



new indicator

February 15 - 28, 1983

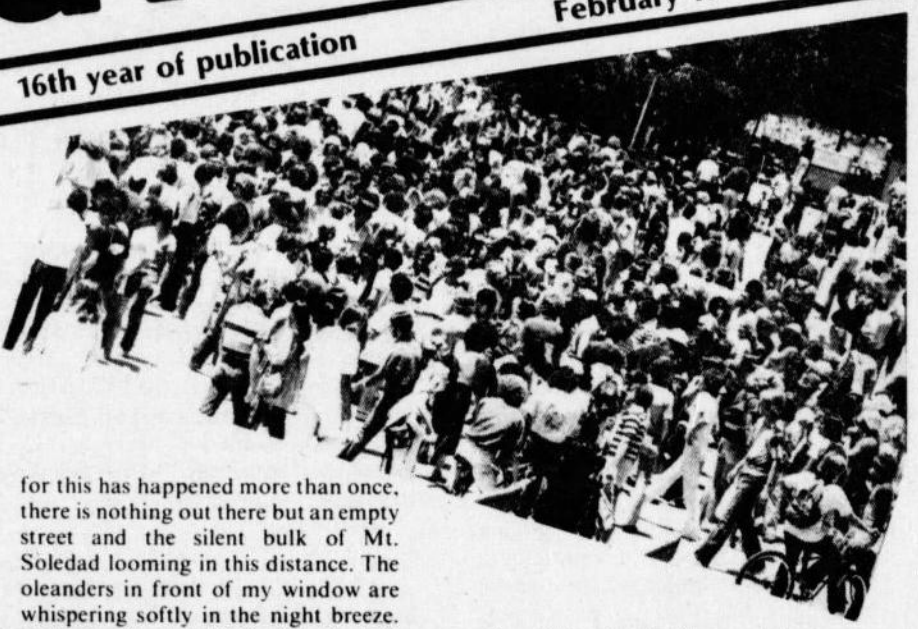
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Volume 8, Number 10

Rewriting History: McGill, Campus Revolt & Resurgent America



THE YEAR OF THE MONKEY: Revolt on Campus 1968-69. By William J. McGill; McGraw-Hill: 1982; 278 pages; \$15.95.

William McGill's recent book—*The Year of the Monkey*—has received extensive, and for the most part uncritical, attention in San Diego since its release last summer. Excerpted in *San Diego* magazine, it has also been reviewed in papers ranging from UCSD's *Alumni Quarterly* to the *San Diego Union*. Elsewhere, response has been more restrained.

McGill's book is an account of his first year as chancellor at UCSD (he was chancellor from 1968-1970 and left UCSD to become President of Columbia University; showing that his efforts at UCSD to contain rebellion did not go unappreciated) and an attempt to explain the factors underlying student protest. It represents an attempt, according to McGill, "to look beyond...first-order explanations in an effort to assess the deeper origins and ultimate costs of this unique generational conflict." (ix)

While writing *The Year of the Monkey*, McGill received financial support from the Carnegie Corporation. Then, despite the fact that it seems unlikely to turn a significant profit, McGraw-Hill—hardly noted for philanthropy—published *Monkey*, complete with an aggressive publicity campaign. Interestingly, McGill is again on campus, as an adjunct professor, with his own secretary and office space, the former a privilege usually reserved only for top administrators. Thus, it seems appropriate to question why this book is being brought out now—fourteen years after the events in question; and how it fits into an ongoing effort (noted by scholars such as MIT Professor Noam Chomsky, internationally acclaimed for his linguistic theories and political analysis) to rewrite the history of the Vietnam War and the anti-war movement, as part of the ongoing effort being carried out particularly by 'intellectuals' to lay the groundwork for a new cold war. (see: Chomsky: *Towards a New Cold War*)

4.5 Crises

Similar in tone to Richard Nixon's *Six Crises*, the bulk of *Monkey* is devoted to McGill's account of four-and-a-half

crises that erupted in his first year as chancellor, and how he dealt with them. McGill presents an often-captivating account of a two-front war fought by administrators striving to keep the University on course and fend off the attacks of radical students and conservative members of the community and the Board of Regents (led by then-governor Ronald Reagan).

As narrative (fiction) this account is quite successful, at least for those unfamiliar with UCSD and its history. Those of us more familiar with the campus cannot help being startled by the rank hypocrisy and contempt for facts—which McGill dismisses at one point as mere "details"—that pervade the entire book. And the entire discussion is suffused with a scarcely-concealed hostility against those who interrupted the University's smooth functioning, forcing him, and others, to confront the implications of what the University was doing and the consequences of allowing 'business as usual.'

In an attempt to elicit our sympathy for the beleaguered administrators 'caught' in the battle between these forces, McGill resorts to frequent descriptions of how this or that administrator—himself included—was tormented by radical protesters, and the fear and anguish they were put through. (Interestingly, this treatment is largely reserved for discussion of radicals; while McGill does denounce the actions and proposals of conservative forces, he is unable to direct the same depths of moral outrage against them.)

Indeed, in the first chapter we are treated to a portrait of a distraught McGill, prone to wake in the middle of the night hearing—out of the depths of his memory—demonstrators outside his home:

I am suddenly awake in the darkness because I think I can hear them chanting again. A jumble of familiar emotions comes flooding through my consciousness: fear and anxiety deep inside... Bearded young men in shoulder-length hair are hammering on my front door with their fists... All around the crowd is chanting: 'One, two, three, four, we don't want your fuckin' war: The people united will never be defeated: McGill, McGill, you better start shakin'. Today's pig is tomorrow's bacon.' I slip out of bed and tiptoe toward the front of the house to draw aside the curtain and peep out. As I suspected,

for this has happened more than once, there is nothing out there but an empty street and the silent bulk of Mt. Soledad looming in this distance. The oleanders in front of my window are whispering softly in the night breeze. Perhaps it was that sound that wakened me... (2)

This high melodrama carries through most of the book, which treats us to portraits of sensitive administrators suffering at the hands of cold blooded, power-grabbing, ruthless leftists out to destroy the very fabric of society.

And McGill goes to great pains throughout the book to remind us that he is a sensitive, liberal-minded man; the latter claim, at least, not hard to believe when McGill slips into shades of racism and virulent red-baiting, as is his wont. (Red-baiting, of course, is one of the most popular past-times of the liberal in power.)

The crises that McGill so eloquently discusses include the UC-wide uproar over the Regents' decision to revoke credit for a class scheduled to be taught by a Black militant; the controversy over the re-appointment of Herbert Marcuse; the UC-wide uproar over the bloody repression directed against People's Park and its defenders; the fight to establish Lumumba-Zapata College; and the successful blockade of the Career Planning & Placement office, preventing a Marine Corps officer from recruiting at UCSD (his recruiting visit was later rescheduled, and held in secret at University Hospital; a fitting location, if grimly ironic).

