

# Crazy Times

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Volume two

Number seven

**'VIETNAMIZATION':**



**PROLONGED WAR**

# trite on times

University of California, San Diego

## TRASH SPILLED

Last night seven trash cans were tipped over in the Reville Plaza. Reville Dean Tom Hall attributed this act of vandalism to the water balloon fight that occurred in the neighboring dorms.

The water fight began when some Argo residents began flinging water balloons towards Atlantis. Students from Atlantis took immediate offense and returned fire. Eventually every dorm joined in on the fight.

At some point in the water balloon fight several students decided to tip over trash cans. Nobody knows just how it started. But eventually seven trash barrels were emptied.

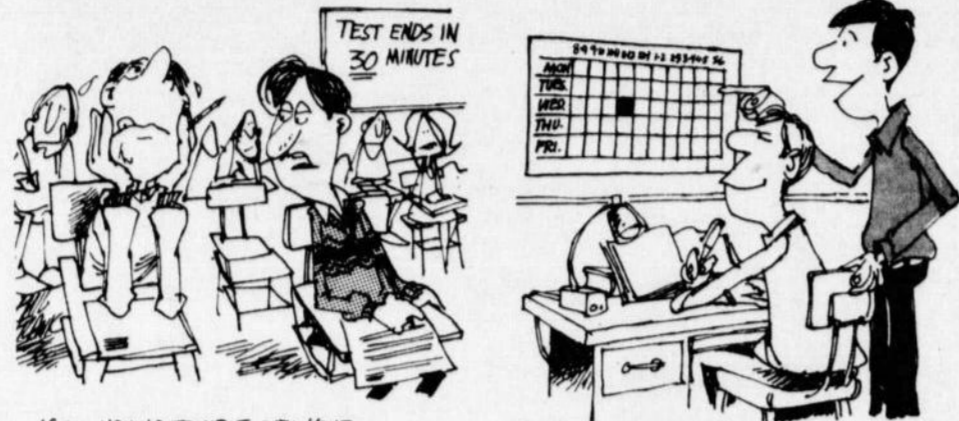
The damage done to the trash cans was negligible. However, several of the dorm students studying for finals complained that their studying was 'disrupted' by all the noise. A student representative of the Reville College Council declared that if necessary "the whole DIMENSION staff would be armed with pea shooters to quell any future reoccurrences." Resident Dean Ernie Mort stated that he would "support those students who were abused by the 'Radical' elements on campus.

This morning the A.S. council met in an emergency session. Although there wasn't a quorum (only three members of the council were informed of the meeting) those present passed a resolution condemning the wanton terrorism associated with water balloon fights and trash can spilling. Members of the Council vowed to pass further resolutions if the first resolution was not heeded. A.S. President Paul Kaufman explained the A.S. action

by stating his support for 'academic freedom'. Noting that although the A.S. resolution would probably be ignored by an apathetic student body, Kaufman emphasized his belief that the A.S. should nevertheless take an affirmative stand on "important issues". When questioned over the unusual procedure the was used in calling the A.S. meeting Kaufman declined comment noting that he felt inclined to exercise his academic freedom by not answering the question asked in a straight forward manner.

An unnamed spokesman for the Green Devils, a secret society who spends much of its time tipping over trash cans insisted that there was no political motivation behind the water balloon fight.

In response to the Green Devils' statement, Jim Sills, a member of the Committee to End All Water Balloon Fights charged that the Green Devils was a Communist Front. He cited the 'fact' that the Green Devils were attempting to destroy the moral fiber of America's youth. And that this was ample evidence that they were Communist inspired. Karl Keating another member of the Committee declared that if the Green Devils had been required to take his Contemporary Issues class and had become thoroughly versed in Buckley Thought, they would be aware that their actions could only result in a Communist take over of our "FREE" society. He added that he felt that "water balloon fights should be illegal and that those who lark in them should be persecuted, prosecuted, convicted, and jailed."



'STILL HAVING TROUBLE WITH YOUR NAME AND SECTION NUMBER?' 'SAAY... THAT'S NOT A BAD CLASS SCHEDULE!'

## Commie Comm-Board

J. L. Sells

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

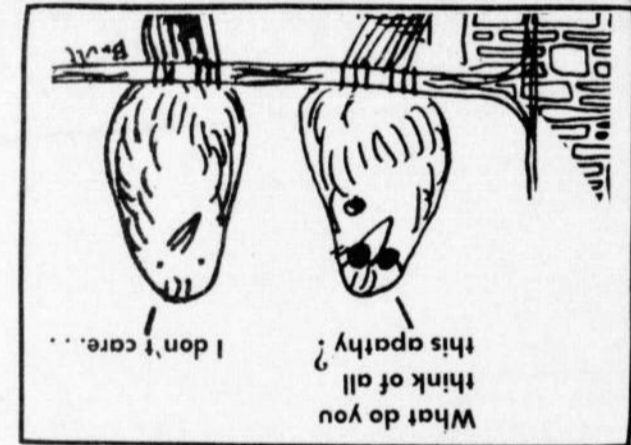
The \$2,000 dollar cut was made despite the directive from the Registration Fee Committee that the "official" media, Triton Times and the radio station, be fully funded. This would mean no money for less responsible publications such as the Crazy Times.

However, the Commie 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 Comm-board 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 present allocation by the Comm-board of \$20,500 for the Triton Times is inadequate. This

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 questionnaire 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 Triton Times budget and forget about allocating money to the less popular journals.



