

Tom Hayden Meets the Spotlight

At the end of a 40 city speaking tour directed against nuclear power last year, Jane Fonda called for the formation of a broad based grass roots movement against the big corporations, then announced that she was retiring from public appearance politics in order to go back to making films. This move allowed Tom Hayden, Jane's husband and the second star in the anti-nuclear tour organized by Hayden's own 8,500 member Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), to take center stage and begin to advance his position and stature inside the Democratic Party, with the goal of a second try at a U.S. Senate seat in 1982. Hayden's fortunes will depend largely on his claim that he represents 'a constituency' of feminist, minority and alternate energy interest groups, as well as on his yet untested ability to turn these interests into votes for other liberal democratic candidates like Jerry Brown in this year's election.

Hayden's endorsement of Brown, which was announced December 17, came at a time when the sputtering Brown campaign needed help the most.

photo by Mike Lichter



Tom Hayden

Hayden credited Brown with having 'legitimized a new consciousness in California,' a consciousness which certainly provided a friendly and supportive environment for Hayden's CED to operate in. With organized labor

in California still undecided between Brown and Kennedy, CED's endorsement will rally some liberals who are disillusioned with some of Brown's conservative stands (such as his backing for a constitutional amendment to

balance the budget) as well as send some CED workers and funds into the Brown campaign machine.

An old friend of the Haydens, Jerry Brown supported Tom and Jane in each political controversy the pair generated in the last few years. In return, Brown picked up a few campaign tactics from Hayden's CED, such as the Governor's big jump onto the anti-nuclear bandwagon, culminating with Brown's appearance at the mass anti-nuclear rally in Washington D.C. last year. Jane Fonda even accompanied Brown on his special Amtrak campaign train when Jerry came to San Diego for the Eagles-Chicago-Linda Ronstadt show last December. The concert idea turned out to be a semi-flop when only 9,000 paid inflated ticket prices (with \$5 to Brown's campaign) to see the bands. The rock fans later booed the Governor when he made a brief appearance on stage.

Meanwhile, back in Sacramento, the latest uproar is over the Governor's appointment of Jane Fonda to the California Arts Council (vetoed by the State Senate) and of ex-Vietnam POW Edison Miller to the Orange County Board of Supervisors. In the legislature

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new indicator

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Silencing History: Reflections on the Iran Crisis

According to Washington and the Pentagon, the "Iran Crisis" began on November 4, 1979, when angry Iranian students seized the U.S. Embassy taking some 100 hostages, including approximately 63 Americans, and demanded that the U.S. government return the Shah to Iran to stand trial as a mass murderer and a thief. From the Iranian viewpoint the crisis has deep historical roots—the crisis in American-Iranian relations began back in the early 1950s when the U.S. government implemented a severe economic blockade of Iran while the C.I.A. worked to place the Shah, who had been forced to flee the country, back in power. For the Iranians, the precipitating cause of the immediate crisis came when the U.S. government, at the behest of Trilateral Commission members David Rockefeller and Henry Kissinger, mockingly ignored numerous Iranian pleas and allowed the Shah to enter the United States for medical treatment. Given the history of the American government's complicity with the Shah's regime, most Iranians suspiciously viewed this act as a symbolic slap in the face, as evidence of continued U.S. support of the Shah and what he represented.

With the help of the State department and the highly centralized mass media, the Carter administration has successfully silenced all critical questioning regarding the nature and history of the Shah's regime by focusing on the plight of the hostages and the "breaking of international law" which makes all embassies and diplomats sacrosanct, even if they are used for covert C.I.A. operations. Repeatedly, candidate Carter has insisted that the history of the Shah's regime is "extraneous" and "irrelevant" and should not be discussed publicly. In the meantime, the corporate dominated mass media have increased their efforts at the colonization of consciousness by orchestrating american public opinion into a confused, uninformed, racist and jingoistic patriotic frenzy.

Now democracies, according to their own stated ideals, are supposed to thrive on the informed and open discussion of issues by their publics. Genuine democratic theorists have always maintained that attempts to orchestrate

public opinion, to keep information from the public, to distort, administer and define issues from the standpoint of powerful vested interests, are characteristics of authoritarian societies. With the recent escalation of the "Iran crisis" to a mass-mediated spectacle, we have witnessed an increasing authoritarianism in American society that should frighten anyone who is still capable of thinking critically. Instead of open, rational and intelligent discussions of the issues, we have been saturated and bombarded with rather ugly and insidious images of the Iranian people who have been painted as "irrational," "irresponsible," "unstable" and "unable to govern themselves"—the same demeaning epithets that are often

"Jewish Fascism" begins with this issue—see page 9...

applied to insubordinate blacks, women, Chicanos and other dominated groups in America and around the world. While no one seems to be disturbed by the critical political analysis of Iranians, Palestinians or Russians—the questioning of their motives and the interpretation of their actions in terms of long-term strategic interests which are often concealed by official rhetoric—it has become an article of faith that the American government's motives are pure and not subject to critical analysis.

roots of "the crisis"

If one were to rely strictly on the information passed on to us by the State department and the mass media, one would have to come to the conclusion that the Iranian people simply do not have a history, or that their history is irrelevant in understanding the current crisis. Could it be that the Carter administration's systematic attempt to distort, silence and gag history is based upon the unspoken realization that the unified consensus (which is a false consensus) of the American people would be shattered, as it was in the later years of the Vietnam War, if more Americans became informed about the repressive and brutal nature of the Shah's regime and their own



LNS photo

New York march demanding an end to threats against Iran

government's complicity with it? Could it be that the Carter administration, which has made tremendous political capital out of the crisis, fears that if the lid is taken off this historical information many Americans would come to question the wisdom of having allowed the Shah to come here in the first place, thereby holding Carter partially responsible for the crisis and the plight of the hostages? The almost instant silencing of presidential candidate Ted Kennedy, who condemned the Shah's regime as one of the most violent in history, is only one indication of how seriously and tightly the lid has been clamped down. Why?

There may not be any pleasant

answers to these questions, but they are, nevertheless, legitimate and deserving of honest answers. What is sorely needed is a period of critical questioning and open public discussions grounded upon a declaration of intellectual independence from the relentless propaganda spewed out by the mass media and the Pentagonians. We need to remind ourselves that the government's ability to define threats to "national security" has often been used in the past to constrict political liberties at home and abroad, and that an orchestrated fear and hatred of the "Enemy," especially when the enemy is portrayed daily as a mindless animal, has often provided the

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Atmosphere of Terror Escalates

Last week a member of the collective noticed that his neighbors downstairs in apartment D were in the hurried process of packing and moving out of their apartment. The young married couple quickly carried their things out to their car (which had an enormous FOR SALE sign in the front window), got in and drove off without a word. The fact that the neighbors did not come out to wish them luck and say goodbye was not surprising at all. The young couple was Iranian. Even though the atmosphere at the Coast Apartments was friendly and many residents there sympathetic the Iranian couple must have thought it best to avoid any contact with the neighbors. We don't blame them one bit. The danger at this time is just too great.

If anything the brutal murders of two Iranian students in Pacific Beach last January 4 underlines this danger and brings it out into the open. Barin and Sanaipour were tied to chairs and shot in the back of the head by someone who, in the words of the investigating homicide detective, "knew what they were doing". The other Iranians living in the same building had received threatening phone calls in the weeks before the killings and the newspaper reports mentioned the "Iranians Go Home" bumper stickers on the cars of the American residents just outside the apartment. The Police reported robbery as the motive; indeed, the victims' wallets and car were taken. Yet this does not eliminate the atmosphere of fear nor the questions each Iranian resident of San Diego must ask him or herself when they go outside.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service reported last week that over 100 Iranians living in the San Diego area had not reported to the INS office before last week's deadline. Officials said that this may have been due to unreported moves, transfers to different schools, or other oversights. More likely there are Iranians in this city in hiding, afraid to report to the INS, afraid of retaliations, and, maybe, afraid to return to Iran. They are as much hostages as the 50 Americans in Tehran. Indirect terror, through the media and state organs, is equally strong and equally violent. We deplore it as Human Beings but the terror and the larger events which control it are beyond our control. Yet we urge the halt of this social sickness, starting with each one of us, before another innocent person is killed.

An Activist Falls

We at the new indicator wish to express our sympathy to our friends at

the *Tagezeitung* in West Berlin following the death of their associate Rudi Dutschke, an important author and student activist in West Germany, last Christmas eve. An immigrant from the GDR, Dutschke became one of the leading members of the German Students for a Democratic Society, a student group which called for large-scale university reforms and democratic socialism during the '60s. Part of the 'extra-parliamentary opposition' in West Germany, Dutschke and his comrades initiated important demonstration against the Vietnam War and West German involvement in U.S. and N.A.T.O. imperialism. An assassination attempt on April 11, 1968 which nearly killed Dutschke forced him to leave West Germany for his own safety. Denmark granted him asylum in 1971, and allowed Dutschke to take a teaching job at Aarhus University. He continued his political work in Germany by writing for the *Tagezeitung* and campaigning for the Environmentalist Party. Rudi never once renounced or abandoned his past politics the way former '60s radicals in the U.S. seem to enjoy doing, and he continued his work for progressive causes in Germany until the day of his accidental death at age 39. He was buried in West Berlin on January 3 at a service attended by over 300 friends and supporters. We salute this fallen activist and his West German comrades on the *Tagezeitung* who continue the struggle.

'Unity Day'?

This country is well known for its bureaucratic originality with holidays. The government routinely switches the birthdays of dead presidents to Mondays so that it can declare a legal 3-day weekend. The first of May is renamed "Law Day" so that everyone will forget that it is really Labor Day in the rest of the world. Now, thanks to the Iranian crisis, President Carter comes up with a one-shot pseudo-holiday called 'Unity Day,' which was observed last December 18. Officials suggested such activities as the displaying of American flags in conspicuous places, the ringing of church bells, and the holding of silent prayer vigils. The myth of a unified American people standing up together was then gleefully repeated in government circles and broadcast on the evening news that night. For the majority of the population it was just another day. And for those of us who can identify nationalism and imperialism in all their forms, it was an occasion for laughter. 'Unity Day' will go down in history with the 'WIN Button,' 'Silent Majority Day,' and the War of Jenkin's Ear. Better yet, get a blank calendar and come up with your own holidays. You can always do better than the government!

ANNOUNCEMENTS:

- Women's Center Meeting, Thursday Jan. 10 at 5pm.
- T.G.I.F. at Groundwork Books. Friday, Jan. 11, 4:30 to whenever.
- Women's self-defense course starts Jan. 8. Runs for nine weeks, Tuesdays 6-9pm in the Gym. \$10. sign up at Muir Res. Halls office with Pat.
- Labor Rally for the Equal Rights Amendment, Sunday, Jan. 13 at 1:00. I.A.M. Hall, 5150 Kearny Mesa Rd. Speakers plus film "With Babies and Banners."
- Groucho Marxist Caucus meeting, Monday, Jan. 14 at 1:00. G.M.C. office, student center—2nd floor (above the food co-op).
- Progressive Coalition meeting Monday, Jan. 14 at noon. Progressive Coalition office—student center, 2nd floor. To plan Winter activities.
- Food Co-op meetings Tuesdays at 6:00.
- new indicator collective meetings Tuesdays at 5:00 in the NIC office. Student Center—2nd floor.

"No Nukes"

bumperstickers available now

50 cents, new indicator office
student center—2nd floor

Thanks

Dear friends,
A lot of people appreciate getting your good news coverage and news analyses, but we often don't get around to saying thanks.

So—thanks.

And have a fine, strong, New Year.

—Brian Ritter

Terrorism and Liberals

NIC:

Your last issue looked pretty good. However, it had a few problems which I feel merit comment.

First, the Corporations who dump their unsafe products on underdeveloped nations are not terrorists. A terrorist is one who employs violence, against property or against people, towards a political end. The term is usually used in reference to activities planned as extravagant, or directed, displays of violence used as object lessons. The corporations in question are not attempting to employ violence, per se, towards any end at all. Rather, they are beating the shortest path to a buck, regardless of the human cost. This is criminal, but it is not terrorism. The state, with its displays of force against movements that 'get out of hand' and its every day repression through a myriad of activities, is the real terrorist.

