

# new indicator

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Photo: El Salvador Alert

Central America...

## Kissinger On Hallucinogens

Stanford professor Richard Fagen, called the recently published Kissinger Commission report "hallucinatory" in a lecture at the UCSD International Center February 9th.

Fagen's lecture was part of the International Center's ongoing program of discussions on international topics. Fagen, this year's Clark visiting lecturer for the center, gave a presentation entitled "Can there be peace in Central

Inside This Issue

UCSD "University Center" Controversy, Culture, Events Calendar, Class Struggle, American Journal, Prisons, and much more!

America, and does the Kissinger Commission tell us how to get there?" The Latin Americanist has written about U.S.-Latin American relations, political culture, and has done field work in revolutionary Cuba, Chile, and Mexico. He recently returned from a visit to Central America. The Institute for Policy Studies' latest publication is a report from Policy Alternatives for the Caribbean and Central America (PACCA), written by a group of area specialists and chaired by Fagen. The PACCA report exposes the inadequacies in the Kissinger Commission report and offers policy options for peace and social justice in Central America.

The Kissinger Commission report was issued last month surrounded by a press

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## Community Forum on Central America

### Rep. Bates: "U.S. Practices Colonialism in C. America"

San Diego Congressman Jim Bates sponsored a forum entitled "Central America in Transition," on Saturday, February 18, at the Educational Cultural Complex in Southeast San Diego. Bates, who represents the 44th Congressional District has gone on record as opposing all military aid to El Salvador and supporting the right to self-determination for the people of Central America.

The event was organized by Bates' Central American advisory subcommittee which is comprised of local activists. In his opening remarks, Bates said that U.S. interests should not force people to accept a bankrupt policy in order to secure its interests and that U.S. national leaders do not communicate the reality of the situation in Central America.

"We should put the interests of those people over our monetary ones," and "the U.S. government practices racist colonialism against the people of Central America," Bates said. He concluded by saying that the government will have to work with so-called communist nations in the hemisphere to achieve a real lasting peace. Next, the film *Americas in Transition*, was shown, which bluntly showed the deadly connection between U.S. multinationals and mass repression of the local population throughout Latin America.

Following the film were panelists' statements on this issue. Professor Charles Reilly of UCSD pointed out the under-reporting of Latin America which occurs in U.S. newspapers. "The Mexican newspaper, *El Dia* had 10

articles on Central America in today's paper, while our local dailies have very little," said Reilly. Sister Pat Krommer of the Archbishop Romero Relief Fund gave an historical overview of the church in Latin America, and explained how "Liberation Theology" is practiced by the church by standing up for and working with the poor. She called Congress totally irresponsible, and noted, "No Reagan, no Army and no military arsenal will change the aspiration of the people."

Alex Drehsler, journalist and filmmaker, said that the Kissinger report calls for a "Vietnamization" of Central America. Drehsler, who spent two months with the guerrillas of El Salvador described the "state within a state" in that country. "The FMLN has created 'popular power' in Chalatenango and Morazan provinces; schools, hospitals, town councils and local elections make up the new society growing in the mountains of El Salvador," said Drehsler.

Professor Sylvia Lizarraga of Berkeley talked about her trip to Nicaragua last summer. She spoke of how the "contras" terrorize the border towns and how the U.S. supplies bullets to remind Nicaraguans who the real enemy is. She spoke of how the Nicaraguans distinguish between the North American people and the government, as they respect the former and criticize the latter. "Nicaragua has a vibrant culture, as poetry, painting and other works are everywhere," said Lizarraga. She concluded by saying that the "Nicaraguan people are totally united to defend their revolution," which

received a thunderous response from the 200 people in attendance.

After a short break, a panel discussion began which included questions from the floor. Various panelists pointed out that elections can be held in Nicaragua now because the population can read and write and have begun their education. They said that elections are irrelevant in El Salvador because the majority are illiterate, and that the government only votes with bombs and bullets.

Various audience members spoke out against U.S. imperialism, and one brought up how Israel acts as a surrogate for the U.S., by supplying, arming, advising and training the dictatorships of Latin America. This caught the panel off guard and stymied Bates, though they all agreed that Israel is a partner of U.S. imperialist policies. Bates said that he learned a lot from the days' activities, and the audience felt satisfied over how things went. There was even some audience participation in the form of shouting out slogans, as one man called Reagan "a fascist", and Sister Pat Krommer seconded it. Drehsler's film, *In the Name of the People* concluded the program.

