

indicator

*Everything or nothing. All of us or none.
One alone his lot can't better.
Either gun or fetter.
Everything or nothing. All of us or none.*
Bertolt Brecht

"Liberalism is a Casualty of the War"

On Oct. 17, Fred Gordon, Internal Education Secretary for the Students for a Democratic Society, spoke here. Because the Editors felt that his comments add insight into the politics of the just completed campaign for the presidency, we have printed excerpts from his speech.

What is happening right now is the collapse of liberalism. That has very serious implications for the New Left, and what the New Left is, and what it should do; for the New Left developed in

a dialogue with liberalism. In a very antagonistic dialogue with Liberalism. The Liberals were generally seen as a reference point for the student movement. People felt that the Liberal ideology was restrictive in a number of ways. For one thing the Liberal political myth blocked out huge parts of reality; the Liberal said that there were no poor people--and the New Left discovered that there were poor people, and a lot of them; the Liberals said that America wasn't an imperialist country--and the New Left showed that that was in fact

the case, not just in Viet Nam, but elsewhere in the world; and the Liberals said that there wasn't any real racism in this country and what there was was quickly being eliminated--and the New Left said that while there was progress it wasn't just a matter of time, but a matter of militant struggle which was extremely dangerous and people were going to get killed in that struggle.

Liberalism in the sense of a middle-class style of life was also found to be restrictive in an emotional state: that these people led a sterile existence, peo-

ple who call the world moderate simply because their own minds were moderate, thus the world must be moderate in order to narrow it down. A kind of skepticism, a middle-class skepticism, which blocks out great vital experiences. This was the genesis of the New Left--in a dialogue with these people--Liberals: very often one's own parent.

What's happening now is that Liberalism is beginning to collapse. The reason for that is that the name of the system in which we live is not corporate liberal--
cont. on p. 8



Now That It's Over...

Now that the elections are over and we can all be secure that those of us who voted or did precinct work have exercised our prerogatives, and that this grand and glorious state of our democracy has gone through to its most moral and just fruition, we can sit on our asses and our moral indignation for another 3 years until things get hot again with the impending and built in relevance of the elections. If that's what you have decided, then your moral indignation is certainly short lived, and you deserve to be the surprised victim of all the riots and demonstrations and cries for change that are happening and will continue to happen, not just every four years, but every four seconds in every corner of this world.

We see elections and the power of our legislature and courts as limited by the vested interests of the power structure in this country. And whether you agree with this or not, you must concur that as students, we have no power to put pressure on these institutions and to change our situation profoundly. Those of us who have placed all our hopes and energies in the elections as a social institution designed to bring about necessary change today must realize that that institution has failed and failed miserably. Therefore, we must realize that our responsibilities lie not with any institution but rather with the People that the institution affects. We must not wallow in our powerlessness, but rather we must begin to act now as a community to transcend the failure of our institutions and to build the power base with which to affect necessary change.

We're students, we're involved in getting an education. To act responsibly, to transcend failure is to get a relevant education. Not the one you get in a monastic institution, aloof and value-free, but one which transforms moral indignation into productive programs for social reform. How can we approach the real world, if the only tools we are given in the Social Sciences are idealistic models which do not help explain the real world, which are, with few exceptions, totally irrelevant? How can we ever hope to express our scientific knowledge in a positive fashion, when all the scientists will talk about is "pure science" --when in reality it is how this science is imposed on the world that really matters? And how can we know all that is the world, when all we are taught is the ethic and literature of western thought--a curriculum which seems to deny the existence of other cultures and other ways of life? What we should be doing now is questioning the relevance of every course we are exposed to, and asking if this body of information can be expressed in terms of the real world. If we don't know what the real world is, we darn well better find out. We must make a beginning; we must support:

1. The proposal before the Academic Senate for Black Studies to be included in the Humanities sequence (full report and petition in next issue).
2. The running dialogue with Economics IA (article forthcoming).
3. The critique of sociology which began with the article in this issue and will continue within specific courses, this quarter and next.
4. The quarterly curriculum-faculty evaluations comparable to the Humanities Evaluation Committee: we need people to help with compiling the information--and we need all of you to answer the questionnaires honestly. (Volunteers notify Indicator, P.O. Box 4882, UCSD.)

correspondence

Last week a member of Discovery 450 was caught in violation of the visitation policy. At 1:30 a.m. a University policeman discovered one of the girls playing cards in her room with a male. Two suite members were aware of the situation -- the other seven were either asleep or otherwise unaware of what was happening.

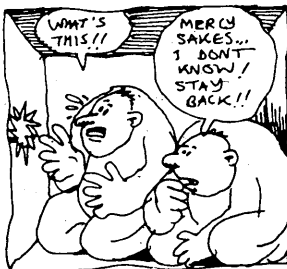
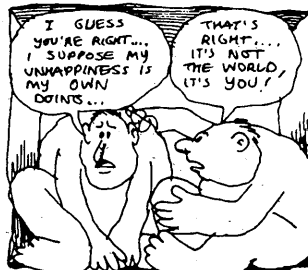
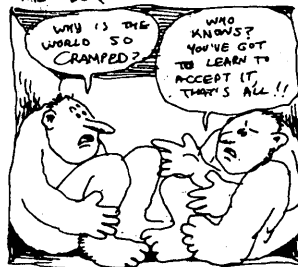
Sunday night Discovery Hall's Judicial Board met to pass judgment according to the rules. The card player was put on probation for the remainder of the year. The other suite members were put on

probation for one month. (Probation consists of suite members not being allowed to have visitors of the opposite sex in their suite or room, nor can they visit suites or rooms inhabited by members of the opposite sex).

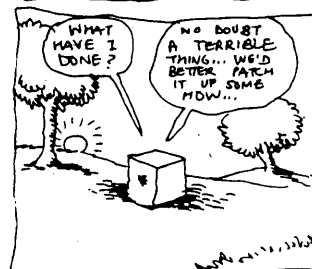
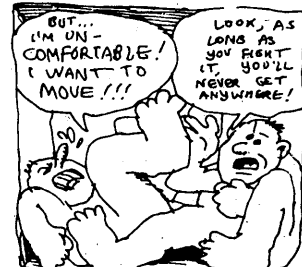
The visiting card player was sentenced by his judicial board to one year probation, with a reprieve on good behavior after one month.

The two card players were apprehended and punished (although inequitably) by the rules. The other members of Suite 450 were castigated according to rule 4 of the visitation policy. (See page 21 of the

THE BOX



R. CRUMB



Residence Hall Handbook). This rule is an administrative loophole.

This rule should be delineated if it is to be applied. As it stands it has no limits. It is preposterous to expect a member of a suite to be aware of the activities of all the people he lives with. Resident students cannot enforce "all University policies and regulations." A "fink on your neighbor" policy prevents the entire aim of the visitation policy. It is also in violation of the principle of an Honor System.

They must realize that we are all healthy, frustrated animals, 18 to 21 -- and there is nothing more interpersonal than fucking.

