Crazy Times

Number seven



PROLONGED WAR

trite on times

University of California, San Diego

TRASH SPILLED

in the neighboring dorms.

The water fight began when some Argo residents began flinging water bal-

several students decided to tip over trash forward manner. cans. Nobody knows just how it started. But eventually seven trash barrels were

negligible. However, several of the dorm sisted that there was no political mostudents studying for finals complained tivation behind the water balloon fight. that their studying was 'disrupted' by all the noise. A student representative of the statement, Jim Sills, a member of the Com-Revelle College Council declared that mittee to End All Water Balloon Fights if necessary "the whole DIMENSION staff charged that the Green Devils was a Comwould be armed with pea shooters to quell munist Front. He cited the 'fact' that any future reoccurrances." Resident Dean the Green Devils were attempting to des-Ernie Mort stated that he would "support troy the moral fiber of America's youth. those students who were abused by the And that this was ample evidence that they 'Radical' elements on campus.

an emergency session. Although there that if the Green Devils had been required to wasn't a quorum (only three members take his Contemporary Issues class and of the council were informed of the meeting) had become thoroughly versed in Buckley those present passed a resolution con- Thought, they would be aware that their demning the wanton terrorism associated actions could only result in a Communist with water balloon fights and trash can take over of our "FREE" society. He added spilling. Members of the Council vowed that he felt that "water balloon fights should to pass further resolutions if the first be illegaland that those who lartake in them resolution was not heeded. A.S. President should be persecuted, prosecuted, convict-Paul Kaufman explained the A.S. action ed, and jailed."

over in the Revelle Plaza. Revelle Dean dom'. Noting that although the A.S. re-Tom Hall attributed this act of vandalism solution would probably be ignored by an to the water balloon fight that occurred apathetic student body, Kaufman emphasized his belief that the A.S. should neverthe-less take an affirmative stand on "important issues". When questioned loons towards Atlantis. Students from At- over the unusual proceedure the was used lantis took immediate offense and returned in calling the A.S. meeting Kaufman defire. Eventually every dorm joined in on clined comment noting that he felt inclined to exercise his academic freedom by not At some point in the water balloon fight answering the question asked in a straight

An unnamed spokesman for the Green Devils, a secret society who spends much The damage done to the trsh cans was of its time tipping over trash cans in-

In response to the Green Devils'

were Communist inspired. Karl Keating This morning the A.S. council met in another member of the Committee declared





Commie Comm-Board

In last Monday's meeting, the Communications Board again refused to restore the \$2,000 cut from the Trite-on Times budget last fall. This cut has forced salaries for staff members to be cut to \$11,000 for the school

The \$2,000 dollar cut was made despite the directive from the Registration Fee Committee that the "official' media, Trite-on Times and the radio station, be fully funded. This would mean no money for less responsible publications such as

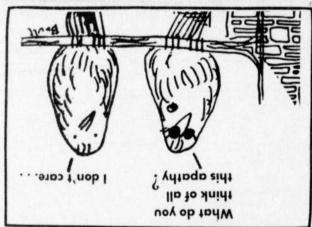
Liberal sympathizers on the Comm-Board chose to ignore this directive, using the excuse that less than half of their money comes from Reg Fees, with the rest coming from

the Associated Students. They cried that the Commboard must be responsive to the university community, and so they gave each of the subsidiary journals \$160 for the fall quarter.

It is painfully evident that the presentallocation by the Comm-board of \$20,500 for the Trite-on Times is inadequate. This

However, the Commie- together with over \$25,000 in advertising revenue allows us only \$750 per issue, (roughly 15¢ per copy) and this is not enough to maintain a "real" professional quality publication. The recent Comm-

board questionaire proves that we are at least 5% more popular than any other campus publication. With this in mind, we find that the Comm-board has a mandate from the people and should restore the \$2,000 to the Trite-on Times budget and forget about allocating money to the less popular journals.



itself. Just look at where we are today. There's no need to worry. The world will take care of is more time to participate in good wholesome fun, without the necessity to worry about social injustice, there not lorget a very important aspect of this solutionlution and destruction to human resources. And let us friendly panty raid, there would be less gasious polsuchorities and the rebellious youth was caused by a There are environmental and humanitarian aspects to

life worth while, but encourages one to carry on. gratified. Positive reinforcement in turn not only makes on a more local level, which makes them more readily puts things in their proper perspective, Expectations are desireability of attending your weekly frat meeting. This the annual gold fish swallowing contest. Consider the



or excited undergraduates cheering on the contestants in something meaningful. Imagine hundreds, nay thousands It is not so much nostalia as it is a desire to return to this apathy. There is only one solution to this problem.

American economic philosophy. Leftist thought has made few constructive contributions to How many radical of radicals have we seen come and go. with a great deal of scepticism. Prophets may prophesize. disputability of the claim which also must be considered order, or brands many-times proven methods as "counter revolutionary". Let us not forget, however, the out of an attitude which denies any conformity to social wonder about the probability of success that can come This is a noble cause, But here again one is forced to regardless of whether the world needs saving or not. that they are the chosen generation to save the world, Some how, today's youth have also come to the opinion

pucated social problem. rhetoric does little to solve anything, let alone a comyour mind with marijuana and mumbling tired worn out logy employed. After all, sitting on your ass or clouding to come up with the answers. Perhaps it is the methodoin the world today, why the new youth has not been able did way back then. One wonders, with all the problems It may even be that spathy runs deeper today than it the campuses of higher education across the country. superstructure. Student apathy still reigns supreme on purge his soul of a very large gap in his intellectual

Apathy: Rage On Campus

U.C. San Diego

AL CAPONE, 1929.

I'M KNOCKING THE AMERICAN SYSTEM, GODDAM RADICALS, DON'T GET THE IDEA THAT



Crazu Times



TOM HAYDENSPEAKS

Tom Hayden spoke last night before a near capacity crowd at the Revelle Cafeteria. Utilizing a slide show, Hayden spoke about the physical and cultural destruction that has accompanied U.S. presence in Indochina. He explained that the U.S. had totally destroyed parts of Vietnam through bombing. The amount of bombtonnage droped in Vietnam since Nixon took office is double the amount that was dropped in all of World War II. The use of antipersonnel bombs, he pointed out, cannot destroy buildings and are only effective as a weapon of terrorism that can maim people. The development of new and more deadly anti-personnel weaponry, includes the development of pellets that tear the flesh went entering and once imbeded, are hard to detect, even with X-rays.

The use of herbicides, has destroyed plant life in much of Vietnam. Areas that were once inhabitable have been transformed into wastelands. The effect of these chemicals on humans, include children of mothers that have been sprayed being born with birth defects. Programs designed to "urbanize" the Vietnamese have been launched. Part of the focus of these programs is the forced relocation of large numbers of civilians, often against the will of the people being moved. This urbanization has transformed Saigon from a small city to a city of nearly 5,000,000 people. Since there is no room for the people who now make up the majority of Saigon's inhabitants, a large percentage of the people live in the streets and have no homes. Saigon's population density is twice that of Tokyo, which also ranks as one of the worlds most densely populated cities. The result of therelocation of the Vietnamese, has been a disruption of the cultural heritage of Vietnam, a heritage that is over 2,000 old. The effects of America's presence in Vietnam has serious long range consequences for the Vietnamese. For example, women have surgery done to them to alter their physical appearance-

to make them appear more"western". Hayden pointed out that despite U.S. denial, our presence in Vietnam goes beyond protecting the people from Communism. Plans to transform Vietnam into a rice bowl that would feed much of the people in Asia, particularly in Japan,

under the guidance of American cor porate interests have been revealed The Pentagon papers reveal that contrary to the position taken by the U.S., Vietnam is one country and has always been one country. The U.S. created the Saigon regime because it was opposed to the National Liberation Movement which it saw as dominated by communists.

In concluding his presentation, Hayden made it clear that he believed that an end to American involvement in Vietnam would only be possible when the American people demanded our with-

Students Visit McElroy

After the Tom Hayden Program, students and other members of the academic community decided that Chancellor McElroy should be asked to show his concern about the war. In an orderly manner, 150 students quietly walked to the Chancellor's home. McElroy, who was not home when the students arrived, took the trouble to come home to speak to the students. In a surprising gesture, students were invited into the Chancellor's home to discuss their concern with

When McElroyarrived, students questioned him about his opposition to the war. He replied that he had long been opposed to the war. He also indicated that he would come out with a statement against the war on May 4. When asked whether he would end the war research that is being done at UCSD and at UCSD operated facilities at NEL (Naval Electronics Laboratory), McElroy indicated that he did not know enough about this research to make a public statement. He did say however, that he would look into the matter.

McElroy's effectiveness as a Chancellor, may well be determined by how he handles the war research issue. In the past Chancellors and other administrators have lied to students. Magill lost his effectiveness as a Chancellor when

he was caught in too many lies. People were impressed by McElroy's willingness to talk about the war and his invitation to the students to discuss the matter in his house. If he is willing to support student oposition to the war. and do what he can to end war research, he will gain the confidence and resect of the UCSD community.



GEEZ, WILLE , I KNOW THEM'S YER DYIN' WORDS BUT I COULDN'T TELL THAT TO PRESIDENT NIXON!

VET ACTION 4-22

headquarters.

and so a number of fatigued GIs raced up and down the column telling people where we were going and hw we were going to get there. We moved out quic- arrests or other casualties and a growing kly and obeyed the traffic signals so satisfaction with the success of this symthat there would be no disruption. 'Stay bolic act. That satisfaction became a rush

ings brought surprised people out of stores 3 off in the middle of our 304g. and offices. Other chants including: One just shook my head. Someone shouted two three four, We don't want your fucking 'Fuck the music, let's hear the speakers.' war,' which had been changed to 'fascist' And for the next few hours, that's what for the main march, eased out tension. we all did.

There weren't too many people into Nobody, especially us, knew what was gocivil disobediance last Saturday. There ing to happen. The first black and white was for some, however, a greater feeling drove by after three blocks. They beof frustration that could be satisfied by gan pulling in side streets after four. simply marching down the street. For We double timed the last block and crowthese, some two or three hundred, the ded together in front of GOP headquarters. march did not end a MarArthur Park. There was this insane moment as we all Led by the Vietnam Vets Against the War realized, 'Hey, here we are. What in and their red and white banner, this small hell do we do a w" There was a lot group of people moved back onto Wilshire of noise and then the sound of breaking and marched the last five blocks to GOP glass. Uniforms began to appear from three sides and many marchers who had ? The extra march did not have a permit, not expected such action punicked slightly.

The GIs showed combat cool by getting people regrouped and headed back towards MacArthur. We made it back with no together!...Stragglers get picked off...you when 20,000 people rose to their feet to

It was such a downer when one of the Cadence echoing between the tall build- guys in the band said, 'Hey, man, you cut

ANTI-WAR COALITION

On Tuesday night, 7:30 pm, a meeting of Defense funded research that has direct called by the Women's Liberation Front mliitary application. Specifically men-(WLF) to raise the war as an important tioned was UCSD's War Research faci-Lissue on this campus was held. Members lities at the Naval Electronics Lab (NEL). of other student organizations, including the American Federation of Teachers operated Vissibility Lab and Marine Phy(AFT), Crazy Times, and the Campus sical Lab do much of the research that Mobilization Committe (CMC), attended assists the U. S. Government in its the meeting. At the meeting the WLF efforts to overwhelm the Vietnamese reput forth a proposal that called for some sistence through the use of superior techtype of support for a national strike being nology. At NEL a vast array of "electroganized by the National Student Assotonic warfare" devises are developed.

Ciation. The proposal noted that students UCSD professors are a vital part of that at San Diego State, Mesa colege and San research. One person refered to SS Diego City Colege were organizing strike Penner and others who do war research

the 35-40 people at the meeting also As the meeting progressed, people saw agreed to make May 4th a day of resis- a need to do some concrete organizing tence and struggle against the war. People work. A committee was formed to inat the meeting further agreed to put forth vestigate the War Research being done an a "anti-imperialist perspective." As on this campus. Both Muir and Revelle expressed by one person at the meeting, student organized committees to oversee "an anti-imperialist perspective calls for publicity at those respective campuses. self-determination for all people." This It was also agreed that in accordance means that every people has a right to with the belief in self-determination for control their own destiny and decide for all people that Third World people should themselves the manner in which they will determine for themselves, how they would organize their own society. With respect relate .o any advance anti-war activities. to Vietnam, anti-imperialism, in part, A propsoal that would raise as an issue means recognition that American invol- the fact that the Regents are considering vement in Vietnam: (1) places the needs doubling the student enrollement with no of American corporate interests above appreciable increase in the number of the needs of the Vietnamese people, (2) faculty members and TA's was also disviolates the sovereignty of the Vietnamese cussed. It was futher noted that Nixon internal affairs of that country.

and graduate students who do Department against any further escalation..

as "murderers" and suggested that

After an initially confusing discussion, "action" be taken against those involved.

people via American interference in the will be speaking on National TV Wednesday night. People were adviced to Among the issues raised at the meeting look for any hints that an excalation was War Research. People at the meeting of the war might be pending. It was noted that there are many UCSD professors suggested that people be ready to act



VIETNAMIZATION!

WLF STATEMENT ON THE WAR

The need to force the immediate and to US involvement in Southeast Asia is made compelling by the intensification of US aggression against Vietnam.

The war continues with only the most insignificant lulls; the same has not been true of the anti-war movement which has been lulled by Nixon's promises, duped by his lies, overwhelmed by the immensity of the war machine numbed and frustrated by the repetitious and seemingly insignificant means we have to stop the murder and destruction perpetrated in our name. The resumption of the bombing forces us to realize that it is the racism and despair of American society that have permitted us to withdraw from the struggle. It is not our land destroyed, our homes burned, our bodies mutilated: it is the Vietnamese peoples'. But is our silence whech contributes to their destruction. The Vietnamese cannot succumb to their weariness and frustration. We must learn from their ex-

We have been duped by the reduction of American ground involvement into thinking that the war is ending. The attempt by the Nixon administration to subdue Vietnam by intensifying the air war le-

monstrates its desire to placate antiwar sentiment by reducing US losses. Our object is the end of American involvement, not of American casualties alone. Like Vietnamization the bombing says the US does not mind bloodshed as long as it is someone else bleeding.

We are opposed to the imperialist and racist policies of our country. The war is waged by a state that utilizes human beings for its own needs while systematically excluding them from making decisions about their own lives, both matters of private and of national impor-

Ths same state that is working to

force the South Vietnamese people to accept an American controlled puppet regime has attempted to prevent Third World people in this country from participating in the so-called democratic structure. The democracy that the US government would give Vietnam is the same democracy it has given People of the Third World, poor people, women, all of us not members of the ruling class: a democracy controlled by the corporations, those supernational giants with their international investments: General Motors, Bank of America, Chuse Man-

hattan, and ITT. It is a democracy that lives mm the cheap labor provided by the unskilled -- it wars to ensure that there will always be a source of such labor. Third World people and women and poor Whites too are forced into a cycle which prevents them from attaining economic security either by depriving them of education or by permitting them to work only when labor is scarce. The skilled and the educated find only destructive and dehumanizing jobs available to them. Together we are all forced to live in a democracy of the perverted priorities: moonshots and mindfuck over houses and

We can not allow the imposition of this 'democracy' on the Vietnamese anymore than we can allow it to continue

We have been made aware of the racist and imperialist nature of the United States not only by the Vietnamsse war but by our personal encounters with racist, sexist and class oppression at home. Our efforts to combat these separate evils have shown us that they, like imperialism, are all manifestations of the capitalist system All our struggles become one ...



1, we will be known as 'emergency combat troops.'