MARCUSE:

Selling Out and Keeping Face

Three chapters are devoted to discussing the Marcuse controversy. McGill seeks to portray Marcuse as a washed-up anti-hero, and as a defender

of authoritarianism; using quotes brutally yanked from context, and misinterpreted to boot, for this purpose. McGill makes his anger towards, and contempt for Marcuse clear, although he is forced to concede that Marcuse was a powerful and important philosopher, and a popular teacher.

In the face of a concerted effort by local conservatives to stop Marcuse from teaching, McGill sought to find a compromise that would enable him to pose as a defender of academic freedom while quieting his critics by dispoing of Marcuse on the side. This attempt was complicated by the resolute defense by thousands of students and many faculty of Marcuse's right to teach.

While attempting to portray himself as a defender of academic freedom (and, incidentally, of Marcuse's right to teach), McGill frequently observes with apparent regret that the intensity of the attacks against Marcuse—in the absence of any justification for not retaining Marcuse—made it impossible for him to dump Marcuse without risking explosion on campus. "It was clear," McGill argues, "that I had to reappoint Marcuse... It was equally clear that I had to make it a terminal year if I wanted to save us from disaster with the Regents." (92) Thus, McGill compromised by reappointing Marcuse for one year, with the announcement that after that year he would be forced to retire, despite the lack of any academic grounds for such a position. As UCSD professor Richard Arneson has observed:

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<p>New Indicator Student Organizations UC San Diego, B-023 La Jolla, Ca. 92093</p>	<p>Non-Profit Org. U. S. Postage PAID La Jolla, Calif. Permit No. 256</p>
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Letters

Community News Coverage Criticized

I'm responding to information you put in the community news section of the Feb. 1 - Feb. 14th edition of the *New Indicator* which gave a unfavorable impression of the Federation For Progress as Communist Workers Party-initiated. To clarify several points, I have been involved with the Federation For Progress since December, 1982 during which time I've represented the San Diego Alliance For Survival (a UCSD organization). I have attended several of their local meetings and have just attended the Los Angeles conference on the strategy for the 1984 Olympics under the slogan of Jobs, Peace, and Equality.

The Federation consists of a coalition of many groups of different political beliefs but who are willing to set aside political grandstanding in order to work towards the goals of Peace and Equality. I have enclosed a list of the 22 groups who have endorsed the L.A. conference, and many of these groups share the same views which are printed in your paper.

Currently, an MX Task Force has been organized in San Diego through the local chapter of the Federation For Progress, and it was through this task force that the foundation was formed which enabled people from San Diego to mobilize in an effort to stop any further testing of the MX missile at Vandenberg Air Force Base (45 miles north of Santa Barbara). I can't speak of past events which the Federation For Progress sponsored but only of my involvement with them since last year. Up to this point, I can only have good and positive things to say about them.

What needs to be done now is for all members of peace and Anti-Nuclear groups to set aside their political differences, refrain from political grandstanding, and put a restraint on their egos long enough for us to get the job done—to stop the testing of the MX and other First Strike weapons dead in their tracks! The MX Task Force in San Diego will be our vehicle towards accomplishing this goal at Vandenberg

when a Statewide Network of activists will converge on Vandenberg for a legal demonstration on March 20th and a blockade and occupation March 21st. Please contact me to share your views or if interested in attending the next MX Task Force meeting.

Yours For A Nuclear-Free Future,
David L. Piper

Reply: Thank you for your letter, which does not contradict anything that was said in last issue's community article. We do not discourage people from working with any group or organization in the progressive community. We simply feel that people need to be informed as to who these groups are in order for people to make responsible, informed decisions. We have major differences with David Piper's uncritical call for unity on the Left. Unity for the sake of unity is characteristic of fascism. The Community Energy Action Network is also working to support the Vandenberg rally and civil disobedience on March 20. For information about CEAN's work, call 275-1162.

UC Regent Henning Urged to Resign

As a non-academic employee of the University of Illinois at Urbana, I was interested in the reprint of the *LA Times* article about the University of California using federal funds to oppose unionization. That the UC Regents would try to bust a union organizing drive is no surprise. Here at UI, the administration has also sought to maintain a non-union shop.

What was surprising, however, was that California AFL-CIO head, John Henning, did not resign from the UC Regents in protest. By remaining a UC Regent, Henning is condoning union-busting. The management of the UC is declaring war on its unionized employees, but Henning wants to play labor statesman and warn that "unions will reconsider their long-standing cooperation with UC institutes of labor relations." (I bet that really made the Regents shudder!)

Rank-and-file union members should demand that Henning leave the Regents immediately. His presence there has not prevented the administration from adopting anti-union policies, but only inhibits the workers from taking militant

direct action to protect their own interests. If Henning remains a Regent, university employees would be better off building a union without "long-standing cooperation" towards management.

For Worker-Run Unions,
Jeff Stein

Viva Selected Blasphemy! Viva Atheism!

Friends,

I noticed—and was very pleased about—the introduction of the Selected Blasphemy column, containing the excerpts from Johann Most's incomparable essay. You'll get a lot of flak from the usual idiots, and plenty more from a lot of people you didn't even think were idiots, but I hope you persist—Atheism isn't the most popular idea in the world to the political Left, but it's a certainty that religion in whatever guise invariably assists at least sloppy thinking, and usually political authoritarianism as well. It definitely needs to be slammed, hard and often.

Best wishes,
Fred Woodworth

A Question Of A Double-Standard

Dear Collective

I have to tell you that when you publish photographs such as this one, you make the legitimate concerns of UC students look trivial and yourselves look ridiculous. This is scarcely the Cossacks beating helpless peasants to the earth. Your caption consummates the absurdity of your presentation.

The fight for rights cannot afford your kind of journalism. Unchain yourselves from your typewriters and get out and see for yourselves what is really going on. Then your sense of proportion may be more in line with reality—and your effectiveness, now so nearly invisible at UCSD, will be enhanced.

Unsigned

Reply: This letter refers to the photograph printed in our February 1-14, 1983, issue, in the lower left-hand corner of the front page. The caption read as follows:

Some of the 200 demonstrators at the recent U.C. Regents meeting in San Francisco are confronted by heavily armed police. The demonstrators were protesting against the recently implemented fee hikes.

Unsigned appears to feel that the police depicted in the photograph are not heavily armed, and to question whether or not 200 demonstrators were present.

Although the picture shows only a small number of demonstrators, there were definitely 200 people participating, according to our reporter, and others who attended the protest.

The key concern, however, appears to be Unsigned's feeling that the police depicted in the photograph are not heavily armed. (Unsigned seeks to compare the situation to helpless peasants being beaten to earth in a far-fetched analogy with no relation to our actual caption.) A careful examination of the photograph, however, reveals that the policeman are carrying a number of guns and clubs (in addition to other weapons), so that each of the eight policemen depicted is carrying at least two weapons capable of inflicting lethal wounds upon victims. By any reasonable criterion, these men were heavily armed.