Second, an otherwise excellent article on the current rash of movies claiming to be about the Vietnam War suffers from a major defect. It states that the movies it is discussing are not right-wing propaganda, but rather represent liberal ideology. While it is true that these movies do not make the mistake of trying to justify the US role in Southeast Asia (a stand which is, not yet anyway, not likely to be well received), the "liberalism" described is but conservatism with a human face. Liberal analyses and liberal "solutions" to the problems at hand differ in only one significant respect from analyses of professed conservatives and their programs; liberals try to soften the blow—to moderate the consequences of an unjust system, to cover up the worst of the symptoms—while Conservatives charge on ahead regardless of the consequences. It's a difference of PR, not of substance. Simply different estimates of how much they can get away with before people won't take it any more.

Other than that it was a good issue. The paper's looking a lot better this year—the layout's improved and a lot of good articles are getting printed. Keep up the good work.

—Lowell Duncan

Grad Student Splattered?

N.I.C.:

The "Love Song of W. Tex McElroy" was a cleverly executed parody of T.S. Eliot. It also succeeded in poking the satirical needle into the species of administrator/bureaucrat etc.—particularly the pro-big business type.

The problem with the poem was the line about the grad student splattered from Tioga. True, it happens. And true, as the poem seemed to be pointing out, administrators take it in stride, as something to be expected, never wanting to know why it happens or what they could do to prevent it. After all, they thrive on the conditions that others perish under. However, in the context of this poem, the line simply added a bit to the desensitization of the campus environment. The author fell prey to the Saturday Night Live mentality which reduces everything to the same level. They mingled with what they assailed.

The failing of this bad line is too bad because: 1) the problem it addresses

needs publicity and unhipocritical, sensitive discussion; 2) the author shows talent and the rest of the poem is a delight.

—A Reader

N.I. AS Coverage Criticized

Being written up unfavorably in the NI is probably a compliment. Yet it never fails to amaze me when I see how much energy some people are willing to spend undermining the efforts of other students who feel they can contribute something to this university, and are willing to try.

The NI's concern for my capability to represent students, based on alleged poor attendance at A.S. Council meetings, is typically hollow. The first story has me absent for more than half of the meetings; while the second (written in response to a rebuttal by Revelle College Council) admits that while I really only missed one meeting, I had left early on several other occasions. Well, it seems that our progressive, left-wing, alternate newspaper wants to make this an important issue. Good work NI! You're really keeping up with the hot ones, aren't you. I suppose I do owe students an explanation. Quite simply, I have to leave the meetings by 10pm to put my kids to bed, and to make sure the babysitter gets home ok. No more and no less.

It might be interesting for NI readers to note that while the paper is so skillful in the art of expose, seldom are NI writers ever willing to put his/her names next to their work. I challenge them to do that and still continue to present the same brand of bullshit. Students have a right to know who is writing such fine copy for the paper they subsidize to the tune of many thousands every year. However I wouldn't advise anyone to hold their breath.

Vic Houser
A.S. Rep, Revelle College

ni response: The original article, a commentary entitled "Let's Change the AS" (published in issue 4), stated that you had missed more than half of the roll calls, not meetings as you claim. You were included as one of four officers so designated, and the article was not intended, either by its author or by the collective, as an attack upon you. Rather, the article was an attempt on the part of its author to suggest measures the AS might take to improve its rather limited efficacy.

The author, as is the case with several of our writers, did not choose to have a byline on the article. The Collective, as a whole, takes responsibility for the contents of the paper, and specifically for unsigned articles, although we may not agree with all of the conclusions reached in any one piece. There are several factors which motivate writers to not byline their articles, and we respect those decisions.

It should be noted that calls for the identification of our collective members, and specifically of certain authors, are not unprecedented. The administration frequently has raised this issue, and it tends to arise most often in response to specific articles. Such information does not, and would not go unused. It should be recalled that in 1976 eight of our contributors were subjected to disciplinary hearings, and that this is but a more visible manifestation of surveillance against the left on this campus that continues to this day, as we have been documented. Students are in sensitive positions, administrative displeasure can be expressed in a variety of manners ranging from expulsion or suspension to more subtle means such as financial aid or denial of academic petitions. Our continuing series on police surveillance documents some of the ways such information has been gathered and used.

coming soon:
Hearts & Minds
January 22nd, TLH 107
7 pm Free
first film of the 1980 political film series

Welcome to the Eighties

To guess what the coming decade might look like, examine the obvious trends of the preceding decades. On the international level, expect:

1) the continued cartelization of natural resources following the OPEC example in peripheral, Third World nations. In turn, this will provoke a consolidation of world capitalism through the multinational corporation, so that industrialized nations and nations supplying the industrial nations with raw materials will confront each other as organized blocs.

2) more revolutions, socialist and non-socialist, in the peripheral Third World. The United States, leery from its experience in Viet Nam, and the Soviet Union, bogged down in its own version of Viet Nam in Afghanistan, will attempt to control these forces for change by means other than direct military intervention. Yet such intervention cannot be ruled out entirely, as say, when the New People's Army in the Philippines becomes strong enough to engage the Philippine dictatorship in an all out "socialist revolution for national liberation."

The division of the world into two organized blocs of power will not hinder the expression of subtler divisions within each bloc. Territories in the peripheral Third World that have neither the resources nor the population to attempt nation-building will ally with more powerful Third World nations. And expect:

3) Industrialized and industrializing nations caught between the centers of empire and the cartelized Third World, that is to say, Europe, Japan, South Africa, Israel, Argentina, etc. to be squeezed hardest. Expect the weakening or collapse of some national economies as has occurred in England. Also expect efforts by these semi-peripheral areas to strengthen their own forms of international organization—the Common Market and the like—in response to this squeeze.

4) the continuation of terrorism and secessionist struggles in these semiperipheral nations. Some nation-states may go socialist, some may experience a reborn fascism, and some may disintegrate totally. Struggles for national liberation in Eastern Europe will directly challenge Soviet imperialism. Nuclear terrorism will become a reality.

The US and the USSR are obviously centers of empire by virtue of their highly industrialized economies and their imperialist designs. The PRC (Peoples Republic of China), because of its demographic strength and position of power in Asia, is also a center of empire. Therefore, expect:

5) the creation of three defacto spheres of world influence, dominated by the US, USSR and PRC, as in Orwell's prophetic work, 1984. However, this will not be able to stabilize the world capitalist economy, which will continue in crisis, with rampant inflation,

depression, and economic struggles becoming military confrontations.

6) A decline of living standards in the US, a leveling off of the standard of living in the USSR, and a slowdown in development in the PRC, all of which will fuel internal dissent and conflict.

Of more interest is what will happen in the United States in the '80's. Look for:

1) a resurgence labor movement in response to the decline in the American standard of living and an unstable national economy. Composed of marxist-leninist, decentralist and democratic elements, it will organize around the loosely defined slogan of "workers' control" and will represent labor's awareness of the consolidation of a highly stratified, class society in the United States.

2) the reemergence of minority militancy. Economic crisis and the decline in living standards will hit peoples of color hardest, so expect racial confrontations, even riots, in American urban centers. Unlike the '60's, these riots will be organized and will require military operations to suppress them.

3) the continued destruction of the environment and decay of cities which will spark desperate actions by groups of radical ecologists. As the NO NUKES movement has already demonstrated, this will be the primary channel for youth and student dissent.

From these trends, three scenarios can be drawn with regard to the United States in the '80's. The US ruling class may attempt to:

4) suppress labor, minority and ecological radicalism as brutally as possible, through Palmer and McCarthy-style blacklistings, purges, deportations, declarations of martial law and national emergency, etc. In turn, elements of the labor, minority and ecology movements will unite to form an indigenous, urban guerrilla movement, resulting in civil and class war.

5) co-opt these movements by eliminating their most militant elements and buying off their rank-and-file with economic and political concessions. This will entail the US tightening the screws on the rest of the world through economic imperialism backed by military power, or the development of new technologies (control of nuclear fusion and the attendant ability to transmute elements). US society and economy will be organized as a corporate state, a vertical syndicate, with government, corporate capitalism and organized labor openly running things.

6) divert internal dissent by engaging in a popular, patriotic war somewhere in the world.

Some may consider this an unduly pessimistic forecast for the coming decade. Some may consider this a piece of not very skillfully written science fiction. Most of us will survive the '80's to determine the accuracy of these predictions.

Staff Box:

the new indicator:
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Babylon-by-the-Cove



Chas. Patterson, author of thirty books, is now suffering from an injury received while descending the unlighted stairs in the Student Center last night.

Charles A. Patterson
Noticed, over the break, a few interesting items on television... A commercial, for Boise Cascade, was bragging about how they put hemlock in soup and other snack foods. Seem they grow the stuff for lumber, and hate to have any left over so they dump it in food. Now, no doubt they've made sure the stuff isn't actually poisonous (sure they have), but I have my doubts as to the nutritive value of sawdust, whether it be from hemlock or spruce or oak trees...

Also saw, on Sixty Minutes, an item on the Hooker Company, owned by Occidental. Seems they dumped a whole lot of poisonous chemicals into the ground, and they've been turning up in wells around Northern California. Not only that, they knew about it all the time, and one of their engineers was constantly sending out memos warning that in the long run profits might be hurt if things weren't remedied. They stopped dumping one of the chemicals two years back, although huge quantities are still in the surrounding water (the chemical causes sterility and cancer), but are now investigating the possibility of resuming production.

The memo detailing that investigation called for calculations of the profitability of such resumption, based on a comparison of the profit to be made to the cost of damages and related expenses in lawsuits stemming from such use. Hooker's president professed that such calculations were S.O.P. and Mike Wallace, although expressing disagreement, should agree. If you remember, Ford did the same thing on the Pinto, and Wallace covered that one too, although well after Mother Jones had broken the story open. Ah well, that's capitalism for you...

Coming closer to home... Those who stuck around for the break may have noticed the Jerry Brown promo concert held last month. Brown, recipient of one of Aron Kay's well-placed pies, has been doing poorly in the polls and has had trouble raising bucks. This concert is one way around that problem—get a few bands and artists together and pull a benefit. Ronstadd, the Eagles, Chicago and J.D. Souther in this instance. Of course, most of the people who go to these benefits couldn't give one hoot about who's benefiting (after all, what real difference does it make, it is not a politician raking it off the top its some promoter), and no matter what the cause this remains the case. But then, involving people in issues isn't what electoral politics is about anyway. Just the bucks, kid, just the bucks...

Kudos to Jimmy for his refusal to trade the Shah for the hostages. Although the exchange-rate for Americans is not what it used to be, we can drive a harder bargain than that! Perhaps if we threw in Somoza, Solzhenitsyn, Thieu and a first-round draft choice...

The latest issue of the Progressive had a good article on surveillance of anti-nuke activists by the federal government, police and industry-hired goons. The piece not only documented the surveillance but went into some of the ways the information is used; all in all a valuable piece, especially as the same methods of gathering data and using it are in use around the country (and at UCSD) to keep track of, and keep in line, dissidents. The same issue (Jan, '80) had articles on US proliferation of nuclear weapons, the growing death rate suffered by workers in the uranium enrichment industry, etc. Not to mention an article on the draft. Interesting, you should check it out...

One San Diego politician has been showing his true colors lately. Paul Eckert, who's on the County Board of Supervisors, has been making a number of racist remarks lately, and alienating a few people. One example, he proposed putting KKK Grand Dragon Tom Metzger on the County's Committee to study the impact of undocumented workers on the local economy. One proposal that went nowhere fast. Right, Paul...

But then, local politics always have been kind of bizaare. As a lot of you must have heard, State Senator Mills, who emerged from San Diego and professes to be liberal, recently called Hayden a Stalinist. Red-baiting, of course, is very in—but Hayden? Now admittedly, his politics do leave something to be desired, as does, in this author's opinion, his organization—the Campaign for Economic Democracy—but Stalinism, which like fascism is an overused term, is certainly not the proper adjective. The Tom and Jane show may not be the most entertaining we've run across but there are more adequate descriptors that could be used. The abuse of language is a real problem; if leftists (and others, like Mills) call everyone they disagree with either Stalinist or fascist than how are we to deal with Stalinists or fascists in real life? But onward, to more relevant discussion...