WHY DO **MOURN**

Why do I mourn?

-Because Revelle is Death, while Muir dances to a social tune and Lumumba-Zapata cries of Liberation.

Why do I mourn?

-Because War Research kills with a Bang, while some scientists put their textubes above Life and student activists are repressed.

Why do I mourn?

-Because the Right Wing parades in self-righteousness, while human beings are being killed in Vietnam and the police are waiting for me in the streets.

Why do I mourn?

-Because the Black man longs to be FREE, while the Chicano cries bronze tears, while the Asian knows his Brother is being bombed, while Women are determined to be FREE, and the Peacemakers are to be killed.

Why do I mourn?

-Because the Righteous are spit upon. while divide and conquer is used on them and Big Brother laughs behind his Executive desk.

---MICTLAN (MJH)

HUNG **JURY**

Monty

Sur y day breeze blows the salty sound of in-from-Indochina-coming Aircraft carrier in tranquility San Diego Bay... Noontime --- time to truck around downtown--- time to trip into the Courthouse for the one o'clock national pastime show ... Horton Plaza strangely empty---save bus on the street and lone narc No sailors or marines on the lawn smoking weed, No bells of Hari Krishna chanters dancing with bare feet, No ex-junkie Jesus Freeks with Revelationhorror stories and scorn in Jesus' name. No Hippies digging life in the concrete and the streets, No Soul People smiling Denmark Vesey, Angela Davis, Jimi Hendrix, No refugees from the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, No tanned Longhairs back from cutting Cuban cane, No women spreading liberation.

Legal looking dark wood panelled walls, black plastic-leather Upholstered chairs...Courtroom fills amoeboid, Fills the halls and streets outside... The Heat don't understand, can't find the what and why... They oink, Today was nothing special, nothing happening, What makes the creeps all come here? The Heat don't understand.

No never ending raps on Life and Death and Love ...

People's Square is empty, Horton Piaza's gone to Court.

One O'clock.

With cold metal law and order in the holster on his hip The Court Thug yawns, and grunts routinely: All rise, The Oinkerable Judge Hogsefats presuming over This gatheredering of undesireable elements of our Great Society's Wet Amerikan Dream...Amen yesmen, All be seated...Thy Order COME Thy Will be Done, on Earth as it is in Heaven. The judge comes... Your Oinker speaks:

I'm a fair man, ask anyone in the dungeon, my sentencess are lax. The People who own the State of California charge you with the crime: Failure to Appear in Court, on various charges, which Though they be minor charges, We can not afford the licentiousness Of unpatriotic, lawless, disregard For our Amerikan founding father's Sacred Museum Writings. Perhaps you'lll be allowed to return to your Shambledown disgraceful homes and unkempt loved ones Perhaps paying a pitance penalty ... say 25 or one hundred dollars or a few days in jail, say 5 or 10 or ... Or perhaps you're really innocent... The Law is merciful, ofcourse, just like Almighty God ...

Tremor of explosion jars the courtroom trance Nearby jailhouse now is burning Prisoners running free Shots and blasts and crowds of people cheer And in the courtroom, the judge's face is fear... Not one second yet gone by While the courtroom holds its breath Shots stun the silence Court Thugs die on the floor The judge is now arrested and naively asking: Why, for what, what for?



Gentlemen may cry peace, peace admission stood as a much more radical issue —but there is no peace…

Let us first begin by stating the world known fact, blindly pushed aside by the United States Government and its propaganda Machine, that Vietnam is one country who has long been fighting for its reunification. Like Tony Russo, codefendedr in the PENTAGON PAPERS case, has stated, any other contention is "nothing but a lie." The fact is that after the French troops were thrown out by the Vietnamese people, the 1954 Geneva Accords were drafted under International law. The Geneva Accords provided a process for the reunification of Vietnam. But the U.S. Government cloacked in its brand of Democracy, has kept it divided by ruthless killings, bombings, assasinations, tortures and massive defoliation.

In the southern part of Vietnam, eleven puppet dictators have risen their ugly fists of repression, pulled by the strings of a barbaric U. S. technology, only to have their over-night instituted governments overthrown, often with the assistance of the Central Inteligence Agency (CIA) who thought that it was time for a change

Since the early '60's, anti-War forces have been appealing to the conscience of the American people. Some have ended up dead, others exiled and still others incarcerated. The apex of their efforts was the decisive defeat of Lyndon B. Johnson, when he was prevented from running for the Presidency. Instead, we got Richard M. Nixon, who preached peace and promised to end the war.

He lied. Instead he escalated the bombing, carrying the destruction of human beings, animals and ecology to a satanic level.

In the wake of the stepped up bombing against the people of Vietnam, the anti-War forces have gathered their battered forces and taken to the streets under the wary vigilance of armed police, under the showers of menacing rains and under the belligerent defamation from warmongering politicians.

But here at the University of California at San Diego, 'The bastion of war research," as the newly appointed Chancellor, William McElroy, has adressed it before the Academic Senate, the research in better ways to kill people goes on under the false notion of Academic Freedom.

When are we going to put an end to our accomplicement in the killing?

For the past week and a half, students at UCSD have zombied through the halls of Academia, while in various other institutions direct actions have been taken. How sad that UCSD was only able to have one miserable rally in Revelle Plaza; while, in Vietnam, people are being murdered.

True, in our local city, the San Diego Convention Coalition (SDCC) sponsored demostrations in front of the GOP Headquarters and in front of the 11th Naval District Headquarters, in which we have had the opportunity to participate. It was the only way a sane person could remind himself or herself that he or she still had a sense of Ethical and Moral values; more Human Beings were being killed by U. S. technology. But, only 200 committed individuals showed up.

Various groups and individuals met yesterday in lower Blake Hall to discuss the student apathy on campus; the kind apathy that philosopher Herbert Marcuse has called "an insult to the students that were killed at Kent State."

They have formed an Anti-Imperialist Coalition and plan to hold a mass meeting next Tuesday night at 7;30 P. M. in the Revelle cafeteria to organize activities against the war.

For God's sake, get involved. For God's sake!

Crazy Times

Mathews Campus 250 PO Box 109

CRAZY TIMES is officially recognized and supported as a student newspaper by the Communications Board of the University of California at La Jolla.

Opinions expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent or reflect anybody's views.

OPEN ADMISSIONS

Several months ago, MECHA at San Diego State passed a motion which reads as follows: 'That MECHA make as one of its major priorities in the Spring semester a demonstration on open admissions." This demonstration occurred on April 13 and was a significant success! The question of open admissions was raised by

MECHA for several reasons. One major one was the fact that EOP across the state is in dire jeopardy, and a demonstration of this nature would call attention to this fact. Yet, there was more to the demonstration than just EOP. The Chicano students at State recognize that open than EOP. This is so because EOP allows only a certain percentage of Chicanos and other national minorities in. The majority of Chicanos, Blacks, Native Americans, Asian Americans, women, and other poor whites are totally excluded.

Open admissions would deal with this by allowing anyone, who so desired, to enter San Diego State, or any other state college, without having to meet any requirements. What MECHA was calling atention to was the fact that what exists presently is restricted admissions; restricted to the degree that both academic and financial requirements restrict the number of minority students allowed into the colleges.

One has to have a certain grade point average in high school, plus a minimum score on the College Entrance Exam to be accepted. This, of course, eliminates most minority students, who due to inferior education in the barrios and ghettoes, cannot meet these academic standards. Moreover, tuition was various other fees and expenses in college, work against financially handicapped minority student All these serve as restrictions and are perfect examples of institutional racism.

Recognizing this, MECHA at San Diego State called for open admissions, which would permit anyone to enter without any academic requirements, plus making the state responsible for providing the money to fund any students who could not meet the financial requirements. The money exists-contrary to critics of open admissionsit is simply a matter of priorities.

MECHA, therefore, called for the re-direction of money that the state gives to corporations through subsidies, tax-writeoffs, etc., such as free irregation water to agribusiness, and the chan-

neling of these funds back to the people who pay proportionately the most taxes: minorities and working people, in general.

These two points formed the crux of the open admissions demonstration, which was supported by a variety of organizations, such as the BSU, Concerned Blacks, the Asian American Association, the Native American Association. Women's Studies, United Professors of California, the YSA, the SMC, the United Farm Workers, Raza Contra la Guerra, the Associated Student Council, the Railroad Committee, and the Vietnamese students at State.

In putting on this demonstration, which was well attended in the Aztec Center, MECHA recognized that open admissions would not be achieved overnight; but MECHA recognized that such a demonstration would be useful in educating people about the un-democratic nature of our colleges and universities and the racism rampant in them. Moreover, the demonstration would be a tool to politicize and radicalize students: that is why mass demonstrations are useful-besides putting pressure on the 'system'. To this extent, the demonstration was a success, and the Coalition formed expects to continue this type of work in the future.

This open admissions demonstration at San Diego State can and should be an example for The fact is that the same problems of institutional racism and sexism, and un-democratic procedures, exists at the University of

The fact is that students have no control over their lives, much less their education. Selfdetermination for Chicanos, Blacks, other minorities, women, and students and faculty does not evaporate as an issue within the boundaries of this university. We cannot fight for democracy in our communities and then come on this campus and accept a totalitarian condition to the extent that a small number of bureaucratic administrators and faculty make decisions for the great majority of people on this campus: STUDENTS!

Not only should we follow the example of MECHA at San Diego State and push for open admissions, but in doing so we must insist on student control of the university. It is our school and we should run it! If that be democracy, make the most of it.

CORRESPONDENCE

Dear Dr. Hitch:

I am enclosing a copy of a campus newspaper published on the University of California, San Diego campus and ask that you give it a brief moment of

Of significance first is the box on page 4 which declares that the publication is official and that it is supported by the Communications Board of UCSD Second, on page 11, there is a piece which is overwhelmingly offensive with resect to the Pres-

ident of the United States. Freedom of speech, even in its distortions and abuses, is something that our nation's news media cherish and protect very jealously.

However, the employment of a campus newspaper for the dissemination of purient and lascivious allegations regarding our Chief of State is regarded as irresponsible journalism in the extreme and certainly not consistent with the ideals of one of our nation's great universities.

Busy though you may be, I will welcome your reaction to the views I express here.

Victor H. Krulack Vice President Copley Newspapers

We have received from the UCSD Communications Board a copy of the letter sent by you to President Hitch concerning an issue of our paper, These Crazy Times and Vice Presidents Johnson's reply to you. We feel that one of the major problems in our society today is a lack of the exchange of new ideas and philosophies. With this in mind, we wish to exchange our beliefs with you in the hope that you will not regard us as as alien influence, but as analytical students who have been raised in the culture to which you be-

The basic theme of the story "Take a Bath" was not slanderous, prurient, nor lascivious, but merely disrespectful, or perhaps sacreligous. The story was questioning the unthinking obedience to our national leaders--right or wrong. Where does one draw the line between rebelling against an immoral Hitler and an immoral democratic President? The

story was attempting to distinguish between the immoralities of sodomy and the immoralities of the killing of hundreds of innocent people. Are both immoral equalty? We feel that the gonernment has no right to legislate against victimless 'crimes'. Sodomy is a culturely defined crime; in some cultures it is an accepted practice. However the slaughter of innocent people has never been condoned. We should be offended by the universal crimes, not the local ones.

Freedom of speech should not be restricted to that which does not offend. There are some things which can only be said in an offensive manner. If this society should have learned anything from Lenny Bruce, it would be that if a person honestly and carefully considers what he finds most offensive, he oftens learns a lot about where his hypocricies are and what his true beliefs are. This is an important lesson to learn for the self-development of one's own character and rationality. Yet how can this come about if one is never offended or challenged by anything?

A couple things still bother us about this. Why are sexual deviations found to be so offensive to so many people? Is it related to man's moral and spiritual supremacy over animals? Why is it so bad to be direspectful towards the President? After all, he's just one of us common folk. Is tradition sacred? Is Nixon sacred? I think that before we are critized for printing this story, that our critics should consider the answers to these questions in the light of the relationship between what the critic finds offensive and his basic moral premises.

We have found among our peers that the article in question is not considered offensive. We feel that you should be made aware that students as a group don't have the same moral principles that you do. We hope that you will not take offense at this thought, but instead write to us and explain your beliefs and the reasons for those beliefs. Above all, we are interested in learning and will listen to what you have to say. We recognize a significant cultural difference between us but we will attempt to work around it if you will. Maybe together we can begin to solve some of our problems, but apart we are left fighting ourselves over a lack of mutual understanding. Thank you for your time. Hope to hear from

CRAZY TIMES

The RealInterview WithJesus Christ

I omit comment on TT staffers going to heaven. I me to work with other humans for the common personally conducted a taped interview with Jesus good? Christ in Chula Vista on January 12. Here follows JL: You don't sound like a worker. a transcription:

JOHN LYONS: How's things in heaven?

Utopia? God knows, I've never been there. a workman that needeth not to be ashamed. JL: Do you mind if I call you JC? What do you do? JL: The Bible? Sounds like students in the fields JESUS CHRIST: No. I hate to admit it, but I'm in China. I wonder why they haven't thrown you in working as a machinist for Rhor.

JL: But isn't there a strike?

JL: Can I quote vou?

JC: I love those brothers, but I've got to feed my JC: Haven't you had physics? Probably you don't kids. I don't want to scab, but the folks downtown think that's objective. Have you read Freud's said if I wouldn't work for Rhor I wouldn't get my FUTURE OF AN ILLUSION? unemployment check.

look like your picture and statues.

JC: There's a lot of pressure to conform, but I JC: Look kid, I love everybody. Don't get hostile never looked like that anyway. They've tried to with me. beard-robe-mournful look to standardize churches ment against the people? JL: Objectify'

JC: Yeah, you know, make an object of me, as if give Ceasar a salad. I was under duress at the weren't human. Like the guys do at a girlie time I said that, but you have to give the other show. It pisses me off.

JC: What the hell. You got that tape recorder for crucifixion

JL: Good point. Uh... What do you think of the "Jesus Movement?"

sardonic humor. Hippies giving up dope for reli- Davis, by the way? gion. "The opiate of the masses." They seem to JL: I thought you were a puritan or something. have a good time, but I wish they wouldn't use my JC: You know what they say about the puritans,

JC: Well, I've alwaystried to be helpful and a good JL: Are you sure you're Jesus Christ? friend, you know But their stories leave out de- JC: As God is my witness. tails, at least. I get by with a little help from my friends. Why suppose abridgement of physics for That's the way it was. Thank you.

JC: You mean 'hardhat'? You students are all alike. Workers aren't stupid or reactionary. Shit, don't you read the Bible? There it is, Ephesians JESUS CHRIST: We have our hopes, don't we? 2:8, "Study to show thyself approved objectively, jail as a pinko. Anyway, what's the word on prophesy, objectively speaking?

JL: Look, you're not interviewing me. O.K.? JL: Let's get back to the interview. You don't JC: I'm just trying to answer your question. JL: Think you'll get it right?

objectify me over the years, so they gave me this JL: Sorry. But didn't you support the establish-

JC: Scabbing? Oh, you mean "Render unto Ceasar that which is Ceasar's, to god what is god's." So what's due... No man is an island.

JL: I know, you got a million of em. What about

JC: Unjust punishment is what it is. John Lenon has a song about how they're going to crucify him, he must be talking about trends in unjust JC: Oh, the Jesus Freaks. I think its somebody's punishment. Are you doing anything about Angela

"Their pride in their chosenness took the place of JL: Oh yeah? Is it true about your miracles and the sense of purpose for which they had been

chosen."

MORE CORRESPNONDENCE...