Later that night over 200 people turned out for a cultural evening of poetry, food and music, as the "Friends of Nicaraguan Culture," put on their first event.

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KULTURE

Moooooooo, Moooooooo

When Your Life Is Up To the Cow

Does a woman's poverty lead her to prostitution? What happens when her cow is missing? Juan Rulfo used that premise in his short story We The Poor (Es que somos muy pobres) to set up a woman's fate. Her father had given the cow to her in order to prevent at least his youngest daughter from becoming a prostitute. Her older sisters, having nothing at all, were already selling their bodies. After looking everywhere, finally somebody sees something. Someone "spots the cow, with her legs up, patas arriba, drowned."

The recent Sappho Speaks, Winter issue 1984, represents the romantic view of prostitution by showing the prostitute as the woman next door who is just trying to make it. Their question seems to be, "How or why did you become a prostitute?"

The answer they found: "I hate to think of myself as a prostitute, because it's really not part of my identity at all. Very few people here know about that part of me. It happened gradually, and before I knew it I was totally dependent on it. I was real broke and was propositioned, and I figured, to hell with it. It got real easy. Now I can find tricks anywhere. There's probably not one woman alive that hasn't been offered money at least once, in one way or another. It's something to think about."

The price of a bed does not tell how easy it is to sleep on it . . .

Rocks, the prostitute and Christ were for a long time the three essential ingredients used in representing the need to save these women. It was important to distinguish these women from ourselves. This criticizing eye distance was also used

by the darling of the left, Susan Meiselas, in her out of print book Carnival Strippers, published in 1976. The opening title page, on the left side, has a picture of a stripper holding a burning cigarette in her right hand with the ash about to fall down. From the thighs down and from the belly-button up, the rest of her right hand and arm were not shown. The framing was a crotch shot where the costumed undie was pushed into one's face.

The photographs of the strippers were accompanied by a text version of about 150 hours of tape-recorded interviews and overheard conversations which Meiselas edited down to small paragraphs according to what she felt was important. This text was put forward as truth. One of the strippers, Lena, told how "some guy took a cherry and stuck it up my cunt and ate it out, and then he ate the cherry. I almost died, it was so funny. People have got to be sick to do that. I acted like a real whores person, really bad. It's bad for the head if you think about."

The photographs were always low-lit. They never captured the personal experience of the strippers, and therefore they constantly undermined any liberation or inventive energy these prostitutes might have had. In her framing Meiselas always cuts off a woman's persona. Remaining distanced as photographer, she only shows the exhaustion but never points her camera to the private space that a stripper, being alive, will always have. In addition to that, Meiselas' use of low or garish lighting represented the women in harsh shadows. Photographically speaking, this



surroundings was not fortified by Meiselas' photography. Her sensationalized representation of strippers as the result of isolation from their surroundings showed them as objects, subjugated even in their unconscious state of sleeping.

In another photographic treatment E.J. Bellocq asked what each woman wanted. The photographs were from Storyville, one of the few legalized red light districts. Storyville got its name when in 1896, Alderman Sidney Story attempted to clean up the New Orleans waterfront by restricting prostitution to a circumscribed area. Much to his anger, the area came to be called "Storyville," and it was so known until the U.S. Navy closed it for good in 1917.

But in 1912 each woman decided what she wanted to be like. Some of them wanted to be nude, and some of them wanted to look like they were going to a ceremony. He just let them act out whatever they had in mind for themselves. Bellocq's photography allowed them to be exactly what they felt they were.

Thirty-three prints out of 89 prints were published by the Museum of Modern Art. Plate or print 22 is a woman smiling, leaning her elbow and holding her head with her fist and her right arm around her back. She seems relaxed without having to hold her stomach in. What is striking is her shoes. They are dress shoes—probably the best pair she owns—with what looks like a diamond perched on top of the leather band and silk body of the shoe. Her body is hers, she holds it the way she wants to be seen, as beautiful with dignity.