There are environmental and humanitarian aspects to the question also. If the only contradiction between the authorities and the rebellious youth was caused by a friendly party raid, there would be less gasolin pollution and destruction to human resources. And let us not forget a very important aspect of this solution—without the necessity to worry about social injustice, there is more time to participate in good wholesome fun. There's no need to worry. The world will take care of itself. Just look at where we are today.



For those of us who have put some intelligent thoughts into the subject, there is only one possible cause for this apathy. There is only one solution to this problem. It is not so much nostalgic as it is a desire to return to something meaningful. Imagine hundreds, nay thousands of excited undergraduates cheering on the contestants in the annual gold fish swallowing contest. Consider the desirability of attending your weekly first meeting. This puts things in their proper perspective. Expectations are on a more local level, which makes them more readily gratified. Positive reinforcement in turn not only makes the worth while, but encourages one to carry on.

Today's college student, for all his radicalism and superior intelligence over his elders, has failed to purge his soul of a very large gap in his intellectual superstructure. Student apathy still reigns supreme on the campuses of higher education across the country. It may even be that apathy runs deeper today than it did way back then. One wonders, with all the problems in the world today, why the new youth has not been able to come up with the answers. Perhaps it is the methodology employed. After all, sitting on your ass or clouding your mind with marijuana and numbing tired worn out rhetoric does little to solve anything, let alone a complicated social problem.

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

by Norm Lonely

## Apathy: Rage on Campus

U.C. San Diego

DON'T GET THE IDEA THAT I'M ONE OF THESE  
GODDAM RADICALS. DON'T GET THE IDEA THAT  
I'M KNOCKING THE AMERICAN SYSTEM.  
AL CAPONE, 1929.

# DEMENTED

# Crazy Times

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## 'VIETNAMIZATION':



PROLONGED WAR

# 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 bomb tonnage dropped in Vietnam since Nixon took office is double the amount that was dropped in all of World War II. The use of anti-personnel 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 when entering and once imbedded, 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 there relocation 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 corporate 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 withdrawal.

## 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 him.

When McElroy arrived, 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 opposition to the war, and do what he can to end war research, he will gain the confidence and respect of the UCSD community.



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

# VET ACTION 4-22

There weren't too many people into civil disobedience last Saturday. There was for some, however, a greater feeling of frustration that could be satisfied by simply marching down the street. For these, some two or three hundred, the march did not end at MarArthur Park. Led by the Vietnam Vets Against the War and their red and white banner, this small group of people moved back onto Wilshire and marched the last five blocks to GOP headquarters.

The extra march did not have a permit, and so a number of fatigued GIs raced up and down the column telling people where we were going and how we were going to get there. We moved out quickly and obeyed the traffic signals so that there would be no disruption. 'Stay together!...Stragglers get picked off...you guys out to know that!'

Cadence echoing between the tall buildings brought surprised people out of stores and offices. Other chants including: One two three four, We don't want your fucking war,' which had been changed to 'fascist' for the main march, eased out tension.

Nobody, especially us, knew what was going to happen. The first black and white drove by after three blocks. They began pulling in side streets after four. We double timed the last block and crowded together in front of GOP headquarters. There was this insane moment as we all realized, 'Hey, here we are. What in hell do we do now?' There was a lot of noise and then the sound of breaking glass. Uniforms began to appear from three sides and many marchers who had not expected such action panicked slightly.

The GIs showed combat cool by getting people regrouped and headed back towards MacArthur. We made it back with no arrests or other casualties and a growing satisfaction with the success of this symbolic act. That satisfaction became a rush when 20,000 people rose to their feet to greet us.

It was such a downer when one of the guys in the band said, 'Hey, man, you cut us off in the middle of our song.' I just shook my head. Someone shouted 'Fuck the music, let's hear the speakers.' And for the next few hours, that's what we all did.

# ANTI-WAR COALITION

On Tuesday night, 7:30 pm, a meeting called by the Women's Liberation Front (WLF) to raise the war as an important issue on this campus was held. Members of other student organizations, including the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Crazy Times, and the Campus Mobilization Committee (CMC), attended the meeting. At the meeting the WLF put forth a proposal that called for some type of support for a national strike being organized by the National Student Association. The proposal noted that students at San Diego State, Mesa college and San Diego City College were organizing strike actions.

After an initially confusing discussion, the 35-40 people at the meeting also agreed to make May 4th a day of resistance and struggle against the war. People at the meeting further agreed to put forth an "anti-imperialist perspective." As expressed by one person at the meeting, "an anti-imperialist perspective calls for self-determination for all people." This means that every people has a right to control their own destiny and decide for themselves the manner in which they will organize their own society. With respect to Vietnam, anti-imperialism, in part, means recognition that American involvement in Vietnam: (1) places the needs of American corporate interests above the needs of the Vietnamese people, (2) violates the sovereignty of the Vietnamese people via American interference in the internal affairs of that country.

Among the issues raised at the meeting was War Research. People at the meeting noted that there are many UCSD professors and graduate students who do Department

of Defense funded research that has direct military application. Specifically mentioned was UCSD's War Research facilities at the Naval Electronics Lab (NEL). At NEL, the University of California operated Visibility Lab and Marine Physical Lab do much of the research that assists the U. S. Government in its efforts to overwhelm the Vietnamese resistance through the use of superior technology. At NEL a vast array of "electronic warfare" devices are developed. UCSD professors are a vital part of that research. One person referred to SS Penner and others who do war research as "murderers" and suggested that "action" be taken against those involved. As the meeting progressed, people saw a need to do some concrete organizing work. A committee was formed to investigate the War Research being done on this campus. Both Muir and Revelle student organized committees to oversee publicity at those respective campuses. It was also agreed that in accordance with the belief in self-determination for all people that Third World people should determine for themselves, how they would relate to any advance anti-war activities.