(Editor's note: The following letter was rejected by the SD Union because it was 'too

Editor:

Regarding the Opinion, "Realities Hit Students" from Rockford, Ill. Morning Star, I would like to point out the other side of the question, which the writer apparently did not see.

The president of the University of Northern Iowa at Cedar Falls regrets "the decline in idealism." Many of the political, economic, environmental, and social problems the world faces today are more readily apparent to college students than to most other segments of the population. We see, hear, and learn about these problems, yet are able to do little or nothing towards solving them. In this way idealism turns to bitterness and cyn-

Acounsalor at Worcester State College, Mass. says students are 'running scared' Students face more immediate fears than the prospect of an uninteresting job or no job at all. Students face the draft, life in a uninhabitable environment, and, if they voice unpopular opinions, teargas, clubs and even bullets. It is no wonder that students are running scared.

Finally, Imust take issue with the statement that Colleges "were meant as the proving ground for ability and resolve to "cut it" in the world at large.' Colleges are institutions of learning, not a civilian basic training or a Social Darwinist's dream come true-a proving ground to divide the "fit" from the "unfit". J. Lyons

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

For years farmworkers have been kept outside the protection of the law. When we organized and sought negotiations with our employers they coldly ignored us. When we went on strike we were harassed, beaten and jailed; and workers, even poorer than ourselves, were brought in to take our jobs.

In the Delano Grape Strike we learned a way to struggle and win. We went on Strike and then to support the Strike hundreds of farmworkers and their families traveled to strange cities to tell their cause to the American people. It was not easy but thousands of friends helped us. Through hard work and many sacrifices farmworkers made the Grape Boycott into a most beautiful and powerful

non-violent force for justice. Now, after we have found a way to struggle non-violently and to make progress for ourselves and our children, the Republican Party is attempting to take away the Boycott. Peter Nash, President

Nixon's appointee as General Counsel of the NLRB, has gone into federal court to get an injunction against the farmworkers' Boycott. This is grossly unfair. 1. For thirty-seven years growers have tried to keep farmworkers from organizing by excluding them from the LNRA; now that farmworkers are building a Union, the Republicans

provisions of the NLRA to destroy our 2. All previous NLRB decisions have made it clear that farmworkers cannot be restricted by a law (the NLRA) that does not cover or protect them.

want to make use of the punitive

3. Federal funds are being used to attack farmworkers when the NLRB has no authority under the law to use the money this way. The Republicans have decided that the

punitive provisions of the NLRA (e.g., the ban on secondary Boycotts) should apply to the farmworkers Union even though the protections of the NLRA do not apply to farmworkers.

This position is so unfair that it is hard to imagine how reasonable men could take such a course. But the Republican Party has apparently decided to make a direct political attack on the farmworkers' movement. Farmworkers cannot take this lying down. The Boycott is breath and life for our Union. We must fight

We are again taking our cause to the American people. We ask you to judge our struggle, to test our commitment to Non-Violence, and to consider the gross injustice of this Republican move against farmworkers.

We ask all our friends to communicate with Senator Robert J. Dole, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, 310 First Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Urge him to stop this illegal attack by the Republican-dominated NLRB. Senator Dole's telephone: (202) 484-6500.

> VIVA LA CAUSA, Cesar E. Chavez

THE FURTHER ADVENTURES OF J.C. (OF BIBLICAL FAME)





CRISIS IN VIETNAM

The ranewed bombing of north Vistaa.m, the NLF's offensive in the South, and Nixon's recent statements that he will do "whatever is necessary' to befend the Thieu government raises the possibility of a new Vietnam crises, far graver than even the Tet offensive or the invasion of Cambodia. It is once again clear that Nixon has no intention of ending the war. During the past four years he has consistently refused to seek political settlement with the NLF, and has used "Vietnamization", the POWs, and American troop withdrawals as political propaganda to hide his undeterred commitment to the puppet governmants of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

During his first year on office, Nixon's manuevers were deceptive enough to confuse public opinion. Since then however, his constant military escalations (Cambodia, Laos, the POW raid, the renewed bombing) have made unmistakeably clear Nixon's commitment to a military solution, as have his steady rejection of the Vietnamese peace proposals. The Vietnamas, 'eft without hope for a set-tlement, had no choice but to go on the offensive.

It has been the fear of renewed NLF assults that has driven Nixon to many of his past escalations, for above all, the American priority has been to cut supply lines from north Vietnam, as part of an attempt to logistically deprive the NLF of enough support to sustain any major attacks.

The refugees from the devastated countryside (1/3 or more of the population) have flocked to the cities and face starvation conditions. The students have massively revolted and the educational system closed down. Spiraling inflation has forced nearly every salaried employee into corruption, and corruption of different forms is virtually the only form of income for large segments of the population. Even the highest branches of the army are disintegrating, torn between different factions and the American embassy.

The withdrawal of U.S. troops has rapidly worsened the south Vietnamese economy. The flow of income and wealth caused by the creation of an "urban" economy has entirely been based on GI's, PX's, building contractors, and American baes. As these are withdrawn, millions of dollars are also withdrawn from the economy wpthout replacement. The temporary economy of the cities, now that it is collapsing, has the additional burden of millions of refugees. This economic disintegration, parallel to the political and social crises, has made the cities a political time bomt, heading inevitably towards explosion.

A recent article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS magazine (which is closely tied to the American government and not likely to exagerate) summed up the situation in the south:

This accumulation of political, economic and

nation have all amounted to make the army unfit for sustained combat. (The moral and fighting effectiveness of the puppet army could hardly be any better, and undoubtedly is much worse.)

How Nixon can continue to pursue hispolicies in the face of so many visible reversals is remarkable. The unreality of official decision making in staggering. Perhaps the sheer magnitude of destruction through the "technological war" has been so intoxicating, the personal power of the President so immense, that Nixon is ruled completely by his subjective feelings of omnisicence. Whatever motivates Nixon, the alternative to pursuing the war is defeat, no matter how well covered up, and the impact of an American loss after the vast war effort would have incalcuable effects on domestic and international opinion.

There may be another reason why Nixon has the confidence to continue the war -- tactical nuclear weapons. In 1954 Nixon argued they be used at Dien Bien Phu. More recently he has publicly defended their legitimacy as a weapon in counter-revolutionary wars. Kissinger partially made his academic reputation advocating the active use of tactical nuclear weapons, going so far as even to encourage a "diplomacy which seeks to break down the atmos phere of special horror which now surrounds the use of



This was the rational for the invasion of Laos and raids. With the NLF's ability to hit back crippled, Nixon and Kissinger apparently reasoned, there was nothing to prevent a gradual consolidation of the cities and devastation of the countryside, sufficient to destroy the NLF's base in the south. Thus, with help cut off from the north and the south "urbanized", Vietnam could be stabilized with a residual American force of volunteers, perhaps 50,000, and a "Korean" solution achieved. The U.S., holding the cities of Vistnam, Law and Cambodia as a forward line, would continue to build its Asian ampire in Thailand, Malaysia, and elsewhere. America would have saved face and proven its determination to stop "agression".

If this was Nixon's strategy, it has been nearly complete disaster. The escalations of the war into Laos and Cambodia have left both governments isolated, politically precarious, and utterly dependent on U.S. support. The liberation movements have refrained from major attacks to build up local cadre and leadership, not out of military

weakness. In Vietnam the NLF had slowed down attacks on American troops so Nixon could continue his troop withdrawals and keep his illusions of successful "Vietnamization". Meanwhile the NLF conducted a widespread campwign of infiltration; last fall the CIA estimated that between 30,000 to 50,000 NLF agents with the passive support of 400,000 others were active inside the bureaucracy, army, and police of the South Vietnamese government. The best units of the rebuilt ARVN army have been decimated in the Laotian invasion and wherever else they have fought.

country with a threat of anarchy. Premonitions of this abound. Rarely attending school and deprived of the security of their homes, young people in towns often join gangs led by deserters. The police, to a large degree, are recruited from those who have the means to avoid military service. Corruption in the army and in the public services is rampant. Schoo!boys speak of going down into the street to 'fight the cops' (the most commonly heard expression during the September demonstrations). Pressure groups are multiplying -- invalids, un-

ions, various associations -- and, with the distribution of hundreds of thousands of firearms many of them which are available on the black market, their actions often approach the edge of banditry. Last October, for example, crippled war veterans with guns in their hands held nine American soldiers hostage following an accident near Danang. Finally, perhaps even more disquieting, certain rumors are becoming uncontrollable. While imposing a-quasi-unanimity, the reelected President is obliged to face up to a triple process of disintegration, demoralization and disaffection.

The American Army in Vietnam, from all acounts, seems also to be facing a "tripple process of disintegrathe growth of black militancy, of fragging, and insubordi- be unable to escalate again.

military difficulties could easily confront the nuclear weapons." Some of the wars closest observers, Hans Morganthau, Paul Sweezy, Clark Clifford, IF Stone, and many others have warned that the only logic of Nixon's policy is further escalation, to the point of nuclear weapons. Dropped on nonpopulated areas, creating geographic barriers to NLF advances, Nixon might justify their use as purely defensive, used only as a last resort against naked communist agression. Even conservative commentators like Stuart Alsop (a republican who supported Nixon's election) have expressed a growing fear of what the president might do in a situation of extreme crises:

> One senses that a time may be coming when the fragile political and social structure of this country may be threatend as rarely before, and however fair one may wish to be, it is impossible not to worry how Mr. Nixon might react to such a crisis, expecially if he himself were in political trouble. There is that lack of any deep ideological commitment, that instinctive conviction that to win is everything. There is the self-righteousness, the genetic urge to preach, the 'instinct to strike back.'

Yet thecrisis is not yet upon us. The NLF has been extremely cautious in its advances, and has given the American people time to respond. If dramatic opposition mounts tion, demoralization and disaffection". The widespread in the next few weeks, if enough demonstrations occur, if use of hard drugs, by a third or even half of the draftees, enough students mobilize, the U.S. government may finally

ECOLOGY OF THE WAR

IV T ar is always destructive of the environment, but in Vietnam war is being waged directly against it. The tactics of chemical defoliation and crop destruction are having a profound effect on the country's ecology, according to two biologists who visited Vietnam last year. In their report, published in Science, Gordon H. Orians of the University of Washington and E. W. Pfeiffer of the University of Montana urge the American Association for the Advancement of Science to help set up an international research program on the long-term effects of the military use of herbicides.

Orians and Pfeiffer interviewed military personnel, flew on spraying missions, surveyed defoliated areas from the air and by boat, talked with plantation owners, agricultural experts and scientists and studied records and photographs. The defoliation program, they write, was begun in 1962 and was stepped up sharply in 1966. Defoliation is now considered a potent weapon in guerrilla warfare, and "it is to be expected that in any future wars of this nature more extensive use will be made of it."

In forests, where most spraying operations are conducted in an effort to reduce concealment, a significant fraction of mature trees are killed by a single application; almost complete kills can be expected if spraying is repeated often. Orians and Pfeiffer estimate that from 20 to 25 percent of Vietnam's forests have been sprayed more than once. The mangrove forests characteristic of the river deltas southeast of Saigon are particularly susceptible to defoliation; one application kills most of the trees. Orians and Pfeiffer toured a large mangrove area and found it almost completely barren; the forest may never become completely reestablished, they report. As for upland forests, they cite earlier studies to the effect that two or three spray applications may kill about half of the commercially valuable timber. (The timber can be harvested, but then there is another complication: so much of it is studded with shrapnel that damage to saw

blades has become a serious problem for

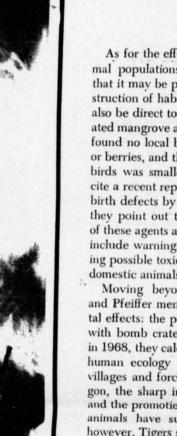
Most of the spraying is directed against forest and brushland with two preparations called White and Orange, in which the active chemicals are 2.4-D and 2,4,5-T. Another agent, called Blue. in which the active chemical is cacodylic acid, an arsenic compound, is applied to cropland in mountainous parts of the country generally under the control of the National Liberation Front (Vietcong). U.S. officers consider this "resource denial" program successful be-

Customer

cause many captured soldiers from the språved areas are seriously undernourished. The authors remark that any such food shortage may well affect children, women and old people more than it does

Military officials and some independent studies have suggested that herbicides do not often do damage beyond intended target areas. Orians and Pfeiffer disagree. In several instances they observed damage to fruit trees and other crops that could be traced to defoliation attacks or to the jettisoning of chemicals

nearby. It was difficult to establish the extent of this damage, they observe, because claims for damages are discouraged by local officials. Orians and Pfeiffer did find that damage to rubber trees, one of South Vietnam's major resources, has been extensive. It has presumably all been accidental, caused by vaporized defoliant that is blown by the wind into plantations from nearby target areas, since permission to spray rubber plantations is said never to be granted. According to the Rubber Research Institute of Vietnam, repeated defoliation threatens the existence of rubber culture in the





"It's like Tricky Dick says, baby. As long as our feet ain't touchin," we ain't here!

As for the effect of herbicides on animal populations, the authors conclude that it may be primarily through the destruction of habitat, although there may also be direct toxic effects. In the defoliated mangrove areas, Orians and Pfeiffer found no local birds that live on insects or berries, and the number of fish-eating birds was smaller than expected. They cite a recent report on the production of birth defects by 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T, and they point out that U.S. manufacturers of these agents and the arsenic herbicide include warnings on their labels regarding possible toxic effects on humans and domestic animals Moving beyond defoliation, Orians

and Pfeiffer mention other environmental effects: the pockmarking of Vietnam with bomb craters (2.6 million of them in 1968, they calculate), the upsetting of human ecology through destruction of villages and forced urbanization in Saigon, the sharp increase in air pollution and the promotion of forest fires. Not all animals have suffered from the war, however. Tigers seem to have benefited. "In the past 24 years they have learned to associate the sounds of gunfire with the presence of dead and wounded human beings in the vicinity. As a result, tigers rapidly move toward gunfire and apparently consume large numbers of



LABOR AGAINST THE WAR

The first delegation of American labor officials ever to visit the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has reported that U.S. prisoners of war are being treated well.

Visiting Hanoi, March 17-24, at the invitation of the Vietnamese Federation of Labor were Clifford C. Caldwell, vice president of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, Harold Gibbons, Teamsters vice president, and David Livingston, president of Distributive Workers District 65.

"We saw so much bomb damage in north vietnam that we were sick." Livingston told a meeting of 400 shop stewards. "We saw a workers rest home bombed to smithereens."

Caldwell said that a top Vietnamese leader told him that north Vietnam "wants peace more than anything else. The nation has been at war for 26 years." But they made it clear that they would never accept President Nixon's demand for continued U.S. control of the southern half of Vietnam.

The three labor officials promissed to "build a straight labor organization to help end the war." Livingston said that if the U.S. keeps on bombing, "the war will ruin America.' He participated in the peace march of 8,000 people this month in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

The national TV and radio networks have broadcast little news about the labor officials' trip. Only tiny stories have appeared in the big newspapers. Despite the press blackout, the labor officials have been actively spreading the news of what they saw in north Vietnam. They interviewed two captured U.S. pilots, including Navy Commander Wilbur from Elmira, New York. The POWs said they had adequate food and exercise and had no military guards. They were being kept in small groups all around the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The Vietnamese told the visitors that no more POWs would be released as good-will gestures before a final peace settlement. The reason, they explained, was that the Pentagon has in the past set up news conferences for ths released POWy where they use the POWs as pawns to justify a continuation of the war.