With question marks before his birthdate and his date of death, ?1455—?1525, V. Carpaccio finished a painting in 1510, titled Two Courtesans. It is now hanging around in the Museo Correr, Venice. In this painting, Carpaccio, by cutting off the boy, the marble-arches ledge, the dog, the floor, etc., created a tension between the space that was represented on screen and the space that existed outside the frame. It was the off-screen space, although not visible, which Carpaccio wanted to talk about. While the physical selves of the women were represented within the painting, he shifted—by means of his framing technique—the dominant position to the women's private dream space.

Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec in Salon In The Rue Des Moulins achieved the same personal space for women. This time, however, created with distance and angle. The force of the extended leg pushed the women away from the spectator, even though in bright color seemingly coming forward out of the

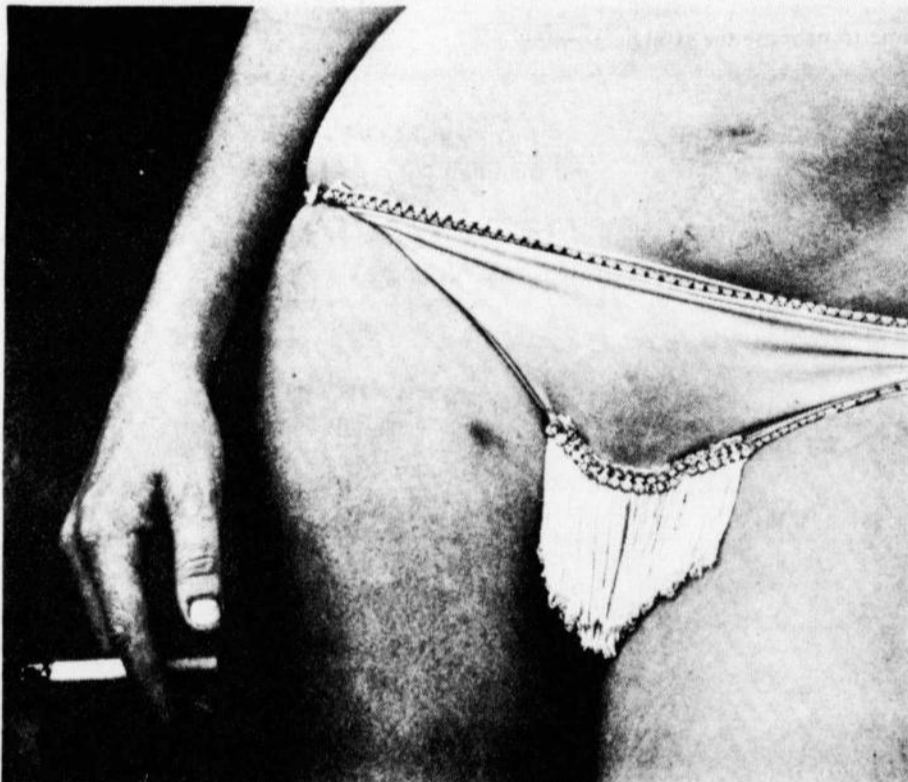


darker red-violet of the pillows. The spectator remained outside looking into a world where they are together, yet alone among themselves.

Gyula Halasz Brassai came from the back in a 1932 photograph, Washing up in a brothel, Rue Quincampoix. A sweep was made from the mirror to the sink, to the pipe where one notices the detailed pattern of her shoe, to the silk stocking, her douching, and him dressing from high angle perspective. From her clothes to the curtain the spectator knows this to be her room while the wrinkle of her partner's shirt doesn't make him a stranger either. Although alone in their own activities, they were tied together as long as they stayed in this environment.

Can prostitution be portrayed with honesty? Why the word honesty? Because the word has less to do with truth than with revealing the human condition of what prostitution means. For this to happen, unfortunately an artist must clear the debris of the romantic and saviour interpretations that clutter the paths. Let's sweep them away!

—Barry Hyman



created an ugliness in her representation of the women's bodies.