A proposal that would raise as an issue the fact that the Regents are considering doubling the student enrollment with no appreciable increase in the number of faculty members and TA's was also discussed. It was further noted that Nixon will be speaking on National TV Wednesday night. People were advised to look for any hints that an escalation of the war might be pending. It was suggested that people be ready to act against any further escalation.



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 which contributes to their destruction. The Vietnamese cannot succumb to their weariness and frustration. We must learn from their example.

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 anti-war 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 importance.

This 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 supranational giants with their international investments: General Motors, Bank of America, Chase Man-

hattan, and ITT. It is a democracy that lives on 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 any more than we can allow it to continue here.

We have been made aware of the racist and imperialist nature of the United States not only by the Vietnamese 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...



# HUNG JURY

Monty



"Great news! As of May 1, we will be known as 'emergency combat troops.'"

# WHY DO I 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 textbooks 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)

Sun. y lay 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 on his beat---nearly no one under the San Diego sun... No sailors or marines on the lawn smoking weed, No bells of Hari Krishna chanters dancing with bare feet, No ex-junkie Jesus Freaks with Revelation horror 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 tamed Longhairs back from cutting Cuban cane, No women spreading liberation, No never ending raps on Life and Death and Love... People's Square is empty, Horton Plaza's gone to Court.

Legal looking dark wood paneled walls, black plastic-leather Upholstered chairs...Courtroom fills amorphous, 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.

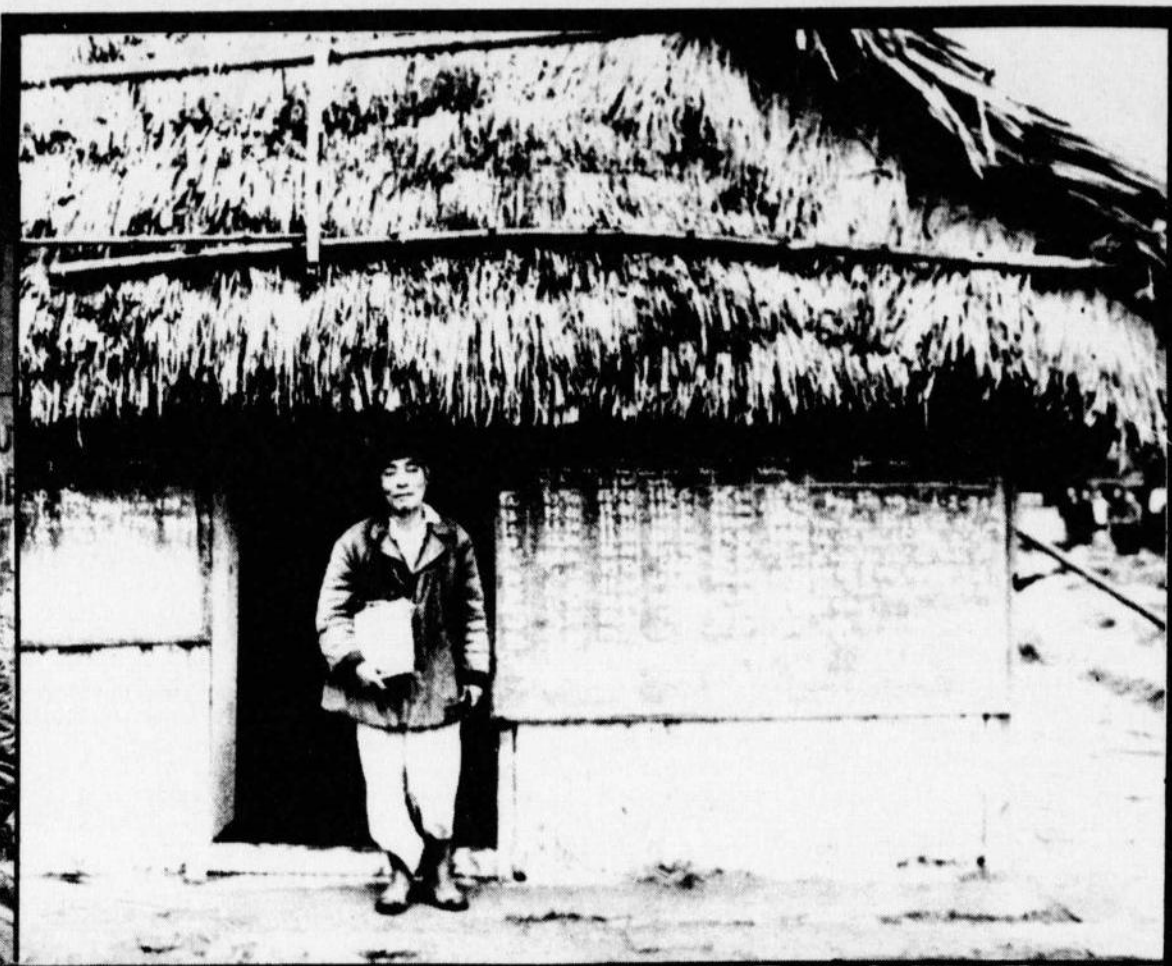
One O'clock. With cold metal law and order in the holster on his hip The Court Thug yawns, and grunts routinely: All rise, The Oinkerable Judge Hogsefats presuming over This gathering of undesirable elements of our Great Society's Wet Amerikan Dream...Amen yesmen, All be seated... Thy Order COME Thy 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 sentences are law. 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 Or unpatriotic, lawless, disregard For our Amerikan founding father's Sacred Museum Writings. Perhaps you'll be allowed to return to your Shambledown disgraceful homes and unkempt loved ones Perhaps paying a pittance 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?