S. Powell

From the Residence Hall Handbook

2. The development of interpersonal relationships on an individual basis is a necessary and worthwhile aspect of the college experience and privacy is needed in order to accomplish this.
3. In-room visitation would be conducted by invitation, on the Honor System, with closed doors.
4. Each member of the suite shall have the responsibility of maintaining the standards of good taste, protecting the rights of his suite mates and enforcing all University policies and regulations.

Though in all fairness I should write this letter to the Triton Times, I want to write this letter to the Indicator. In doing so I am exercising my preference in the way Dr. Carmack did. He replied to Father Bonpane in the Times, whereas, as far as I recall, the Bonpane speech was printed in the Indicator. The point I want to make, however, is not a matter of preference.

In his rebuttal to Father Bonpane, Dr. Carmack apparently tries to argue against

the evidence produced by the priest. He implies that his own experience in Guatemala leads him to categorically disagree with Bonpane's contentions. Mainly that, as usual, the guerillas are an outnumbered handful. This is a question which can be settled only by another conversation with Father Bonpane and referring to qualified sources. But where Dr. Carmack gives away his colonial mentality is in saying that "most Guatemalans want another dictator". This is not a matter of opinion

cont. on p. 5

Praise of Learning

Learn the simplest things. For you whose time has already come it is never too late! Learn your ABC's, it is not enough, but learn them! Do not let it discourage you, begin! You must know everything! You must take over the leadership!

Learn, man in the asylum! Learn, man in prison! Learn, wife in the kitchen! Learn, man of sixty! Seek out the school, you who are homeless! Sharpen your wits, you who shiver! Hungry man, reach for the book: it is a weapon. You must take over the leadership.

Don't be afraid of asking, brother! Don't be won over, see for yourself! What you don't know yourself, you don't know. Add up the reckoning Add up the reckoning. It's you who must pay it. Put your finger on each item, ask: how did this get here? You must take over the leadership.

--Bertolt Brecht

indicator

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Humanities Sequence Survey Reveals Need for Innovation

Late last spring the Humanities Sequence Committee distributed questionnaires to the students in the program, asking them to rate and comment upon its various "components". Early this fall each professor and TA concerned received the general results of the survey along with his own individual ratings. While the Committee's memorandum makes no attempt at a systematic evaluation of the program as a whole, the survey is a source of interesting raw material.

Of particular interest is the agreement of a great majority of the students that "faculty presentation", i.e., lectures, are the weakest part of the program. Not only did the lectures suffer by comparison with other components of the course (reading, paper writing, and discussion sections), but also by comparison with lectures given in other courses (while, at the same time, the Humanities program in general compared more than favorably with other courses in "overall contribution to the student's education."). The particular students cited lack of enthusiasm, organization, and competence outside their field on the part of most of the faculty.

Of equal interest--since it should be cause for dismay--is the response of the Humanities Executive Committee to this particular bit of statistical intelligence. "Several experimental efforts," the memorandum reads, "are being made to overcome this difficulty." The cause for dismay is that this lone comment overlooks a major contribution to the problem. Granting that the Humanities Sequence is an experimental program, it is nevertheless the fact that there is a limit to what changes in its institutional structure can accomplish. The success of any experimental program depends primarily on the interest, enthusiasm, and commitment of those who run it.

So far, the only "experimental effort" to become visible has been the yet to be evaluated "team teaching". (Respondents to the Survey requested a trial of this method to overcome the scholarly provincialism of many Humanities professors who are unwilling or unable to deal with subjects outside their own discipline.) "Team teaching" may in fact prove a partial solution; but it generates special problems in its own right, for "creation by committee", as Hollywood witnesses, is difficult in any field. The achievement of a coherent whole--which is what a humanities course should be--requires more than nominal collaboration; it requires teamwork in the very fullest sense. This particular problem, then, rests in essence on the particular strength and weakness of humanities courses as educational devices. On the one hand, all indications are that the segmentation of knowledge and critical thought into compartments such as "literature," "philosophy," and "history" has been fallacious (even if necessary in that stage of our cultural history which is now passing away), that cross-fertilization of these various fields is producing the most significant contemporary thought, and that in fact nothing should be outside one's field. In this sense, the general concept behind the Humanities Sequence is truly progressive and most promising. On the other hand, humanities at many schools--including, to an unfortunate extent, UCSD--have demonstrated that the whole brave concept can be reduced in practice to nothing

more than an intellectual smorgasbord (or perhaps "middle-brow" or the ever popular "pseudo-intellectual" would be the more appropriate adjective; at any rate, Mickey Mouse is in general definitive).

In light of the situation, then, one would think that teachers would find it challenging and exciting to try to fulfill the potential that the Humanities Program offers. To become more aware of that which lies outside one's field, to make it one's own by conflating it with what lies inside in the process of creating a course--to do all this (particularly when professors are given, for the first quarter that the teach in the sequence, credit for teaching two quarters) would not seem to hinder one from becoming an important thinker in the fields of literature or philosophy or history. Humanities need not be a "burden" or "necessary evil", like Freshman Composition.

Why then those shortcomings which students noted in the lectures? Why disinterest coupled in so many cases with shoddy academic workmanship? It is clear that make-shift rearrangements in the administration of the program neither correct nor conceal all its flaws. Perhaps more effective would be the selection of faculty on the basis of their commitment to education as well as their specialized competence. Innovation and experiment should certainly be encouraged--but most especially within the classroom or lecture hall, as the fruit of serious concern with and consideration of the educational process, its contents and its objects.

At any rate it is in large part up to students--who, judging from the survey results, see the humanities as an extremely important part of their education, as means to broader backgrounds and as access to critical thought. It is up to you to apply the pressures--by talking to professors and TA's by filling out questionnaires, by writing letters, but most of all by making clear that there is a solid, unified body of concern among students at UCSD over the quality of education. You are buying an education with your time and effort. Until it is a better world, it is yours to see that the goods are delivered.

wsbriefsnewsbriefsnews

"We intend to build a mass black student movement in Chicago to seize control of black schools and make them relevant to the black colonies."---quote from a participant in the black student walkouts and boycotts which have hit Chicago high schools every Monday since Oct. 14. Cafeteria rallies, disruption of classes, and marches to the Board of Education have highlighted a movement which has the immediate goals of more black principals and teachers, and Afro-American history courses, in the schools affected.

Demands for greater monetary support of students, more room in the University for transfers from working-class junior colleges, and the assurance of meaningful jobs, have led Canadian students in Quebec province to revolt in the past several weeks. Eight departments at the University of Montreal and some 13 junior colleges and private schools have been occupied and/or shut down, while students at 12 other junior colleges were forced back into class only by threats from the Minister of Education.