The "affinity between prostitutes and the darkness of shadows" theme finds expression in fiction as well. Okello Oculi, in his novel Prostitutes, named his protagonist Rosa. Rosa, a black woman, said, "I am so exposed in the dark, so helpless. Anything could happen to me from everywhere. I can't even see my hands, however hard my eyes try to look and see them. I want those neon lights on the left to be there always, otherwise it would be too dark here all around. When they are on, at least I am sure other things are here, too—still there with me because I can still see them. It is important to have other things also around oneself."

Yet, the women in Meiselas' Carnival Strippers were consistently separated from objects, people and themselves. Solidarity with each other, or their

continued from page 3

Central America...

4. "The no price is to great to pay hypothesis."

This final argument is based upon the assumption that our national interests are best served by defeating the revolutionaries in Central America, no matter what the cost.

The economists on the commission believe that the recommended \$8 billion in aid for the next few years is somehow cost-efficient. Fagan argued that this belief that we should pursue victory at any cost is not logical. First of all, the small amount of U.S. investment in Central America does not warrant the huge cost of trying to cling to fading American hegemony in the region. The assertion that insurgent victories pose an economic threat to the U.S. is preposterous. The economic leverage that the U.S. has over the region is considerable. Furthermore, it is clear from the Cuban and Nicaraguan examples, the American economy will not suffer from revolutionary victories in Central America.

After his denunciation of "Henry's Report", Fagan proposed some solutions of his own. First of all he argued for a conceptual turnaround. Policy-makers need to come up with a tight, narrow definition of American strategic interests. We don't have to tolerate Soviet or Cuban involvement in Central America, but as long as they stay out of the region we must surrender our involvement. No foreign military presence should be tolerated and the area should be neutralized. That means the U.S.—the country most extensively involved—has to get out.



U.S. helicopter downed by Nicaraguan fire: the carefully concealed I.D. markings indicate its mission was more than "routine."

Fagan also argued that policy-makers must reverse the manner in which their credibility argument is framed. Right now American leaders seem to believe that if we can't manage affairs in Central America, the world won't take us seriously. Our actions to date however, particularly our military aid to repressive regimes, haven't heightened our credibility. A majority of countries consider our policies sheer lunacy.

The first logical step to increasing our credibility would be a reversal of the process of militarization in the region. This would entail cutting off support to the contras in Nicaragua, aid to El Salvador, military aid to Guatemala, and withdrawing from our military base in Honduras. Such demilitarization would suggest that we are serious about the possibility of a negotiated settlement rather than a military one.

Fagan made it clear that the recommendations of the Kissinger Report will not secure peace in Central America. Increases of economic and military aid are not viable solutions. Americans must be willing to seek a negotiated peace, otherwise they will find themselves embroiled in a "policy of endless war."

—ris and ml

Schools for Crime

Prisons: Shockingly Inadequate

The increase in crime and recidivism indicate the bankruptcy of the nation's penal system which remains punitive rather than rehabilitative. Morality cannot be taught by force. Prisons are not only schools for crime, producing hard core repeaters, but reinforce anti-social attitudes.

The President's Crime Commission Report of 1967, entitled "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society"—the most comprehensive study yet produced—cited shocking failures and inadequacies of our existing programs. The Commission's Report, the cooperative effort of jurists, technical staffs, consultants and advisers in the hundreds, scrutinized every agency engaged with the problem of crime. After concluding that things could hardly be worse, they offered some 200 recommendations as "musts," including basic restructuring of our society.

They discovered that no one knew the full extent of the evils inherent in the system; that there was almost total ignorance as to the full extent of the crime problem in the United States—the causes, prevention, correction, or even the definition of crime. Unfortunately, this costly, monumental and talent-consuming effort has been laid away, unseen by the public and ignored by governmental agencies.

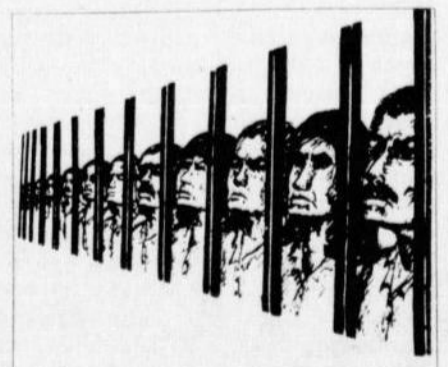
Prisoners' rights, subject to the interpretation of individual courts and reinter-pretation and/or violation by individual prison administrators, exist mainly on paper. "Law and order" are maintained at all costs. ("Lock 'em up, feed 'em and keep 'em quiet.") If incarceration produces no riots, the program is considered effective.