Moreover the objection to this phrase is illustrative of the double-standard to which many people have become accustomed. Were a radical arrested carrying such an arsenal, no one would question the propriety of describing that person as "heavily armed." Yet when police carry exactly the same weapons (although the analogy is stretched, because the forces of authority carry infinitely more, and more deadly, weapons than radicals and others out of power have ever had access to), it is considered normal behaviour not worthy of comment.

In many ways this doublespeak is similar to that customarily used in discussing terrorism. Attacks directed against a few individuals by groups or individuals fighting established organs of power are condemned as terrorist, while similar acts by those in power against much larger groups of people (and which inflict incomparably more harm) are pre-emptive strikes, or mop-up operations, or police actions.

So long as we are prepared to accept wholesale violence by the State and its agents, and are willing to accept the double-standards explicit in this letter, we cannot hope to achieve true liberation. Unsigned speaks of a sense of proportion, but such a sense must be based on a clear perception of reality, not on uncritical acquiescence to existing relations of power.

THURS. FEB. 17

7 PM: The Palestinians: Portrait of an Uprooted People slideshow and speakers. UCSD HL 1402. Campaign for Palestinian Rights/General Union of Palestine Students.

8 PM: Paul Robeson presented by Berkeley Stage Company. UCSD Mandeville Center Auditorium. 452-3103.

8 PM: Is the American criminal justice system consistent with the U.S. Constitution? USD Law School. 291-6480, ext. 4296.

6 PM: Free, confidential draft counseling with professional National Lawyers Guild legal workers. 3000 E Street. 233-1701.

7 PM: War Tax Resistance. Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) general meeting and special slideshow presentation on war tax resistance. Church building at 3850 Westgate Place. 753-7518, 283-6878. — Please support CARD's lawsuit against the Grossmont School District by sending donations to CARD, P.O. Box 15195, San Diego, CA 92115.

7 PM: African Oral Narrative Traditions slideshow with UCSD professor Bob Cancel. UCSD Student Center, North Conference Room. Third College Commuter Activity Board.

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the new indicator is a collectively produced university-community newspaper, distributed to San Diego County college campuses and selected community action/human services organizations and other sites.

articles and letters are welcomed. Please type them double-spaced, on a 55-space line and send to: **new indicator**

collective/UCSD B-023/La Jolla, CA 92093. Ph: (619) 452-2016

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Funky La Jolla

By Rambling Rosie

Back to the UC President's search...Last issue I mentioned a very good prospect for that position coming from the University of Chicago. Well, it seems Hanna M. Gray has forgotten her higher aspirations of late...When contacted by the new indicator Gray denied—through her designee, Vice-President Karl Bard—any interest in the position and stated "I have not and am not a candidate for any position." Interesting statement coming from someone who was listed as one of the top four candidates for the position in last week's *L.A. Times*... As the plot thickens, UC Berkeley chancellor Michael Heyman has been thrown in and is fast gaining support among many as a likely choice...Heyman is also known for being one of over 90,000 people on the National Security Agency's (NSA) payroll. The NSA is reputed to be the largest secret organization in the US as it listens in on all telegram and telephone traffic over the world. Heyman's role is in redesigning a new code system for the NSA to replace the currently "compromised" NSA codes...

For those of you bored with the lackluster and non-competitive atmosphere at UCSD fear no more...From the Academic Senate you are now on the verge of seeing something new to complement your otherwise neurosis-free academic existence. According to our sources, it appears the Academic Senate will approve a new grading policy that permits "plus and minus" grades such as A- and C+ which will be equivalent to approximately three-tenths of a full grade-point. With the exception of the Sociology Department, the new proposal has received full-backing.

On to other lofty ideas, it appears the administration has some of those in store for the Student Center...Last week the Student Center Task Force made their token public appearance to "solicit" input from the University community.

The Task Force, which has an overwhelming number of administrators sitting on it, has come up with various options for restructuring the Student Center... such as placing administrators on the Student Center Board and turning the directorship of the Center into a high-powered position—therefore further eroding the existing minimal student-control over the Center and the Student Center fees. Other ideas include renaming it the "University Center" and providing mailboxes for commuter students ostensibly to save thousands of dollars on postage. Of course, while these bureaucrats—one of whom incidentally claims that administrators are "more progressive" than students—concoct more ideas for UTC west, there's no need to mention who is going to be assessed \$25 per quarter.

With the new fee hikes set to be implemented for Spring '83, it is rumored that some protest may be in store soon...Rumor has it that the Student Body President's Council, who you may remember were arguing for a \$50 fee hike instead of \$100, is planning a one-day boy(girl)cott of classes in protest...Not bad, even if it is too little too late, although there is no worthy excuse for them siding with the Regents in supporting any increase in the first place...

In the meantime our story last issue on the antics over at Third College has some people over there upset at us. It appears that our exposure of the massive due process rights violations and other irregularities such as having two different sets of minutes of one meeting (with the second one clearly justifying certain questionable actions taken by the Third College Council and the Dean's Office) has hit home. Now we hear that the perpetrators are considering a libel suit. Oh well nothing like clouding the issue...

Well there's more but space is tight so it'll have to wait...Our apologies for the typo last issue, our typesetter encountered difficult times reading my chicken scrawl and misspelled Fredrick Douglass's name.

Revelle Students Protest Arbitrary Administration Decision on Housing

Incensed over Administration disregard for their interests, about 150 students marched last Friday from the Revelle housing area to the Chancellor's complex.

The students were disturbed by the decision of Vice-Chancellor Joseph Watson to exclude Revelle students from the planned new student apartment complex. Watson's decision, put forth in a memo which also specified the building site for the new apartments, would require Revelle residents to pay for the apartments without an opportunity to live in them.

The Council of Provosts and the College Councils had recommended that some of the apartments should be open to Revelle students, but V-C Watson, in defiance of the agreement reached by all the interested parties, decided otherwise. When questioned on Watson's action, Chancellor Richard Atkinson denied that such a decision had been made, and stated that the matter of space assignment would be handled in the future, in a matter "fair to all parties concerned." It is unclear whether the chancellor is misinformed about

Watson's action, or actively attempting to conceal the details of the decision-making process from students.

The march was organized largely by Revelle R.A. Jamie Barbazon. The crowd which gathered on the Revelle Plaza was about 1/3 larger than that which walked across campus; the extras left during Barbazon's prolonged speeches. When the marchers were approaching the chancellor's complex, they were halted by the appearance of V-C Watson, who met them in the parking lot north of the bookstore while the chancellor watched from his porch with some advisors and several police. One onlooker described the halt as looking like the marchers ran into a "big soft pillow." Assistant Chancellor Patrick Ledden, watching with the Chancellor, said of the demonstration: "From my historical perspective, it's pretty tame."