"We ain't sorry we did it. We're proud we did it. And don't turn your back on the brothers and sister, because we may just do it again!"---statement from the Oakland Seven to the District Attorney, power structure, and government of Oakland, Calif. The Seven---Frank J. Bar-dacke, Terry Cannon, Steve Hamilton, Reese Erlich, Bob Mandel, Jeff Segal and Mike Smith---will go to trial Nov. 18 for their activities during the Stop the Draft Week last October, when some 10,000 persons tried to halt the induction process at the Oakland Induction Center. They are charged with the felony of conspiring to commit two misdemeanors: trespassing and interfering with the lawful duties of an officer.

Last Aug. 23, 125 black soldiers from the 1st and 2nd Armored Divisions at Ft. Hood gathered to protest against being sent to Chicago during the Democratic Convention, and against discriminatory racial practices at the base. Of those arrested for the demonstration, 19 face serious courts-martial; the trial of the first six of these men began Oct. 22. They face confinement of up to five years at hard labor, dishonorable discharges, and forfeiture of all monies and civilian benefits to which they are entitled after discharge. Four of the six are Vietnam veterans.

"Another speaker described the death of an army buddy last year--a youth who as he lay wounded from an NLF mortar blast, repeated over and over, 'Goddamn that bastard Johnson.' Several soldiers at the rally wept."

Oct. 12 and 13 saw large numbers of G.I.'s participating in demonstrations

against the Vietnam war in San Francisco and Austin Texas, respectively. The San Francisco rally was organized by active-duty soldiers and veterans, despite considerable intimidation by military brass; some 500 G.I.'s and 10,000 civilians participated. 120 soldiers were in the crowd of 500 people in Austin, brought together by the University of Texas Committee to End the War in Vietnam. G.I.'s were the major speakers at both events.

Speaking in San Diego twice the past week in support of Proposition 3, UCSD Chancellor McGill had this to say about the University of California and Eldridge Cleaver:

"It finds itself confronted by an almost catastrophic loss of public support because there are too many sit-ins, too many demands, too little willingness to reason and because there is one Eldridge Cleaver, who is the embodiment of all these fears. Is Cleaver to become the standard of education at the University of California? I say no, of course not," he declared at a meeting at Kona Kai Club.

Earlier in the week, he told a press luncheon at Reuben's Restaurant that the Black Panther minister of information will lose his effectiveness if permitted to speak.

"He opens with a five-minute night club act, presents 10 minutes of obscenities and closes with some grammar school Marxism. We can use this open forum to recognize that the ghetto does exist and that Cleaver is no intellectual."

Friday, November 1, the gala first edition of the San Diego Free Press (SDFP), sixteen pages strong, rolled off the press. In the words of its first editorial, "The communication and dissemination of the People's needs, their acts to satisfy those needs, the coming transformation (of society), and the Establishment reactions to this transformation will be the business of the San Diego Free Press."

Nov. 5:

Lemmings: Any of several small short-tailed, furry-footed rodents that are notable for recurrent mass migrations--which often continue into the sea, where vast numbers are drowned.

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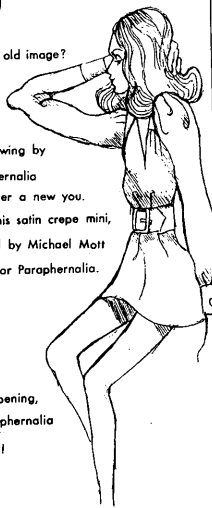


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South Viet Exile Tells War Result

Tran Van Dinh, who spoke to an unfortunately small number of students here last Tuesday, was the acting Ambassador to the United States from South Vietnam. A career diplomat under the Diem regime he quite in 1964 to serve in this country as an advocate for a termination of the U.S. involvement. To this end, he has written quite extensively for various magazines, and has authored a novel on the War, No Passenger on the River. He is currently working on other books and has just finished a tour, speaking on many campuses across the country.

Born in Hue, the site of the recent seige of U.S. troops, he served as a guerrilla with the Viet Minh against both the French and the Japanese. Presumably none too welcome by the Thieu-Ky "government" he is eager to go home as soon as possible to help rebuild his country on a base of the traditional Vietnamese social structure, adopted to the Twentieth Century. His greatest fear is that this social structure will be totally destroyed by the American effort at making Vietnam safe for "democracy."

The following is from the first part of an interview with him last Wednesday:

My personal history is more or less a reflection of the history of Vietnam since the 1940's. I was born in 1923, so by 1940 I was 17 years old. 1940 is a very important year in the history of Vietnam. First, we already had the French occupation at that time which dated back to 1884. Then we had on top of the French occupation the Japanese occupation which, it came out very quickly, was even more oppressive than the French one. So basically all the Vietnamese realized that they had to do something about it, especially the students. So I think the whole generation of students at that time knew exactly that the country had to undergo a period of revolution. During that time, there were two, actually three, political thoughts in Vietnam. One was the beginning of some kind of renovation of Buddhist thought, the other was the Marxist idea, and the third which was the old-time nationalist view which was the only thing you could do was overthrow the French and everything would be all right--you don't need to offer any kind of social reform or social idea to the masses of the people. So these were the three main political thoughts in Vietnam. I would say that most of the students at that time were very much influenced by Marxism rather than the old-time nationalism or the Buddhist thought. So I was in the midst of that. By 1941 and 1942 the political climate in Vietnam was so oppressive that I want to say that all of the students took one way or another to the jungle: some people just did it on a part-time basis--some students did it on a long-range basis. This was the beginning of my involvement in Vietnam. I went through some kind of underground training.

So in 1945, when the Japanese were defeated, most of the young people, students, and professors were actually in the Viet Minh party. In the Viet Minh party, you detected again at least three main political thoughts--old-time nationalism, Marxism which was represented by the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, and the Buddhist thought which was still very vague but is becoming more and more precise. You had a man like Thich Tri Quang, who in the last few years has become one of the major Buddhist figures in South Vietnam. He was one of the members of the Resistance against the French and the Japanese.

So I think that after the war, in 1954, when the French were defeated at Dien Bien Phu, that a number of the Vietnamese remarked on the political climate of Marxism. So others tried to find another solution to the Vietnamese problem out of a consciousness of the problem of violence because war has always been a violent thing. That was the beginning of my trying to do something within the Buddhist context. I thought at that time, and I still think that if you somehow could combine the Buddhist thought, which is very liberal, and the Marxist kind of planning and discipline we could provide a solution to many of the Vietnamese problems.

Just take one problem like land reform, which is basic to every underdeveloped country. When you have to carry out the land reform, you opposition is very, very real--the land owners. And the land owner in Vietnam is a very powerful man, he has some kind of backing from the foreign interests. If you agree on the problem of land reform then you have to be really very radical to a point where you almost have to accept the liquidation of the land owner. You have to.