Top Vietnamese leaders told the visitors that all 350 POWs would be released as part assistant.

namese had lost all faith in Nixon. Just before they arrived in Hanoi, the U.S. had

namese believed that Nixon just wanted to volved in the war and caught in the cruel e-

of a negotiated agreement for the withdrawal of U.S. forces. They gave a sealed letter to the labor officials to bedelivered to Henry Kissinger, Nixon's foreign policy

The labor officials reported that the Vietwalked out of the Paris peace talks. Soon Bay, they saw tremendous devastation from

"I don't think a single American or Viet-

namese should die to keep Thieu in power." Livingston told his union after he returned. "Great mumbers of American working people and their families who are suffering the anguish of having loved ones physically inconomic pincer of harsh wage control and worthless price controls are demanding that the war be ended. The quality of life in the cities where the workers live is virhually demolished, a victim of the disordered priorities and moral bankruptcy that can give billions for war but can't afford to pay teachers, staff hospitals or provide decent

In Vietnam, the labor officials went deep into the countryside and met with many workers. At the mining harbor at Hulong after thz visitors departed, a major offen- U.S. bombing. The miners gave them each

sive started against the Thieu regime in the a little black bear carved out of anthracite coal. Gibbons, the Teamster official, was delighted when three Vietnamese teamsters came to meet him. The visitors went to textile mills, union halls, and to a festival staged in their honor.

"We walked the streets alone in Hanoi without fear," said Meat Cutter official Clifford Caldwell. "If anything we felt guilty with our bombs battering them." Soon after the visitors left Hanoi, Nixon ordered B-52 attacks on the populated

areas of Hanoi, Haiphong, and Vinh.

During the trip the visitors met with representatives of the provisional Revolutionary Government of south Vietnam, who told them that 70 to 75 percent of the people in the south want total U.S. withdrawal and an end to the Thieu government. We want to know why this war hasn't been ended," said Caldwell. "The American workers in their great majority want an end to the war."



NORTH VIETNAM- Factory workers on the job

VIETNAMESE OFFER 7 POINT PEACE PLAN

- Regarding the Terminal Date for the Total Withdrawal of U.S. Forces.

The U.S. Government must end its war of aggression in Viet Nam, stop the policy of "Vietnamization" of the war, withdraw from South Viet Nam all troops, military personnel, weapons, and war materials of the United States and of the foreign countries in the U.S. camp, and dismantle all U.S. bases in South Viet Nam, without posing any conditions whatsoever

The U.S. Government must set a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp.

If the U.S. Government sets a terminal date for the withdrawal from South Viet Nam in 1971, of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp, the parties will at the same time agree on the modalities of

a) the withdrawal in safety from South Viet Nam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp;

b) the release of the totality of militarymen of all parties and of the civilians captured during the war (including American pilots captured in North Viet Nam), so that they may all rapidly return to their homes.

These two operations will begin on the same date and will end on the same date.

A cease-fire will be observed between the South Viet Nam Peoples' Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp as soon as the parties reach agreement on the withdrawal from South Viet Nam of the totality of U.S. forces and those of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp. 2 - Regarding the Question of Power in South Viet Nam.

The U.S. Government must really respect the South Viet Nam peoples' right to self-determination, put an end to its interference in the internal affairs of South Viet Nam, cease to support the bellicose group headed by Nguyen Van Thieu now in office in Saigon, and stop all maneuvers, including tricks on elections, aimed at maintaining the puppet Nguyen Van Thieu.

By various means, the political, social. and religious forces in South Viet Nam aspiring to peace and national concord will form in Saigon a new administration favoring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam will immediately enter into talks with that administration in order to settle the following questions:

a) to form a broad three-segment government of national concord that will assume its functions during the period between the restoration of peace and the holding of general elections and that will organize general elections in South Viet

A cease-fire will be observed between the South Viet Nam Peoples' Liberation Armed Forces and the armed forces of the Saigon administration as soon as a government of national concord is

b) to take concrete measures with the necessary guarantees to prohibit all acts of terror, reprisal and discrimination against persons having collaborated with one or the other party; to ensure every democratic liberty to the South Viet Nam people; to release all persons jailed for political reasons; to dissolve all concentration camps and to liquidate all forms of constraint and coercion so as to permit the people to return to their native places in complete freedom and to freely engage

c) to see that the people's conditions of living are stabilized and gradually improved, to create conditions allowing everyone to contribute his talents and efforts to heal the war wounds and rebuild the country.

d) to agree on measures to be taken to ensure the holding of genuinely free, democratic, and fair general elections in South Viet Nam.

3 - Regarding the Question of Vietnamese Armed Forces in South

The Vietnamese parties will together settle the question of Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam in a spirit of national concord, equality, and mutual respect, without foreign interference, in accordance with the post-war situation and with a view to lightening the people's

4 - Regarding the Peaceful Re-Unification of Viet Nam and the relations between the North and the South Zones.

a) The re-unification of Viet Nam will be achieved step by step, by peaceful means, on the basis of discussions and agreements between the two zones, without constraint and annexation from either party, and without foreign inter-

Pending the re-unification of the country, the North and the South zones will re-establish normal relations, guarantee free movement, free correspondence, free choice of residence, and establish economic and cultural relations on the principle of mutual interests and mutual assistance.

All questions concerning the two zones will be settled by qualified representatives of the Vietnamese people in the two zones on the basis of negotiations, without foreign interference.

b) In keeping with the provisions of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, during the present temporary partition of the country into two zones the North and the South zones of Viet Nam will refrain from joining any military alliance with any foreign countries, from allowing any foreign country to maintain military bases, troops, and military personnel on their soil, and from recognizing the protection of any country or of any military alliance or bloc.

5 - Regarding the Foreign Policy of Peace and Neutrality of South Viet

South Viet Nam will pursue a foreign relations with all countries regardless of their political and social system, in accordance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence, maintain economic and cultural relations with all countries, accept the cooperation of foreign countries in the development of the resources of South Viet Nam, accept the economic and technical aid of any country without any political conditions attached, and participate in regional plans for economic

On the basis of these principles, after the end of the war South Viet Nam and the United States will establish relations in the political, economic and cultural

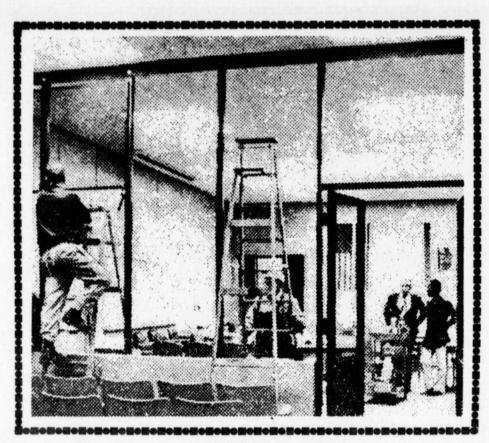
6 - Regarding the Damages Caused by the United States to the Vietnamese People in the two zones.

The U.S. Government must bear full responsibility for the losses and the destruction it has caused to the Vietnamese people in the two zones.

7 - Regarding the Respect and the International Guarantee of the Accords to be Concluded

The parties will reach agreement on the forms of respect and international guarantee of the accords that will be





Soledad Brothers "Not Guilty"

The fate of the Brothers went to the

jury at 4:30 on Friday. When by 6pm the

jury had not brought in a verdict and was

sequestered for the night, it became

obvious that deliberation would take a

long time and that the jury was going bit

Justice were altered Saturday and Sun-

day. Passes were obtained at the third

floor instead of the first. We were allowed

to leave the courtroom and return as we

pleased. We could talk in the courtroom,

read books (still no newspapers), sit

wherever we pleased, and could even get

away with smoking, sometimes. But the

bulletproof glass shield still separated us

from the main body of the courtroom.

The Tac Squad still waited in the Hall,

playing games with their long clubs. The

general denial of a public trial remained.

rehear the crossexamination of Larry

Eskew, the only inmate witness for the

prosecution to keep his story at all together. (Rich Silver, Fleeta's attorney,

had described Eskew as a "smart con", a

"George Raft con".) And after that they

returned again to deliberate. We returned

to waiting, talking, reading. The Tac Squad returned to practising baseball

The long, agonizing waiting, the specu

At 3:30 on Sunday afternoon, the jury

returned again. First through the door to

the jury room and into the courtroom

was John Callahan, the only juror we

could be at all sure was on our side,

judging from his demeanor throughout

the trial. He looked tired and embattled.

He turned to us and shrugged, like saying

"We tried". The forelady of the jury,

Jean Batten, a highstyle country club

goer who worried us all, announced that

the jury was "hopelessly deadlocked" and

could not bring in a verdict. She informed

the court that they stood nine to three on

the last ballot and could "see no hope".

Judge Vavuris instructed the jury to try

harder and sent them out to deliberate

They were called back again at 6pm as

usual to be sequestered. Vavuris read

them a special in struction advising the

minority to reconsider their opinion in

light of the reasons cited by the majority.

But instead of having the jury deliberate

further at that point (where pressures

might force the minority to give in)

Vavuris sequestered them for the night,

We returned again Sunday morning,

knowing that a verdict would definetely

come in. Reading, talking. Nervous. At

11:35 the buzzer from the jury room

sounded, signalling the desire of the jury

to return to the courtroom. We scrambled

for seats as Joel Kirschenbaum, one of

the defense lawyers, mouthed the word

giving them opportunity for rest.

with their clubs.

lation, most of it worthless.

The jury returned once on Sunday to

The security procedures at the Hall of

by bit through the evidence.

"I can't understand why Mr. Drumgo and Mr. Clutchette are not walking out this door with us right now.Instant parole or instant pardon is in line...They said thank you. I thank them. They owe nothing to anyone, least of all myself or any other juror. How they could put up with two years of that builshit is incredible... We suffered five months to find truth, they've suffered two years to find justice."

John Callahan, juror

Political trials seem to have two kinds of outcomes. Crushing defeats or frustrating victories. The trial of Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, the remaining Soledad Brothers, ended in a frustrating victory. John and Fleeta were acquitted on two counts each of assualt and murder of Soledad guard John V. Mills on January 16, 1970. But George Jackson? He fell before the struggle even neared a conclusion. Murdered so that he could not stand in the courtroom and further the struggle for freedom. Fleeta Drumgo still faces the ridiculous charges of murder and conspiracy with the San Quentin Six and needs our aid for that. John Clutch ette should have his parole reinstated. But quiet John is too dangerous to the prison system and the possibility of his being murdered like George is all too likely.

We celebrate the victory of the trial, George. But we celebrate it by fighting harder. We will free Angela Davis. We will free the San Quentin Six. That will be our

The long and laborious trial of Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette came to an end but not a conclusion on Monday. March 27 at 11:35am when the all-white jury returned verdicts of not guilty.

It had been a thirteen week trial in which the prison system had been exposed at every turn. With various testi-mony pointing to coercion and bribing of witnesses by the District Attorney's office and Soledad's Captain Charles Moody, with countless contradictions in the testimony of the prosecution's inmate witnesses - the prosecution had failed to meet the burden of proof required for a conviction "failed miserably" in the words of Floyd Silliman, John's attorney. The defense had presented numerous witness to testify to the whereabouts of John and Fleeta and to further discredit the credibility of the prosecution's witnesses. It seemed only logical that an acquittal should be returned

But white American jurors are wrought with prejudices and should not be secondguessed by logic. Was it just enough to disprove the prosecution's case? It is hard for many Americans to beleive the horrors of the prison system, and to beleive that people are brought to trial for political reasons.

"verdict" through the glass barrier. We sat tensely, waiting still for the jury to enter. All indications were for acquittal. But they could have compromised on the lesser included offenses of the charges - any of which could mean life imprisonment for the Brothers. And they could have decided they were completely hung.

Again, Callahan was the first through

the door, and our eyes followed him. He reached his seat and as he leaned back, smiled. A shriek of nervous laughter broke out as we knew how it had gone. Acquittal.

The verdict was handed to Judge Vavuris, who read it to himself and in turn gave it to the clerk to read into the record. The clerk announced the not guilties for Fleeta, who cried and hugged John and the attorneys. Fleeta's mother, Inez Williams, left the courtroom, in

The same not guilties for John. Embraces. Even some of the jurors cried.

But Vavuris lost no time in making a final lecture to the jury. "There are many who criticize our judicial system - and unjustly so...This shows that black people can get a fair trial by any jury in this great country of ours...Of all the systems in the history of civilization, this is the best. If any of these young people have a better system, let me know about it.'

Floyd Silliman broke in to ask Vavuris if the defendants could address the jury. Vavuris consented. In a strong voice, John stood and said "Thank you for my life. I promise that when I get out of prison I will do everything in my power to help right some of the injustices of this society. Thank you."

In tears, Fleeta stood, and almost unable to speak, said "I thank you for seeing through this fraud perpetrated

The jury was released. We expected them to simply leave, being done with their duty. Instead, most of the jurors rushed to the defense table and hugged and shook hands with John, Fleeta, and the attorneys. The prosecution's hopes of inciting racism had failed miserably.Like

and Fleeta stay in the County Jail facilities here instead of returning to San Quentin where the reaction to the verdict

by prison officials would obviously be negative and the Brothers would be in great danger for their lives. Vavuris allowed them to stav for awhile intead of returning immediately, but said they would have to return later in the day.

Upon a question from Floyd as to when the attorneys would have a chance to celebrate, Vavuris also purged Floyd and Rich of the fiveday contempt sentences he had given them.

But Vavuris also did not lose the chance to lecture John, off the record, on the contents of his letter that was stolen by the prosecution and used in evidence against him to prove he was a revolutionary. "People don't steal because they are hungry or poor," he contended. "I hate to say it but that's straight Marxism. I hope you will do something constructive for your people, not destructive." And throughout it all, John sat silently, put ting up with it all.

The Tac Squad ushered us quickly off the floor. They too had suffered the de feat. In their haste they accidentallyy(?) let off some tear gas in the newsroom.

We regrouped on the first floor and awaited the arrival of the lawyers and the jurors. After about thirty minutes, juror John Callahan came down. "Ithink the comments of the judge were entirely out of line. It's immoral to have twelve white jurors to try two black men. I don't want this to be used to convict other black people with all-white juries and say 'well, the Soledad Brothers got a fair trial'. They got a fair trial because this is San Francisco and you can find twelve good white peopl"They wanted twelve rubber stamps. Well, we're not going to do the establishment's dirty work for them any

"We took all of their intimidation, we took all of their bullshit and we won, we won!" cried Inez Williams.

We did take a lot. A dehumanizing in timidation system enacted in the name of security. Continual arrests and harras ments of spectators and family. Sub machineguns and kendo sticks. Even the beating of Phil and Marty Price on August 26. The murder of George. We took a lot. We took too much.

The bullettproof glass still stands in the courtroom. It will be used again. And it could be any of us on trial behind that screen next time.

PROTECTORS OF THE PEOPLE

WILLIAM STODDARD

There is an image which the current SUCSD and its supporters have been rying to promote. Basically, it is one of a set of remote and unreachable officials ignoring students needs and values, and of noble, crusading, unselfish student government hurrying to the rescue. The administrators, we are told, have their own interests, and naturally they serve them; the students don't have much contact with these procedures and therefore administrators either fail to realize that they'll be harmed, or else don't even bother to think about it. On the other hand, the students in the AS share the interests of the student community as a whole, and will act to protect students from the burreaucracy.

This is bullshit.

Let me illustrate with a case I saw recently. My girl friend was in trouble with the Muir Residence Hall office because our conduct had upset her roommate's moral prejudices; as a result, she was called into the office, accused without evidence of engaging illegally in sexual intercourse, criticized for not taking people's feelings into account (no one had ever told us what, if anything, was disturbing advertising and newspaper campaigns -of the laissez-faire war of communication and resistance. Ultimately, the people will have to protect themselves; no one is qualified to do it for them.