# VIETNAM



where bombs fall

# CRISIS IN VIETNAM

BY STEVE

The renewed bombing of north Vietnam, the NLF's offensive in the South, and Nixon's recent statements that he will do "whatever is necessary" to defend the Thieu government raise the possibility of a new Vietnam crisis, 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 governments of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

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

It has been the fear of renewed NLF results 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 GPs, PX's, building contractors, and American bases. As these are withdrawn, millions of dollars are also withdrawn from the economy without 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 bomb, heading inevitably towards explosion.

A recent article in FOREIGN AFFAIRS magazine (which is closely tied to the American government and not likely to exaggerate) 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 his policies 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 omniscience. 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 incalculable 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 particularly 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 atmosphere of special horror which now surrounds the use of



This was the rationale for the invasion of Laos and Cambodia, and is partly the reason for the massive B-52 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 Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as a forward line, would continue to build its Asian empire in Thailand, Malaysia, and elsewhere. America would have saved face and proven its determination to stop "aggression".

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 campaign 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.

military difficulties could easily confront the 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. School-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, unions, 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 accounts, seems also to be facing a "triple process of disintegration, demoralization and disaffection". The widespread use of hard drugs, by a third or even half of the draftees, the growth of black militancy, of fragging, and insubordi-

nary weapons." Some of the war's closest observers, Hans Morgenthau, 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 aggression. 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 threatened 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, especially 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 the crisis 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 in the next few weeks, if enough demonstrations occur, if enough students mobilize, the U.S. government may finally be unable to escalate again.

# ECOLOGY OF THE WAR

War 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 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 studied with shrapnel that damage to saw

blades has become a serious problem for lumber mills.)

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-

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

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 country.

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 battle casualties."

Customer



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

# 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 promised 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 this released POWy where they

told lies about POW conditions. The Vietnamese believed that Nixon just wanted to 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 of a negotiated agreement for the withdrawal of U.S. forces. They gave a sealed letter to the labor officials to be delivered to Henry Kissinger, Nixon's foreign policy assistant.

The labor officials reported that the Vietnamese had lost all faith in Nixon. Just before they arrived in Hanoi, the U.S. had walked out of the Paris peace talks. Soon after the visitors departed, a major offen-

sive started against the Thieu regime in the south.

"I don't think a single American or Vietnamese should die to keep Thieu in power," Livingston told his union after he returned.

"Great numbers of American working people and their families who are suffering the anguish of having loved ones physically involved in the war and caught in the cruel economic 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 virtually demolished, a victim of the disorderly priorities and moral bankruptcy that can give billions for war but can't afford to pay teachers, staff hospitals or provide decent housing."

In Vietnam, the labor officials went deep into the countryside and met with many workers. At the mining harbor at Huong Bay, they saw tremendous devastation from U.S. bombing. The miners gave them each

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

1 — 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 military personnel 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 Nam.

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 formed.

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 in their occupations.

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 Viet Nam

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 contributions.

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 interference.

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 Nam.

South Viet Nam will pursue a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, establish 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 cooperation.