CHARGERS—By now, of course, all have heard the thrilling tale of how a second-rate team from a backwater town, through perseverance and hard work, won their Division championship and went on to win the superbowl (well, not quite). HOORAY! Well, this writer, possessed by a curious and irrational compulsion to complete an incomplete in Anthro by producing a paper on the unique characteristics of mass hysteria, attended the Monday night game where the Chargers defeated Denver for the title. Unfortunately, as half-time I was recognized by one of my readers as I stared forlornly at a hotdog in my hand muttering of Red Dye 6 and nitrosamines, and was forced to make a rather speedy exit. Such is the way of fame...

That about wraps things up. Going to be cutting back on AS news for awhile. They're being covered way out of proportion to their importance. After all, they're just a bunch of students engaged in diploma padding. The war research goes on, as does the military recruiting, and Big Mac's found himself a new job. The Union announced that McElroy is on the board of directors of Sun Savings, a soon-to-be-opened bank in La Jolla Village Square (You remember the Square, that's a development students were fighting against a few years back for a variety of reasons, McElroy held back from the fray)...

Silencing History, cont.

political base for an expansion of the state and the military. In such times, silence, obedience and sacrifice are lauded while discussion, independence and critical questioning are regarded as traitorous.

It is the intention of the remainder of this article to briefly examine the history of American-Iranian relations while at the same time raising questions concerning the historical significance and meaning of the present crisis. We might begin by asking why the Carter administration has been so intent on silencing all discussion on the history of the Shah's regimes. Secondly, we should seriously consider whether the claims of the Iranian people against the Shah, the C.I.A. and the U.S. government are just—this would entail a public examination of the role which the U.S. examination of the role which the American government and the C.I.A. have played in internal Iranian affairs. Finally, we should consider whether "international law" and "diplomatic immunity" should be just taken as givens. Did the U.S. government and the C.I.A. covertly break international law by consistently meddling in the internal affairs of the Iranian people? Has international law been used to maintain the privileges and prerogatives of the super-powers against impoverished Third World countries? Let us briefly examine history for some insights into these questions.

U.S. Involvement in Iran: 1941-78

America emerged out of the ashes of World War II as the undisputed economic and political leader of the world. Since then, U.S. foreign policy has carried on an aggressive global campaign against revolution and native insurgent movements, conducting military campaigns and covert C.I.A. operations to implement its imperial designs in numerous Third World countries. Greece (1948), Iran (1953), Korea (1954), Lebanon (1958), Cuba (1961), South Vietnam (1963), Congo (1964), British Guiana (1964), Dominican Republic (1965) and Chile (1973) are but a few examples. Insurgent movements in each country were looked upon as a test case of America's imperialist will, and the number of dictatorial regimes under U.S. support increased year after year. The basic assumption behind this foreign policy of counter-insurgency was that all internal revolutionary movements attempting to overthrow dictatorial and oppressive regimes were a threat to "national security" and "vital American interests" abroad. Whenever Americans raised questions about these policies, the boogey-man of a Soviet-inspired world communist conspiracy was used to enforce their silence.

America's involvement in Iran can only be understood within the context of this overall policy of counter-insurgency. Outside interference in Iranian affairs, however, did not begin with the U.S. Initially, it was the British

Empire that placed the first Pahlavi, Reza Shah, on the throne in 1921. The new Shah, former head of the Persian Cossack Brigade and Britain's man in Iran, almost immediately proceeded to set up a highly centralized dictatorship which ruthlessly suppressed all forms of dissent. He also managed to amass an incredible amount of wealth in a relatively short period of time.

With the outbreak of World War II, Reza Shah unwittingly sealed his own fate by surreptitiously backing Nazi Germany and allowing Iran to become a center of Hitler's intelligence networks in the Middle East. In order to safeguard



the oilfields and the Eastern supply routes, British and Russian troops invaded Iran and forced the Reza Shah to abdicate the throne in favor of his son, Mohammed-Reza Shah, the current deposed monarch who is now living comfortably in Panama. Shortly thereafter, thirty thousand U.S. troops of the Persian Gulf Command were allowed to enter Iran to work on transporting supplies to Russia. In the period between 1946 and 1947 many of these troops were used to crush popular resistance movements in the Azerbaijan and Kurdistan provinces.

Having gotten its foot in the door, the U.S. began to consolidate its position within Iran, hoping to turn it into a major U.S. stronghold in its cold war with the Russians. Over the period of the next thirty years, America would come to wear the imperial mantle which was dropping from the shoulders of the staggering British Empire. It was just a matter of time.

Mossadegh, Oil & Counter-Revolution

From 1947 until 1951, the Shah increasingly strengthened his stronghold over the Iranian people, mostly through policies of internal military repression. Feeling that he was a "divinely inspired" king, the Shah blatantly justified his regime by claiming that the "strictest authoritarianism" was necessary to turn Iran from an undeveloped nation of illiterate, poor people into one of the leading nations of the world. He also caught the attention of Western powers by promising a favorable climate for capitalist

investment as well as by displaying a rabid anti-communist political stance.

In 1951, a raspy, seasoned politician named Mohammed Mossadegh became Prime Minister, posing the first direct challenge to the Shah's power. Playing on the Iranian hatred of foreign domination, Mossadegh ran on a platform of oil nationalization and gained a good deal of popular support. From 1951 to 1953 his power increased while the Shah's declined. This trend continued until August 16, 1953 when the Shah made a desperate attempt to overthrow Mossadegh. The attempt backfired as thousands of Mossadegh's supporters rioted, forcing the Shah to flee the country for Baghdad and then Rome. Statues of the Shah were pulled

down and destroyed.

When Mossadegh came to power in 1951 he immediately began to nationalize the oil industry which had been dominated by the British Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The British, unwilling to use military force, turned to the U.S. for help. The American response was quick and forceful. The newly elected Eisenhower administration rapidly came to the decision that Mossadegh must go. Mossadegh pleaded for American support but to no avail. Leading a world-wide boycott of Iranian oil, which had immediate severe consequences for the Iranian economy, the U.S. also relied on the C.I.A. to work with reactionary groups within Iran. When in 1953 the Shah had been forced to flee the country, much of the organizational work that had been done since 1951 began to pay off. C.I.A. agents Kermit Roosevelt and H. Norman Schwartzkopf, plotting from a basement in Teheran, persuaded pro-Shah military elements to march on the capital and stage a coup against Mossadegh. Substantial sums of money were used to hire anti-Mossadegh demonstrators, and the U.S. Military Assistance Mission in Iran played a crucial role in the coup. Major General George C. Stewart, director of military assistance, proudly testified to this role when he later spoke before the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

When this crisis came on and the thing was about to collapse, we violated our normal criteria and among other things we did, we provided the army immediately on an

emergency basis blankets, boots, uniforms, electric generators, and medical supplies that permitted and created an atmosphere in which they could support the Shah.... The guns they had in their hands, the trucks that they rode in, the armored cars that they drove through the streets, and the radio communications that permitted their control, were all furnished through the military defense program... had it not been for this program, a government unfriendly to the United States probably would now be in power.

On August 19, 1953, after a few days of street fighting, Mossadegh's government was overthrown and the Shah was brought back to Iran. Mossadegh was arrested and put on trial for treason. The Shah made speeches which portrayed Mossadegh's overthrow as a spontaneous expression of pro-Shah loyalty. The new premier, Zahedi, immediately began working upon an agreement for an oil consortium which was highly favorable to the Gulf and Standard oil companies, who were given a forty-percent interest in the consortium. The carrot of American aid was dangled by the Shah as a trump card to silence the opposition.

Re-Construction of the Empire

The Shah's new U.S. backed military government immediately began to hunt down those who were responsible for his departure. Hundred of Iranians were assassinated, imprisoned and tortured. A new consolidation of power had begun. A month after Mossadegh's fall the Eisenhower administration approved a \$45 million emergency economic aid package to help the Shah stabilize the economy which had been severely strangled by the U.S. led economic boycott. Between 1949 and 1952, the U.S. had provided a total of \$33 million in grants and loans. Between 1953 and 1957 the total was extended to \$500 million, of which one-fourth was earmarked for the Shah's military. It was now America's role to be the protector and guarantor of the Shah's regime. The British went back to Europe to fight the Irish.

In 1957, with American and Israeli aid and technical assistance, SAVAK (The National Information and Security Organization) was set up to become the key instrument in the Shah's attempt to acquire absolute power. Oppositional parties were banned and press censorship became pervasive. SAVAK backed up the Shah through a ruthless suppression and identification of all suspected opponents, and barbarous torture practices became an everyday affair. Over the years it earned an international reputation as being one of the most brutal police organizations in the world. Amnesty International reported that "alleged methods of torture included whipping and beating, electric shocks, the extraction of nails and teeth, boiling water pumped into the rectum, heavy weights hung on the testicles, tying the prisoner to a metal table heated to a white heat, inserting a broken bottle in the anus and rape." While numerous reports of specific cases of torture were reported in the French

continued on page 5

IRAN, continued

newspaper Le Monde, the U.S. government and the mass media played coverup for the Shah, denying that torture was practiced in Iran. By the late 1950s as many as 900 U.S. personnel were working with the Shah's armed forces. The foes against which the Shah was being armed were the people of his own country.

In late 1962, under pressure from the Kennedy administration, the Shah announced his "White Revolution," which was supposed to usher in an era of agricultural reforms and political liberalization. The White Revolution, ludicrously called the Shah-people revolution, was in fact a reform program put into effect in order to prevent a revolution by providing for a wider base of support for the monarch and the State (in Iran the two were almost identical). Its economic goal was to transform and modernize the rural sector of the Iranian economy as well as open Iranian markets to the penetration of U.S. capital. Many of the Shah's critics, however, believing that political liberalization was at hand, came out of their hiding places and openly criticized the Shah's regime.

Revolution until Victory

It was during this period of time that Iran's most respected religious leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, began making numerous political speeches denouncing the Shah's regime and its ties with American imperial interests in the Middle East. As the opposition increased, the Shah reacted with increasing repression. Khomeini was arrested and on June 5, 1963 a large-scale revolt broke out all over Iran. The army and SAVAK responded with severe military action as thousands of Iranians were killed in the streets. When law and order were restored the American-supported Leviathan monster belched a sigh of relief and Khomeini was allowed to go free. A few months later he was arrested again, and sent into exile for making a speech against a bill which would have extended diplomatic immunity to American military advisors.

After the revolt of 1963 was put down, the Shah and SAVAK extended their influence into almost every possible facet of Iranian life. The program of political liberalization had ultimately turned into its opposite—those who came out into the open to criticize the Shah were either silenced, murdered, tortured or exiled. All independent political activity was outlawed.

From 1963 until 1977, the Shah's regime worked to integrate Iran into the U.S. dominated world economy. In the years of relative stability—a stability enforced by state repression—oil revenues came to provide for a large part of Iran's G.N.P. As an oil exporting country, Iran became increasingly dependent on the U.S. and other industrialized nations for imported goods, especially food supplies and military equipment. The destruction of Iran's traditional agrarian mode of production in so short a period of time had the disastrous consequence of forcing millions of peasants and

nomadic tribesmen into the cities to become either cheap labor or members of the swelling reserve army of the unemployed. Meanwhile, the Shah (and his family) amassed a large fortune, becoming one of the richest men in the world. Throughout the period, the United States government continued to make massive arms sales to Iran, so that by the mid-1970s Iran was the single largest purchaser of U.S. arms in the world. And, ironically, former C.I.A. chief Richard Helms was appointed U.S. Ambassador to Iran between 1973-1976!