V-C Watson, who stopped the marchers, spoke in generalities with their leaders for several minutes. The march broke up after Chancellor Atkinson walked down and seconded Watson's comments.

Birth Control • Abortion • Lesbian Clinic
Walk-in Pregnancy Testing Mon-Fri 9-2
Cervical Caps are now available through FDA study

WOMANCARE
A Feminist Women's Health Center
424 Pennsylvania Ave., San Diego, CA 92103
(619) 298-9352 Open Six Days A Week

Financial Aid Recipients face discriminatory requirement...

Rules Requiring Students to Prove Draft Registration for Aid Issued

Secretary of Education Terrell Bell published a "Notice of Proposed Rulemaking on Selective Service Registration for Federal Student Financial Aid" in the *Federal Register* January 28th, the final step before final regulations are issued to implement the new requirement that all recipients of federal financial aid funds prove that they have either registered for the draft, or are not required to do so.

The publication of the notice set in motion a 30 day period during which the public can file written comments regarding the proposed regulations, a copy of which is available for inspection at the new indicator office. Public comments are to be addressed to Ms. Andrea Foley, Office of Student Financial Assistance, Dept. of Education, 400 Maryland Ave., S.W., Washington D.C. 20202 (phone: 202-472-4300). It is unlikely that substantive changes in the proposed regulations will be accepted, although minor procedural alterations are possible.

The proposed regulations require all students to complete a "Statement of Educational Purpose/Registration Compliance" form; either certifying that they have registered for the draft or that they are not required to do so because they are (a) female, (b) on active military duty, (c) have not reached their 18th birthday, (d) were born before 1960, or (e) are a permanent resident of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands or the Northern Mariana Islands. Although students will be required to identify a specific reason why they are not required to register, they will not be required to document it. Students who claim to have registered for the draft, however, will be required to provide documentation in the form of a copy of the letter from Selective Service which acknowledges registration.

In neither case do the regulations

provide for verifying information submitted by students with the Selective Service System, nor do they authorize cross-checks with Selective Service (or other) records. In any case, enforcement of the provision is clearly left to the schools; which will be unable to carry out extensive investigations of the accuracy of submitted data, even if they wish to do so. However, a sudden spurt of forms returned by people certifying that they are permanent residents of the Mariana Islands might well raise suspicions of even the least alert and harried bureaucrat.

Accordingly, students who have not registered for the draft and are not wealthy enough to be able to afford college without receiving financial aid are faced with a limited number of alternatives. They can wait it out, hoping that the lawsuit filed by the Minnesota Public Interest Research Group (MPIRG) will succeed in having this requirement overturned, at best a risky strategy. They can yield to the coercive power of the State and register for the draft, thus fulfilling the stated hopes of the new requirement's sponsors that this bill would increase registration rates from their embarrassingly low levels, also a risky strategy entailing as it does the risk of being drafted. They can drop out of school, or take to robbing banks to pay the bills. Or they can investigate ways of circumventing the new requirements.

These are decisions that will have to be made quickly—and with all of the appropriate information available—as the registration certification requirement takes effect for all federally-funded financial aid programs beginning with the Summer 1983 term. The new indicator will provide detailed information on the new regulations—and the various options available regarding them in future issues.

Anti-Draft Ad Still Banned...

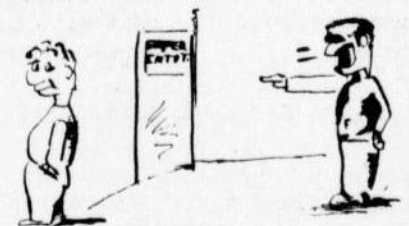
School Board Upholds Censorship, CARD Prepares Lawsuit

San Diego Grossmont Union High School District bureaucrats took a firm stand in favor of censorship and school complicity with the U.S. military at a February 3 governing board meeting. Following a ceremonial pledge of "allegiance" to an American icon and the presentation of a "good citizenship" award, Grossmont District authoritarians proceeded to eschew the very principles of freedom purportedly embodied in the much-revered Stars and Stripes.

With an air of great self-importance typical of such petty bureaucrats, Superintendent Robert Pyle and Assistant Bob King smugly announced the board's decision to reject an administrative claim filed against the board by the San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD). In an attempt to usurp all student journalists' right to self-management, King had audaciously issued a mandate to the district's nine high school principals in November disallowing a CARD ad in student publications. CARD filed the claim petitioning the board to rescind the directive.

The CARD display ad advises students to know their rights and options, but does not advocate non-registration. The item, a paid advertisement, has appeared in a dozen or more San Diego high school newspapers and no disruption of school operations has been reported in connection with the ad.

Undaunted by the board's pomposity displayed at the February 3 standing-room-only public meeting, numerous



I insist: This ban has nothing to do with 'student rights'! And next time, watch what you come in here for!

students and other district residents reproachfully addressed the school board prior to the announcement, in all cases denouncing the ban. Some argued anti-draft ads ought to be allowed because Selective Service System (SSS) and military recruitment ads are permitted in student publications. Others cited various rights "guaranteed" by the U.S. Constitution, and pertinent court cases wherein student rights have been upheld. One student conveyed poll results indicating 87% of students shown the CARD ad believed it did not solicit an illegal act, with the remaining 13% unsure.

Aside from the dictatorial Pyle, King and a school board member who exclaimed "Amen!" after the announcement, no one present spoke in favor of the move to withhold information from students who face draft registration yet may not wish to be cannon fodder for the State. The draft does, after all, entail involuntary servitude. Does the Grossmont District governing board feel obligated to facilitate the coercive draft registration program at the expense of students' continued on page 4

NEW INDICATOR
ANNOUNCEMENTS
UCSD, B-023, LA JOLLA, CA 92093

TUES. FEB. 15

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting. Supporters are urged to drop off articles or graphics for forthcoming issue. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

7 PM: U.S. Meddling in Central America. International activist Robin Anderson presents eyewitness report on recent Nicaragua/Honduras border activity involving U.S. military. Church building at 54th and El Cajon Blvd. Peace Resource Center. 265-0730.

7:30 PM: Men's Voices discussion group for Gay men. The Men's Center. 574-7744.

8 PM: Surrealist film *Beauty and the Beast* directed by Jean Cocteau. UCSD USB 2722. 452-4559.

10 PM: Black poetry on KPBS-TV Channel 15, SDSU. 265-6415.

Lesbian Mothers Support Network meeting. 296-9024.

Feminist Free University classes begin. 30 courses available for women. Center for Women's Studies and Services. 908 E Street. 233-8984.

Quaker discussion group on draft resistance, conscientious objection, etc. La Jolla Friends Meeting. 456-1020.