But my point is, we could actually have a radical land reform by the combination of the legalistic means and the humanistic means. For example, suppose you have land reform to be carried out in Area X in which there is one big land owner. You have to have a law to carry out that kind of land reform. That law is made by the party in power or the government, it's not important. But when you carry out that law and apply it to the extreme, you hurt a lot of people--you hurt the land owner, you hurt his family, you hurt his friends. So the Buddhist basis of land reform is to present the land owner with that reality: unless he gives up his land to the peasant he is going to be subjected to law. But at the same time, we try to give him a way to get

out of the situation. For example, we have a Buddhist monk who comes to the land owner and stays there and prays, and asks him to give up his land. Now when you do this kind of thing, it's non-violence applied in politics. This land-owner, who is visited by the Buddhist monk who represents the moral authority of the area becomes the subject of political and moral pressure from his own community. The people ask "Why does the Buddhist monk stay so long in that house?" "Oh, he's a landowner. He's a bad man--he refuses to give up his land." So you combine the legalistic approach and the spiritual and moral pressures. You may get out of the situation with a more humane approach. This is actually what is going to happen in Vietnam, if and when this war is over. The two main political trends still will be the Buddhist thought, which is basically very liberal, very humane; and the Marxist thought which is not inhuman, but is more on the planning than on the recognition of human weakness and human error.

This is the kind of life I follow and, in a way, is very representative of many Vietnamese. We all oppose the war, but there are some Vietnamese who believe that if and when the war is over, we have to find a formula which will bring about what is called the national reconciliation. To me, the combination of Marxism and Buddhism would be the best way to reconcile many elements of the Vietnamese society.

The French did one thing very good for the Buddhist church. When the French occupied Vietnam, the Buddhist church became, according to the French, a club. This meant that the Buddhist church was not allowed to own land, only the Catholic church. So, because of the French action, the Buddhist church has already become a church of the people. Therefore we don't have a problem like the Catholic church in Latin America where the situation is such that the Catholic hierarchy in these countries has become part of the land-owners hierarchy, the land-owner classes. I think that in these countries, the possibilities of the church solving the interests of the peasants is almost nonexistent. In Vietnam, the Buddhist church, which is the majority church, has become the oppressed element in the country. And therefore it is very close to the people. That is why, if you look at the leadership of the National Liberation Front practically all of them have come from Buddhist origins. One of the vice chairmen of the National Liberation Front is actually a Buddhist monk. After the Tet offensive there is a new organization called the Alliance for Peace and Democracy. The chairman is a lawyer and the vice chairman is a Buddhist monk. So you have this kind of a trend in every organization in Vietnam and the Alliance for Peace and Democracy will be, in my opinion, the kind of combined leadership between the non-National Liberation elements and the National Liberation Front. This is the kind of coalition which is going to emerge in Vietnam very soon.

Every major colonial power has this kind of assessment of the peasant: they always say that what the peasant wants is to be left alone. This is not only a question of arrogance, but I must say, one of stupidity. If the peasant just wants to be left alone, who has done all the fighting in Vietnam since the First Century? Not the scholar, not the intellectual, but always the peasant. The peasantry as a mass in Vietnam is very much

socially conscious. Very much. Much more than the intellectual. But the intellectual has to provide a sense of direction for the peasant. This makes the situation in Vietnam very difficult for any colonial power, whether French, American, Japanese or Chinese, to take over the country. The peasant who has been basically a militant force for a long time has always provided a kind of national guerrilla organization. I think the arming of the peasantry has created a situation you can see now in China; when the Red Guard movement in China started, many people in this country, even scholars, predicted that China was going to collapse. But I didn't think China was going to collapse, and China didn't collapse. Why did Mao Tse Tung have to create something called the Red Guard? And why didn't the national turmoil in China result in a large-scale blood battle like during the Stalinist time? The reason is, even if Mao Tse Tung wanted to do that, he couldn't do it anymore. Because the peasants in China, like the peasants in Vietnam, are already socially conscious and already know how to fight. The peasantry in China and the peasantry in Vietnam have been armed a long time to fight against social injustice. The Chinese peasant or the Vietnamese peasant fights only against colonial occupation, but they fight equally well against any social injustice. That is why the existence of an armed peasantry in every country is a very good thing--it deters the existing power structure--either Communist or non-Communist, from becoming a dictatorship. And that is why my prediction for the future of Vietnam is very bright because no one in Vietnam could really establish a dictatorial regime in Vietnam anymore.

Take the situation in North Vietnam in 1956--and this is not American propaganda, or CIA invention. In 1956, there was, in North Vietnam, in the province of President Ho Chi Minh himself, a last case of peasant rebellion. And President Ho Chi Minh came out after the mistake of the party, and he took over the party, and redirected the whole program of peasantry into a new pattern.

For example, the peasant is basically a very individualistic person, but if you try to develop a country, you cannot create a situation where each one is just an individual with his own land. This is almost a pastoral life--you cannot do it in the twentieth century. So you have to somehow group them into a cooperative or some kind of a larger farm. Otherwise, you have a multitude of individuals rather than a nation or an intra-structure for development. So I think that North

cont. on p. 8

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Carmichael Calls for Unity, Protests Shooting

ALL OF US OR NONE

Saturday, October 26, in Ocean View Park, a rally to protest the shooting of Mr. Timothy B. Thompson, a 27 year old black man, was highlighted with a speech by Stokely Carmichael, Prime Minister of the Black Panther Party.

Mr. Thompson was shot five times from the back and side by five officers from the San Diego Sheriff's Department who were attempting to evict him from his home. Mr. Thompson was armed with a hoe.

Various speakers from the Black and Chicano communities spoke, urging "unity to fight against repression, oppression, and suppression." Tom Johnson, head of the San Diego NAACP, named five concentration camps in the U.S. He stated that although he was considered a "responsible" black leader by the San Diego establishment, if other black people were interred, he would be "taking care of business" back home.

Stokely, the last speaker, opened his speech with a plea. "We should try to say some intelligent things today; we ought not to come just for a feel good session. We are at a rally which deals with our very survival.

He then offered three main concepts "which would bind our people together" in the coming fight. "The first concept is to counteract a trait of a colonized people. The one thing colonized people have in common is that they hate themselves. It is crystal clear that Black people in this country hate themselves. Even though we wear naturals we hate ourselves because the process of colonization has been so deep. For our people, black people, we must have an undying love...that is necessary before we can talk about revolution.

The second concept, which follows from the first: every Negro is a potential Black man. This is very important because our communities are becoming divided; because the new Black Nationalists are turning their backs on the so-called Negro. We have to work with our people and make them Black.

The third concept is more difficult than the others, but it is a vital necessity for our survival. For Black people the question of community is not just simply a question of land; it is a question of our color and where we are. The reason we must begin to understand that is so that we can relate to a community inside a country where we do not have land, so that our Black Nationalism will be rooted in something concrete. But it is important for another reason, the one thing the white man wants to do is to give us a complex of inferiority in terms of numbers. He keeps saying you are only 10%, you can only do this and you can only do that, and it traps some of our people in their thinking because they think we are a minority. We are a mi-



nority in the continental United States, but we are a majority in the world. The struggle is a world-wide struggle. And we must be part of that struggle with our brothers and sisters who are black and from Africa, because we are from Africa...Just because you were born in America, don't make you an American. You are African...And once we understand that we can tie the bonds of a world-wide struggle. All over the world the white man has divided us, given us different languages, new cultures, new values, and make us think we are different people."