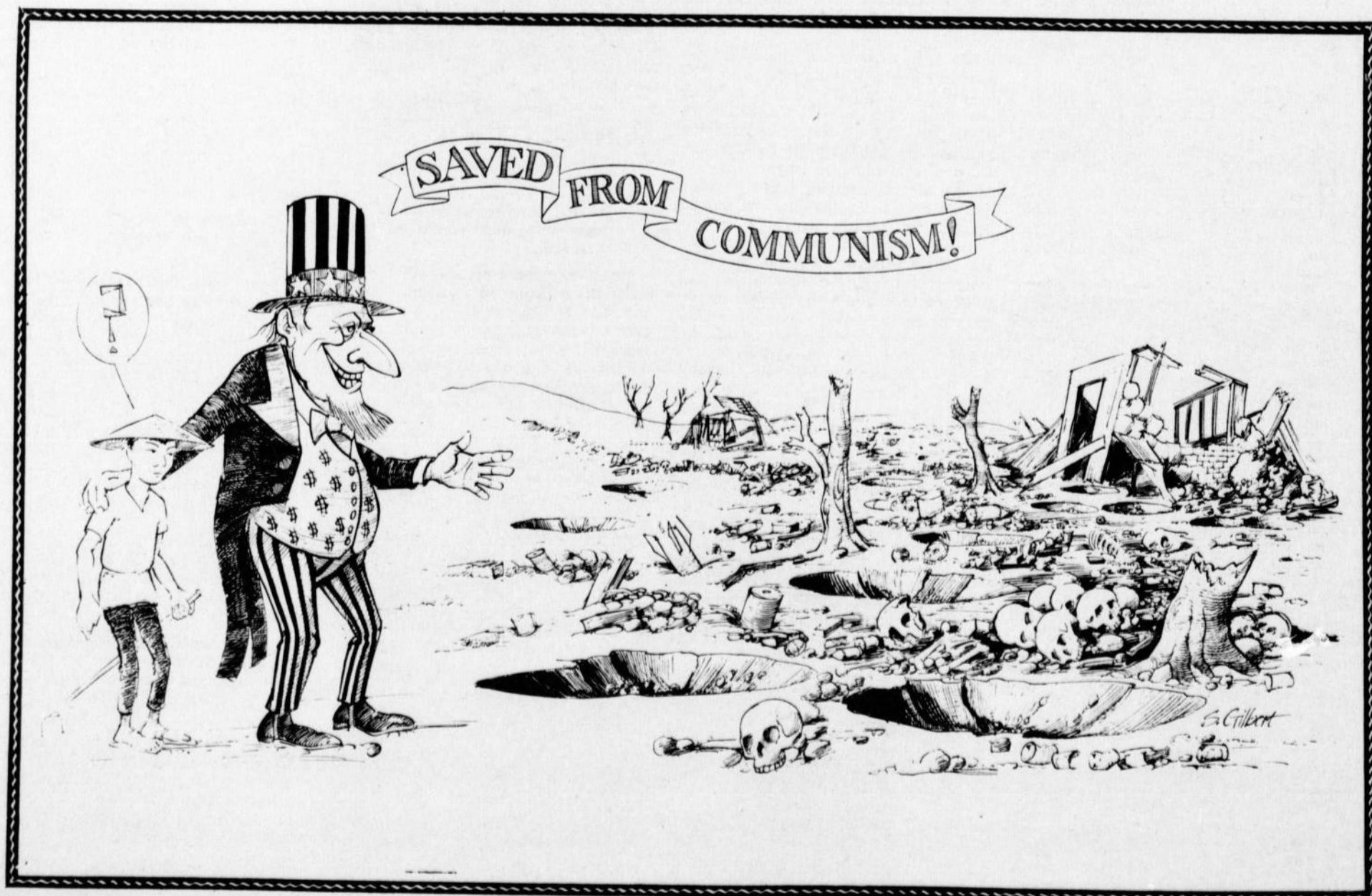
On the basis of these principles, after the end of the war South Viet Nam and the United States will establish relations in the political, economic and cultural fields.

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 concluded.





...the oppressed people of all countries  
ought to know on which side  
their true brothers are,  
and on which side their  
enemy--HO CHI MINH







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Movie Review

Surrealistic Spiritual Quest

By  
Brandon Wander

One of the comments posted outside 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 lost some of its edge. Initially I wasn't sure, the second time I liked its heat, but the critic didn't warn about the third time. Ahh you know how that Confucian saying goes, 'First the best, second the same, but third the--Blah, blah, blah.' That's what happened. Not suffering from shock, parts of the movie became soggy fortune cookies. No snap. But don't get me wrong, I'm still fascinated with 'El Topo'.

I dig paradox. Those exquisite tangles with an almost spiritual nature. The film is named by paradox, 'El Topo' (The Mole) is the metaphoric tag for a surrealistic cowboy's spiritual quest for fulfillment. 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 symphonic orchestra. If the outer fancy packaging is overcooked, the film's inside could be termed raw. Inedible and unintelligible—quite a combination. Quite unusual! Paradox is sometimes a prescription for insanity, and 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. Pacific iguanas, red balloons, satin undies, three transvestites, and Russian roulette: a little of this, too much of that. Under these conditions, teste frys south for the duration. It doesn't exist. Only Jodorowsky's imagination remains, flag-golating 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 loosely-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

with our black-suited, Manson hero traveling through a desert with a black umbrella, black horse, and naked seven year old son who just finished his manhood preliminaries. Riling into the ketchiest massacre since the tomato met Mr. Hsinz, he sets out after Whodunnit. Things don't tie together logically, but they do tie together. With oumpa music we glimmer three of the bad guys, a muskateer as 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 shoot-emupper, the Colonel and his fivs Hells Angel Cockettes, busily undoing another virgin village. Nightmare versions of Captain Beefhart and his Magic Band, they titillate comely young monks, exercise their machine guns 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 slows them all, castrating this Colonel in a weirdly moving scene. Earlier, in the Colonel's alter room, the blue-ribbon town woman assumed a beautifully spiritual pose around 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 this latter, more 'with it' than wierd, but the lyrical spiritual search is in danger of pneumonia, exposed to gay sheriffs, s'n dens, and phallic diversions.

The colonel plants himself at this cosmic 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 sa-

atically yippie statement. Jodorowsky turns everything inside out and against itself.

Speed combined with a turned-on visual firehose of relevant, irrelevant, and God knows why scenes swarp your judgment facilities like a thousand Lilliputian Mohammed Ali's. Lightning fast is an understatement. In one minute, with maybe three scenes, we're supposed to believe El Topo and Miss Bloody Breasts have been scourging the desert for months. Fat chance. Powerful ping, Fistful of Dollars music crashes into the image of them lying limp, buried in sand for no obvious reason. The voice-over says they've been doing this for months. And things like this keep happening, right up to the dramatic conclusion where El Topo is shot a few hundred times and nary an eyelash twitches.

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 pite forms, fully organic and unnatural.

El Topo rides in a cracker-jack, whirligig universe where the sequence of events is such that his equally unconventional and baffling responses are, in some sense, appropriate. Such an 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 between what he does and what he 'should' see. He's Alice through the Looking Glass time.