WED. FEB. 16

6 PM: Committee for World Democracy meeting. Bring suggestions for Political Film Series. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

7 PM: Ohio Farmworkers Strike with Farm Labor Organizing Committee president Baldemar Velazquez, musicians Chunky Sanchez and Los Alacanes Mojados, and *This Harvest Past* film. Church building at 54th and El Cajon Blvd. 272-3281.

Ms. Management Exploitation on the Job..

Dear Ms. Management:

I am a Chicano and work in a small restaurant kitchen, owned and managed by a young oriental. We come from different cultures and yet both of us are treated as foreigners by our predominantly white Anglo-Saxon customers. Our ethnic differences are for all practical purposes unimportant, except for one problem: My boss encourages me to exhibit my aggressions. I don't want to give him the satisfaction of knowing I'm angry when he asks me to do extra work, but he insists by speaking for me in Spanish a few profanities he has learned. Then I am stuck with having to say, "Yes, it's true I'm angry!" or "No, really, I'm not thinking that!" I find both responses degrading. I wish he would just leave me alone, and let me do the work he is paying me to do.

Can you help me resist this intrusion into my private thoughts and feelings?

—Feeling tied and tried

Dear T&T:

This is what imperialism—including cultural imperialism—is all about. What you have learned to consider your "territory" is invaded by another person of a different culture. (Which particular cultures are involved is unimportant, as you have understood.) The important thing to remember is that a capitalist relationship is being reproduced by you and your boss, and the dominant expression is demanding a sign of submission. It is possible that if you understood your boss's culture in more detail, you could perhaps express your submission in a more "face-saving" manner and still keep your job. However, the basic relationship would still be the same in any case in which you are asked to produce a profit for someone else to enjoy.

After your boss pays you and his other employees in the restaurant, he uses the rest of the money to pay his bills. What's left over is his profits. This relationship is reproduced everyday, around the world. There are even equations which you can use to calculate how much your boss is taking from you, and how much he profits from you:

"The Rate of Exploitation" = S/V and
"The Rate of Profit" = $S/(C+V)$

According to the *Labor Theory of Value*, you are paying your boss in order to keep your job. With the above equation, you can actually measure the exploitation you are suffering and compare it with that of other workers, by the day, by the month, or by the year.

I suggest that first you look around the restaurant where you work, and assess the rents and the purchases of all objects, including food, for which your boss pays. (Do not include wages in these bills he pays.) This figure will represent C in our equation. Next, ask all the other employees what they earn and add this



together. This figure will be V in our equation. Finally, count all the money brought into the register by the end of the day, and subtract the total daily wages from this sum. This figure will be S in our formulae.

By supplying the correct numbers in these equations, you will discover, among other things, that your work day is divided into two parts: (1) those hours you are working for yourself (i.e., producing your wages) and (2) those hours you are working for no pay (i.e., producing all the money that goes to your boss). This is how millions of working people all around the world find their time divided between "necessary labor," which pays for their own upkeep; and "surplus labor," the fruits of which are taken from them by their boss. Some workers pay their boss more than others in order to keep their job. The rate of exploitation is different in every job. For example, five workers who receive \$4.00 an hour and work five hours-a-day in a restaurant which grosses \$1,000 a day would find the following:

$V = 5 \text{ workers} \times \$4/\text{hr} \times 5 \text{ hrs/day}$; therefore $V = \$100$ (total wages paid). $S = \$1,000 - \100 ; therefore $S = \$900$ (total surplus value produced). "Rate of Exploitation" = $S/V = 900/100 = 900\%$. (or) Workers are producing enough to cover their own needs in the first thirty minutes of the day. The remainder of their workday, 4 hours and 30 minutes, is "given" to their boss for his prestige and pleasure.

Other workers might work three hours for "necessary labor" and five hours for "surplus labor." Each enterprise has a specific rate of exploitation, but, in general, the rule is that all workers must pay their boss for "the privilege" to work for him/her.

All sorts of games, at high expense, are played to keep you away from this knowledge: **How to increase The Rate of Exploitation!** Speed-ups, cuts in wages, over-time, cuts in expenditures, automation—they are all tactics for this same objective: to increase the Rate of Exploitation. If, however, you feel the cultural conflict with your boss cannot be resolved between you and the other employees, now that you understand what your boss really cares about, I offer this last suggestion as a final hope to save your job. Contact Ms. March Fong Eu, The Secretary of State, Public Market, 1230 J Street, Sacramento CA 95814. Tel. (916) 445-6371.

Ms. Management

San Diego State Hosts "Brownshirts of the Seventies"

Recent events indicate that the National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC)—the U.S.'s most prominent fascist organization—is stepping up its activities in San Diego.

February 4th, NCLC'er Carol White spoke at San Diego State University in a program sponsored by the SDSU Associated Students Cultural Arts Board. White—appearing in the name of the Fusion Energy Foundation, one of many NCLC front groups organized under the tutelage of Landon LaRouch (a.k.a. Lyn Marcus)—spoke on the NCLC's latest issue, "directed energy beams." The NCLC proposes to build giant laser beams in space, which would be used to blast nuclear weapons out of the sky (and presumably would not be diverted to more sinister purposes).



Her appearance raised something of a stir at SDSU, with an article in the campus's *Daily Aztec* newspaper exposing, in a very superficial way, White's connections, and denouncing the NCLC as a "leftist" organization. In response to this, officials at the Cultural Arts Board have become very defensive and secretive while talking to the press, refusing to be quoted. However, the *new indicator* has learned that SDSU put on the event after being offered it by the 'Fusion Energy Foundation,' and bore only the expenses of an advertisement run in the *Aztec* announcing the event. "We figured, why not make it available to the students," said one person affiliated with the C.A.B., "to find out about laser warfare." This person added that "it does make some sense... (laser beams) would make things better..." In any event, virtually no one showed up for the program.

NCLC'er Runs for San Diego Mayor

And, according to the NCLC's national newspaper, *New Solidarity*, the group is running one George Hollis for mayor of San Diego in the upcoming election to replace the departed Pete Wilson. Hollis is running under the banner of the National Democratic Policy Committee (NDPC), the organization which has replaced the U.S. Labor Party as the NCLC's electoral vehicle.

Hollis appears to be running a low key campaign—in contrast to the hundreds of thousands of dollars the NCLC has spent on some other campaigns. The San Diego City Clerk's office has reported that his campaign is being run out of 2040 Diamond Street, #4, San Diego (92109), which appears to be Hollis' home, and gives his campaign's phone number as 578-2981. That number is the office for DiCon Ophthalmic Instruments, the company which employs Hollis. The NCLC does not yet have a San Diego office, and the phone

at their Los Angeles office has been disconnected. (Los Angeles has been seeing an upsurge in NCLC activity for the past few years, especially of their National Anti-Drug Coalition. The NCLC is currently running 10 candidates for various Los Angeles-area elections.)