The State should be responsible for the safety and health of those in its custody. But prisoners are frequently subject to injury, gang rape or murder.

Medical care, if any, is substandard. In general, prison doctors are there

because their incompetence is a bar to their practice on the outside. In addition, their hostility toward the offenders assigned to their care makes ailing prisoners reluctant to submit to their ministrations. Sadistic guards and wardens have seriously delayed or altogether denied prisoners access to medical aid; wardens have interfered with prisoners' need to receive prescribed medication, and postsurgery convalescence has been interfered with.

Many excellent prison reform proposals have been advanced by experts, notably the United Nations Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, subscribed to in principle by leading U.N. members, including the U.S. If it were legally structured into our criminal justice system there would be no Attica eruptions.



The Prisoners Rights Organized Defense in New Jersey has, since 1972, been fighting an uphill struggle against conditions endemic there and elsewhere: cruel and arbitrary punishment, overcrowding, violations of constitutional rights, withdrawal of rehabilitation programs, medical experiments using prisoners as guinea pigs, filth, illegal transfers, beatings, detainees presumed innocent but unable to afford bail.

It is almost 200 years since 1787 when a small group of Quakers and Freethinkers met at Benjamin Franklin's home to propose the establishment of a prison offering humane treatment. The recommendations are still in dire need of implementation. Instead, for the next 150 years, solitary confinement was an approved punishment despite de Tocqueville's first-hand observation that such treatment caused depression, insanity and danger to life.

In 1870, the American Correctional Association was founded by prison administrators who framed the famous "Statement of 22 Principles" which posited that reform, rather than vindictiveness, be the aim of penal institutions; that prison discipline be designed to gain the willing cooperation of the prisoner; and to foster and preserve his self-respect.

Throughout the years, programs for prison reform were projected and rejected, notably the Wickersham Report of 1922, the Governor Al Smith Commission and others.

In 1965, the Correctional Association of N.Y. (founded in 1846) made 14 broad recommendations to the N.Y. State Legislature—which were not implemented.

Dr. Karl Targownik of the Kansas Reception and Diagnostic Center which scored many successes, said confidently: "Give me 3 to 6 months, 2 more psychiatrists, 4 psychologists, 4

psychiatric social workers and adequate clerical staff, and I'll reduce the State's prison population by 50%."

Experiments in other countries have achieved dramatic results. An institution for seemingly incorrigible offenders was established at Hørstedvester, Denmark, based on the premise that imprisonment is for social protection, and that the law-breaker who wishes to return to society must satisfy the Court that he is not apt to return to crime. This is explained to the prisoner who is offered treatment to help him change if he wishes to earn his freedom. Although the institution is authorized to hold chronic offenders for an indefinite period, in practice the time is surprisingly short. In its first 25 years, about 1000 of the 1500 sentenced were freed. (100 died.) In the next 18 years, 900 hardened criminals were admitted and all released. Although some returned, their second offenses were comparatively minor and their retention shorter. At the time of this report (1970s), less than 10% remained in custody.

During every election campaign, politicians—pandering to public demand for an end to crime—continue to "solve" the problem by ignoring the root causes and advocating capital punishment and longer prison terms,—despite the fact that this country, which imposes the longest sentences, lists more continuing crime than any other civilized nation.

—Florence Fox

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# Long Stories In Short

## Instant Homes...

A Japanese firm has created an assembly line for houses and is able to turn them out at the rate of one every forty minutes. The instant homes have a ten year guarantee, and if a family wants to renovate, the company simply strips the house down to its frame and pops it back on the assembly line.

—D.C. Gazette

## Pay As You Protest...

The North Star Legal Foundation, a conservative "public interest" group, has filed suit against a number of peace organizations and activists in the Twin Cities area to recover public funds spent on arresting, detaining, and prosecuting hundreds of antinuclear protesters in Minneapolis last year.

"You might as well throw out the Bill of Rights if this suit is upheld," says Fred Pritzker, attorney for the Minnesota Nuclear Freeze Campaign, one of the defendants. It has the potential for "chilling freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of protest in this country."