After trading the colonel's girl for his son, there's this business in the desert where he prays to God before raping her, proclaims his true love for her, and she says her love will only come if he beats the four masters in the desert. 'I want

a winner. Cheat if you have to.' Love only exists us long as he's the sweep-stakes 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 teddy-bear cost and vet lion, tells El Topo of his insane existence. 'The higher you go the deeper you fall.' 'In order to love you 'til, but in killing you can never have love.' '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. His comes upon thps dingy, sun-burned, grey braided hippie hermit with butterfly n-t and Johnny Weismuller underwear. The old seat can swat his bullets back at him with his tinsel net. This is confusing. Up and down 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 meaning 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 of travel in two minutes, eventually to be 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 chage 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 somzhw symbolizing he's a realized human being, the movie plops a final, deadly serious note. The pitch is always off, flat, or sharp. Here it is simply adding a final contradictory patch to an already crazy-quilted movie.

PRESS RELEASE - 11:00 a.m. Friday April 21, 1972 By SAN DIEGO CONVENTION COALITION  
PEOPLES' VICTORY  
GOP FLEES!

Nixon and the Republican Party cannot escape 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 the escalating terror 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 which brought the Convention here in the first place. This corruption has been shown to extend all the way from C. Arnholt Smith to the White House.

The certainty of massive demonstrations being organized by the Convention Coalition was a factor in driving the Republicans from San Diego. However, they cannot escape the protests of 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 the citizens of San Diego who opted TELEGRAM

The opportunity exists to confront both parties with the strongest possible demands to stop the 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 has been in existence for some months now, is presently engaged in a struggle that will test its flexibility and political leadership. The Coalition has been concerned not only with coordinating the national actions for this summer, but also, with forming a long range Movement organization in San Diego. This has not been an easy task.

The Coalition is made up of many individuals and groups. Certain broad basic political positions are clear, such as acceptance of the 7-point peace plan of the PRG and opposition to Nixon's economic oppression, exemplified by the "Wage Price" freeze and discrimination against minorities and women. How these goals will be put into action, however, has led to a great deal of debate. These debates continued, hour after hour, without formulating a clear political plan or working out the necessary details for August.

This is due to both internal and external struggles. The Coalition has been trying to maintain local control over a national event. 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 side effect of this effort, however, was to all but ignore the local picture. This was pointed out by the Ocean Beach Collective, who complained that few local people knew or had access to what the Coalition was doing. That situation is being corrected as the Coalition intensifies its local organizing.

In an attempt to merge both local and national interests, the Coalition is working towards an alliance of concerned constituencies. The guidelines for this alliance were drawn up at a Western Regional Conference at UCSB. Western Regional Conference at UCSB. These guidelines are: (1) "We support an end to Nixon's policies of political, economic, racial and sexual oppression." (2) "Building alliances with Third World Communities thru ... non-interference.... and .....assistance..."

(3) "an immediate end to all U.S. aggression and involvement in Indochina and support for the PRG 7 point plan for peace...."

(4) "we oppose all U.S. interference in the internal affairs of other countries."

(5) "The demonstrations we are planning for August should not be violent."

(6) "No party or presidential candidate will be pushed...this summer."

"These points, based on an anti-imperialist perspective will provide a focal point for uniting the many different constituencies represented in the conference in planning activities at the convention." It was decided that acceptance of the last two, as well as any one of the others, would be sufficient for participation in the alliance. In an effort to provide leadership, the Coalition recently moved on this goal. Two significant structural changes were made. One was to initiate constituency representation on a Steering Committee, the policy and decision making body. Although the question of who or what is a constituency is somewhat vague, so far labor, youth, religious and peace activists, women, Blacks, vets, students, professionals, and gays are represented. Also represented is the Co-

ordinating Body of the coalition. This group organizes and does the actual shi-work of the Coalition. Other constituencies will be added if and when they choose to work with the Coalition.

The other major change is that the Steering Committee has been given authority to make long range decisions and plans. Before this change, the policy making committee could only make emergency decisions. All others were brought before the General Body which meets on Saturdays. This was a very slow process and necessary decisions were not being made. The consolidation of power in the hands of a few was not considered ideal by all in the Coalition, although it has been recognized as unfortunately unavoidable if this August is going to be a meaningful political event. Representatives are chosen by and are res-



ponsible to their constituencies. However, the question of representative democracy was not thoroughly discussed.

Time is running out for the Coalition. Important plans for the demonstrations and other activities have yet to be made. This is partially due to the city's refusal to make firm commitments on land sites and other important questions. But it is also due to a lack of experience and leadership within the Coalition. For many it is their first involvement in a task of such complexity. The next convention will go much smoother. It is this one, however, that everyone is concerned about. What will happen here this summer will be decided in the next few months. After that it will be too late to turn around.

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 and good.  
By 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.

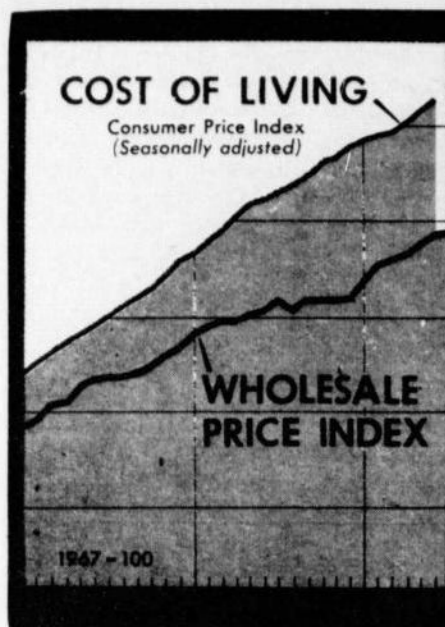


O Lord our Father, our young patriots, idols of our hearts, go forth to battle--be thou near them! With them--in spirit--we also go forth from the sweet peace of our beloved firesides to smite the foe. O Lord, Our God, help us tear their soldiers to bloody shreds with our shells; help us to cover their 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 unavailing grief; help us to turn them out roofless with their little children to wander unfriended the wastes of the desolated land in rags and hunger and thirst...