Stokely went on to say that asking for freedom was not enough and that concreteness was necessary to deal with problems. He named the enemy.

"Our fight is twofold--racism and capitalism. We cannot talk about one without talking about the other. We must fight racism and capitalism and, of course, imperialism. Imperialism is just a higher stage of capitalism. The United States is an imperialist country. If we are fighting against imperialism, we are fighting against the United States of America. If we are not fighting against that, we can go ahead and fight in Vietnam as Black Americans, and get something from it. But if we are fighting for a just fight we must fight racism and capitalism. We seek to create a society free of racism and free of capitalism."

The rest of the speech was a free-floating discussion of the needs and roles of education, politics, violence, and love for the Revolution.

"Education, says Fanon, a Black man who wrote Wretched of the Earth, is

nothing but the re-establishment and re-instatement of the values of a given society. For instance, if you say that Christopher Columbus discovered America, what you are saying is, nobody is alive, nobody is functioning until a white man comes along and discovers you. We don't want to imitate the system of white education--we want to create one for Black people."

"Now let's talk about politics. The vote has never, not now, and never will meet the needs of Black people in this country. The vote means nothing unless you have a gun to back up your vote. Mao Tse Tung says political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. He is absolutely correct. If white people got guns, Black people should get guns. It's the gun that killed you; it's the gun that will protect you."

"Revolutionary violence---violence is neither good nor bad; it is a question of who legitimized it. If a Black man kills 30 Vietnamese, he gets a medal. But should he kill a honky cop for brutalizing one of our brothers, he would get the electric chair. Revolutionary violence is the violence of a group of people who have the feelings and expressions of the masses of our people at hand, who are fighting our people oppressed. Counter-revolutionary violence is a force that seeks through violence, to keep the people oppressed. That's the police department in each city throughout this country. They keep down the counter-revolutionary forces so that Black people can organize. The difference between a Black militant and a Black Revolutionary: a revolutionary wants complete change, a Black militant does not want complete change, he wants reform. If we talk about total liberation we are talking about revolution. A Black man cannot be a Black capitalist in this country and talk about any kind of liberation for his people."

"We live in a world of opposites, for hot there's cold, for laughter there's sadness, for boy there is girl, for short there is tall, for love there is hate. Don't let them fool you and say 'don't hate'; if you love you got to hate, or at least know about hate. When a Black man says 'I don't hate anybody', it's because he doesn't love anybody. If you have children, and somebody comes to kill your children, you will kill them, because you love your children."

"If we had an undying love for our people, we would automatically take care of the enemy. Thank you."

Slave, who is it who shall free you? Those in deepest darkness lying, Comrade, these alone can see you, They alone can hear you crying.

Everything or nothing. All of us or none. One alone his lot can't better. Either gun or fetter. Everything or nothing. All of us or none.

You who hunger, who shall feed you? If it's bread you would be craving, Come to us, we too are starving. Come to us and let us lead you. Only hungry men can feed you.

Everything or nothing. All of us or none. One alone his lot can't better. Either gun or fetter. Everything or nothing. All of us or none.

Beaten man, who shall avenge you? You, on whom the blows are falling, Hear your wounded brothers calling. Weakness gives us strength to lend you. Comrade, come, we shall avenge you. Everything or nothing. All of us or none. One alone his lot can't better. Either gun or fetter. Everything or nothing. All of us or none.

Who, O wretched one, shall dare it? He who can no longer bear it? Counts the blows that arm his spirit, Taught the time by need and sorrow, Strikes today and not tomorrow. Everything or nothing. All of us or none. One alone his lot can't better. Either gun or fetter. Everything or nothing. All of us or none.

Berthold Brecht -----

correspondence continued

but one of prejudice. For centuries such statements have been made about the people of the third world. The Chinese chose to be opium smokers. The Cubans chose to go whoring in Havana. And now the Guatemalans are, being stupid, choosing a military dictator. And we have to take care of these foolish children. Rather than explicate this theme in this letter I shall refer you to some things I read recently -- at the suggestion of North American friends. The psychologist Fanon does a brilliant analysis of the colonial as well as the colonized mind. The anthropologist Levi-Strauss explains why the non-white people are often called "primitive", and made to believe that by pseudoscientists. Everytime these "opinions" can be linked to the distorted mind of the colonist -- to his ideology (in the worst sense of the word) for domination.

I was shocked to learn that Dr. Carmack teaches at UCSD. If this letter is printed-- I shall send home the relevant material. Then I shall also apologize to my people for being on the same campus with this teacher.

A stupid student from one of those unmentionable countries.

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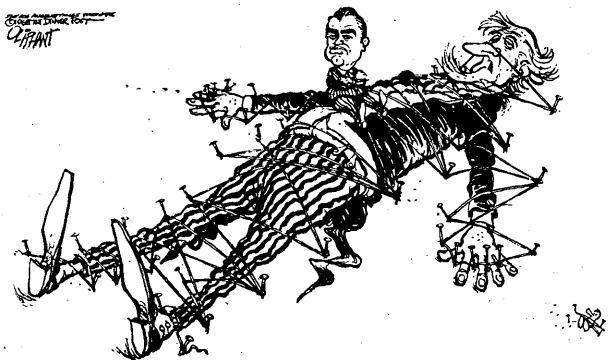
Are Radicals to Blame for Rightist Reaction?

The most recent indictment of radicals (or whatever term you chose to label anyone who insists that decisive change in society is necessary) claims that by demands and demonstrations, they are "creating" the conservative reaction growing in this country. This analysis implies that a national consensus behind the drive for equality has been destroyed primarily by the simultaneous rise of political extremism and violent riots, an attitude which allows evasion of the real issues. It allows facts to be labeled "radical" and thus be dismissed because those proclaiming them have been demeaned and dismissed.

It is necessary to take into account the nature of the national consensus seemingly in favor of equality. We can see a parallel between the sympathy and support for non-violent civil rights demonstrators and the abolitionist sentiment that swept the North before the Civil War. By focusing moral indignation and hatred against a defined and distant section, Northerners could ignore the free-income-only status of Black people in the North, congratulating themselves for their egalitarian principles and moral righteousness. We hear the argument that we today cannot call this position hypocritical, because we are using our definition of freedom to judge abolitionists who were acting in accord with their own definitions. Social and economic equality were simply not conceived of by the abolitionists. This intellectual and academic game can justify any action. Even worse, such rationalizations can objectify actions out of existence.

The consensus at the beginning of this decade was far from universal. When it did exist, it was seldom a result of a real understanding of the social, political, economic and psychological causes-ramification of the oppression of Black people. Supporting non-violent civil rights demonstrators became socially acceptable and did not imply any threat. Occupying themselves with condemning overt acts of segregation and oppression allowed people to ignore more subtle forms of racism. The cancer of oppression was glossed over rather than removed. When the riots began in the North and militants started speaking out their analysis of society, each white person was forced to realize that racism was not confined to other cities or states. Rather than face this threatening fact in their own lives, people again shifted the blame for the disruption of Society, this time to radicals.