Who is the NCLC?

The NCLC operates in the prototypical fascist mold, combining virulent conspiracy theories with rabid (although concealed) anti-Semitism and wild attacks against finance capitalists, "British intelligence," the Soviet Union, the Democratic Party and a host of other groups, right, left and center. Originally portraying themselves as an extremist 'left-wing' group, they began moving swiftly to the right shortly after launching a series of armed attacks on various left organizations in 1973 under the title Operation Mop Up.

A detailed report released by *Public Eye*, a journal focussing on government repression and police crimes in America, titled "NCLC: Brownshirts of the Seventies" (available at Groundwork Books), gives a thorough history of the NCLC, and a listing of some of its more prominent front groups. NCLC has offices in 20 U.S. cities and nine foreign countries, connected by elaborate modern communications systems. These offices serve a dual function, pushing NCLC literature and raising funds, and gathering information on thousands of people which is then sent to the NCLC's New York headquarters, where it is entered into their computers. The NCLC maintains files on tens of thousands of people, using this information for a variety of purposes; much of it is eventually sold to police.

Recently the NCLC has been increasing its electoral activity, and working closely with leadership in unions such as the Teamsters, where it keeps tabs on rank-and-file organizations and puts out a wave of libelous leaflets and forged letters that have been quite damaging to the Teamster reform movement. The NCLC is currently downplaying its conspiracy theories, and attempting to enter into the mainstream of American political life, as defenders of "American morals," national security, and economic redevelopment. Current strategy includes token support for Third World countries, an alliance with such ultra-conservative groups as the Liberty Lobby, and a stress on classically fascist economic proposals.

This the wave of NCLC activity in San Diego can only be viewed with concern: all progressive activists in San Diego should avoid contact with the NCLC and its various front groups, and should be prepared to defend themselves against attacks from this group.

continued from page 3

Draft Ad Banned

rights? The U.S. military demands uniformity; does the school board concur? CARD provides invaluable information about deferments, exemptions, conscientious objection and various ways to protest conscription. CARD does not, however, advocate non-registration.

In response to the Grossmont District officials' move to censor student publications, CARD has secured the aid of National Lawyers Guild attorney Raphael Levens. CARD intends to file a lawsuit in federal district court against the school system. For more information, or to become involved in CARD's Counter-Intimidation Campaign, call 753-7518 or 283-6878. Readers are urged to support CARD's lawsuit against the Grossmont school district by sending donations to Committee Against Registration and the Draft, P.O. Box 15195, San Diego, CA 92115.

Kulture: The Children of World War II

My father drove me out of our neighborhood, pointed to a white elephant and said to me, "You see, that's what your socialism brings." With my bleary pinko eyes I looked out at the spanking new two million dollar building that Black and Puerto Rican business people had refused to inhabit, and I really strained to see any signs of life before I tired and fell asleep.

The silencing of my father's generation where everyone was a soldier has always made me wonder. What experiences and feelings had they brought home after the war? Specifically, why did they never talk about what they had seen and how it affected the way they thought about trying once again to create a humane world? Instead of struggling to express new ideas many of them copped to the building of the next alienating system.

Jean-Marie Straub and Daniele Huillet were children during World War II. As witnesses to the war as well as to the silencing of the soldiers, it seems they have grown to verbalize the historical, social, and ideological outcome of World War II.

Straub and Huillet depict our parents' world as existing only as defeat. When discussing historical events down through human history, they never show the struggle for liberation that leads to rebellions and revolutions, but only the moment after—the moment of defeat. "I believe, defeat and defeat once again, and fight once again and defeat once again," says Straub, "that is what the oppressed class can try." So, for ninety minutes they serve us a message of hopelessness being repeated over and over again.

In *Too Early Too Late* the opening shot that spins around the Bastille during midday traffic is a compositional theme that recurs throughout the film. Because we never see the Bastille, we never know from where the French cars come or go, or the rural Egyptians during other sequences. Panned shots of 360 degrees first pick up people and objects as they approach; then, in order to give a sense of coming and going, the pan leaves them behind only to pick them up again at the end of the full circle as they depart.

A variation of the spinning camera is the opening shot of the second part of the film. A 180 degree pan starting from a Pepsi Cola sign scrolls across an Egyptian city and ends on top of a roof where military cars are parked. Twenty minutes later as Mahmud Hussein's soundtrack text discusses British colonialism, the camera pans from the military jeeps back to the Pepsi Cola sign, again completing a 360 degree move.

Within this nameless city, only functional symbols can be discerned. One can point to a street as any street, to houses as any houses. They are objects that could be at any place, with no history other than the age of the stones, with no meaning other than the empty forms.

The same symbolic representation also applies to the filming of human beings. For almost ten minutes the camera remains at the entrance of a factory filming workers walking back and forth, entering and leaving. The camera is too close for them not to see it, too far away for them to be tempted to go towards it. The constant moving of the workers does not speak to the spectator, neither about individual lives nor about the social repressions these Egyptian workers have to endure in an urban factory. The same is true for rural Egyptians who are shown only walking or riding; like the urbanites they hang detached from any closer inspection. Thus, *Too Early Too Late* remains an image gutted of any social, historical or ideological message.



Portrait of Jean Marie Straub and Danielle Huillet by Digne Meller Marcovitz.

Straub and Huillet believe that any visual representation of intense action voids their intent to swim against the action-loaded Hollywood film mainstream. For them, only the showing of non-action awakens sensibilities to a new non-preoccupied look at human beings and objects. Their goal, as they describe it, is the creation of a "nonfilmic film."

These two nonfilm-makers' message is being told, naturally, through the soundtrack. They claim that with their sound engineer Louis Hochet they capture sounds from the most infinitesimal sources on up to the merely subtle. In other words, they demand that the soundtrack has clouds and roads and grass and wind and so on so the ear can "see." Furthermore, our ears should follow two different texts that divide the film along two geographical areas. The first text, a letter by Engels to the future renegade Kautsky read offscreen by Daniele Huillet, describes with figures the misery of the countryside on the eve of the French Revolution. Her flat recitation in broken English was recorded in and framed by a deserted French countryside. The second text, a guide to the imagery of Egypt, comes from the up-to-date Marxist Mahmud Hussein, author of the recent and celebrated *Class Struggles in Egypt*. Again offscreen, but reading better than Huillet, a voice with an Arabic accent describes the starts of peasant and worker rebellions which end again and again in defeat.

The only visual let-up to the soundtrack is a documentary sequence towards the end of the film. But again, the meaning of the documentary underlines the defeat of British colonialism by the power of a new oppressor which ultimately defeats the purpose of a revolution. Although mediating a social and historical content, Straub and Huillet's soundtrack by presenting only defeat does not go further than the ahistorical visual image.