Mark Twain's "War Prayer" 1905

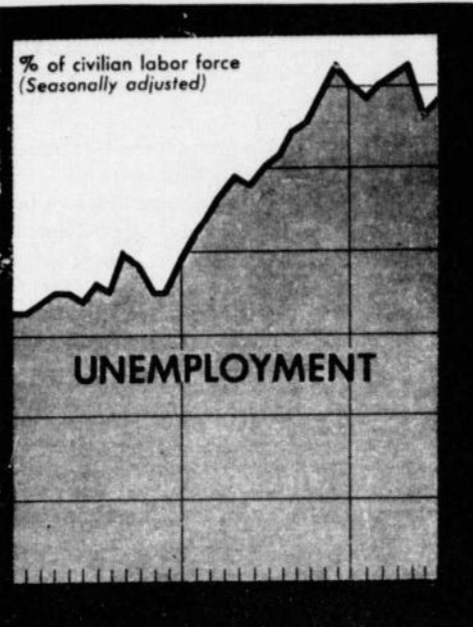
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NEEDS YOUR HELP!  
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AN HOUR OF VOLUNTEER WORK  
IT'S A COMMUNITY EFFORT



# 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 this crisis revealed about the effect on the American Economy, of the tremendous growth and consolidation of corporate power.

### I

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 Marshall. 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, i.e., 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 monetary 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 employment. 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.

### II

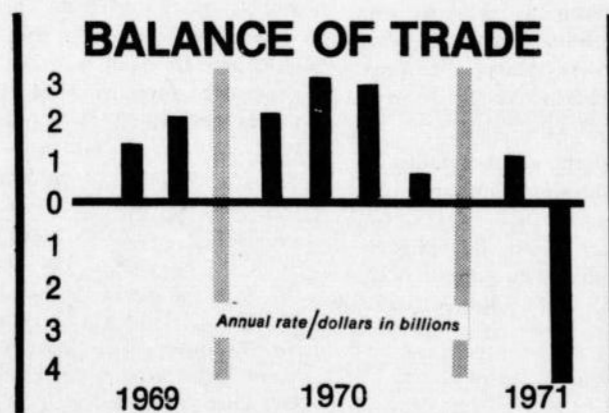
The Kennedy administration was committed to active governmental regulation of the economy. During the 1950's the Republicans had done nothing to bring the country out of the worst recession of the post war period. In 1958 unemployment reached 6.8% and real national income fell 1%. The economy was undoubtedly 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 success of these policies brought about a tremendous confidence in the American economy. The benefits of steady growth would finance immense 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 defeat 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 put labor 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. balance of trade.



It may seem paradoxical that the U.S. had been able to maintain a favorable balance 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 balance 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.

### III

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 laid 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 doesn'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 REPORT OF 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 decade—especially 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 phony.

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 economic 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.

I. 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 medicines, 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 yearly.

"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 "accident-injury 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 duped.

Until recently the involuntary sub-economy 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 gyped 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 sub-economies.

2. It is in the transfer sub-economy, for example, that the prices for goods and services may rise unconsciously 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 line.

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 premiums.

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 are driving down the sales of these 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 multi-layered 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 sub-economy are violations of the anti-trust laws that have become both familiar and tolerated: price fixing, product fixing for example the auto industry's entrenchment of the internal combustion engine shared monopolies, etc. They also include other barriers to entry 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 controlled market.

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 gimmicks 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 percent.

In Gary, Indiana, the tax situation is 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 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 issued 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.

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 over-run paid Lockheed for the CSA. 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 ignored.

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 drug companies, or to hospitals that use them for unauthorized purposes. Herbert S. Denenberg, 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 sub-economy* 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 consumption 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 example, 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 non-polluting engine.

We may expect two developments to occur if certain industries in both the compulsory and the controlled sub-economies 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 businesses how to reduce telephone, utility, and insurance bills, for example. These 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 money 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 out.

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 interior 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.

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 Hartsville, 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 taxpayer's expense.

Apologists for the present corporate system will argue that the sub-economies 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 not 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 sub-economies I have described subverts values that are deeply rooted in American life.