It has been observed that some groups, especially those who feel that the great and rapid increases in federal and local help to Black communities deserved something very different from violence and calls to rebellion, even feel growing resentment against Black people. "Americans generally deeply resent the man who bites the hand that feeds him," is the way



Cartoon by Oliphant in the Denver Post

one writer unknowingly revealed the ignorance and lack of understanding making the "consensus" behind civil rights movements insincere in many cases and even latently racist. This metaphor graphically illustrated that the old master-slave relationship had not changed. It is evidence of a concept of a master class which can paternally give certain rights and necessities of life to a dependent group. Now that it appears that the exploited group is "biting the hand that feeds them", the reaction is to rescind their "inalienable" rights. Having been conditioned to such concepts, people do not even find it absurd to speak of giving a people their civil and human rights. Anyone who feels resentment that increases in federal and local help have not brought the results he anticipated only illustrates his lack of understanding. Government aid is not even attacking the problem near its source in white society. Subtle racism has so blinded and numbed people, that they can feel morally righteous and congratulate themselves on being "the hand that feeds" the Black people, thus revealing their absolute disregard of a Black man as a man.

There is one thing in this theory which is foolish and perhaps immoral to ignore.

When radicals speak out, people in this country will inevitably be reactionary. Wallace is known and supported for his racist policies and Reagan, Rafferty and Stull advocate blatant repression because they know they are attracting votes. So it is conceivable that more repressive tactics will be employed in reaction to the views of radicals, who, when they are white can always return to the status quo--goes the theory--leaving the repression to be suffered or resisted by others, namely Black people. However, confrontation is as inevitable as the reaction to it. The entrenched nature of the attitudes which are at the heart of today's problems, (such as the concept of "giving" anything) makes it inevitable. Radicals do not provoke incidents, but are themselves provoked by pre-existing and intolerable institutions, attitudes or structures of society. The intolerable nature of such institutions or attitudes is not the justification for confrontation. If it were, radical accusations and demands would be a selfish kind of righteousness, creating an even more intolerable situation. Confrontation is necessary because these pre-existing provocations cannot be eliminated until they are recognized by a majority. Reactionary repression against Black people and radical ideas is nothing new. But present confrontations are forcing it to become more blatant, more eas-

ily recognizable and thus eventually and finally subject to change. It was white people who first broke the law and ignored the Constitution by violently denying Black people their life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. And yet it does not seem to most somewhat unjustified to raise the cry of irresponsibility en masse against those who have been exploited and whose movements are reactions to the group in power.

The majority's arguments against radical change or political polarization seem to be weakened somewhat by their recognition that the nation emerged from the Civil War stronger than before. What will be the end result now if all confrontations are instead glossed over so realities of the existing racism can be comfortably ignored?

If it is impossible for a group to proclaim themselves absolutely right (an idea inherent in certain sociological views of a pluralistic society) it is possible to point out the bad faith of society. If a member of society claims to believe in freedom and equality for all men and, in fact, is participating in the oppression of a group, then that person is, without reference to any absolute standard, in bad faith. His actions do not correspond to his definitions. A person is very reluctant to admit the "credibility gap" between his words and actions. Besides threatening his social or economic position, the values he had traditionally depended on to justify this country's policies and actions are shown to be non-existing. He must become agonizingly aware of the necessity of personal choice and decision.

The analysis that radical views are creating a move to the right is primarily an intellectual rationalization for conservative tactics. It manufactures excuses to be used by reactionaries. To view society so objectively and academically, so "pseudo-intellectually", that judgment is not possible (people cannot be wrong or even inconsistent because they are simply acting according to their own definitions of things like equality and freedom) is to cripple oneself. To attempt to establish this view is a perversion of the true meaning of education and intellectual thought; it teaches people to be blind to the facts of past and existing racism and encourages them to find excuses to avoid intellectual honesty.

Susan Adams

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"Tom Paine": Revolutionary?

Calendar

R. Mitra

Almost at the end of Paul Foster's play **Tom Paine** as familiar sergeant complains:

SERGEANT: What's the matter with you people? Can't anybody tell a straight story anymore? I asked for Tom Paine, not the beggar you created.

ACTRESS OF

MARIE: We tried, (use name of actor)

If Marie's answer implies the demythification of Paine, then this discourse -- which is a theme running through the play -- shows that Paine was complex, steeped in contradictions -- and because of that an admirable enigma. Furthermore, we too are complex characters wallowing in our contradictions. In other words, the de-mystification of this historical figure hardly allows anything more than a commonplace inference. Beyond that mythology prevails.

The Theatre 5 production of **Tom Paine** appears to reject such an interpretation. There is a very conscious attempt to generate a revolutionary feeling -- if not in the audience, at least among the actors. Unfortunately, this trial approaches, at best, a peculiar kind of bourgeois humanism, because the play, as it is written is devoid of any revolutionary content. The harder one tries to force the play toward revolutionary relevance, the more glaring the contradiction between production and script. Thus, the trouble with the Theatre 5 production stems from the failure of the play itself.

How does this problem become unavoidable? Let me begin with the weakest claim -- which is not an unusual feeling the audience may get -- the play might make:

Revolutions are made by individuals who are eventually forgotten.

Tom Paine is finally denied and even attacked by an ungrateful people. He is not allowed to vote in the United States because he is not a citizen. The oppressed masses, whom Paine wanted to and did help, never outgrow their role of the unthinking rabble. But such a thesis is anti-historical. First, it takes not just great heroes but people to make revolutions. Second, these people are clearly defined in a given social structure -- by economic relations and social isolation (as in ghettos). Therefore, if, as Theatre 5 seems to intend, a production wants to go beyond generating pity for Paine -- it is faced with the problem of defining Paine and his relation to the masses. In Foster's play it is difficult to see the masses as anything but the rabble. Bourgeois historians are not challenged in any significant way.

A somewhat stronger claim connected with what I said in the beginning can be: This is a play about a genius in whom contradictions are real -- even though he is a great revolutionary.

No doubt a primary intention of the playwright is to reveal these contradictions. During the course of the play Paine's Reputation -- in meaning more like his Superego -- is born from his rib. Perhaps this is to indicate that Paine's reputation is a myth, but on stage there is an undeniable struggle between the two halves of the self. As if out of this gigantic internal struggle bursts forth the mind which wrote **Common Sense** and **The Rights of Man**. No matter how well the parts are acted -- and actors Morris Lefon and Larry Anderson are good -- there is not even a single moment in the play when the magnitude of the tussle is visible. An occasional quotation from Paine's writings does not help because it appears in disjunction with the action of the play -- not as a culmination of a fierce struggle. Even when Reputation repeatedly prods Paine into uttering "Wonders are many but none is more wonderful than man" -- the sequence is at once turned into amusement. The tendency toward underplaying these moments can hardly be avoided. Yet in the given context half-seriousness is dangerous if the production wants to move from the level of contradictions to the level of genius.