In 1978 the Iranian people began to reach a point of no return. The voices of dissent multiplied as more and more Iranians called for an abolition of the Shah's regime and an end to foreign domination. Demonstrations and strikes increased throughout Iran and pictures of Khomeini appeared everywhere amidst the unrest in the streets. On Thursday, September 7, 1978, over a million people marched through the streets of Teheran shouting slogans against the Shah and his supporters. Other cities like Tabriz, Ghom, Mashhad and Shiraz also had massive demonstrations. The Shah responded by declaring martial law, making it against the law for more than two people to walk together in the streets. On the next day, "Black Friday," a crowd of more than 15 thousand Iranians gathered at Jaleh Square in Teheran ignoring the Shah's loudspeaker pronouncements of martial law. The Iranian army and SAVAK agents, armed to the teeth with American weapons and tanks, opened fire killing an estimated four to six thousand people. On the following day, while the streets of Teheran were still red with Iranian blood, Jimmy Carter, renowned defender of human rights, made a statement praising the Shah while at the same time pledging continued U.S. support. The "Black Friday" of September 8, 1978 was the bloodiest day seen in Iran since the tragic events of June 1963. The Carter administration had given the Shah's regime the green light to crush dissent. This was reinforced only a few months later when Carter visited Iran as a symbolic gesture of continued support for the Shah's regime. The Iranians were outraged.

Throughout the fall following "Black Friday" marches were held mourning the dead. Each new march, in turn, became an occasion for the Shah's troops to open fire on more Iranians. Khomeini, relying on tape cassettes of his Anti-Shah speeches, became the symbolic leader of the revolution. Strikes all over Iran closed down banks, businesses, postal services, factories and the extremely valuable oil wells. On January 16, 1979 the Shah and his family were forced to flee Iran for a second time. This time the Iranian masses were too mobilized to be "stabilized" by the C.I.A. and the State Department. On February 1, 1979, Khomeini flew back to Iran as the symbolic leader of the revolution.

On the Brink: some final thoughts
Most Americans continue to be

uninformed about the history of the Shah's regime and the U.S. government's complicity with it. One wonders whether Americans will ever learn that their long-term interests might be better served by siding with popular movements and governments rather than dictators and tyrants. For instance, how might things be different if the U.S. government had decided to give support to Mossadegh rather than the Shah? What might have happened if Carter had denounced the Shah for his continued violations of human rights? How might things be different if Carter had not invited the Shah into the United States? Should American prosperity be based upon the impoverishment of others?

In a recent interview with Time magazine Khomeini indicated that a possible solution to the current crisis would be "for the U.S. government to admit its misdeeds in Iran." As of this writing, there seem to be very few signs that such an admittance of misdeeds is coming from the Carter administration. In anything, every conciliatory move on the part of the Iranians (e.g., the release of the 13 hostages) has been met by an even tougher stance by the President. One gets the feeling that Carter is not really in too much of a hurry to end the crisis. Could it be that the Carter

administration is still wallowing in the intellectual ghettos of the Stone Age when it was considered a sign of weakness to admit mistakes? The hostages could be back in this country tomorrow if the U.S. would stop flexing its imperial muscles, and make some genuine conciliatory gesture to Iran.

It is now 1980, and wherever one looks one can see the psychological and social preparations for war. The dispossessed are yelling for justice and the possessors are complaining that they are being pushed around. It seems like the clocks of history have been turned back half a century. The watchdogs of reaction have been set loose upon the world and the crusade against all radical and revolutionary ideas renewed. The new Holy Alliance of Carter, the mass media and David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission has sent its armies to crush them. The universities have become bastions of stupidity and petty tyranny. Liberal intellectuals, having achieved security, affluence and power, have become upholders of restoration, the new apostles of reaction. The left is on retreat and the very word freedom has become suspect. The whole country seems to be engaged in a frenzied nationalist revival meeting. It would be nice if we could once again learn to talk, think critically, and hope.

—Richard Nadeau

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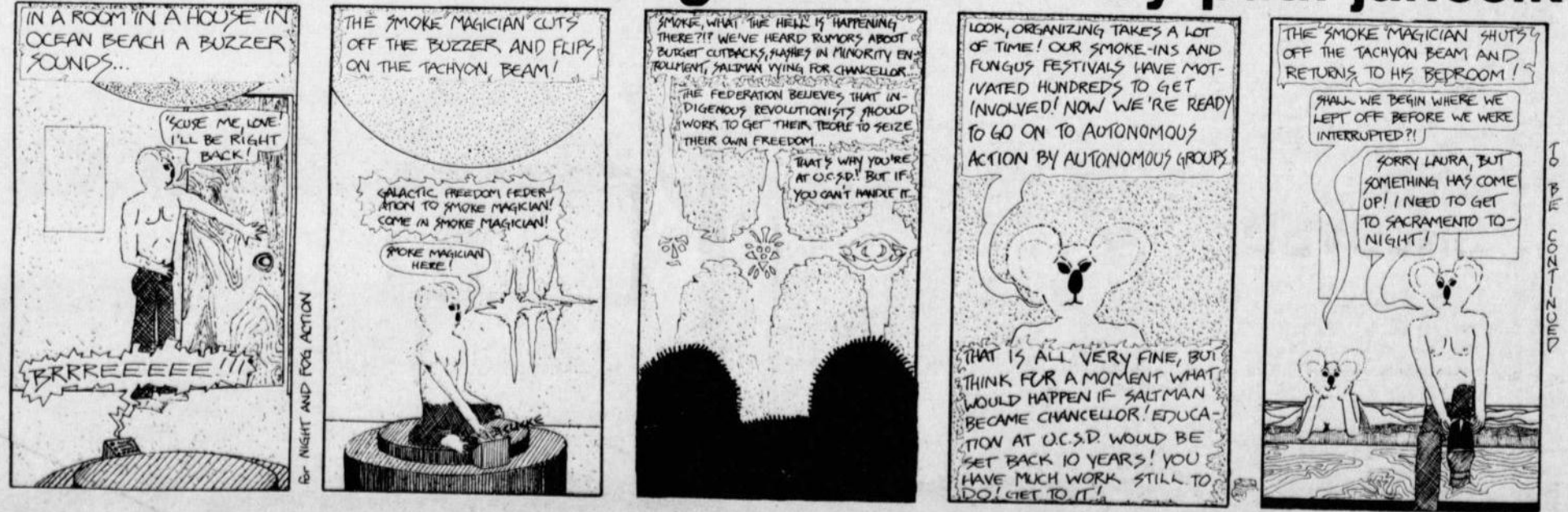
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by paul janosik



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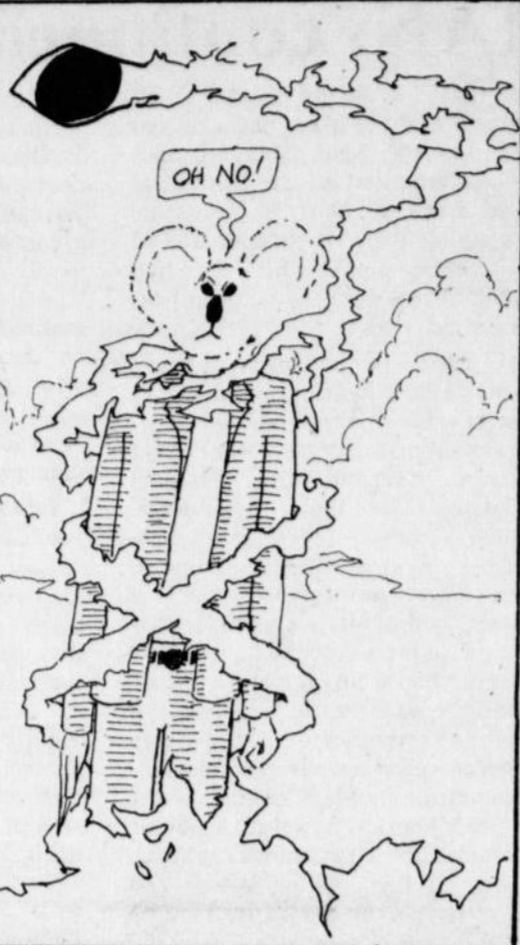


THE FURTHER ADVENTURES OF P. KOALA #2

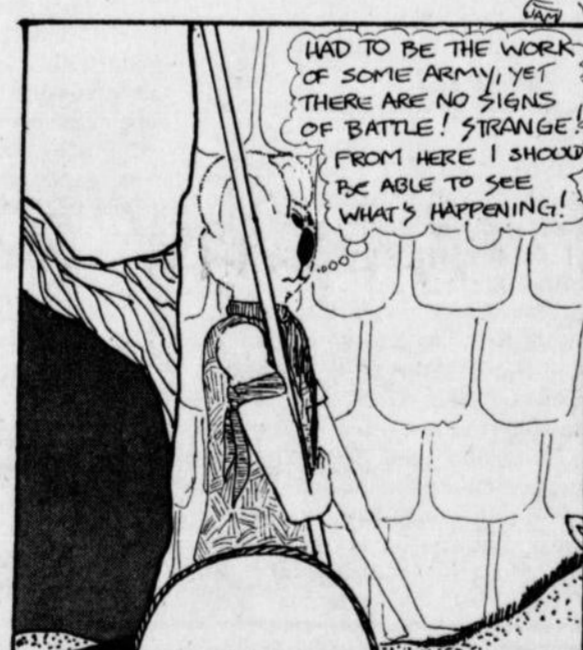
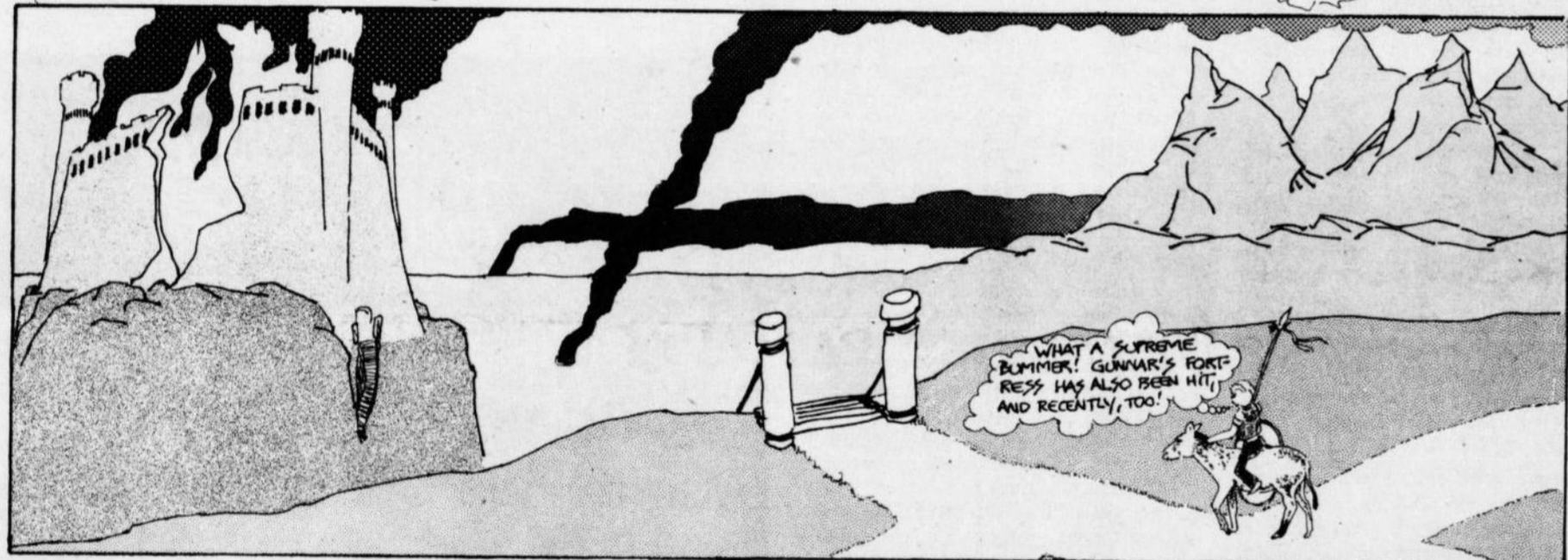
PART ONE

ART AND TEXT BY PAUL JANOSIK!