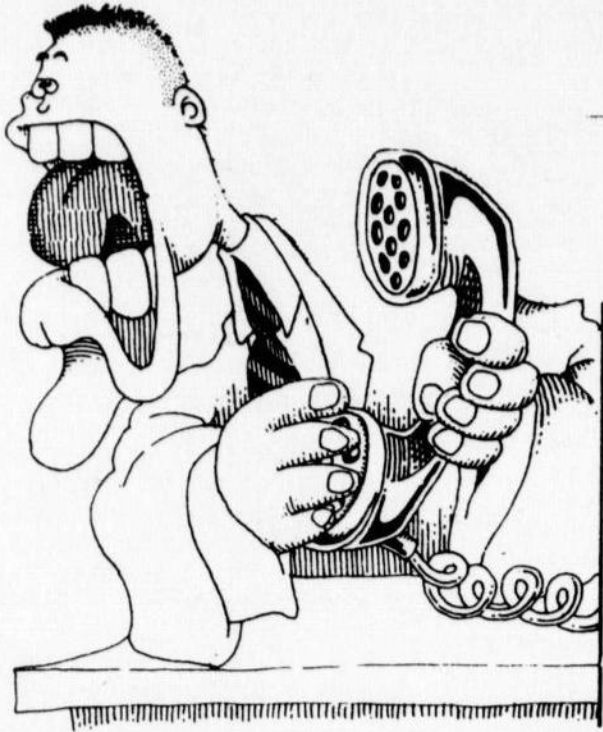
What has been tragic is the general failure to understand how this has occurred. Fundamentally new ways must be found to make both government and corporations accountable. We should pursue the suggestion already made by some social critics for a "social accounts system" which would enable government 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 government 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 itself.

\*Last year a new supermarket 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.



# THE CORRECT LINE

UCSD 453-2000

## INFORMATION:

* UCSD Information Center	#1176,	453-EDNA
* Public Information	#1394,	453-0187
* Campus Activities	#1391	453-3362
City Information		236-5555
State Collage Switch		286-6551
Gay Information Center		263-1411

## NEWSPAPERS:

* Crazy Times		
* Triton Times	#1016	453-8722
OB Rag		224-9346
Doer		233-9678
Good-by To All That		295-3607
Up From The Bottom		286-6460

## RADIO:

* KSDT	#1155	453-1221
KPRI 106.5 FM		232-7177
KDEO 910 AM		583-5309

## LIBRARIES:

* UCSD Central Library	#1985,	453-3800
* Cluster 1 Undergraduate	#1971,	453-2570
* Science and Engineering	#1334,	453-2180
* SIO	#1982,	453-2150
S.D. Public Library		236-5818

## THEATERS:

* Anomaly Factory	#1135	488-3303
Roxy (60¢)		4642 Cass (Pacific Beach)
Strand (60¢)		223-3141
4950 Newport (Ocean Beach)		
Ken (60¢)		283-5909
4061 Adams Ave. (Kensington)		
Clairemont (49¢)		274-0901
4140 Clairemont Mesa Dr.		
Unicorn		459-4341
7456 La Jolla Blvd.		
Acacia (Solana Beach)		755-9719

## CAMPUS BUREAUCRACIES

Associated Students	#1313	
Students Ed. Change & Development Center	#2416	453-3385
Vending Machine Refunds	#2605	
Housing Office	#2021	
Career Planning	#2402	
Financial Aids	#1945	
Counseling & Psych. Ser.	#2715	

## EMERGENCY:

* University Police	#1333	453-2671
Ambulance		232-6981
Fire Dept.		232-8191
Calif. Highway Patrol		283-6331
S.D. Police (North Division)		238-7373
San Diego County Sheriff		232-3811

## DRUG & MEDICAL HELP:

* Student Health Center	#1346	453-2697
Scripps Hosptial		453-3400
University Hospital		291-3330
Beach Area Free Clinic		488-9275
The Inbetween		223-9784
S.D. Poison Information Center		239-3018
Methadone Narcotics treatment		

## LEGAL HELP

Beach Area Free Clinic	488-0275
Defenders Inc.	234-8467
Legal Aid	232-4342
ACLU	223-3863
Welfare Rights	264-3434

## HELP FOR WOMEN:

Abortion and Pregnancy Inform.	276-9320
The Woman's Center	234-0236
Planned Parenthood (men, too)	273-7473

## DRAFT & VETERANS & GI'S:

* 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 School		755-8338
OB Community School		222-2255
Exploring Family School		263-5249
Mission Bay Montessori		

## GROUPS:

Asian Amer. Students All.	#1349	
Black Students Union	#1167	
MECHA	#1317	
Women's Liberation		755-3006
Jewish Students Union		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
Radical Republicans		459-6603

## CHEAP MEALS

<b>MON:</b> FREE Vegetarian Lunch at the Krishna Temple, 3300 3rd Av. 1:30 p.m. (every day)	<b>FRI:</b> 40¢ Mexican Plate at Maynards
<b>TUES:</b> 19¢ Spaghetti Dinner at the Pennant, 2893 Mission Blvd.	<b>SAT:</b> 40¢ Chicken & Rice Plate at Maynards
<b>WED:</b> 25¢ Dinner at the Lutheran Church Center, 5863 Hardy St. 40¢ Spaghetti Dinner at Maynards, 701 Garnet Ave. (PB) 488-9393	<b>SUN:</b> 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
<b>THURS:</b> 50¢ Mexican Plate at Tugs, 4650 Mission Blvd. (PB) 488-5822	

## PUBLIC HEALTH V D CLINICS

### DAY

PRIMARY HEALTH CENTER  
1600 PACIFIC HWY., SAN DIEGO  
MONDAY THRU FRIDAY  
8:00-11:30 a.m. DAILY  
1:00-4:00 p.m. EXCEPT WED.

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

EL CAJON HEALTH CENTER  
113 E. DOUGLAS AVE., EL CAJON  
EVERY MONDAY 1:00-4:00 p.m.

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

### NIGHT

SOUTHEAST SAN DIEGO HEALTH CENTER  
3177 OCEANVIEW BLVD., SAN DIEGO  
EVERY WEDNESDAY 5:30-8:30 p.m.

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

**NO CHARGE - CONFIDENTIAL - NO APPOINTMENT**