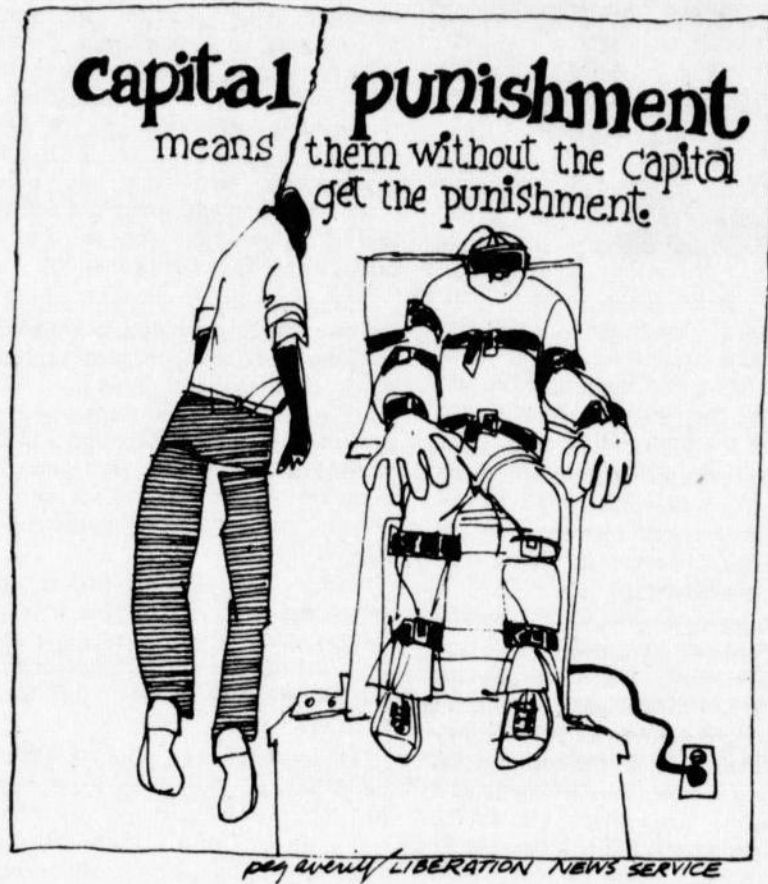
Minnesota nuclear weapons contractors, particularly Honeywell and Sperry, have been the targets of major civil disobedience actions. The largest resulted in 577 arrests for trespassing last October at Honeywell's Minneapolis headquarters. The North Star Legal Foundation, in a suit filed on behalf of "the taxpayers," is seeking \$500,000 to be repaid to public coffers and an injunction against future civil disobedience at military contractor sites.

"It seems fair to assess those costs on those responsible," says Elliot Rothenberg, North Star's director and legal counsel. Rothenberg, a former Republican state senator and candidate for attorney general, compares it to a class action suit but recognizes "there hasn't been any case in Minnesota quite like this." The suit charges that the protesters cost the taxpayers "hundreds of thousands of dollars" which "more properly could have been used for legitimate social purposes and/or reducing...taxes."

Kenneth Tilsen, attorney for the Honeywell Project, another defendant, calls the lawsuit "sloppy political rhetoric" and says "the whole thing shouldn't be taken seriously." Nevertheless, the Honeywell Project is waging a legal defense and has filed a claim for the reimbursement of legal costs. The Minnesota Nuclear Freeze Campaign has gone further, filing a countersuit charging harassment and seeking \$100,000 damages.

The North Star Legal Foundation has strong ties not only to state Republican politics but also to the military contractors subjected to civil disobedience. Honeywell, for instance, made a \$5,000 tax-deductible donation to the Foundation last year. The company contributes to causes "that emphasize education and social welfare," says Honeywell spokeswoman Karen Bachman. As for the suit against the Honeywell protesters, "I don't see a conflict here," Bachman says.