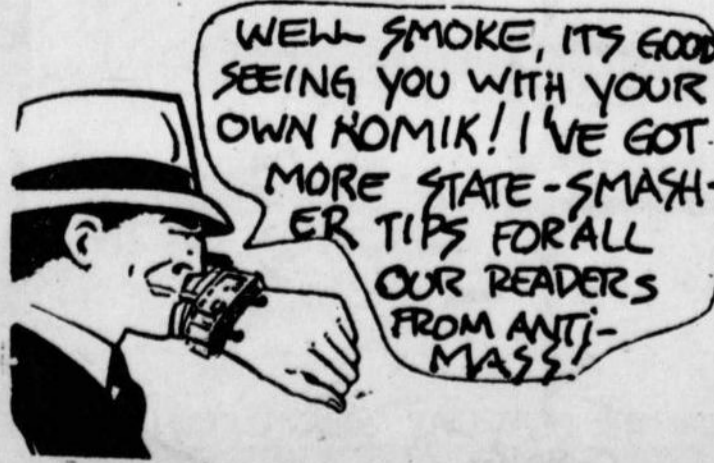
* KOALAS OPERATE ON AUSTRALIAN DREAMTIME, SO EVEN THOUGH LAST ISSUE IT WAS FALL QUARTER AND P. KOALA WAS FACING FINALS, IT IS NOW WINTER QUARTER AND P.K. HAS PASSED HIS FINALS!
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 * PAUL JANOSIK ACCEPTS SCRIPTS!



RRRRRRRRRRRR!! RRRRRRRRRRRRR!!

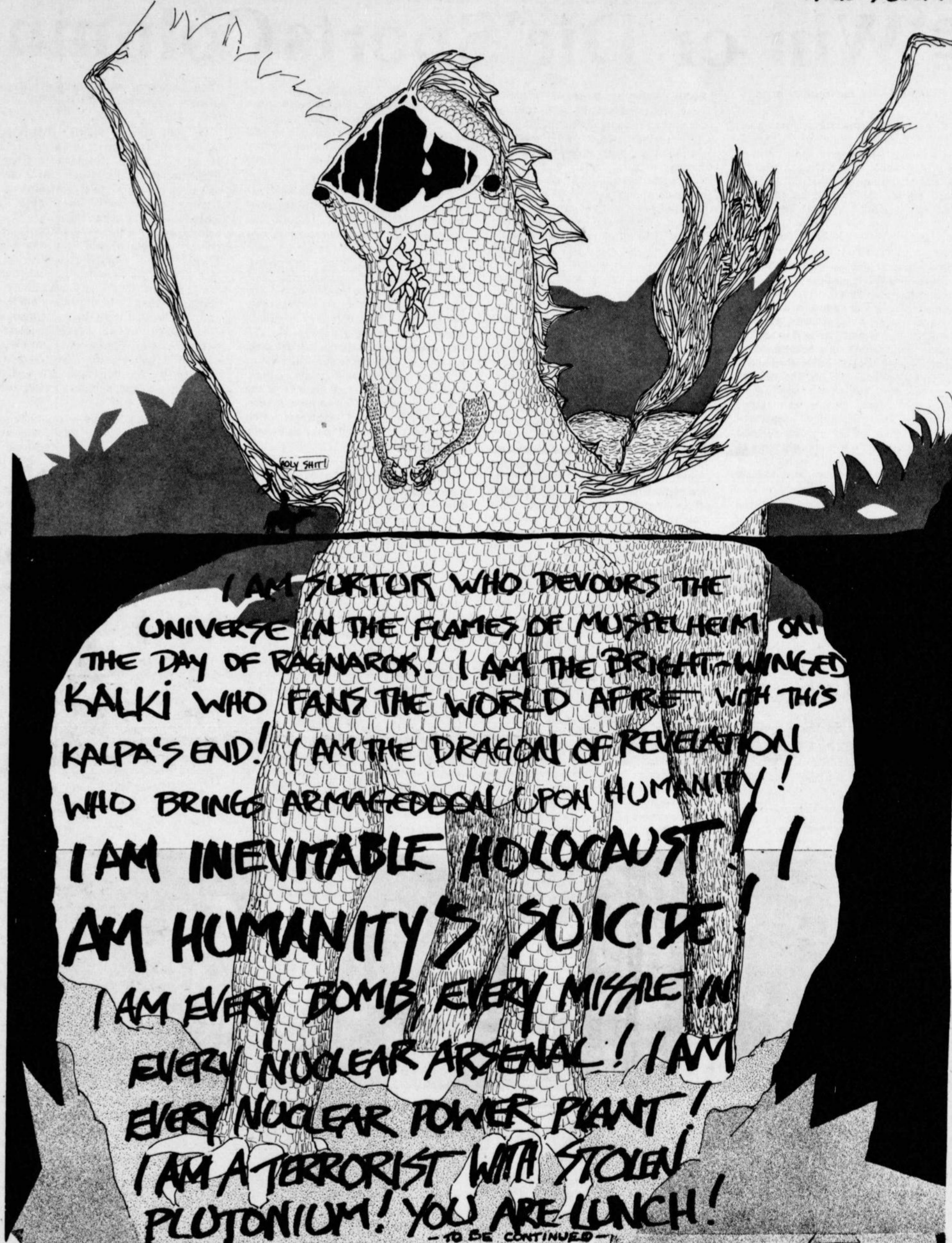


THERE IS A LOT OF DRUG USE DEPICTED IN THESE KOMIX! DRUG USE IN ITSELF IS NEITHER RADICAL NOR REVOLUTIONARY! HOWEVER, IT IS A FACT IN THE LIVES OF MOST STUDENTS!



priority of local action
 The collective gives priority to local action. It rejects the mass politics of the white nationalists with their national committees, organizers and the superstars. Definitely, the collective is out of the mainstream and what's more it feels no regrets. The aim of a collective is to feel new thoughts and act new ideas—in a word to create its own space. And that, more than any program, is what is intolerable to all the xerox radicals trying to reproduce their own images.
 The collective is the headquarters of the revolution. It makes no pretence whatsoever in regard to the role of vanguard. Expect nothing from them. They are not your leaders. Leave them alone. The collective knows it will be the last to enter the new world.
 The doubts people have about local action reveal how dependent they are on the glamour of mass politics. Everyone wants to project themselves on the screen of revolution—as Yippies or White Panthers. Having internalized the mass, they ask themselves questions whose

answers seem logical in its context. How can we accomplish anything without mass action? If we don't go to meetings and demonstrations, will we be forgotten? Who will take us seriously if we don't join the rank and file?
 Slowly you realize that you have become a spectator, an object. Your politics take place on a stage and your social relations consist of sitting in an audience or marching in a crowd. The fragmentation of your everyday experience contrasts with the spectacular unity of the mass.
 By contrast, the priority of local action is an attempt to unify everyday life and fragment the mass. This level of consciousness is a result of rejecting the laws of mass behavior based on Leninism and TV ideology. It makes possible an arena of the brain which everyone so desperately needs. You will be relieved to discover that you can create a situation by localizing your struggle.
 How can we prevent local action from becoming provincial? Whether or not it does so depends on our overall strategy. Provincialism is simply the consequence of not



knowing what is happening. A commune, for example, is provincial because its strategy is based on petty farming and the glorification of the extended family. What they have is astrology, not a strategy.
 Local action should be based on the global structure of modern society. There can be no collective action without collectives. But the creation of a collective should not be mistaken for victory nor should it become an end in itself. The great danger the collective faces historically is that of being cut off (or cutting itself off) from the outside world. The issue ultimately will be what action to take and when. Whether collectives become a social force depends on their analysis of history and their course of action.
 In fact, the "provinces" today are moving ahead of the centers in political consciousness and motivation. From Minnesota to the Mekong Delta the revolt is gaining coherence. The centers are trying to decipher what is happening, to catch up and contain it. For this purpose they must create centralized forms of organization—or "coordination" as the modernists call it.
 The first principle of local action is to denationalize your thinking. Take the country out of Salem. Get out of Marlborough country. Become conscious of how your life is managed from the national centers. Lifestyles are roles designed to give you the illusion of movement while keeping you in your place. "Style is mass chasing class, and class escaping mass." (W. Rauschenbush, "The Idiot God Fashion," *Woman's Coming of Age*, eds. Schmalhausen and Calverton, 1931.)
 Local action gives you the initiative by enabling you to define the situation. That is the practice of knowing you are the subject. Marat says: "The important thing is to pull yourself up by your own hair, to turn yourself inside out and see the whole world with fresh eyes." The collective turns itself inside out and sees reality.
 MAY 1, 1978
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 IN MEMORY OF THE MAYDAY REVOLUTION! ST GANG

Charger tickets: the ultimate price

A few minutes before the beginning of the ABC broadcast of the crucial end of the season clash between the Chargers and the Broncos at San Diego stadium, the station manager of the local affiliate came on the air to issue an editorial statement against ticket scalping. "Two hundred dollars for a midfield seat is outrageous and should be stopped" the manager exclaimed, and then went on to predict even higher prices for Charger playoff tickets if scalping was not outlawed immediately. A collective chuckle of laughter swept the darkened living room of my apartment where a group of friends had gathered to see the game. "Aww, that's only because of all those season ticket holders! There's never any tickets left for the public" someone muttered after a swallow of Michelob. "This station will accept rebuffs from qualified representatives..." then the voice trailed off and led into commercials. Certainly none of the fans in the room qualified for the TV station, but all of them would have enjoyed replying to the editorial.

Our friend Kyle went down to the stadium that night in an ill-fated attempt to get tickets. The line stretched out to the parking lot already by half-time so Kyle wisely gave up. The next morning all 8,000 tickets available for public sale were sold to 3,000 all-niters (four tickets per person was the limit) in about an hour and a half. It seems now that there is no chance for the guy on the street to get Charger's playoff tickets except by becoming a season ticket holder, an expensive option to say the very least. Or one can just pray the game is televised locally. San Diego has paid the ultimate price for a winning sports team—the tickets are worth their weight in gold.

The thrill of victory...

For all of us the Charger-Bronco game was a genuine win-or-die situation. No one in the room wanted to see the Chargers forced to settle for only a wild-card playoff berth. We cheered the players' entrances as loudly as any

Mission Valley pub crowd while I silently reflected on the past seasons which led up to tonight's contest. A man who certainly deserved honorable mention that night for getting the Chargers to this plateau was Tommy Prothro, the former LA Rams strategist and coach who came down to San Diego to try and do the impossible—to turn the doormat Chargers into a winner. Prothro laid the groundwork with investment draft picks like Dan Fouts and Louie Kelcher in the mid-seventies, investments which paid off long after Prothro resigned in 1978. It took a San Diego legend like Don Coryell to turn a collection of talented players into a real team. He started the day he took over the coaching job four days into the season and the Chargers never looked back.

That Monday night before a national TV audience the Chargers nipped and tucked their way to the AFC Western Division championship by edging the Broncos by a score of 17-7. "Air Coryell" had his greatest day as Dan Fouts broke Joe Namath's single season passing record, going on to log over 300 yards that night. Charlie Joiner, who shrugged off a savage hit in the first quarter, was there to receive the passes. Joiner made several key receptions early in the second quarter to set up San Diego's first TD, an easy run from the 10 by Fouts. Throughout the game Fouts showed an uncanny ability to read Denver's defense and turn this information into consistent yardage forward towards the goal line. His long bomb pass to the endzone for San Diego's second six-pointer proved to be icing on the cake.

Regretably, national TV audiences always have to go through a number of humiliations in order to watch a good football game. Our group was no exception. We turned the volume off for the commercial breaks, but when play resumed so did the sound of Howard Cosell's voice, committing new outrages against the English language. If that wasn't enough, Howard tried to cajole the viewers to join with the wife of one of the Tehran hostages in singing 'God Bless America' in a useless display of

patriotism. As I remember, all of the football purists watching the game at my place immediately found something else better to do, like run en masse to the refrigerator and drink another beer in the kitchen. In fact we remained there until half-time was over.

Yet it was a pleasure to watch the San Diego defense shut out the Broncos in the second half. Even without the services of Kelcher, a five time all-pro defensive lineman, Denver consistently missed crucial third down conversions. Sure they could dash up through their own territory up to the fifty, but the Chargers refused to give up even a few yards of their own soil. Everytime a ball carrier ran into Gary "Big Hands" Johnson it was literally the kiss of death. We waited for years to see this kind of defensive performance in the clutch. Counting down the last seconds of the football game never felt so good before. Happily none of the neighbors found reason (nor the bravery) to tell us to keep down the cheering.