It seems to me that in terms of the given script it is easier and more enlightening to say:

Today no revolution can be successful without a conscious steering of the course of history -- determined, of course, by history -- and this is something Paine failed to see.

We cannot emulate Paine anymore -- but we can repudiate his mistakes. Toward the end of the play Paine forgets real events and tries to build a structure of fantasies, -- but we cannot afford to do that. Or, again as the script says, in the eighteenth century, "They pick his brains to mold The United States of America" -- but we find more relevance in looking at Lenin or Mao or Fidel -- and in addition picking our own brains.

But this view is contradicted by the theatre company. Shortly before intermission there is a variation of the question-answer period of the script. At that time the play's action is restricted to actors asking one another what the play means to them. In the performance I saw almost all the answers inextricably linked Paine with contemporary revolts. He was glorified as a pathfinder -- almost compared to someone like Che Guevara. Whereas in referring to the play **Tom Paine** it is evident that Paine stands as Che's antithesis. One actor made some protest against the relevance of the play to our revolutions -- and in doing so, in my

judgment, exposed the real problem again. Is this self-analysis in front of an audience more than self-delusion? Aren't the actors, through a self-gratifying, perhaps masochistic, identification with the characters in the play, developing a false-consciousness and then passing it off as "revolutionary"? It is easy for a false consciousness to confuse the debasement of the self with its liberation.

The confusing relation between **Tom Paine** and its performance is perhaps most clearly seen at the level of language. We can imagine the playwright de-emphasizing language for the sake of action: Language breaks down under the level of gut-level action -- then only the scheming politicians pretend to speak "rationally".

In most of the first act, through the intended overlapping dialogue, chaotic noise, spontaneous music and the unintended poor articulation of actors, words are made subordinate to visual communication. The overall intention may well be to show that revolutionary forces are pre-moral, pre-verbal. But the overall effect is one of incoherence. This effect in turn seems to emphasize the bourgeois notion of the masses as rabble. Even this would not have been so bad if the play moved toward the rabble gaining self-consciousness. But that doesn't happen.

Conversely the portions of the play which depend on verbal language for effectiveness are also dramatically successful. Therefore, the master of ceremonies Major Domo emerges as the most interesting character of **Tom Paine**. Domo, remarkably played by Ken Sancio, verbally explains and directs a good bit of the dramatic action. With Domo in the background, sequences like the chess game between the French and English sides, the mock trials of Paine, Paine's unsuccessful attempt to vote are not just amusing. By combining visual (for example, action on the chess board) with verbal (for example, the use of French and Southern American accents) forms these scenes clearly express the putrifying reality of the oppressors.

The success of language extends to the other side as well. For me the two really moving scenes in **Tom Paine** are the one where Paine is pleading for Louis XVI's life and the one where Paine is imprisoned at Luxembourg and the actors describe the horror of the situation, finally giving way to sobs. In both scenes language becomes necessary to show the helplessness of the situation -- and in a sense language works against itself. This failure and success in using language shows: first, the use of language is more ef-

Nov. 6: Speech: Hildegard Goss-mayer, "Non-Violent Action for Social Change", 8:00 UCSD USB 2622

Wednesdays: Student-Faculty dialogues. See the TNC table, Revelle Plaza time and place.

Nov. 11: TNC Steering Committee Meeting. Revelle Flagpole. 5:00 p.m.

Nov. 11: Speech: Dave Harris and Bill Carroway: "The Resistance" 8:00 p.m. USB 2622. One of Harris' last appearances before he goes to jail.

Tuesdays: SDS meetings. 6:00 p.m. See SDS table, Revelle Plaza, for place.

Nov. 22: UC Regent's Meeting. Historic battle as Reagan, brandishing sword of might and Right, clashes with hallowed University tradition of Academic Freedom in takeover attempt.

factive than its abuse. If animal grunts are to be equated with the language of the dehumanized masses, then a new language -- a truly revolutionary language -- is necessary to portray their gaining self-consciousness. Otherwise the rabble remain the rabble -- and for the purpose of the play **The Rights of Man** becomes irrelevant. Second, since the play is largely chaotic -- punctuated by significant effects -- it cannot claim to be revolutionary. "Effects" is precisely what a revolutionary art cannot count on, above all it must strive toward coherence.

Perhaps I've been dead wrong. Perhaps this production really does not want to do anything more than reiterate the obvious. Then the single moment which would sum up the play is Beulah taking off her shirt -- showing that the grime and the smut cover only her arms, legs and face. Otherwise she is clean, washed and white. As if the theatre company is telling the audience: "Look, outside this theatre we all live some variation of the middle-class life. Here on stage, we are at least trying to cover the visible parts of our bodies with muck, you don't even do that. Here on stage we are exposing our internal and external chaos, you never do that."

However, this statement can be valuable only if the actors add: "Come, don't be afraid to join us in our self-discovery." But they seem to say instead: "But we aren't going to let you participate in our doings -- because this is a theatre for our self-examination". To this attitude the audience is compelled to reply: Then why do you need us at all? I am sure that under rules set by the actors the audience will be willing to join in the question-answer period. I am sure some of the dirt can be rubbed against evening dresses and stuffed shirts. As things stand, there are a couple of irrelevant attempts at using the audience when an actress nervously passes between two rows of seats, and when Marie announces intermission.

But if I am not mistaken, the Theatre 5 production of **Tom Paine** wants to do much more than arrogantly restate the obvious. It wants to define the play as something it is not. Therefore, the self-righteousness which is combined with the false consciousness which forgets that no matter how intense bourgeois humanism may become, it is not new -- it is not revolutionary.

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Gordon Finds US Liberalism at Point of Collapse

cont. from page 1

ism, but corporate capitalism. The ideology of the system, that is the rhetoric of the politicians, was liberalism; it isn't liberalism any longer. Corporate liberalism means that it is built into the system, it has something to do with its essential nature. What has become apparent to us now is that liberalism is not built into the system, liberalism is just a way that politicians talk. It is a form of rhetoric, and it is that liberalism that can be scrapped when necessary and a new ideology, a new rhetoric created. And that is exactly what has happened now.