History shows too well what happens when people rely on other people, on organizations, on governments, for guarantees of their own liberty. The American Revolution brought about our present fascist oligarchy, the American welfarewarfare-monopoly-state-capitalist setup. The USSR got Lenin, Stalin, and the later tyrants. The Chinese have been kissing Chairman Mao's ass for a long time now. All organizations will betray you, given a chance; so the worst of follies is to grant legitimate authority to any of them. Only voluntary associations, subject to secession and competition, can be compelled to serve people's real interests. Let me repeat the WHO'S call for a war of secession, withdrawal, rebuilding, self-defense; one that will make the present authori- working against the administration effec-

tarian system obsolete, on campus and everywhere else--but on campus now. them), and told that since no rooms were available, she would have to move out. She eventually got so fed up with being shuffled from bureaucrat to bureaucrat that she decided to give in and find an apartment; oddly, she was then told that she couldn't leave, but would have to move back into her old room, and she had to have her parents come down from LA to clear things up. What is significant at present is that at one time she went to an AS official to ask for help; he told her that if he tried to do anything it would jeopardize his good relations with the residence office. In every colonial state, it is necessary

for there to be a set of native representatives and administrators. They do the shitwork; also, they lend an appearance of legitimacy to the government. They quickly turn into an elite which does what the administration wants in exchange for prestige, goodies, and the enjoyment of an ego trip of superior knowledge and influence. They will do nothing to jeopardize their standing. The same can be seen in any other establishment/underdog relationship; quislings, Uncle Tom, long-haired pot-smoking police spies, are a familiar phenomenon by now (read Jerry Rubin's WE ARE EVERYWHERE, for an account of the people who infiltrated the Crazies). Sometimes they come from above, sometimes from below; a great many black men become policemen in the same force which arbitrarily force white morals on blacks. Women have organized to oppose the very idea that women should be independent, or have goals outside the house. The

ASUCSD is not an exception. What good is the AS to the university administration? Why do they care whether we go on having an AS, or whether there is compulsory membership? I think that when students have been unified in this way they have less tendency to struggle for their own rights; they can't make as good a case because the administrators say 'But we've given you a set of channels to work through'. Let the people in those channels start

ROBERT SHEER

Former Editor of RAMPARTS

Back From Recent Tour of NORTH VIETRAM, MORTH KOREA. CHINA

MAY 3, 8:30 pm Revelle Cafeteria

tively, and see how long they last. As Jim Sills remarked to me once, having it be cut down to a bare minimum, supthe AS appoint tame students to college ported by those students who want movies committees -- students who have no power, and dances and yo on; let the rest avoid it. or very little, and are too afraid of not Further, let students handle their own being good friends with the authorities-- problems, singly or in coalitions, by ardoes a great deal to make the administration look legitimate and acceptable, without preventing it from doing much of anything. The AS, of course, becomes a micro-elite, handing out money and patronage organization. Further, no energy would to those people who do what they're told, be diverted to line the pockets or boost the ignoring the others. Without these stu- egos of AS officials; no friends of dents, people might start wondering whe- the bureaucracy would be giving its acts a ther their interests were really being phony acceptability which they don't deserved; and they might take action through serve. Working within the system, if it channels which could be more effective. Right now, the watchword is 'don't rock the boat', 'don't make a fuss', 'keep things system. What I am proposing is the use of

The solution is to remove the AS. Let guement, publicity, legal action, ignoring undesireable rules, and so on. An action which is useful will get carried out without needing to be supported by an official means using official channels, is useless: those channels are set up to benefit the tactics drawn from Yippies, Kabouters,

Dear Chancellor McElroy,

Many of us are deeply troubled by the talk going around of the 'war research' being conducted through UCSD. While we morally condemn the war , we must also condemn the use of our universities to aid in the waton destruction which has now killed over 500,000 Vietna-

You stated last night that you also 'disagree' with Nixon's prolonged continuation of this war. You stated last night that you would never allow war research on UCSD. We admire your stand. However, when asked about the image restoration of reconnaissence flight film taken over Vietnam at the UCSD facilities at the Navel Electronics Lab (Marine Visibility Lab and Marine Physical Lab), you answered that you didn't know anything about it. You search going on there.

We feel this investigation should be conducted as soon as possible. It doesn't seem that it would take very long since all an investigator needs to do is analyse the various contracts that were awarded to personal at UCSD's facilities 21 Point Loma and elsewhere. We hope that you will reveal these findings soon, so our minds may be eased by the negative response or so we can work through the Academic Senate to change the positive answer.

Thank you for all you've done and will do regarding this problem. We hope to hear from you soon.



Heavy Bullshit

Coast Cruising

Can ASUCSD's Mass Transit Venture work? Let us examine this fruitful question. What are the steaks? The obvious answer comes resounding from the void: Porterhouse--ecologically sound economic transportation-or fillet of destruction--escalating ecocide and squandering of our precious national money. Then of course, there are the mistakes: people continuing to waste their money and everybody's space and air by using their own cars. Really, don't you think parking lots looked better as mustard weed and anthrills? Take heed, dear friends, least all of our me be made into mountains of asphalt.

But all seriousness aside, it would seem that the mass of confusion generated by the pseudo non-controversy surrounding what has inevitably come to be known as the Coast Cruiser can be dispensed with by two hard, soft facts: 1) that, until picking up hitchhikers becomes mandatory (and we have yet to see legislation introduced to that end) the CC provides the cheapest punctual way--and the ecologically soundest way--to get from point A in North County to UCSD and/or back; and 2) that a mass transportation system is only as good as it is relied upon by the mass it transports. As for the frugality of such a premonition: imagine, if you will, hordes of platformites cruising Old Cynic 101 to deposit their cars for a fee that would buy them nearly a year's worth of rides on the Coast Cruiser (that's right, friends, a campus parking permit merely entitles YOU, the buyer, to spend that much more money on gas, oil and insurance, which alternatively, you could easily fritter away in the privacy of your own

In conclusion, friends, let's cut the smog-traffic congestion--asphalt jungle--expensive t-ransportation syndrome. Next time that Crazy Cruiser comes rollin' by, hop aboard. Make it a habit! Remember, in the language c the streets, the first ride's free.

Between adjacent communities fare is 15¢ (for all); between non-adjacent communities fare is 20¢; except fares

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Del Mar	15¢	20#
Solana Beach	20¢	25¢
Cardiff	20¢	25¢
Encinitas	25¢	30¢
HALF-QUARTER PAS	SES: (Unli	mited Rides
Del Mar	\$6.00	\$8.00
Solana Beach	8.00	10.00
Cardiff	8.00	10.00
Encinitas	10.00	12.00

COAST CRUISER

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA SAN DIEGO COMMUTER BUS

South

North

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Hi there, I'm your friendly conscious agent of American Imperialism.

And I'm here to show you a foreign policy to protect you and your loved ones.

It covers you and your family in 3 ways...

If you're in the \$40 a year bracket you sure don't want to risk that paycheck for a revoluti By encouraging and financing safe and sane military governments AMERICAN EMPIRE @

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> if you're in a hurry and these two are unsatisfactory

Our latest development thought up by our researchers, in the tradition of such past plans as the atomic bomb, germ warfare, the M-1, and as far back as the Cavalry Charge and the Bowie Knife. If you're the impatient type and can't wait the 50 or so years it takes for AE's @ other plans to work, then napalm is what you're looking for. This coverage is the kind that sticks with you and keeps on yielding effectively even if your home is destroyed by fire or some other

So if you think that you're in line for our coverage and even if you don't why not see you your conscious agent today? He's really not such a special guy. He probably lives next next door, plays golf, or football with his kids. Maybe he's your local cop, or teaches you your kids. See him today. He's real friendly. Or drop into the friendly American

American Empire_o CANADA LTD.



Movie Review

Surrealistic Spiritual Quest

Brandon Wander

One of the comments posted outside with our black-suited, Manson hero travel- tirically yippie statement. Jodorowskiy the theater said 'El Topo' deserved to be seen more than once. Which I did. The first time I was taken back by a few scenes, the second time thy content had sure, the second time I liked its heat. but the critic didn't warn about the third time. Ahh you know how that Confuscian saying goes, 'First the best, second the same, but third the --- Blah, blah, blah.' That's what happened. Not suffereing from shock, parts of the movie became soggy fortune cookies. No snap. But don't get me wrong, I'm still fascinated with 'Ei Topo'.

I dig paradox. Those exquisite tangles with an almost spiritual nature. The film is "camed by paradox, 'El Topo' (The Mole) is the metaphoric tagfora surrealment. 'The mole digs tunnels into the earth looking for the sun. Sometimes he breaks the surface and is blinded by the light.' Pretty spacey, huh?

This idea is presented with illustrated montage and symphone orchestra. If the outer fancy packaging is overcooked, the fum's inside cou'd be termed raw. Inedible and unintelligable--quite a combination. Quite unusual! Paradox is sometimes a prescription for insanity, und here Jodorowsky is a jumping-bean lunatic. For of Mexican design, where anything and everything happens. There are flashes of genius, moments of dismal cliches. Phallic iguanas, red balloons, satin undies, three transvestites, and Russian roulette: a little of this, too much of that. Under these conditions, teste flys south for the duration. It doesn't exist. Only Jodorowsky's imagination remains, flaggelating thy audience into a lurid, visual frenzy with his one-upmanship. 'if you thought that was shocking, wat 'til you see the next one.'

It is a loosly-linked story of a negative hero, seemingly outcast from 'The Magnificent Seven' casting department. Acting as if tripping on acid, saying he's god, El Topo searches for purpose in a fluid world of dreamy perversions. It begins

ing through a desert with a black umbrella, black horse, and naked seven year old son who just finished his manhood prelims. Rilling into the ketchupiest massacre since lost some of its edge. Initially I wasn't the tomato met Mr. Hsinz, he sets out after Whodunnit. Things don't tie together logically, but they do tie together. With oompa music we glimmer three of the bad gays, a muskateer bar delicious enough to frame. Shoe-fetishist, banana freak, and a bullet band jack-off artist constitute the first bunch of walking perversions. Before the Kinneys freak is sent spinning with rings in his mouth, he points Pop and Junior towards the chief shootemupper, the Colonel and his fivs Hells Angel Cockettes, busily undoing another virgin village. Nightmare versions of to the dramatic conclusion where El Topo Captain Beefhart and his Magic Band, they is shot a few hundred times and nary an titillate comely young monks, exercise eyelash twitches. is to a classical beat use pages of the Bible as Kleenex. But not for too long.

Our blackknight smashes the castle walls down Captain America style, and slaws them all, castrating the Colonel in a wierdly moving scene. Eearlier, in the Colonel's alter room, the blue-ribbon town woman assumed a beautifully spiritual pose uround a bucket of heavenly water. The Colonel's grossness intrudes. He dips his pudgy fingers in the water, smearing them in her soft brown hair. There is another gentle scene around an idyllic pond with miss sweets releasing sparrows. The movie is swinging between a thrust of poetic perversion and perverted poetry. Its seemingly ths latter, more 'with it' than wierd, but the lyrical spiritual search is in danger of pneumonia, exposed to gay sheriffs, sin dens, and phallic di-

The colonel plants himself at this cosmi doorway in a majestic, operatic leg spread. Suddenly pigs scurry from behind, we swing around and down between his boots and crotch to spy a feathered Pope slithering forward. Classic style against outrageous content in satirically yippie statement. Jodorowsky turns everything against outrageous content in a saturns everything inside out and against

Speed combined with a turned-on visual firehose of relevant, irrelevant, and God knows why scenes swarp your judgment facilities like a thousand Lilliputian Mohamuted Alis. Lightening fast is an understatement. In one minute, with maybe three scenes, we're supposed to believe El Topo and Miss Bloody Breasts have been scourgin the desert for months. Fat chance. Powerful pinging, Fistful of Dollars music crashes into the image of them lying limp, buried in sand for mo obvious reason. The voice-over says they've been doing this for months. And things like this keep huppening, right up

Jodorowsky has created a ludicrous world, looked into contradictions, spiraling in never ending and increasing distortions. His approach is one that has lost its sensibility, where one can't tell if he's attacking some movie style, poling fun at himself, playing it deadpan, or paradoxically doing all three. From this uncertain jello he raises his own pife forms, of travel in two minutes, eventually to be fully organic and unnatural.

El Topo rides in a cracker-jack, whirligog universe where the sequence of events is such that his equally unconventional and baffling responses are, in some sense, appropriate. Such qn interaction is a double bind--a double-edged paradox, where action and reaction are mutually paradoxical. A person in a double-bind is likely to find himself punished (or at least made to feel guilty) for correct perceptions, and defined 'bad' or 'mad' for even insinuating there's a discrepancy tetween what hs does and what he 'should' see. Ih's Alice through the Looking Glass

After trading the colonel's girl for his son, there's this business in the desert where he prays to God before raping her, ly serious note. the pitch is always off, proclaims his true love for her, and she flat, or sharp. Here it is simply adding says her love will only come if he beats a final contradictory patch to an already the four masters in the desert. 'I want crazy-quilted movie.

a winner. Cheat if you have to.' Love only exists us long as he's the sweepstakes stud.

He kills the first three, each one insisting there's something awfully screwy with his conception of himself add hmw things are. The second one even talked in paradoxical contradictions. An obese, little price Genghis Khan, with teddybear cost and vet lion, tells El Topo of his insane existance. 'The higher you go the deeper you fall.' 'In order to love you 'kill, but in killing you can never have When you think your'e giving, you re really taking away." The teenage yogi, fat Boris, and Peter

Rabbit were hard to handle, and difficult to ignore. But the fourth guy flips him out. Hs comes upon thps dingy, sun-burned. gray braided hippie hermit with butterfly net and Johnny Weismuller underwear. The old scat can swat his bullets back at him with his tinsel net. This is confusing. Up and fown ain't what they used to be. El Topo loses all hope of winning, and slumps in anguish. But to robe the world of all missing for Ep Topo, fruit of the loom man kills himself add tells El Topo 'you lose.' El Topo freaks. He goes on a temper tantrum, retracing the months crucified by the transvestite and reincarnated guru-fashion in the bowels of barrel city, deformity center of the west. The only way out of this whirlwind of insanity is to chagge his whole basis for thinking.

He emerges as the neighborhood Jesus, struggling with his black shmes for the forgotten crumbs of the ward. This is somewhat hard to swallow, and I hope we weren't suppose to. But E.T. does stop listening to others, thereby transcending the nutty world perverts drag him into. That's okay for E.T., but I'm still listening. Given a John Ford operatic scene, and with honey bees flocking to E.T.'s grave somzhow symxolizing he's a realized human being, the movie plops a final, deadPRESS RELEASE - 11:00 a.m. Friday April 21, 1972 By SAN DIEGO CONVEN-TION COALITION PEOPLES' VICTORY

GOP FLEES! Nixon and the Republican Party cannot excape massive, militant confrontation. No matter where they run, members of the San Diego Convention Coalition and thousands of others will be in the streets to oppose in escalating airvar in Indochina, and their economic policies which

benefit corporate interests at the expense of working people.

The Convention Coalition was formed to expose and confront the Nixon Administration. The expose has begun. The ITT-Sheraton Hotel scandal uncovered the corrupt politics whpch brought the Convenhion here in thz first place. This corruption has been shown to extend all the way from C. Arnholt Smith to the White

The certainty of massive demonstrations being organized by the Convention Coalition was a factor in driving the Republicans from San Deego. However, they cannot excape the protests mf outraged Americans.