...And the Agony of defeat

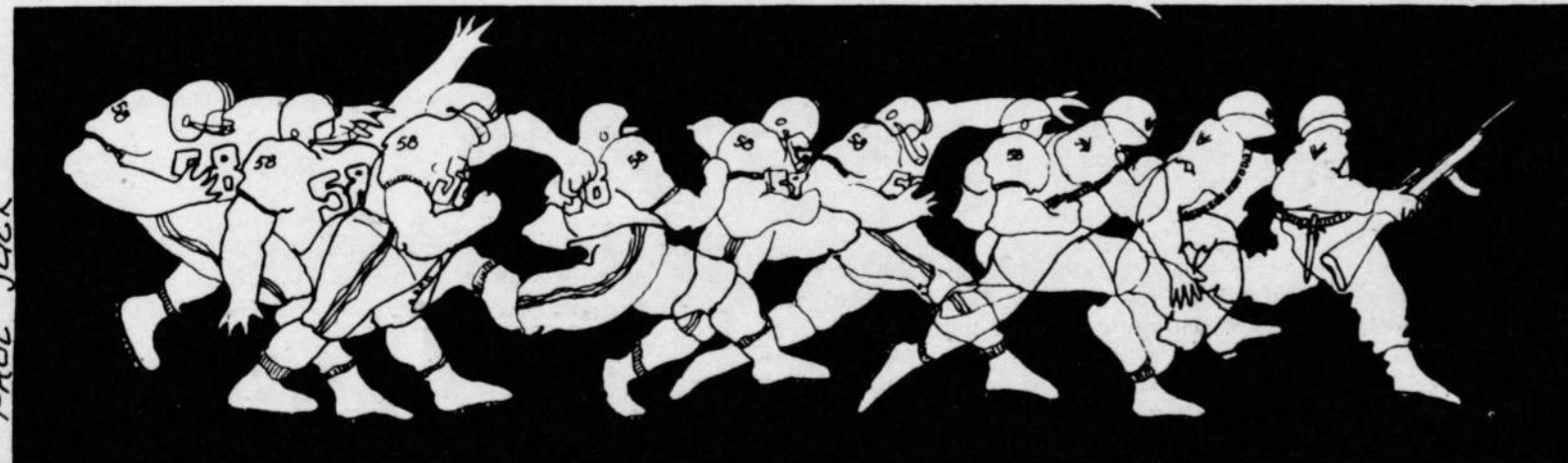
Overconfidence. It is hard to pin down who shouted "Bring on Pittsburgh!" first. In all probability it was the Charger owner, Gene Klein. He even confessed to it after the Oiler-Charger contest, saying to the effect that he had spread the idea around the Charger front office. The contagious cry then was carried by the media to the fans and before long the slogan was on everyone's lips. Who could blame them? The Chargers had the home field advantage. The team had a whole two weeks over Christmas to rest and recuperate. John Jefferson was coming back into the lineup. Denver, in losing to the Oilers in the first playoff contest, knocked out several of Houston's offensive stalwarts, including Pastorini and Campbell. Two days before the game fans were already camped out in front of the stadium box office to buy tickets for the next playoff game. They ended up trudging out through the parking lot that afternoon with 52,000 of the saddest people the city of San Diego has ever seen. It all went down the tubes right before their eyes.

Their Chargers fell to overconfidence and lost fair and square to the Oilers, 17-14.

Or did they? Sports Illustrated reporter Paul Zimmerman learned from Houston middle linebacker Gregg Bingham that the Oilers stole the offensive plays being signalled to Charger quarterback Dan Fouts by assistant coach Jim Hanifan. "The information we had was golden—just golden" Bingham said. So was San Diego robbed? Coryell conceded later that such a stunt was not impossible. The coaching staff could have used dummy signals, as they have in the past, but this was not done during the game against Houston. Does counter-intelligence win football games? Both Coryell and Fouts denied it but we can look back to Houston's big defensive plays—five interceptions and a blocked field goal attempt—and wonder.

As for Gene Klein, his overconfidence has taken on a new, purely financial form. The Stadium Authority Board of Governors voted 9-0 last Wednesday to approve Klein's proposal to build 30-40 plush private seating boxes on the press level at a cost of \$20,000 per season per box. Each box would feature plush carpeting, a bar "with plenty of drinks," and "basically, the works." Gene Klein says "this is merely another method for San Diego to become more of a sophisticated sports town than it already is." While corporate fans get to entertain guests in their 'sky boxes' this coming season, how will the rest of us "unsophisticated" fans get a seat at a Charger game? Don't worry, for at the same Authority Board meeting Klein promised to begin study aimed at expanding the stadium seating capacity by 15-18,000. These new seats will no doubt consist of standing room bleachers located somewhere behind the scoreboard. Also expect higher ticket prices next season. Bring your binoculars, you might get a glimpse of life in sky box 'Cloud 9.'

S. Serrano & Byron M.



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Hayden, continued
conservatives, led by State Senator James R. Mills (D-San Diego), attacked Fonda, bringing up her 1972 visit to Hanoi during the debate (no doubt some of them would like to see the Hollywood blacklists return!). Mills went so far as to blame Hayden for the Democrat's loss of a U.S. Senate seat to Republican Sam Hayakawa. After this statement by Mills, Hayden issued a challenge to him for a debate. Mills accepted and the two democrats slugged it out in a long to be remembered debate here in San Diego, December 13.

Mills and Hayden vs. Hayden's Past
The debate was supposed to cover the program for the Democratic Party in the '80s but instead it turned into a name calling and slander session by Mills against Hayden, leading an observer to wonder what these two guys are doing in the same party. Mills avoided contrasting his own New Deal

philosophy with the CED's economic and energy program by re-reading Hayden's "ultra-left" statements from the '60s (like Tom's call for the formation of a National Liberation Front in America, circa 1969). Mills then went on to brand Hayden "a Stalinist—the worst kind of communist" and CED as a front to split the Democratic party. Mills, as UCSD faculty and students may remember, also said that there is no such thing as absolute academic freedom when he attacked UCSD's hiring of Herbert Marcuse, in remarks made at UCSD last year.

Hayden, certainly never a Stalinist and only briefly a revolutionary socialist in his political career, ably countered the charges by stating that he had long since renounced the politics of violent confrontation. "Socialism," Hayden said, "Hasn't solved the problem of the bureaucratic state, and hasn't solved the energy crisis." When the debate returned to the issues Hayden scored some points

continued on page 9

JEWISH FASCISM

"In France the socialist Fourier proposed to test his idea of cooperative settlements (phalansteries) in a kingdom of 'Judea' or 'Lebanon' which would be set up with funds supplied by generous Jewish millionaires. We encounter in Fourier not only a first premonition of the future link between Zionism and utopian socialism (some of his ideas were later realized in the kibbutz), but also of the unholy alliance between anti-Semitism and Zionism. Like Pestel, Fourier was a vehement anti-Semite." Amos Elon, *The Israelis: Founders and Sons* (pg. 86, last emphasis added)

"Nothing throws a better light on the nature of National Socialism than Zionism. Zionism represented a new national—and race—consciousness on the part of what were at first only a few Jews who sharply attacked the 'completely de-Judaized' assimilationists and accused them of 'degeneration' and 'betrayal of their people'. An even worse enemy in their eyes was the Marxist doctrine, since they regarded it as stifling all interest in purely Jewish affairs. Here, too, the notion of humanity was termed an abstraction, an empty concept; and with the *ignis fatuus* of universal brotherhood were contrasted the love of one's native soil, the ideal of the healthy, land-rooted peasant. An escape was sought from the 'threat of asphyxiation' and impending racial death, and much thought was given to Palestine, although little to its Arab inhabitants. Moses Hess had already said in 1863 that 'race' was the primary factor in the historical process; in 1882 Leo Pinsker added that the Jews represented a nonassimilable element. The symptoms of degeneration contained in assimilation were at times depicted in terms not far removed from anti-Semitic ones. "Even if one supports the doubtful thesis that Zionism was nothing but an imitation of European nationalism, there is no justification for blaming National Socialism per se for ideas and concepts which found such wide response among the Jews. The point is, however, that for the Jews everything was reality which for the National Socialists were the imaginings induced by pathological fear: impending racial extinction, lack of national Lebensraum, equal hostility from all contending powers. The great differences that nevertheless did exist cannot be gone into here, nor the question of whether it is permissible to speak of a 'Jewish fascism' within Zionism. The parallels themselves are enough to demonstrate the absurdity of National Socialism's central thesis. How could a people which suffered so greatly from the results of emancipation, be the cause of that emancipation?"

Ernst Nolte, *Three Faces of Fascism* (pg. 652, last emphasis added)

INTRODUCTION summary

This article, entitled **Jewish Fascism**, is divided into two sections. The first, **Zionism and Anti-Semitism**, encompasses chapters one and two and examines "the unholy alliance between anti-Semitism and Zionism." The second section, **Zionism and Nazism**,

includes chapters three, four and five, and asks "whether it is permissible to speak of a 'Jewish fascism' within Zionism." Chapter one, *The Jewish Nation, Anti-Semitism and Zionism*, will be concerned with the variety of Zionist ideological positions and how they answered the questions: In what respect

does the Jewish people constitute a nation? And how is the phenomenon of anti-Semitism to be characterized and responded to. Chapter two, *Zionist Definitions and Reality*, elaborates the consequences of these ideological positions with respect to the Arabs in Palestine and the general relationship between Jews and non-Jews. Chapter three, *Nazi/Zionist Cooperation*, chapter four, *National Socialism and Socialist Zionism*, and chapter five, *Jewish Nationalism and German Nationalism*, compare Zionism and Nazism in particular, and fascism in general, in three ways. While chapter one is concerned with the period roughly from 1850 to 1920, chapters two, three, four and five cover the period from 1920 to 1948.

This article will conclude that, indeed, Zionism and anti-Semitism are inseparable companions, that Zionist definitions of anti-Semitism, and their responses to Arab anti-Zionist violence, would not only aggravate that violence, but would give rise to a virulent Arab anti-Semitism, and that Theodor Herzl's formulation of "useful" anti-Semitism allows for the formulation of the notion of the anti-Semitic Zionist. Further, it will be concluded that Zionist socialism and Nazi socialism are simply not in the same

category, that Zionist cooperation with the Nazis, like labor Zionist nationalism and Nazi nationalism, are a matter of what will be called "convergent development", and that the right-wing Zionism of Jabotinsky, his followers and heirs to include Begin, can be accurately described as fascist. An afterword to this article will bring the question of Jewish fascism up to the present.

argument

The relationship between Zionism and anti-Semitism is considered before the relationship between Zionism and Nazism because anti-Semitism was a strong driving force behind Jewish nationalism, and Zionism considered Nazism, not as an expression of fascism, but as an expression of anti-Semitism. Further, Zionist "cooperation" with the Nazis just before and during the second World War was a manifestation of the unholy alliance between Zionism and anti-Semitism. Much of the article is concerned with the study of Zionism in the period from 1920 to 1948. First, most polemics on Zionism, pro or con, begin with the origins of Zionism and its activities in Palestine before statehood. Questions of whether Herzl's Zionism was typical of the Jews who immigrated to Palestine, of whether Zionist colonists stole their lands from the native Arabs,

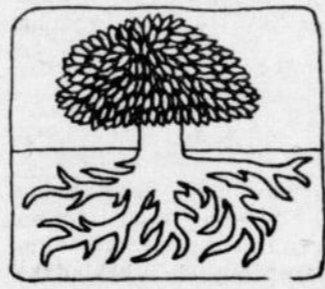
Clash Continued

War." Other numbers illustrate English resentment of the U.S.A. and show an awareness of the degradation this nation's imperialistic ventures have brought on its own citizens as well as those of 3rd world countries: *Yankee soldier he wanna shoot some skag*

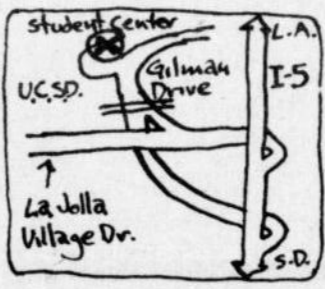
He met in Cambodia
But now he can't afford a bag.
Yankee dollars talk to dictators of the world
In fact its giving orders
And they can't afford to miss a word.
(I'm So Bored with the U.S.A.)