—the Progressive



## Phone File

Civil libertarians are saying that the new pay-by-the-call pricing option offered by local phone companies represents a giant step backward for personal privacy. The reason: they're now keeping computer records of every call—local and long distance—you make. And all these records are subject to subpoena. AT&T says roughly 20,000 individual phone records are turned over to the IRS, law enforcement agencies, even divorce lawyers, every year. As one attorney puts it, "The implications are staggering. Who you call gives somebody more information about your business, social, political and religious affiliations than any other piece of information. All our constitutional liberties are lost once somebody gets a hold of those records."

—DC Gazette

## Rape Just Another Risk

While opponents of Michigan's rape law seem to think of rape as the logical outcome for someone with a "loose" sexual past, the U.S. Army one-upped them treating rape as another risk of serving in the Armed Forces. A woman raped by two fellow soldiers in a barracks at Ft. Ord., Calif., in November of 1982 recently filed claim seeking \$80,000 from the Army. Joseph Rouse, chief of the Army's general claim service, responded that the "military cannot pay claims to service members who suffer injuries 'incident to service.'" The woman's lawyer, J. Byron Holcolm, who has filed a new claim asking the Army to reconsider, plans to sue in federal court in San Francisco if that fails and will also ask Congress to pass a special bill granting changes. Et tu, Congress?

—In These Times

## Nancy's Socks...

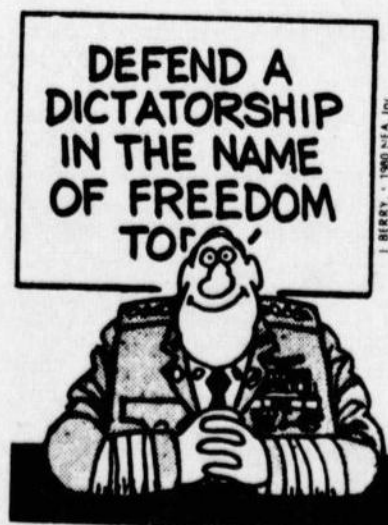
Reporters covering Nancy Reagan's visit to a Tokyo museum during the recent Presidential trip to the Far East were directed by the White House to "wear clean, hole-less socks, as you will be required to remove your shoes before entering..."

—the Progressive

## Trees Saved

Rather than see the forest chopped down around them, the female villagers of the Himalayan slopes in northern India threw themselves around the trunks of the trees, forcing the loggers to stop. The women realized that while the men of the villages were off negotiating with the district authorities, the woodcutters would seize the opportunity to fell the trees. But the women's collective efforts saved the trees.

—Industrial Worker



## Entertainment Cost Rises...

"When Ronald Reagan was a B-actor, it cost maybe 50 cents to see him perform. Now that he's worked his way up to star status at Pentagon Palace it costs trillions. Now that's inflation."

—Mary Miller

## Rested Wives

Last year Senator Jeremiah Denton of Alabama voted for special tax breaks for traditional families, to encourage wives not to work. A craftier politician might have explained his vote in any number of ways—it could be good for the unemployment rate, strengthen the country's moral fiber, etc. But Denton was painfully honest in justifying his vote: "A guy likes to come home and get supper and a couple of martinis from a woman who is reasonably rested."

—dollars & Sense

## Pentagon Porn...

There's been a lot of flak lately about military cost overruns, but here's one that would shake even the most dedicated hawk. The Defense Intelligence Agency, the elite of military spies, has been spending \$25,000 each month on long distance calls—not to Scotland Yard, but to a New York City dial-a-porn number.

Were there top secret coded messages in those whispered words? If it was vital to national security, we'll never know. The Pentagon has placed an electronic block against the number. But with that volume of business to tap, the favored dial-a-porn will probably change its number pretty soon.

—dollars & Sense

## Book Ban Continued...

In 1977, school officials in Springfield, Missouri, took a felt-tip pen to the illustrations of *In the Night Kitchen*, a storybook by Marice Sendak. A pair of shorts was placed on the drawing of a naked boy.

Explained the director of elementary education: "We felt it was a good story but as far as nudity is concerned I guess I'm an old fogey. I think it should be covered."

The school board of Cobb county, Georgia, in 1977, banned Richard Dorson's *American in Legend* from school libraries, saying the book "is terrible for children." They also charged that the book "condones draft dodging" and includes stanzas from "Casey Jones" that refer to the legendary hero's sexual prowess.

—Post-Amerikan