The question is, "Why Liberalism?" has collapsed, and that question has to do with the issue of imperialism. Imperialism as something which is essential to this system. It has been said many times that imperialism, that is, investment in third world countries, in European markets, is more profitable than investment here at home. In fact investment in third world countries brings about four times the profit of investment here in the U.S. Now, that leads in a simplistic way to the view that the United States is imperialistic because the United States, U.S. capitalists, like profit. And that's true. I think that the reality is more profound than that, and that is that it isn't just that the United States capitalists like profit, it is that they must have it to survive. Domestically the United States is no longer a competitive economy; internationally however, it is. What profit means is that if the United States can't generate sufficient capital, the United States can't do what it has done--that is, buy out 80% of French electronics industry, 80% of the whole of Canadian manufacturing. And in fact, it has economic hegemony over the world, military hegemony in its ability to produce arms, and the political hegemony which goes with that. The alternative is that if the United States does not have this power, then other nations will. Other nations which are more aggressively imperialistic. For example Japan right now produces a large amount of the hybrid steel in the United States, the Germans produce fine tooling machines, in fact dominate the American economy. The struggle is whether the United States will continue to expand, and to control the economy abroad, or whether other nations will expand and gain more and more of the third world profit-sharing areas and move toward control of the United States. In that sense the war in Viet Nam is not only important but crucial. Crucial in the sense that, 1) Viet Nam itself is economically profitable, 2) Viet Nam were to go Communist, it would prove that the United States is defeatable in a people's war and in that sense the theory of falling dominoes is true.

What this war has meant domestically is the thing that relates to liberalism. That is it is necessary to tax every portion of the population to fight that war. Students, taking students merging into the middle class, are anxious about it, in that they have to fight it, they

have to pay taxes, plus the fact that they are morally discomforted by a war like this which goes against all the liberal rhetoric that has been poured out for the last twenty years. The white working class is also discontent about the war, or the war is the cause of that discontent in that real wages have not risen in this country for the last two years, in fact they have declined slightly. And the Black people, the Black working class, is also discontent about the war, or again the war is the cause of that discontent in that the promised war on poverty has just not come about. So what we have is three segments--students merging into middle class, white working class, Black working class, all of whom in a very real sense find the war, thus imperialism, thus the whole dynamic of American capitalism to be directly against their interests. Now, what the danger is for the people who run the system in a very obvious way is that these three groups could be extremely volatile. And as a rational capitalist, what would one do in order to prevent this kind of solidarity from emerging? One way to prevent that is in fact to create a kind of politics that separates one group from another. And what I am trying to say here is that is exactly the kind of politics that we see in this election year--that is, politics that is racist, politics which is patriotic, in the sense of an unthinking, idiotic kind of patriotism, politics which say, "Why should we pay the people who won't work?", politics of immediate self interest--versus the real interest, the real long-term interest of every group. The meaning of this politics is that the political base has moved away from the kind of consensus of the whole population led by middle class liberals, onto the white working class. The white working class has become the center of the base of support for political power in this country. It has been given that position not in a kind of consensus government, but in a government that talks a kind of rhetoric which supports the interest of the white working class, the immediate self-interests of the white working class against other groups. Thus it says to the white working class, and in a very real way, "the Black people are trying to take your job (that's true). Black people are also violent, (and that's true too). Thus, what we should do is

Tran Van Dinh continued...

Vietnam after its failure in 1956 has taken a different trend. In North Vietnam now you have two kinds of collective farms. One is the cooperative farm which is very similar to the Mosha in Israel. You work for a community and yet you can work for your own personal interest. Each man has to provide, say, three hours of work for the community and the product will be distributed through the cooperative system and the rest you can have as your own product to sell in the market and have some profit. But there is also in North Vietnam the state farm. The state farm in North Vietnam is not operated on the peasant basis but by the

to vote for a strong Law and Order candidate." And the real interests of the white working class, the real long range interest of the white working class is to unite with the Black working class, really against the enemy; and the enemy is the imperialist state. That's exactly the coalition, the kind of solidarity which this system would like to prevent. Similarly taking the case of students, middle class groups: the middle class also is in a situation which is not dissimilar to that of the Black people, that is, the middle class has become a politically dispensable group. The ideology which appeals to the middle class, that is liberalism, has also proven to be dispensable. Liberalism is a casualty of the war. And what politicians say about liberalism is that these people, whom we'd like to please if we could, however, we cannot please them because we cannot say that we are for peace, because peace does not seem to be on the horizon, thus these people must be disappointed, they must be offended as must Black people be offended. And we must build our base on the majority of the population, that is the white working class. So that the liberals already have begun to get the shaft, that is to be treated as a politically dispensable group. One way that they have been proven to be politically dispensable is the Democratic National Convention. And the kind of coercion that went on not only outside in the streets of Chicago, but also inside. Another way that they are politically dispensable is that the new draft laws are stated in such a way that all of last year's graduates and first-year graduate students get drafted. There are a lot of loop holes in that law, nevertheless, the middle class rather than being a privileged group as they were before, is a group that can be offended for the first time in probably twenty years. What the politicians figure is that the middle class will probably come around to a lesser of three evils candidate--probably Humphrey. And so who cares about them, it will probably take 8 years at least before they get any kind of political party, and by that time either that party will be irrelevant, or else the United States will have moved sufficiently to the right so that that party will be crushed.

army which is a very, very interesting development. Why? Because by doing so the leadership in Hanoi solves two problems. One is to make the army in Viet Nam constantly a popular army. This means that the army runs the farm and therefore the soldier is a peasant himself. And at the same time, you create a situation where an army could not be a militarist organization because in every country where the army, like the North Vietnamese army is, is so heroic in the peoples' eyes, there's always the tendency toward what we may call Bonapartism. One of the generals may say, "Well, you know I'm the hero of the country and therefore I will take power." So I found that kind of development in North Vietnam extremely interesting and I have the impression, although I have very little information on it, that the Chinese are moving in the same direction. You remember in 1950 and 51 the Chinese army suddenly became a conventional army. You saw lots of the Chinese field marshalls. And Mao Tse Tung began to realize that it was very dangerous. So now there are no more uniforms in the Chinese army.

So that is the kind of thing that is happening in North Vietnam and that is why the North Vietnamese during these last four years of incredible American bombing not only have succeeded in organizing the people to resist the bombing, but actually has developed the country, which is amazing to anyone who is not familiar with the Vietnamese system.

Now according to some very independent sources--I talked to some Swedish, some Norwegians, and some Canadians who have visited North Vietnam during the last two years--the farm problems are almost solved; the decentralization of industry has been solved. And also, the kind of intellectualism of the peasants and, what we might call the "peasantization" of the intellectuals, has been accomplished. Now no one stays in Hanoi because of the bombing and therefore all the intellectuals have to go to the countryside and live in the villages. This kind of osmosis is very interesting. Now the intellectual in Vietnam knows more about the peasant life because he lives there now, literally. He is confronted now with all the realities of the peasant life. At the same time, the peasant, when he's in contact with the intellectual, becomes more community-inclined rather than just "my plot of land, and my house, and my farm" and all this.

So after this war you will see that Vietnam, both North and South, although the North will be first, will be a very good socialist country in the true sense of the word. I would not say that we have to thank American bombing for that, but I think that the American bombing has accomplished many things which the North Vietnamese predicted would take twenty years to accomplish. But now they have already been accomplished to a great extent in North Vietnam, and I think the same situation will prevail in South Vietnam after the war.

To be continued next issue.

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