We thank the Republicans for one thing - radical activity in San Diego has grown stronger because of the convention. The local Movement will continue to attack the corrupt San Diego power structure and work to end the bloody airwar, in which the City plays such an important part.

The moving of the Republican Convention is a great victory for the Convention Coalition, and more importantly for hhe citizens of San Diego who opposed having the Convention here. TELEGRAM

... The opportunity exsists to confront both parties with the strongest possible demands to stop thz war and solve pressing problems at home. We invite the San Diego Convention Coalition and all people who seek peace and justice to come to Miami for a summer of struggle with love in solidarity

Florida People's Coalition

Convention Coalition Moves Toward August

The San Diego Convention Coalition, which (3) "an immediate end to all U.S. aggreshas been in existence for some months now, sion and involvement in Indochina and supis presently engaged in a struggle that will port for the PRG 7 point plan for peace.... test its flexibility and political leadership. (4) "we oppose all U.S. interference in the with coordinating the national actions for (5) "The demonstrations we are planning this summer, but also, with forming a long for August should not be violent."

The Coalition is made up of many in-

For months speakers have been attending various conferences across the country in an attempt to make people aware of the Coalition's desires. The response has been generally favorable. The right of the Coalition's desires and peace activists, women, Blacks, vets, students, professionals, and gays are represented. Also represented is the Coalition's desires. generally favorable. The side effect of this ordinating Body of the coalition. This that few local people knew or had access to work with the Coalition. what the Coalition was doing. That situ- The other major change is that the Steer- Time is running out for the Coali-

oppression."

range Movement organization in San Diego. (6) "No party or presidential candidate will be pushed...this summer."

"These points, based on an anti-imperdividuals and groups. Certain broad basic political positions are clear, such as acceptance of the 7-point peace plan of the for uniting the many different constituen-PRG and opposition to Nixon's economic cies represented in the conference in planoppression, exemplified by the "Wage ning activities at the convention." It was Price" freeze and discrimination against decided that acceptance of the last two, as minorities and women. How these goals will be put into action, however, has led to an effort to provide leadership, the Coalitinued, hour after hour, without formulating a clear political plan or working out the nificant structural changes were made. a clear political plan or working out the One was to initiate constituency represen-This is due to both internal and external tation on a Steering Committee, the polstruggles. The Coalition has been trying to icy and decision making body. Although the maintain local control over a national event. question of who or what is a constituency

effort, however, was to all but ignore the group organizes and does the actual shitlocal picture. This was pointed out by the work of the Coalition. Other constituencies ponsible to their constituencies. However,

ation is being corrected as the the Coali- ing Committee has been given authority to tion. Important plans for the demonstra-In an attempt to merge both local and fore this change, the policy making com- made. This is partially due to the city's national interests, the Coalition is working mittee could only make emergency deci- refusal to make firm commitments on land towards an alliance of concerned constitu- sions. All others were brought before the sites and other important questions. But encies. The guidelines for this alliance General Body which meets on Saturdays. it is also due to a lack of experience and were drawn up at a Western Regional Con- This was a very slow process and neces- leadership within the Coalition. For many ference at UCSB. These guidelines are: sary decisions were not being made. The it is their first involvement in a task of (1) "We support an end to Nixon's policies consolidation of power in the hands of a few such complexity. The next convention will of political, economic, racial and sexual was not considered ideal by all in the Coa- go much smoother. It is this one, however, (2) "Building alliances with Third World unfortunately unavoidable if this August is happen here this summer will be decided in Communities thru non-interference going to be a meaningful political event. the next few months. After that it will be Representatives are chosen by and are res- too late to turn around.

Ocean Beach Collective, who complained will be added if and when they choose to the question of representative democracy was not thoroughly discussed.

make long range decisions and plans. Be- tions and other activities have yet to be lition, although it has been recognized as that everyone is concerned about. What will

The Ballad of Taiwan Jake

Old China's a land, a corrupting land, That leaves men haggard and wan. Its liquor and sluts burn out a man's guts While the trots drain his strength 'till he's gone. But basest of all--in the Spring or the Fall, Night or day from the dusk through the dawn--Is a province quite small (a mere port of call) That's known as the Isle of Taiwan.

Through history's spans the old China hands Are famous for what they could take; Be it hot days or cold, be it women or gold; And no one took more than old Jake. For old Jacob Ferry could always look merry Though racked by pains of disease. With a grin on his face, he'd take it with grace And he'd smile just as big as you please.

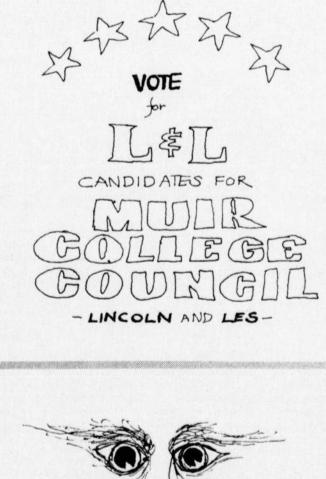
The highway to hell is paved, I hear tell, With motives both noble anddgood. most any test, good old Jake's were the best For he came from a scholarly brood. But few are the men who go home again From Taiwan's corrupting embrace With souls that are pure, and knowing for sure They are still within God's saving grace.

It didn't take long for poor Jake to go wrong And imbibe all the pleasure of sin. For, of sinning and such, Taiwan has so much That he hardly knew where to begin. He'd drink kao-liang and sing a lewd song As he bed a new girl with each verse; Awaking each day in a state of decay That, from bad, tumbles quickly to worse.

In hovels and shacks across from the tracks Jacob slept with notorious whores. While picking off fleas, he studied Chinese By learning the names of his sores. And even today, I've heard people say. When Jake says what needs to be said, The natives for blocks look around when he talks, Their faces a bright shade of red.

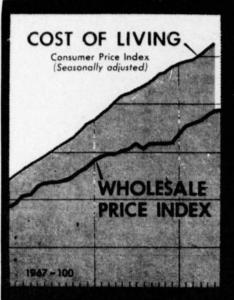
The moral is clear. And I hope that you'll hear My warning before it's too late: Beware of the land of the old China hand. Or you may wind up sharing Jake's fate. And if, in your soul, you harbor the goal Of bringing some light to the heathen; Don't you be the one who goes to Taiwan To lose both your soul and your reason.

O Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of With them-in spirit-we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe. O Lord, Our God, help us tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their smiling fields with the pale forms of their patriot dead; help us to drown the thunder of their guns with the shrieks of their wounded, writhing in pain; help us to lay waste their humble homes with a hurricane of fire; help us to wring the hearts of their unoffending widows with mavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of the desolated land in rags and nger and thirst... Mark Twain's "War Prayer"



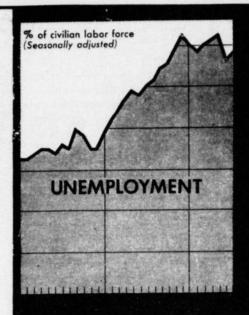


IT'S A COMMUNITY EFFORT



INFLATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

what they reveal about the American economy



by Gerry Hall

The simultaneous presence of both a high level of unemployment and a high rate of inflation in the United States has presented a problem that cannot be dealt with within the accepted theories of economic organization. In this article we shall first deal with the presuppositions of contemporary economists, and a general outline of their view of the workings of the economic system. In the second part we will consider the historical developments leading up to the economic crisis which precipitated the Wage Price Freeze and Phase II. Finally we will consider what hhis crisis revealed about the effect on the American Economy, of the tremendous growth and consolidation of corporate power.

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The expression "modern economic theory" refers specifically to what is called the post Keynesian synthesis. It incorporates the national scale macroeconomics of John Maynard Keynes with the microeconomics of Alfred Marshal. Together they provide a complete conceptual outline of economics, including guidelines for governmental policy dealing with economic problems.

Probably the most basic assumption of this model is that competition within the economy would prevail, ie., that concentrated economic power would not be able to control the market for its own benefit. To this end, it required strong anti-trust legislation and strict governmental regulation of natural monopolies, such as utilities.

The theory described how the government could best facilitate the smooth expansion of the economy. "Growth" was the process of increased production financed by savings. The role of the government was to control this, through the manipulation of spending, taxation and monitary policy. In a recession, the government was supposed to spend heavily, cut taxes and make financing more available.

These actions would stimulate the economy by increasing the demand for goods and services, and thereby increasing employment and investment. This would in turn further increase the demand for goods and services, returning the economy to healthy growth and moving it toward full em ployment. The government is then supposed to slow this growth, before full employment is reached, by reducing spending, increasing taxes, and making loans more expensive through Federal Reserve policy If growth is not slowed, the demand for labor exceeds the supply and wages go up. Increased labor costs and high demand for the goods produced results in higher prices, and an inflationary spiral results. In theory, the government can still act to cool the economy and stop this inflation. Reduced spending and/or higher taxes should reduce the demand for goods and unemployment should rise. Free and open competition for a smaller market should hold prices down. But as we shall see, it hasn't worked this way.

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The Kennedy administration was committed to active governmental regulation of the economy. During the 1950's the Republicans had done nothing to bring the country out of the worst recession of the post war period. In 1958 unemployment reached 6.8% and real national income fell 1%. The economy was undoubtedly the decisive issue in the battle between Nixon and Kennedy for the presidency.

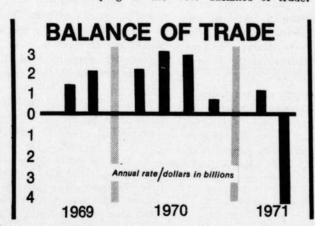
The Democrats acted quickly to increase spending, especially on the military where the goods produced do not compete for profits on the open market. Tax cuts in 1962 and 1964 allowed for increased spending by both business and labor. Low interest rates on long term loans encouraged investment and construction. These policies were spectacularly effective. The rate of growth averaged over 5.5% between 1962 and 1965. Unemployment dropped to 4.5% and prices rose at less than 2% per year.

The sucess of these policies brought about a tremendous confidence in the American economy. The benefits of steady growth would finance emmense public improvements, such as raising the mean standard of living, thus providing equal opportunity for all. As for international politics, foreign aid would spur the growth of capitalist economies around the world. The cold war, and the active containment of communist expansion, would allow time for the defacto victory of capitalism through unmatched prosperity.

It was this policy of containment, applied to Indochina, that forced the abandonment of the Keynesian game plan for the national economy. President Johnson found himself resorting to heavy deficit spending to finance an increasingly unpopular war, at a time when the economy was already running at full steam. Heavy spending put the government in competition for goods and services, thus driving prices higher. Low unemployment and rising prices putlabor in a good bargaining position for large wage increases. In 1968 the consumer price index went up 4.2%, unemployment was down to 3.6%, and the federal deficit was 25.2 billion dollars

This was the situation when Nixon was swept into office on a tide of anti-war sentiment. He had done his economic homework, and set out to cure inflation according to the Keynesian prescription. He had to stop inflation because, contrary to popular belief, inflation did not mean that the capitalists benefited at the expense of workers. When inflation is accompanied by decreases in unemployment, the poor, Blacks, and women benefit far more from the increasing employment opportunities than they lose to increasing inflation. In fact, during the late sixties profits reached their lowest level since the war, while total wages increased substantially. This situation led to a decrease in business activity.

The Nixon administration maintained a budget surplus of 6 billion dollars over its first two years in office. As expected, unemployment went up from 3.5% in 1969 to 4.9% in 1970 and to about 6% in 1971. Inflation, however, did not respond to governmental policies. Instead of slowing down, it proceeded rapidly from 5.4% in 1969, to 5.7% in 1970. to over 6% in 1971, when Nixon had to put a freeze on prices and wages. The actual crisis was the \$745 million deficit that was developing in the U.S. ballance of trade.



It may seem paradoxical that the U.S. had been able to maintain a favorable ballance of trade (over \$6.5 billion in 1964) despite having the highest paid workers in the world. The paradox disappears when we consider that the level of automation makes the American worker the most productive in the world.

This productivity made American goods highly competitive in the world market. But the high rate of inflation quickly ate up that advantage. American goods became more expensive on the world market and were losing badly to foreign competition. The U.S. could actually afford a small deficit in the ballance of trade because the arrangement of the international monetary system made it necessary for foreign governments to accumulate reserves of dollars. But the magnitude of the developing deficit made it essential for Nixon to take drastic action immediately.

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Why didn't the economy respond to the attempts to bring inflation under control? Continuing inflation during a recession stands in direct conflict with the existing theory of how our economy works. If there were free and open competition in the marketplace, prices would necessarily respond to a decrease in demand. But this does not appear to be the case.

Corporate power seems to have reached a level where large concerns have effective shared monopolies in everything from breakfast cereals to laundry detergents. If we look at the statistics we can see that corporate power has grown and consolidated rapidly. A recent Federal Trade Commission study showed that in 1968 the largest 100 manufacturing corporations held a larger share of the market than the 200 largest in 1950 and the 200 largest controlled a share equal to that of the 1,000 largest in 1941.

As the number of corporations in a given field decreased, so did the competition between those who remained. When one steel manufacturer would raise prices, others would rapidly follow suit in order to maintain their proportional share of sales, thereby increasing the profits for all. In response to a decrease in the sales volume, rather than cutting prices to be more competitive for the remaining market, they simply raised prices simultaneously to maintain their level of profit at a lower level of operation. Then they layed off surplus employees. The result is continued inflation with rising unemployment.

This situation developed exactly along the lines of the Marxist critique of capitalism. When the economy was growing rapidly everyone benefited, but the capitalists benefited the most. For example, between 1960 and 1965 the real value of wages and salaries rose by about 25%; however, the real value of corporate profits, after taxes, rose by over 60%. When the economy is not growing the margin of profit by the capitalist is maintained at the expense of the workers through a corresponding decline in real wages.

It is very likely that the combination of Phase II controls and record deficit spending will restore the economy to a high rate of growth and substantially reduce unemployment before the 1972 elections. However, this will boost corporate profits to record levels, thereby intensifying the tendency toward monopolistic control of this economy. The present example of IT&T may foreshadow the power of the future corporate conglomerate.

What can be done about it? I don't know. The vast middle-income majority has been bought off and bullied into acceptance of the symbiotic relationship between big business and big government. This silent majority doen't want to wake up to the disturbing realization that even they were being screwed by the concentration of economic power in the hands of a very few giants-giants that know only one law, and that is PROFIT.

(All this data, except where otherwise indicated, can be found in or computed from THE ECONOMIC REPORTOF THE PRESIDENT, February, 1971. U.S. Government Printing Office.)



A Citizen's Guide to the American Economy

Ralph Nader

This year the gross national product of the United States will exceed one trillion dollars, while the economy will fail to meet a great many urgent human needs. This contrast between the statistics of growth and the fact of economic deprivation in America has become more and more evident to the public during the past decadeespecially in such dramatic cases as that of the medical care industry, which has received vastly higher payments from both the government and patients, while the quality of medical care itself remains unchanged or has become worse. Indeed, the quality of life is deteriorating in so many ways that the traditional statistical measurements of the "standard of living" according to personal income, housing, ownership of cars and appliances, etc., have come to sound increasingly Nevertheless the methods used to

understand the economic system have remained rigid ones. The current analyses of and arguments about "national income levels," "inflation," and "government spending" do little to trace the precise ways in which the operations of the economy affect the life of the consumer. Nor do such analyses make political judgments or assign responsibilities so as to effectively change the consumer's situation. We have all heard arguments about the need to change national priorities in allocating public funds for defense, health, education, welfare, pollution control, etc. But such proposals have so far failed to take account of the ways in which portions of reallocated public funds may be siphoned off or misused before any are used for the purposes originally intended.