The growing influence of Jamaican Reggae music on groups such as the Clash will have positive effects, I think. It is not an unnatural influence by any means. Many Jamaicans have emigrated to England, for one thing. And the most cursory glance at English history will show a chronicle of incredible brutality and suffering (despite the country's

genteel image) analogous in many ways to that experienced by black Jamaicans. (On the other hand, the white workingclass English people have no promised land to hope for a return to—they're in it.) Reggae is not only a much more accessible and beneficent music than the stultifying punk power riffs, it is in every way more human. For one thing, it clearly recognizes the difference between humanism and hypocrisy about humanism, which the typical punk intelligence does not. In everything and everyone is the other, perhaps several others. In the democrat the fascist and vice versa—i.e., in all is the possibility of blossoming and understanding and community, and the possibility of tight-assed restriction and shared ignorance and mindless destruction. This tension lends interest to the struggle of defining and becoming what is human in a positive sense. No one has a blueprint. As regards the Clash, they should be appreciated and encouraged because out of ugliness they seem to be moving with intelligence towards something we can all use. —A Critic



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Hayden, continued

by comparing his program of 'economic democracy' with Mill's traditional 'liberal' program. Hayden accused Mills of opposing greater grass-roots control of the Democratic Party as well as the Equal Rights Amendment. Mills had an especially hard time explaining the last position, and became unglued when Hayden suggested that there was a recall campaign brewing against Mills in his home district.

Mills boasted after the debate that it was his purpose to discredit Hayden before the public and force him out of the party. Quite undaunted by this attack, Hayden remarked after the debate that McCarthyism is alive and well but that he was determined to keep working 'within the system' through the Democratic Party. Tom quipped, "Well, now that I've traded in my tee-shirt for a suit, I've found that character assassination is taking the place of billy clubs." One still wonders, however, if Tom's suit really fits him all that well.

The Abstract Left turns Institutional
By himself, Tom Hayden could never hope to be a force in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Even with Jane Fonda as his wife to introduce him to heavies at dinner parties would not be enough. However, the secret to Hayden's new position as well as his renunciation of confrontation politics lies in his organization, the Campaign for Economic Democracy.

The CED was formed in 1976 for Hayden's U.S. Senate campaign, and since then it has grown into an organization with much clout at the local level in cities like Santa Monica and Davis. The CED elects members to Boards of Supervisors and City Councils, sponsors rent-control initiatives, and generally functions as a populist 'people's front' organization. For Hayden this is his political machine. While not as cut-throat as Mayor

Daley's old system of ward captains it is still a machine, with the same type of political goals and back-scratching as the traditional Democratic Party organizations. Back in 1969 the institutional supports of the 'New-Left' in the U.S. disintegrated and destroyed themselves through factionalism at the very height of the anti-war movement. Hayden's own Students for a Democratic Society

(SDS) disappeared in a violent split, while groups like the Black Panther Party turned to getting members elected to the Oakland City Council. Left without a base and with no established left/workers party in existence to give him support, Hayden gathered together his own group of supporters from the anti-war movement (including Fonda) and set about to build a new institutional support network, the CED. With the fading of the anti-war movement, a movement which was unable to mobilize its members into a political force with power, working in the Democratic Party must have appeared natural to Hayden. And with the help of liberal democrats who accepted Hayden's statement that he had changed with the times, this transformation to conventional politics was, perhaps, the easiest thing in the world to do.

Hayden is still proud of his past, but his break with his politics of the past seems clear and irreversible. While some individual members of the CED may speak of it privately as a 'revolutionary' organization, the CED is nothing of the kind. If Hayden becomes successful enough to reach the Senate, he may well someday exercise a claim to be the 'spokesperson of the left' in the U.S., on the basis of this achievement alone. His Campaign for Economic Democracy will then be just another institutionalized faction in the circus tent which is known as the Democratic Party.

—Sven Serrano

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Jewish Fascism cont.

even of whether the Zionists terrorized the Palestinian Arab population into flight in 1947-49, are crucial to any consideration of the existence of a Jewish fascism within Zionism. Second, an understanding of the origins of Zionism is critical to an understanding of Israel today. And finally, Zionism can claim to be, with some credibility, the first "socialist revolution for national liberation" in the twentieth century. The years from 1920 to 1948 represent the period of that revolution, and any serious socialist must analyse why such a venture succeeded as a nationalist enterprise, yet failed as a socialist undertaking.

In considering the complexity of the historical processes and sociological evidence about to be examined, it is important to understand that while historically evolved material conditions provide the general framework within which human beings make history, human beings respond in a variety of ways, many of which are workable, to any given set of material conditions. These social responses to given material conditions are embodied as assumptions about things as abstract as human nature and the nature of national identity to things as concrete as the relationship between capital and labor in society, assumptions that are the foundation of ideologies and social behavior. And human beings, in responding to given material conditions through ideologies and social behavior, help to change the material conditions under which they make history. Specifically, the social, political and economic expressions of Zionism on the soil of Palestine before 1948 cannot be understood apart from the ideologies of prominent Zionist spokespeople and the behavior of the waves of downwardly mobile Jewish pioneers who settled the land. In turn, it must be remembered that these ideologies and this behavior were fashioned from the Jewish experience in Europe, and that Jewish national aspirations did not escape being influenced by the movements that convulsed Europe in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Therefore, we can speak of a liberal Zionism, a romantic Zionism, and a socialist Zionism. The labor Zionist ideology and activity of the second and third waves of youthful, middle-class Zionist immigrants was a combination of romantic and socialist Zionism, and though they remained separate ideologies within the second wave, the third wave and the HaShomer HaTzair youth movement in particular achieved a creative synthesis of romantic and socialist Zionism.

The Zionist activities that helped to shape realities in Palestine were shaped by ideological considerations that had their formation in European Jewish conditions prior to the turn of the century. As the twentieth century progressed the validity of these

ideological considerations and Zionist activities was reinforced by historical events in the minds of the Zionists, yet in Palestine they would foster a vicious dynamic of alienation and violence between Arab and Jewish communities that threatens world peace today. On the basis of Zionist cooperation with the Nazis, Zionism's "socialism for one people" and Zionism's vehement nationalism, not to mention Israel's foreign relations, economic activities and belligerent nationalism since statehood, some opponents of Zionism claim that Zionism, and Israel, are not

only imperialist, but fascist as well. This article was written to clarify these charges.

definitions

An important criterion in all of this will be the distinction between convergent development and common development. Convergent development will refer to social institutions, activities and relations beginning from different ideological or behavioral assumptions and arriving at similar, though not identical, performances over a course of time. Common historical expressions from common assumptions merit being

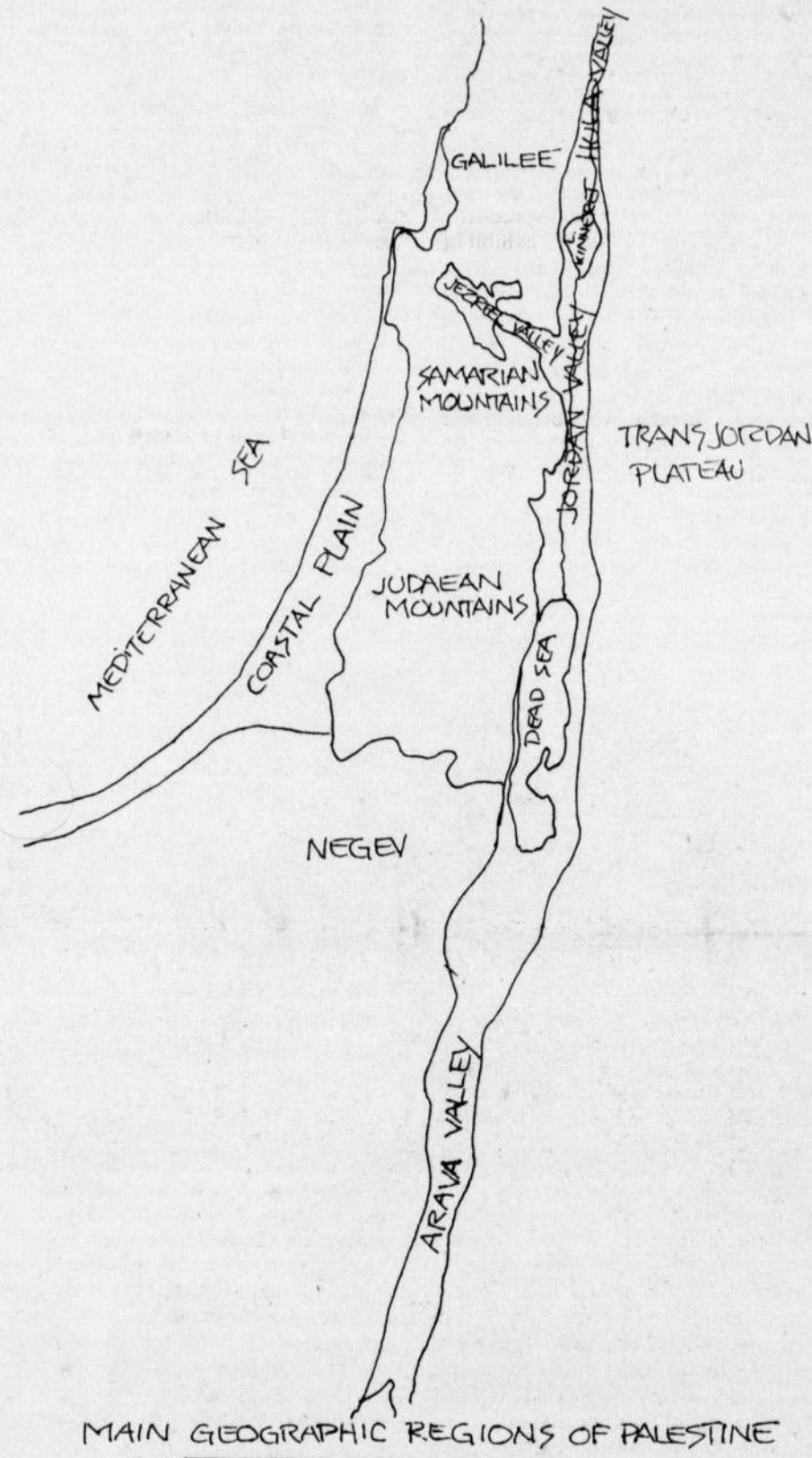
called common development, while institutions, activities and relations historically and sociologically expressing major differences and minor similarities will not be considered as either convergent or common development. It is possible to conceive of divergent development from this model, a development form common assumptions to widely differing performances.

One more thing is required; a definition of fascism. Stanley Payne gives a definition of fascism, that of a fusion of nationalism with socialism. Both labor Zionism and Nazism claimed to represent such a fusion, though Payne would contend that, in the German case, socialism was subjugated to nationalism, in contrast to Spanish and Italian fascism where a parity was maintained. This and the rabid racism of the Nazis allowed Payne to distinguish National Socialism from fascism proper. Fascism's claim to socialism, according to Payne, lies in the economic system of "corporativism" or "vertical syndicalism", what the Nazis called "gleichschaltung." Fascism claims to nationalize, not the ownership of labor, the means of production, or private property, but the class interests of labor and capital. Once nationalized, labor and capital are coordinated by the state to serve the national interest, the interests of the nation as a whole. This may not seem a sufficient definition of socialism, but to the author's mind, neither is the definition of socialism that equates socialism with the nationalization of the means of production. Only the direct socialization of the means of production by the working class itself through the working class's organs of collective self-management can be defined as socialism.

