treatment which they have received as a result of insisting on their status as political prisoners?

LC: Well those prisoners in there, like the people on the streets, and all the Irish people, we are a risen people. They have suffered for long enough, they know that this is the end, and they've got the spirit, they've got the right, they've got a principle: they want Ireland to be free. And the prisoners are willing to suffer what they have to, they've got their principles and they'll stand for them. The way they look at it, if they have to die in that prison to give a life to the kids and the generations to come, they will die. They're all together, the people on the streets all over Ireland, and countries all over the world are fully behind the blanket men and women. And that boosts their morale, gives them the cause to go on, so that Ireland will be free. It's just a thing, that once you're in there, the harder they come down on you, the more determined you are to stand, to prove that you're right. Ireland belongs to the Irish, and that's the way it'll be. There's no way that they'll ever break the spirit of the blanket men and women by beatings, or dehumanizing torture, or anything at all. They just stay together because they know that they're right, and they'll win through in the end.

Anarchism

Discussion Group

write to:

Occupant—PO Box 442
La Jolla, CA, 92038

NI: Do you think that there is any possibility that England will be able to resolve the blanket protest and the impending hunger strike without the deaths that you fear and the violence that would result from those deaths?

LC: The only thing that can really help is the American people for Britain fears public opinion in America. That is why they try so hard to play it down over here and to create a wall of silence to keep men like myself from telling the truth. Once the American people start getting together, coming on the street protesting, and demanding that Congress and the presidential candidates all speak out against these atrocities, it's

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

San Francisco Mime Troupe—Nov. 6&7, 7:30, 4190 Front st. Nov. 8&9, 2:00 Old Globe Theatre, Festival Stage, Balboa Park. \$5.

Eisenstein Films—Three classic films in commemoration of the October Revolution, "Battleship Potemkin," "Ten Days That Shook the World," and "Strike." Fri., Nov. 7, 7 pm, TLH 107, Free.

Women's Video Conference—MCC 140 (Color Studio), 1:00-5:00. Showing of UN Decade for Women Conference tape 7:00, International Center. Thursday, November 13.

Two films on the struggles of Native Americans—"Blood of the Condor" and "Broken Treaty at Battle Mountain." Fri., Nov. 14, 7 pm, TLH 107. Free.

New Indicator Collective Meetings—Tuesdays, 5:30, NIC Office, student center, 2nd floor.

Dial An Atheist

232-6767

meetings:

First and Third Sundays

only then that Britain is going to turn around and do something to resolve it. The best thing that ever could happen is if the American people not only demanded rights for the prisoners, but also the right for the Irish to live, and for the British to withdraw from Ireland. This would ensure that Ireland would be peaceful again. There'd be no troubles, the ones that cause the violence, the perpetrators of the violence, would be off our streets, and out of our country. Then the Irish people could live together in harmony, and settle their own nation, their own place.

Student Union to Meet

This year large numbers of students have been discussing the possibility of reconvening the Student Cooperative Union, and building a strong fighting organization to represent UCSD students. The Organizing Support Group of the Student Cooperative Union, in response to these discussions, will be holding an open meeting this Friday (November 7) at 5:00 in the Che Cafe to plan for a general assembly of the Union and discuss organizing strategies.

Prop O...

would receive sufficient votes (in view of their relatively small numbers) to be elected.

Proposition O is on the ballot only after a long fight in the courts, which

forced the City Council to place the measure before the voters. At the beginning of the campaign it led in the polls. It will be truly unfortunate if the massive propaganda campaign being mounted by landlords should succeed in defeating this initiative.

Graduate and Professional School Information Day

Representatives from the University of California campuses will provide information about graduate and professional school programs, application procedures, and fellowships. Presentations will emphasize opportunities available to prospective graduate students, particularly ethnic minority and women students.

**Thursday, November 6
10:00 - 3:00, Mandeville Plaza**

Father of Bluegrass



BILL MONROE

—and the Bluegrass Boys—

Bluegrass is so much a part of our musical heritage it's hard to believe that its origins - even its name, can be traced back to one man. But it can - **Bill Monroe** and the **Bluegrass Boys** have been shaping, polishing, defining and redefining this vital, musical style for over 40 years. They infused the Old Timey String Band music of the Appalachias with the best of the blues and created a sound that has come to exemplify the spirit of rural America.

**8:00 p.m., November 12, Wednesday
Mandeville Auditorium**

UCSD St. \$4.00, G.A. \$6.00

UCSD Fac/Staff/Other St. \$5.00

University Events Box Office 452-4559

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University Events Office Presents

"The History of Women in Art"



GERMAINE GREER

—The Obstacle Race—

"The History of Women in Art" Why have there been no great women artists? Who says there haven't, asks the author of *The Female Eunuch* — the point being that, historically, the female practitioners of the creative arts — music, painting, poetry, etc. — have been either stifled by enforced lifestyles, exploited by male counterparts, or their works destroyed or "lost." Her talk on the subject, based on her newest book, *The Obstacle Race*, features slides of some of the known art of women.

**November 6, 8:00 p.m.
Mandeville Auditorium**

**UCSD Stu. \$2.00, G.A. \$4.00
UCSD Fac/Staff/Other Stu. \$3.00**

University Events Box Office 452-4559