Meanwhile, the impact on our lives of the largest economic force of all, the corporate economy, has been badly neglected. Most formal inquiries into a more just and efficient use of national wealth have failed to measure how the citizen's dollars are being wasted and depreciated in the market place and his taxes converted into corporate property and income. Instead these studies focus mainly on "aggregate consumer spending" without asking specifically what consumers receive in return.

What are needed now are analyses of

the corporate economy that will do what economists for the most part have failed to do: show how corporations, by their control of both the market and government, have been able to divert scarce resources to uses that have little human benefit or are positively harmful. Such studies will have to take account of facts that economists now tend to ignore because they find them untidy or because they cannot fit them into prevailing ecoic theory. But as they are carried out, they will show the folly of pouring more dollars into the sieve of an irresponsible corporate system.

To encourage more inquiry into the institutionalized abuses of unchecked corporate power, I would like to outline some of the major categories in which the abuses fall and to give a few of the many possible examples of how they work. I call these categories "sub-economies." In each case, the consumer's dollars are inexcusably wasted or his taxes misused. To some extent these categories have been arranged so that they overlap or converge in order to avoid isolating phenomena artificially and to emphasize the economic realities underlying policy questions. As economic measurements become more precise, new categories will evolve, and these in turn will be replaced by others.

1. The involuntary sub-economy. By this I mean the billions that consumers would not have paid if they knew or



could control what they were getting, or if corporations observed elementary standards of honesty, safety, and utility in producing and selling the things that are bought. Consumers are now spending billions of dollars for products sold under false pretenses: meat and poultry that are adulterated with fat and water; patent medicines. mouthwashes, and "aids" to beauty and diet that do far less than they are said to do or nothing at all. Both the Food and Drug Administration and the National Academy of Sciences have compiled lists of drugs, patent med icines, and mouthwashes that are valueless for the purposes they advertise and often harmful as well, as in the case of certain antibiotics.

Worthless drugs alone cost consumers one billion dollars a year. The Federal Trade Commission estimates that another billion is wasted on fraudulently sold home improvements or repairs. Last February, Senator Philip Hart of Michigan had this to say about worthless auto repairs:

Equally flagrant is the short-weighting, short-counting, and short-measuring of consumer purchases that were the subject of a report in the Wall Street Journal last month. "The pennies add up fast enough," the Journal said,

American consumers spend 25 to 30 billion dollars a year on auto repair. Various studies on the quality of the work were presented to us. They rated the poor, unneeded, or not done work at amounts ranging from 36 per cent to 99 per cent. Even taking the low figure, that means consumers are wasting 8 to 10 billion dollars that they lay out for auto repair

"that estimates by state officials of the total US loss from short-weighting start at \$1.5 billion a year and rise to as high as \$10 billion a year."

All these expenses—and I could list many more—were clearly involuntary: the consumers did not get what they thought they were paying for.

Quite as serious are what might be called "secondary consumer expenditures": the consumer may get something he wants, such as a car, but its defects are such as to force him to incur more costs. The fragile recessed bumpers of most automobiles are a case in point. Collisions at under ten miles per hour have been costing \$2 billion a year for damages that could easily have been avoided if these cars had had effective bumpers.

What might be called the "accidentinjury industry," composed of companies and professionals providing insurance and medical, legal, and repair services, is now being paid about \$12 billion a year. When emergencies occur these services are of course needed, but in fact many of them would not have to be paid for at all if cars were sensibly and safely designed, as could be done without increasing the over-all cost of making cars. Nor would a large proportion of auto repair costs be as expensive or even necessary if key parts were not so inaccessible and fragile, or so constructed that a small defect requires replacement of an entire large unit of the car.

By now some of these involuntary

expenditures imposed by the auto industry have become fairly familiar. Less well understood is the way in which many different products, including packaged food, soft drinks, and gasoline, are sold through incredibly expensive advertising of their brand names for which the consumer must bear the cost, but for which he receives nothing of additional value. The staff of Senator Hart's anti-trust committee estimates, moreover, that deceptive packaging and promotion in the food industry alone are causing consumers to lose \$14 billion a year, for example, by pushing the large "economy" sized boxes of food that in fact cost more per unit than medium sized boxes. Of course such expenses would not be involuntary for consumers who could set up their own experimental kitchens and prowl the supermarkets with scales and slide rules. But most families are simply

Until recently the involuntary subeconomy I have been describing has been the main concern of the consumer movement. The movement has had some limited success in improving regulatory action against deceptive sales practices and the safety standards of some products, notably cars, and in encouraging private litigation. Its main achievement has been to create an awareness among consumers that they are being gypped and endangered. But it has yet to devise the economic and political machinery that will counterbalance or deplete the power of corporations to impose involuntary expenditures. Meanwhile, however, the drive for consumer justice is extending its emphasis to less visible parts of the corporate economy where political influence, corporate backscratching, and the structure of industry itself all work to victimize the public, as we shall see by examining other subeconomies.

2. It is in the transfer sub-economy, for example, that the prices for goods and services may rise unconscionably as they move from the supplier of raw materials to the manufacturer, and then to the wholesaler, the retailer, and the consumer. The announcement of a price increase by the steel, aluminum, and copper industries concerns the White House economists far more than would a sudden increase in retail prices. It is not simply that a rise in the price of steel will cause a rise in the price of steel products. The economists know that such increases will escalate sharply as they pass from one shared monopoly or oligopoly of steel buyers and sellers to another, until they reach the consumer who may well have to buy his car or stove from an "exclusive dealer." To the extent that such price rises are unchecked by effective competition, consumer bargaining, public exposure, or government anti-trust standards at each stage of the economic process, it becomes easier to transfer costs all along the

At the moment, to take another example, air, rail, and truck cargo thefts are rising to epidemic proportions, causing losses of hundreds of millions of dollars each year. Most of these losses are being passed on to consumers who do not realize that they are paying for the cost of such pilferage and yet would be unable to challenge it in the courts or anywhere else if they did. Thus there is little pressure on the corporations to increase efforts to stop pilferage, instead of transferring the costs to the consumer

Sometimes pressures can be mounted to stop transfers of costs to the consumer. For years the insurance industry failed to encourage programs for fire and auto safety, preventive medicine, and pollution control, which would have helped to prevent huge losses from taking place. It preferred to pass on these costs to its unorganized and generally uncomplaining policy holders in the form of higher recognitions.

Recently, however, premiums for car insurance have become so high that many people cannot pay them, and those who can are becoming angry. At the same time, the public generally has been made more aware of auto safety. The insurance companies, more eager now to lower the damage claims for minor crashes, have decided at last to change their policies. They have lately been sharply critical of the auto industry for making overpowered engines and useless bumpers-and the auto manufacturers are beginning to respond. It now looks as if more functional bumpers may soon be replacing the ones I mentioned earlier; and by adding a surcharge to the insurance rates for high-powered "muscle cars," the insurance companies absurd machines.

The lesson of this story is that we can no longer depend, as classical market theory held, on consumer response alone to encourage efficiency and competition that will result in higher quality. In a complex multilayered economy it is necessary that countervailing economic power be brought to bear at each level of the buying and selling process, however remote from the consumer. This is the only way to prevent excessive transfers of costs and to encourage efficiency and innovation.

We are very far from such a situation now. When railroad and trucking groups obtain rate increases from the all too compliant ICC, the large supermarkets and other retail chains rarely say a word; they calmly transfer the new costs on to the consumer. Since most of the railroads and truckers raise their rates uniformly, the supermarkets have no choice among competing transport services; and so the consumer is forced to pay the bill.

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3. Both sub-economies I have mentioned so far are facilitated by the controlled market sub-economy. By this I mean the thousands of arrangements that make it possible for corporations to avoid competition over the price, quantity, and quality of things made and sold, so that the value of what buyers receive is often outrageously distorted, by comparison with what the value would be if the market was not controlled.

Many of the practices in this subeconomy are violations of the antitrust, laws that have become both familiar and tolerated: price fixing, product fixing for example the autoindustry's entrenchment of the internal combustion engine shared monopolies, etc. They also include other barriers toentry into the market such as excessive restrictions on occupational licenses, oil import quotas, the tying up of patents, and other devices that blatantly serve special economic interests while causing consumers and workers to suffer losses.

How much do they lose? The Federal Trade Commission has estimated that if highly concentrated industries were broken up by the anti-trust laws into more competitive companies so that the four largest firms in any industry would not control more than 40 percent of that industry's sales, prices would fall by 25 percent or more. This estimate applies to such major industries as autos, steel, copper, aluminum, containers, chemicals, detergents, canned soups, cereals, Nevertheless the figure represents only a small proportion of the unjustifiable costs to the consumer that result from the controller regt.

It is not just a question of price fixing. Concentrated industries can for years resist the innovations that would make them more efficient. The basic oxygen furnace was not used by the big steel firms until 1963, thirteen years after it was developed by a small Austrian steel company. The controlled market, moreover, blocks the individual or small business inventors who are still the source of so many of the really new techniques in our society.

Such inventors find that their chances of entering the market or selling their work to established companies are dim when their ideas would not only serve the consumer but also disturb existing capital commitments or ways of doing business: thus we cannot have a humane and efficient transportation system, nor can we buy engines that cause less pollution, can openers that prevent tiny metal fragments from falling into the can's contents, safer power lawn mowers, and countless other inventions that exist but are not produced. Think of the benefits to the consumer if the computer industry vigorously developed a computerized consumer information system to make more intelligent choices possible in the market place. Or of the uses to which Comsat might be put if it were freed from the heavy hands of the AT&T monopoly complex that controls it.

But the major corporations will go to fantastic lengths to avoid competition over value. The merchandising in the supermarkets attempts to substitute elaborate games of chance, trading stamps, coupons, and other ginimicks for all of which the consumer finally pays for decisions based on the price and quality of the goods themselves.

The price and quality of goods and services are also distorted by what might be called "mini-monopolies" Millions of consumers throughout the country have little choice except to use the only bank or finance company or pharmacy in their town. In company towns they must use the company store. Many specialty markets, such as hospital equipment or drugs, are monopolized by one or a few firms, making competition all the more impossible. Even the legally sanctioned monopolies, such as public utilities, usually manage to regulate the public agencies that are supposed to regulate them. The effect on the consumer is the same as if these businesses were private monopolies illegally controlling the market.

Another example of the controlled economy that we all live with-and for the most part tolerate-is the manipulation of zoning by corporations so as to control the use of land. Zoning boards were originally supposed to bring the exploitation of land under democratic control. In most cases, in fact, large corporations and other powerful real estate interests are able to pressure zoning authorities into granting land restrictions, or obtaining "variances" from existing regulations, that are profitable to them. One frequent result is "snob" zoning designed to exclude people who would depress land values or inhibit speculation.

4. Such an example brings us to the corporate socialism sub-economy which includes both a) corporate pressure on government to unjustifiably transfer public funds and privileges to corporate control and b) withholding of proper payments and other obligations from the government by the corporations that owe them.

The tax system has become, to a disgraceful degree, an indirect subsidy to corporations and other privileged groups. Many of the glaring tax loopholes that slip through Congress each year are in effect huge payments by the government of money it would otherwise have received: for example the depletion allowances for oil and minerals, the tax dodges allowed to the real estate, timber, and cattle industries, the uses of the capital gains tax that favor the very rich. Thanks to the oil depletion allowance, among other loopholes, the Atlantic Richfield Oil Company, to take an extreme example, had a net income of \$797 million, while paying no federal tax whatever, from 1962 until 1968, when it paid at the rate of 1.2 percent.

These "tax expenditures" by the federal government have their local counterparts in the gross underpayment of property taxes by mineral companies, real estate developers, and commercial and industrial property owners. A preliminary estimate shows that local taxpayers are paying a subsidy of at least \$7 billion a year to such interests when they allow them to evade property taxes. Of course municipal and county services such as schools, roads, hospitals, and garbage disposal also suffer as a result.

As we might expect, Texas provides excellent examples of such underpayment of property taxes. A recent survey by University of Texas Law School students shows that underassessment of the value of oil and gas properties belonging to Texaco, Shell, and Atlantic Richfield in one part of west Texas caused county taxes for homeowners and small businessmen to be 33 percent higher than they should have been. Over a period of seven years, a county school board in the region lost \$7 million in taxes that it should have collected. Another inquiry by law students showed that in Houston, Texas, industrial and commercial properties are assessed at about 13 percent of fair market value, while residential property is assessed at 31.94

In Gary, Indiana, the tax situation i. shocking. Mayor Hatcher, in an attempt to meet the city's financial crisis, has ordered all city agencies to cut their budgets, including the budget for education. The big company in Gary is US Steel. Between 1961 and 1971 its property assessment only rose from \$107 million to \$117 million, although during that period the company installed \$1.2 billion worth of capital improvements. US Steel refuses to allow the city authorities to examine its books and it refuses to apply for building permits, as required by city law, because this would reveal the size of its taxable investment.

US Steel is able to get away with all this because it exerts raw corporate power in a company town. It is not in any way unusual. Timber companies in Maine, mine owners in Appalachia, paper mills and chemical plants in cities and towns that depend on them for employment—all flagrantly evade the constitutional provisions in their states for equal treatment under property taxes.

Before national priorities can even be determined, it is crucial that Congress and the public know how

The Joint Economic Committee is now making its own analysis of tax expenditures and is publishing its findings. There is some hope that an annual tax expenditure budget may become a reality during this session of Congress.

But a tax expenditure budget will be only a beginning of a reform of the tax system, for the pressures from private interests and from the executive itself to increase tax subsidies are bound to continue. Under the Constitution Congress supposedly has the power to control priorities through the tax system, but this power is being eroded. Recently, for example, the Treasury Department without any Congressional authorization i ued its new proposals-the "ADR system"-for allowing depreciations for tax purposes. This system would allow fast write-offs of business equipment without any relation to the useful life of such equipment-the traditionally accepted measure of depreciation for tax purposes.

ADR would mean a tax subsidy to business of over \$3 billion a year—more than Nixon's welfare reform proposals (which would cost \$2.1 billion). More than a dozen tax authorities, including the former Commissioner of Internal Revenue and experts



much money is being spent by the government through the tax system. Tax expenditures now amount to roughly \$45 billion a year but there is no systematic way of knowing precisely how much is being spent for what purposes. Some tax expenditures have worthy aims, such as the deduction for contribution to pensions, but it is rarely considered whether such deductions are the most desirable or easy ways to achieve these aims. Others, such as deductions for medical expenses, seem useful but are in fact regressive, allowing the same percentage of deduction to rich and poor alike. Others, as we have seen, are merely subsidies for the rich, particularly the capital gains tax and the allowances for accelerated depreciation of property.

of property.

What is needed, first of all, is an annual federal tax expenditure budget which will show exactly how much money the government loses for each tax privilege that is granted and just where that money goes instead. Recently there has been bipartisan support for such an analysis. Senators Javits and Percy have sponsored a bill to include a tax expenditure analysis in the annual budget report. Senator Chiles has introduced a similar bill.

from the Harvard, Yale, and Pennsylvania law schools, have stated that this multi-billion-dollar tax break is an illegal use of Presidential power. It remains to be seen whether the Congress or the courts will declare it invalid.

The direct subsidies paid for agriculture, shipping, business promotion, and "research" are quite as important—and as much neglected by Congress—as the indirect subsidies paid by the tax system. The Department of Agriculture, for example, is now spending over \$4 billion each year for its subsidy programs. Who evaluates these payments and the reasons for making them? As it happens, big corporate farms receive the lion's share and Congress does not question the inequities that result.