The definition of fascism is further complicated by the avowedly nationalist and socialist revolutions in China, Cuba and Viet Nam, and the "socialism in one country of Stalin's Russia. It would be too simple to reduce Russia, Nazi Germany, Cuba, fascist Italy, Viet Nam, Franco's Spain and China all to "national socialist regimes," returning the argument over the nature of fascism and its relation to socialism to the totalitarian interpretation of Hannah Arendt and others. No, this article will recognize the twentieth century as a period of movements and revolutions that attempted to combine nationalism with socialism. Within this we can distinguish, at one extreme, the failed international socialism of the Russian revolution and, at the other extreme, the radical nationalism and incidental socialism of Nazi Germany. For the purposes of this paper, fascism will be defined as extremely nationalistic politically and economically corporativist.

paul janosik

to be continued



MAIN GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS OF PALESTINE

1. See Stanley G. Payne, "Spanish Fascism in Comparative Perspective" in *Reappraisals of Fascism* (ed. by Henry A. Turner Jr.). Also see the introduction to Payne's *Falange*.
2. See Hannah Arendt, "Fascism as Totalitarianism: Ideology and Terror" and Gilbert Allardice, "The Place of Fascism in European History" in *The Place of Fascism in European History* (ed. by Gilbert Allardice).

ART INC.



THE SAN DIEGO MUSEUM OF ART presentation of ART INC. is underwritten by a gift from PAINE WEBBER

Big Sales of paintings at auctions always accompany big recessions in the economy; the art market now fluctuates in the same way that the stock market does. The dissident artists in America are those who refuse to go along with the Art market game and, as a result, are denied the right of artistic expression. Paintings continue to be used as mere commodities and investments as corporations enter the picture, buying up works of long dead artists to decorate the waiting rooms and board rooms of their corporate headquarters. Any way you look at it, the Art business-museum-corporation connection is becoming the dominant owner and exhibitor of art pieces in the world today.

A blow was struck against this facade last December 29 at the San Diego Museum of Art in Balboa Park when a small group of cultural militants disrupted an exhibit entitled ART INC: American Paintings from Corporate Collections. After debating spectators and a security guard about the exhibit in the main gallery, the group then attempted to deliver an open letter to the acting museum director, Stephen Brezzo. Shouting followed when permission was refused and protestors were ordered to leave the museum. The same man, Brezzo, who brought the exhibit to San Diego will be teaching an extension class at UCSD this year on art and art history. All students are advised to avoid it.

Reprinted below is Brezzo's

introduction to the Art Inc catalog and the protestors' open letter.

Sven Serrano

The early 1900's marked the beginning of the acquisition of major works of art by American corporations. Within the last decade, the scope and variety of corporate collections has grown significantly. Art Inc. is an attempt to represent the range and depth of these collections—and it is an acknowledgement of responsibility on the part of corporate art owners to provide public access to their collections.

Art Inc. presents ninety paintings from thirty corporate collections. While these works were not selected to depict a historical survey, the exhibition does present representative works from most major periods of American art from the early 19th century to the present.

The San Diego Museum of Art wishes to acknowledge the generous underwriting on Paine Webber for the local appearance of Art Inc. It is hoped that this exhibition will stimulate increased interaction between the art and business worlds, both in San Diego and nation-wide.

Steven L. Brezzo Acting Director San Diego Museum of Art

OPEN LETTER TO STEVEN L. BREZZO

Dear Art Broker:
We regard your presence as the director of the San Diego Museum of Art as a grave obstacle to thought, a virtually gratuitous insult to the mind, a savage joke which should not be allowed to pass. Your recent, much publicized attempts to turn this police

station museum of art into a "cultural recreation center" have failed, miserably, like all such money making schemes. We proclaim that there is no solution to the question of 'Art and the People' outside of a social revolution which will overthrow you and your office as well as erase the names of the 'honored patrons and contributors' from the walls of your art warehouse.

Today the population of this city is greatly disgraced by the appearance here of a monstrous exhibit entitled Art Inc: American Paintings from Corporate Collections, underwritten by Paine Webber of Wall Street. When not displayed together in such a repressed fashion these paintings normally hang in corporate board directors' rooms, where crimes against humanity are planned and carried out. A more suitable exhibit would include numerous corporate representatives and presidents hung, by their necks, on the walls of the museum. The "Late 19th Century Expressionist" wing could then be renamed the "Early 20th Century Stockbrokers" wing, and so forth.

As for your miserabilist hope that "this exhibit will stimulate increased interaction between the art and business worlds" we propose the total destruction of any such connections, by material hammers if need be. Art in the service of Capital or pure political expediency is Art degraded. The forecast for you is hotter than ever.

ART WILL NOT ACCEPT ORDERS, WHATEVER HAPPENS! DESTROY CORPORATE ART! REMAKE CULTURE FROM DAILY LIFE!

December 29, 1979

(Remote Control)

This is Joe Public speaking: I'm controlled in the body, controlled in the mind.

(Complete Control)

All the power is in the hands Of people rich enough to buy it While we walk the street Too chicken to even try it Are you taking over or are you taking orders?

(White Riot)

In the in-tray lots of work But the boss at the firm always thinks he shirks.

(He's in Love)

This sense of powerlessness and recognition of being downtrodden sometimes leads to awareness that workingclass whites might have something in common with other ethnic groups in similar situations; perhaps there is even some resentment that such groups might be more virile because more rebellious:

Black people got a lot of problems But they don't mind throwing a brick White people go to school Where they teach you how to be thick.

(White Riot)

This desire to rebel is met by recognition of societal power relations, resulting in cynicism: The British Army is waiting out there... Better phone up Robin Hood And ask for some wealth distribution.

(White youth/Black Youth)

The most retrograde tendency here is the venting of frustration in ethnic slurs. This occur in "Hate and War," in which resentment leads to replication of the oppressor's position:

If I get aggression I give it to them two times back. Everyday it's just the same with hate and war on my back.

I hate all the English They're just as bad as wops... I wanna walk down any street Looking like a creep I don't care if I get beat up By any kebab greek.

(Hate and War)

This lyric can perhaps be seen as a personification along the lines of Randy Newman, but I doubt that that's what it is. I hope, and other indications give one hope to believe, that the Clash is on to better things. One hopes that "back in the garage with (their) bullshit detector," which they speak of in "Garageband," they apply their instrument to the sentiments expressed in "Hate and

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Long Stories In Short

Peltier Acquitted, Also Convicted

The government's attempt to cover up its murder conspiracy against Native American activist Leonard Peltier scored a victory in its initial stage last week as a jury convicted Peltier and Bobby Garcia of escape from the Lompoc Prison.

But the jury evidently saw through the government's contradictory "evidence" about the defendants alleged firing on prison officials, for they acquitted Peltier, Garcia and Roque Duenas of all assault charges.

The three were also acquitted of conspiracy charges. Peltier was convicted of being a felon in possession of a firearm, and a mistrial was declared over the deadlock on the charge of over the deadlock on the charge against Duenas of aiding and assisting the escape.

The jury had heard a number of references to a murder conspiracy by the government on Peltier's life, each one objected to by the prosecution and stricken from the record by Judge Lydick.

What they didn't hear about, besides the large amount of corroborating evidence, was the existence of grounds by which they could have legally acquitted the three men on all charges because of this death threat.

The existence of such legal defenses as "duress and coercion," "necessity" and "entrapment" would have been more than sufficient grounds, had the judge allowed them to be presented to the jury.

The convictions could mean as much as five additional years for Garcia, and



seven for Peltier. Peltier is already serving two life sentences, and Garcia three, but the cases of both have grounds for being overturned.

The convictions could also mean more severe disciplinary actions against the two inmates. A hearing has already been held at Marion, outside the presence of the two inmates, recommending extensive periods in the notorious behavioural modification unit of Marion prison where sensory deprivation and forced drugging are used to control activist inmates. Attorney Bruce Ellison is filing new legal actions to overturn Peltier's 1977 conviction. In that case, like the current one, a judge cooperated in a government cover-up of criminal activity by ruling all significant evidence inadmissible.

People's World

THE NEW INDICATOR IS ORGANIZING FOR THE '80'S

This year, the New Indicator is trying for more community coverage, as well as for a broadened advertising base in the community, as was the policy of our predecessor, the North Star.

We currently distribute the New Indicator to SDSU as well as the coastal cities from Ocean Beach to Leucadia. If you live in the following areas, you can pick up the New Indicator at the places listed below:

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PACIFIC BEACH

New Seed, 948 Garnet Ave.
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U.S. Welcomes 3rd World People

On Sept. 17, 1981, in La Junta, CA, a line of black limos like a black snake in a deep grass stretches out along the winding dirt road that leads from the main highway. They are motionless, engines idling and windows up in the afternoon heat.

They are waiting for a gate to swing open and admit them to a new 10,000 acre resort. It's the first of its kind, a haven for the homeless, a retreat for the endangered. Today is the grand opening of the Evita Peron Memorial Restoration resort. The resort is dedicated to creating a stable and tranquil environment for all the world's deposed, dethroned, deranged and exiled dictators, tyrants and military strongmen.

The resort is a result of the U.S. granting a permanent residence visa to the Shah of Iran in January 1980. Since then over 100 exiled dictators have emigrated to America under the Puppet Shelter Act of 1980.

After the bill was signed into law by President Ronald Reagan, the resort came under the initiative of David Rockefeller, the Shah, and recently-pardoned fugitive financier Robert Vesco. While Vesco wheeled and dealt with millions of acres of property on the west coast, the Shah and Rockefeller, with the help of newly-appointed Secretary of State for Life Henry

Kissinger, crossed the country, flying from tyrant to tyrant. In three days they had collected over \$20 billion in donations from the dictators.

La Junta is the community's center of business. On the left side of the main street, Batista Boulevard, the Chase Manhattan Bank stands out among the 46 other banks that have offices here. On the right side of the street is a grouping of the finest stores and restaurants in the nation. Past the business section, the boulevard runs into Caudillo Park, wherein lies the Tomb of the Unknown Dictator, a memorial to all those who never made it big in the world. The actual remains belong to a dictator who accidentally shot himself after staging a successful coup in Bolivia in 1922.

The sound of former President Jimmy Carter's voice booms out of the speakers at Caudillo park. He is concluding his opening speech to the 107 deposed dictators who listen politely with their families:

"...and finally, the U.S. will never cease to champion the cause of human rights throughout the world. Our doors will never close to those in need of freedom and a confidential investment service."

Ringling applause, followed by a standing ovation, as Richard Nixon emerges from the crowd. With a pair of solid gold scissors he cuts the ceremonial ribbon at the start of Trujillo Drive. After flashing his famous victory sign, he climbs into his limo and heads up the hill to his new residence—an exact copy of the White House.

Free For All/APS

Court Steals Child

Kamalla Miller, whose daughter Ishka has been made the unfortunate victim of the court's authority in the rearing of her children, is now in California on charges of kidnapping her own child.

Kamalla, a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, was arrested by the FBI and jailed on July 3rd on charges of kidnapping, burglary, and interstate flight to avoid prosecution.

Several years ago, during a period of bleak financial hardship for Kamalla and her husband, Arthur Miller, the two agreed to allow Kamalla's parents to care for Ishka and her brother (who died of suffocation while in their care) until one of them could find a job. When Arthur found a job, he and Kamalla went back for their children, whereupon the grandparents filed for custody and the bitter fight began.

It was not until Kamalla's son was found asphyxiated with plastic bags over his head in the closet of her parents' home that she pried open a window and took Ishka and her clothes.

The custody hearing was a prime

example of class bias in the courts. The judge decided that because of the grandparent's privileged financial status they would make better guardians for the child than her parents. He said at the trial that John D. Rockefeller would be the best parent in the world.

While in the grandparents' care, Ishka was given ballet lessons and was entered in—and won—a Miss La Petite beauty contest. This, in addition to the conventional values about money and life which Ishka was receiving from the grandparents, appalled Kamalla. The Arkansas Social Service Department reported that while in Kamalla's care Ishka was in good physical condition, bright and responsive. The California Social Service department, on the other hand, does not recommend that Ishka be turned over to her grandparents. She is currently in a foster home.

Over \$17,000 has been borrowed to pay for lawyers and other defense costs, and money is urgently needed to keep the campaign going. Contributions should be sent to:

Committee to Support Kamalla Miller
3304 Clinton Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55408
(612) 827-6332

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