Agriculture is only one sector of this sub-economy where hard questions must be asked if the public usefulness of existing tax dollars is to be improved. The inflated contract and procurement practices of the government are another. Thanks to Senator Proxmire and others, the public has at least begun to learn of the waste and mismanagement in defense contracting, and the consequent multi-billion-dollar "cost-overruns" that have become

commonplace-e.g., the \$2 billion overrun paid Lockheed for the C5A. But who is looking into the waste in other government contracting-from the leasing of buildings at inordinate cost to the billions of dollars paid for research in "think tanks" and advice from private consulting firms such as A. D. Little, Booz Allen, and hundreds of lesser known outfits, not to mention the hundreds of studies done for HUD, HEW, DOT? Many of these studies are worthless, expensive, used mainly to delay policy decisions and to get the agencies who commission them off the hook. Others are wholly

If only the grossest forms of waste

and corruption in federal, state, and local procurement practices were investigated and eliminated many billions of dollars would be saved and political life itself would get a badly needed shake-up, especially in local politics where procurement procedures are generally antiquated and enmeshed in the spoils system. Over a decade ago the Blatnik Subcommittee of Congress uncovered extensive corruption in highway building programs in states throughout the country; during the last two years officials in New Jersey were arrested for receiving kickbacks from construction contracts and the purchase of supplies. It would be hard to find a state in which similar (if sometimes less egregious) procurement practices involving bribery, campaign contributions, wasteful patronage, and corruption of officials are not costing millions to the taxpayers.

Some idea of how much money is being wasted in local procurement can be gained from a recommendation made to the states two years ago by the General Services Administration, the purchasing and housekeeping agency of the federal government. The GSA suggested that state and local governments cooperate in setting up systems of centralized purchasing direct from manufacturers, thus bypassing the 20 to 30 percent mark-up of the wholesalers. If they did this, they would save between \$6 and \$7 billion a year.

This recommendation was not followed, nor did the GSA pursue it. The wholesalers' trade association immediately launched a campaign against it in Congress, and the Bureau of the Budget suppressed this somewhat unexpected display of good sense by the GSA. The wholesalers' association has plenty of political muscle and uses it on all levels of government.

The great illusion of the public is

that it is protected by the conscience of public officials, when in fact aggressive monitoring of these officials and those they deal with is constantly needed. Even tax funds used directly for medical care are funneled unscrupulously to prosperous doctors and use them for unauthorized purposes. Herbert S. Dennenberg, the Insurance Commissioner of Pennsylvania, stated recently that the "Medicare Program is resulting in the American people being overcharged billions of dollars a year"-a conclusion that has been confirmed by Congressional inquiries and independent studies.

5. Unlike the other aspects of the economy that have been discussed here, the compulsory consumption subeconomy is not part of any recognized system of economic exchange-but it has grave economic effects. I am referring to the compulsory consumption of environmental pollution and compulsory exposure to occupational health and safety hazards. These reduce the quality of the gross national product and thus diminish the value of the citizen's dollar, even when they do not directly compel people to pay for medical treatment, for example. We are just beginning to calculate the billions

of dollars that pollution costs in damages to health, in cleaning costs, and in damage to property, resources, and agricultural crops. Air and water pollution are each costing at least \$14 billion a year. (The yearly damage to California crops alone from air pollution runs to \$45 million a year.) The costs to the unborn, or to the environment in the future, have not even been estimated

Safety and health hazards on jobs in factories, foundries, mines, and other work places are also a form of compulsory consumption. They now cause three times as many injuries as street crime: 15,000 sudden deaths last year, uncounted thousands of deaths resulting from occupational disease, 2.5 million disabling injuries, several million cases of less serious injuries and illness. (These figures are necessarily inadequate—how does one estimate when a case of black lung disease becomes bad enough to be included in the statistics of a given year?)

Clearly the forced comsumption of pollution—gases, chemicals, coal and cotton dust—is a silent and sometimes invisible form of violence which compels people to pay insurance, medical, and other costs, including the loss of wages. The polluting corporations inflict these burdens on workers when, for only a fraction of the money they force others to pay, they could have prevented much of the pollution in the first place. (This is patently true in the case of dust control in coal mines,

tile mills, and foundries, for ample, where a small investment would prevent brutal physical damage to workers.)

The power of corporations to pollute, in short, is far too great for them to exercise responsibly. General Motors, by virtue of the engines it designs and the plants it operates, has been responsible for over 30 percent of the estimated tonnage of US air pollution. Is there any city street where the citizen can escape the pollution of GM engineering when he breathes? Between 1967 and 1969 GM spent \$250 million to change its slogan on billboards, dealers' signs, and other promotional material to read "GM Mark of Excellence." With the same funds it could have easily developed a workable nonpolluting engine.

We may expect two developments to occur if certain industries in both the compulsory and the controlled subeconomies are successfully challenged in the market and by public protest. First, many industries would be displaced or diminished as superior technologies are invented and sold on their merits. Cleaner and cheaper sources of energy for cars and power plants, for example, will increasingly pose the threat of displacement to large industries. So will safer and more effective non-chemical methods of pest control eventually diminish the chemical pesticides industry.

Second, new services are already emerging to show be reduce telephone, utility, and insurance bills, for example, hese services give advice that the big companies should be providing themselves. They also show how to avoid dealing with middlemen who now stand between the producer and seller of a product or service, thus reducing costs now passed on to the consumer. Recently a small company was started to give advice to users of Xerox machines on how to save moncy by buying ink, paper, and other items independently, rather than through the Xerox company; and on how to obtain the most efficient service with the best combination of reproduction machines, something the Xerox company itself fails to point

These, it should be said, are just the kinds of changes that are called for by the theory of capitalism; they are what Joseph Schumpeter, perhaps the leading theoretician of the capitalist economy, had in mind when he wrote of the "creative destruction" of inferior or obsolete industries under capitalism.

But in fact, such developments are being discouraged and suppressed by politically entrenched corporate institutions.

6. The expendable sub-economy is composed mostly of poor people who are being excluded from the services of the economy at large. It is not simply that the poor pay more: they are not being allowed to buy. In Washington, Baltimore, New York, in fact in every large city, insurance and banking firms commonly "red line"-or refuse to do business with-people in the poor districts. What has happened is that Fortune's Five Hundred largest corporations have decided that they have less and less need for the business of the poor. But by cutting off the funds needed for housing, for financing small business, and for municipal bonds in the low income areas of the cities, the banks and other lenders are causing the deterioration of the urban economy and injuring the well-being of millions of people.

The government, moreover, has become a willing partner in such discrimination. It provides fast tax write-offs for airplanes, computers, bulldozers, and trucks, causing loan money to flow in these directions and not toward loans to the poor and those who have more urgent needs. It provides tax inducements for slum landlords who are allowed to depreciate slum property at an accelerated rate and to pay capital gains taxes on profits from sales—a process which is quickly repeated by the next slum landlord.

The federal government artificially restricts the money supply in order to control inflation. It should ensure that all segments of the borrowing public be given equitable treatment so far as restrictions on borrowing are concerned. Several methods are available to accomplish this. One is to provide for different Federal Reserve Board requirements for different kinds of loans. Such reserve requirements specify the percentage of their demand deposits which banks must set aside at the District Federal Reserve banks For example, the FRB could require a reserve requirement of 5 percent against residential loans and one of 20 percent against nonproductive corporate loans, such as loans to conglomerates to acquire yet another company. Reserve requirements can be used in this way to encourage loans to sectors of the economy badly in need of funds.

Another method would be to link certain kinds of deposits to certain kinds of loans. For example, savings and loan association deposits are now required by law to be used heavily for housing loans. Banks have similar deposits—so-called "time deposits" by individuals. In return for the benefits they receive from the federal ceilings on interest rates, as well as from other government programs, the banks could be required to make time deposits available when there is a shortage of funds for home mortgages and home construction.

and home construction.

Like so many of the other economic forces I have dealt with here, the banking system needs systematic surveillance and is not getting it. Banks in New York City, for example, often encourage industrial mergers which result in deposits being transferred to New York from regional or local banks all over the country. These regions find their local banks drained of funds, unable to extend credit, and the local economies suffer as a result.

Not long ago the large New York conglomerate called Teledyne Inc., a customer of the First National City Bank, bought up the Monarch Rubber Co. in Hartville, Ohio. The banks in Canton, Ohio, lost Monarch's deposits and its \$2.5 million pension fund to National City. Money that should have been available for local borrowing was siphoned off to New York. The usual solution in such cases is for the local

businessmen to appeal to Washington to come to the rescue-at the tax-payer's expense.

Apologists for the present corporate system will argue that the subeconomies I have described so generally here are justified because they support industries, create jobs, generate income. But it should be clear that their operations and the kinds of needs they satisfy are, to a great extent, neither desirable nor socially responsible; in many cases they are not legal. A safer traffic system would no doubt weaken the accident-injury industry, and that is as it should be. For most of this century there has been declared a national consensus in favor of competition, as well as numerous laws designed to encourage it, but both have been for the most part betrayed. When they have not, the benefits for the citizen have been dramatic.* Indeed each of the subeconomies I have described subverts values that are deeply rooted in American life.

What has been tragic is the general failure to understand how this has occurred. Fundamentally new ways must be found to make both government and corporations accountable. We should pursue the suggestion already made by some social critics for a "social accounts system" which would enable government and citizens to evaluate whether programs of education, medicine, and transportation, for example, were improving or deteriorating in quality. (The current inclusion of such activities in the gross national product has nothing whatever to say about their quality.)

Similarly computers should be made directly available to the citizen, and should be accessible both at shopping centers and by telephone. Such a cheap and simple source of information, which would give advice on the quality of products and of government and private services, could do much to squeeze the waste and deception out of the economy and give value to the dollar.

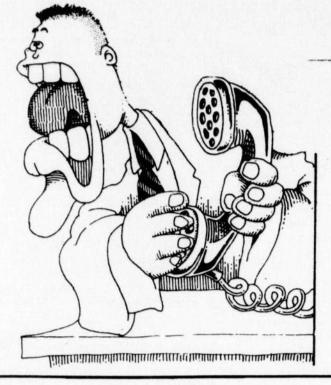
Senator Philip Hart has estimated that of the \$780 billion spent by consumers in 1969, about \$200 billion purchased nothing of value. By nothing of value he meant just that: over \$45 billion was drained away by monopolistic pricing, for example, and over \$6 billion by oil import quotas which drive up the prices of fuel oil and gasoline. His estimate, and it is only a preliminary one, shows how crucial is the need to evaluate how corporate and government wealth is being used—or misused—for individual and social purposes.

Such evaluations simply have not been made in our corporate political economy-not by our blinkered economists, certainly, and not by the government or the corporations themselves. Indeed the corporations have effectively blocked both the govern ment and independent researchers from collecting and analyzing such information. Even the data on pollution must be fought for if it is to be extracted from corporations by government agencies and individuals bringing law suits. The task of the consumer movement now is to gather and analyze and disseminate this type of information by demanding it from the three branches of government and by mounting private actions by consumer groups to publicize it. Such information is the currency of economic democracy, the first tool for changing the perception of citizens and society

*Last year a new supermarker chain broke into the complacent food market of Washington, D.C., long dominated by three major chains. This episode and a detailed FTC report on monopolization of food prices in the Washington, D.C., area, according to an FTC report, saved Washington consumers \$40 million in reduced prices in one year.

UCSD 453-2000

EMERGENCY:



CHEAP N	MEALS
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FREE Vegetarian Lunch at the Krishna Temple, 3300 3rd Av. 1:30 p.m. (every day) TUES:

19¢ Spaghetti Dinner at the Pennant, 2893 Mission Blvd. WED:

25¢ Dinner at the Lutheran Church Center, 5863 Hardy St. 40¢ Spaghetti Dinner at Maynards, 701 Garnet Ave. (PB) 488-9393

50¢ Mexican Plate at Tugs, 4650 Mission Blvd. (PB) 488-5822

THURS:

SAT: 40¢ Chicken & Rice Plate at May-

at Maynards

40¢ Mexican Plate

nards

FRI:

SUN: 40¢ Breakfast (Spanish Omelet) at Maynards, 701 Garnet Av

(PB) 488-9393 50¢ Plate at the Poor House 4727 University Av. 280-1480

FREE 10 Course Vegetarian Feast at the Krishna Temple 3300 3rd. Av. 4:00

INFORMATION:

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* Triton Times	#1016	453-872
OB Rag		224-934
Door		233-96
Good-by To All That		295-360
Up From The Bottom		286-646
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* KSDT	#1155	453-122
KPRI 106.5 FM		232-717
KDEO 910 AM		583-530
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4950 Newport (Ocean Be	each)	
Ken (60¢)		283-590
4061 Adams Ave. (Kensi	ngton)	
Clairemont (49¢)		274-090
4140 Clairemont Mesa Da		
Unicorn		459-434
7456 La jolla Blvd.		
Acacia (Solana Beach)		755-9719
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Associated Students	#1913	
Students Ed. Change &		450 000
Development Center	#2416	453-338
Vending Machine Refunds	#2605	
Housing Office	#2021	

EMERGENCI.		
* University Police	#1333	453-2671
Ambulance		232-6981
Fire Dept.		232-8191
Calif. Highway Patrol		283-6331
S.D. Police (North Division	on)	238-7373
S.D. Police (North Division San Diego County Sheriff		232-3811
DRUG & MEDICAL HELP:		
* Student Health Center	#1346	453-2697
	41940	453-3400
Scripps Hosiptal		
University Hospital		291-3330
Beach Area Free Clinic		488-9275
The Inbetween		223-9784
S.D. Poison Information C	enter	239-3018
Methadone Narcotics treat	tment	
LEGAL HELP		
Beach Area Free Clinic		488-0275
Defenders Inc.		234-8467
		232-4342
Legal Aid		
ACLU		223-3863
Welfare Rights		264-3434
HELP FOR WOMEN:		
Abortion and Pregnancy In	form.	276-9320
The Woman's Center		234-0235
Planned Parenthood (men,	too)	273-7473
DRAFT & VETERANS & GI	c.	
* Selective Ser. & Vet. Aff.	#1945	
Draft Information		276-8866
Draft Resistance		273-7473
SCHOOLS AND DAYCARE:		
* UCSD Day Care Center	#2891	/
Pepper Canyon School		459-2719
Del Mar Hills Nursery Sch	ool	755-8338
OB Community School		222-2255
Exploring Family School		263-5249
Mission Bay Montessori		200-3213
GROUPS:		
Asian Amer. Students ALL	#1049	
Black Students Union	#1167	
MECHA	#1917	
Women's Liberation		755-3006
Jewish Students Union		
	#1:310	753-6693
United Native Americans	#1318	
Young Socialist Alliance		755-7210
S.D. Convention Coalition		234-8231
Non-Violent Action		234-5071
Zero Population Growth		291-4650
People's Food Co-op		755-3863
Welfare Rights		264-3434
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EL CAJON HEALTH CENTER 113 E. DOUGLAS AVE., EL CAJON EVERY MONDAY 1:00 - 4:00 p.m.

NORTH SAN DIEGO HEALTH CENTER 2440 GRAND AVE., SAN DIEGO EVERY THURSDAY 1:00-4:00p.m.

Radical Republicans

459-5603

OCEANSIDE HEALTH CENTER 104 So. BARNES St., OCEANSIDE EVERY WEDNESDAY 1:00-4:00p.m.

NIGHT

SOUTHEAST SAN DIEGO HEALTH CENTER 3!77 OCEANVIEW BLVD., SAN DIEGO EVERY WEDNESDAY 5:30-8:30p.m.

EAST SAN DIEGO HEALTH CENTER 52nd & UNIVERSITY AVE., SAN DIEGO EVERY MONDAY 5:30-8:30p.m.

NO CHARGE - CONFIDENTIAL - NO APPOINTMENT