This coming and going and winding from a roadmap's perspective gives force to Straub and Huillet's ideology: that we can only exist framed in the utopia of forms. The Children of World War II, have experienced the collapse of fascist

and communist ideologies. For them the trust in any kind of meaning that expresses open action, change and hope seems to be totally lost. They consider it a lie adding to the many other lies already existing, an answer to questions that can't be answered, another new false ideology misleading the understanding of reality. Thus, they feel that only form can still be created—"form" being an expression which denies meaning for aesthetic aspirations. By taking away all action from their films, by showing images whose only meaning is their beauty together, and by creating a soundtrack that speaks only of hopelessness they confront the spectators with a new formal structure which forces them to completely redefine their thinking by changing their visual and acoustical sensibilities. For Straub and Huillet, form as beauty has become the utopia, the place where creation, hope and liberation even after the defeat is still possible.

Straub and Huillet's ideology represents the safe if not reactionary trend that is held by many artists today: the total domination of formal beauty over meaning. But can expression really be separated from meaning without

cutting off the dialectical edge, the progressive movement between the signifier and the signified itself? Maybe Straub and Huillet feel their images have meaning; maybe Jonathan Rosenbaum and Richard Roud can even find that meaning—but what about me, what about Gene Shalit. If only monstrous intellects can understand it, doesn't that in the end confine art and limit the impact of what one wants to say?

The artist today, in the absence of movements, cannot depend on radical declarations to necessarily inform the art piece. Not knowing Straub and Huillet's claims to radicalism, I saw their work as meaningless. This isn't to say that meaningfulness cannot be a radical statement. However, meaningfulness represented towards the beautiful is in fact reactionary.

My father's disappointment in history leads him to see only the white elephants in society—the failures within a life-cycle are the only real events remembered. Let's laugh and convince my parents and the Children of World War II to laugh with us, the Pepsi Cola generation—youth who only know how to dream, therefore unable to fail.

—Barry Hyman

The Groucho Marxist Caucus Presents:
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1-5 to Gilman, left at wooden
footbridge, right into parking lot
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Mon-Sat 11 am-8 pm

The Year of The Monkey...

This compromise was perhaps politically expedient, but it was not a principled decision justifiable on academic grounds. Moreover, the supposedly impartial retirement "policy" that forced Marcuse out was not in fact applied to other equally aged but less controversial UCSD faculty.

In the face of the reality that he capitulated to right-wing pressure, and eased Marcuse out of his teaching position despite his much-vaunted commitment to 'academic freedom,' McGill comments on the 'irony' that many Marcuse supporters felt that his defense of Marcuse was not strong enough, and condemn—as unrealistic—his critics who demanded that the University take a forthright and principled stance in defense of Marcuse's right to teach.

Lumumba-Zapata: Demanding Justice in Education
McGill's third crisis arose when Black and Chicano students, supported by campus radicals, demanded the transformation of the proposed Third College into Lumumba-Zapata College. Faced with the danger of conflict like that disrupting campuses around the country at that time, McGill decided to pursue a policy of co-optation, ably described in *Monkey*.

To set the stage for this development, we learn that the college's protest was brought to tears when the demands were presented. McGill and his subordinates, in their typically 'sensitive' way, then scurry about proposing a junior college for minority students as an alternative to the unacceptable Lumumba-Zapata demands. In the course of this conflict, a Regent is brought to tears and the brink of horror on learning that minority students had threatened to picket the Chancellor's inauguration, exclaiming "have they no decency!" Indeed, these activists are called out and brutal people, prepared to mar the otherwise well controlled and orderly spectacle which is the Chancellor's formal installation, in order to press their demands for justice and educational reform. "Fortunately," the picket was delayed for two days. (We must remember that the administration takes their rituals very seriously; two years ago when Chancellor Atkinson was being inaugurated, the administration had police attack a picket line protesting the undemocratic nature of the search process.)

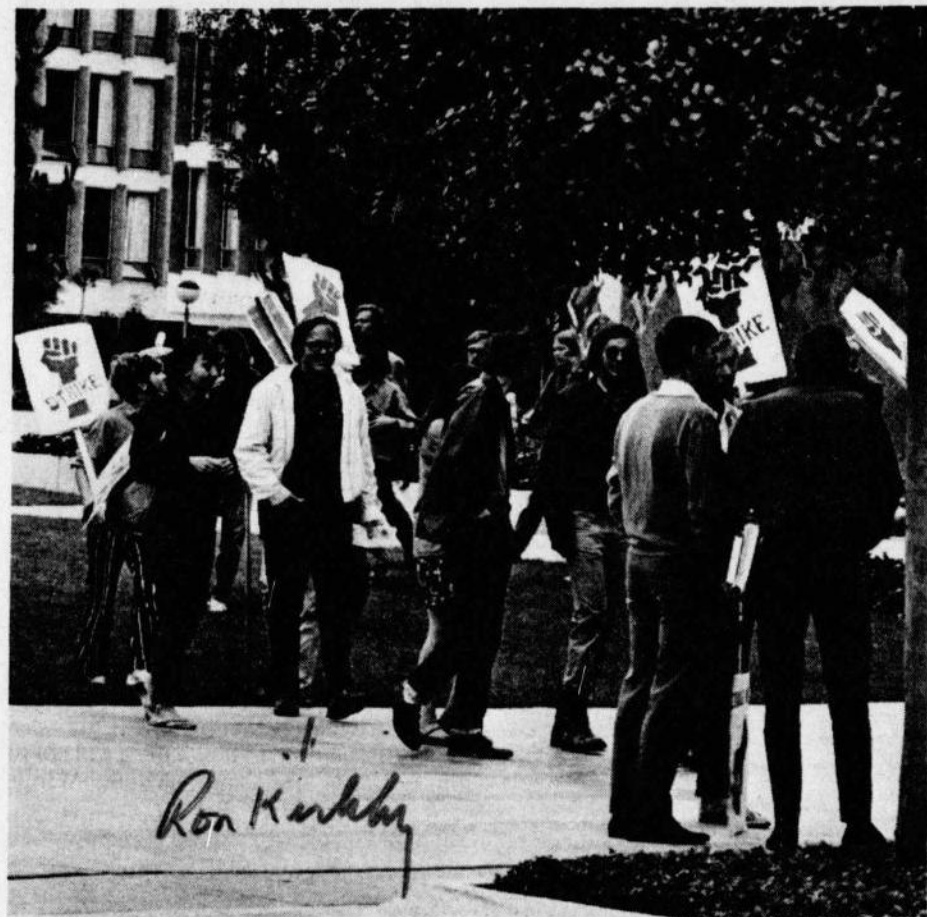
Faced with determined support for Lumumba-Zapata, including the occupation, having the L-Z watered down, and ramming a Provost down student's throats, McGill notes with satisfaction:

More than a decade later, Watson was still provost. He had been through a brutal struggle with faculty radicals in 1972 that led to another threatened strike. The issue was whether Third College would become (sic) a radical college ruled by majority vote or a minority-oriented college administered by its provost, Watson won... Without Watson, the student-centered governance of Third College might have created endless, unnecessary crises in its relations with the rest of the campus. With him, it survived. (152)

This, of course, is the height of hypocrisy. The 1972 strike involved two-thirds of the College's students and faculty, and was broken only when then-chancellor McElroy threatened to close the college unless it submitted to autocratic, top-down rule. Before that time the college had been governed by a Board of Directors elected by students, staff and faculty, and by General Assembly of the college's students, staff, and faculty. After that struggle, the College was run by decree—like the rest of the colleges—by Provost Watson (since promoted to Vice Chancellor of Undergraduate Affairs in reward for

years of faithful service to the administration). The very next year, Watson was bemoaning the fact that nearly half the college's students had left, in the wake of their defeat the previous spring. In this light, to say that student-centered governance survived at Third College can be viewed as nothing but the rankest hypocrisy.

As to how McGill is able to refer to the 1972 strike as a "threatened strike," one would do well to refer to a statement he released during his next crisis, the



student strike in solidarity with People's Park:

UCSD is not on strike and will not be as long as there is a professor who will teach and a student who will listen. (183)

Under this criterion, of course, there could never be a successful strike.

People's Park
The last major crisis that McGill discusses is the student strike that erupted in response to the University's vicious repression against demonstrators trying to reopen a park that had been established in Berkeley on UC-owned land (a vacant lot before the park was constructed, it was liberated without legal sanction). In demonstrations surrounding the administration's action to fence the park off early one morning, police shot several demonstrators, killing one, and sprayed tear gas on one rally of 4,000 or more students.

McGill admits that the strike was effective for some time, although he consistently told the press during the strike that it was having no effect whatsoever. (185-6) In this chapter McGill also outlines his strategy for repressive tolerance; in almost military language he argues for "surgical strikes" to quickly smash protest actions, combined with a strategy of careful co-optation and delays for those groups with wide-based support.

The Right to Resist
A recurring theme in the book is McGill's anger at radicals for "abandoning" rational discussion, and instead attempting to force the University, and society, to implement certain changes. McGill argues that only through rational discourse (i.e., through talking) can positive change come about, and terms those who do not share this belief "anti-democratic":

Direct action, building seizures, and illegal pressure tactics had an unfortunate but completely predictable outcome. They removed the idealistic pursuit of social change from the domain of democratic process to the realm of force... (218)

McGill objects that students went beyond the rules regulating dissent in a system predicated on competing interest,

ignoring the fact that the only power that groups outside of the centers of power hold is the ability to disrupt, to prevent business as usual.

Indeed, McGill makes much of the fact that students violated the law; arguing that had they conformed to the twin icons of Academic Freedom and Rational Discussion, ugly conflict could have been avoided. These principles have been defined as follows:

Translated into plain terms, academic freedom is the unquestioned right of

The emphasis, of course, is on maintaining the status quo, on business as usual. Consistent with this philosophy, McGill seeks to divide the student left into followers and organizers, portraying the latter as power-hungry, cynical manipulators. McGill claims that while liberals, like himself, were concerned with the "moral ambiguities" of the Vietnamese War (whatever those ambiguities may have been), leftists with "ulterior motives" were manipulating crowds of concerned people and disrupting the normal operations of the University. He gives no evidence for these claims, just as he provides no evidence to support the implicit claim that things could have been changed in any other way than through militant public protest and direct action.

Standards of evidence: The irrationality of power

McGill frequently refers to the diminished critical judgement that he sees having come about. He argues that the rise of the left was facilitated by a decline in skepticism and standards of proof; a claim for which he is unable to marshal convincing arguments.

This diminished level of logical analysis seems to have been one of the most serious problems of that era... (40)

To prove his point, McGill cites (1) a speech by David Dellinger (43); (2) faculty acceptance of a rumor that helicopters had sprayed tear-gas over the Berkeley campus (McGill later concedes that the rumor was true) (179); and (3) the claimed fact that students are 'paranoid':

Not much remains of the student Left as we enter the Eighties. Its principal residues seem to be a set of important, but hardly radical political reforms, and a markedly diminished quality of thought, both spawned in the Sixties. Even today, undergraduates carry around a heavy burden of poorly analyzed, almost paranoid ideas about society and politics. Ask them whether the FBI and the CIA continue to spy on students and a majority will unhesitatingly say yes. Ask whether the American oil companies conspired with the South African government to leak oil into Rhodesia, and the faces around you will light up in knowing smiles. No more evidence is needed. This paranoid quality makes today's students somewhat harder to reason with or argue with than their preradical predecessors two generations ago... (46)

Acting in accordance with these precepts, McGill singled out eight students to face disciplinary hearings before a University committee which expressed liberal sympathies with what the students had stood for (the idea), but objected to the fact that they had stood for it (the action).

Liberal apologists like McGill attempt to confine protest to a plane on which it can not hope to be effective; indeed at one point McGill claims that the whole point of the Left "is that it concerns itself with the frontiers of human goodness and utopian reform rather than with the exercise of power." When activists attempted to take material action to change society, McGill argues, "they abandoned the utopian faith that gave the movement its soul." (xi) The mystical terms are not used accidentally, we are being offered pie-in-the-sky if only we do not make trouble; if we confine ourselves to reasoning with our oppressors—with those who were raining napalm upon Southeast Asia, bombing villages and hospitals, shooting people in the streets both here and overseas—our oppressors need not fear being overthrown.

Indeed, in his attempt to explain the origins of protest activities, McGill reverts to theories of social breakdown and strain which have been widely abandoned by sociologists in the face of empirical research showing them to be without ground in material reality. The fact that all serious empirical studies have discredited his theoretical grounding, however, does not deter McGill, who goes on to speak about how the emergence of organized protest activity shows "how thin the veneer of our civilization is," and how grave the danger of primitive, irrational outbursts that challenge the status quo. (208)

Ignoring, for the moment, the total lack of evidence supporting McGill's claims, it is not at all clear that such paranoia—if you can call it that—is unhealthy. It is well documented, for example, that FBI spying upon students continued until very recently (as a number of documents released under the Freedom of Information Act prove) and probably continues to this day. CIA spying, on the other hand, continued on a large scale at least into the early seventies, and a recent FOIA request proved that CIA activity in the National Student Association (now USSA) continued at least through 1979. I have no information about the oil companies, but would hardly put such behaviour past them.

McGill, though, expresses a preference for the days of "lovely naiveté":

In a real sense we are all victims of the Sixties. There is not much left now of the lovely naiveté of our youth... If I were to speak of America today as the 'arsenal of democracy,' students would laugh scornfully. They have seen too many 'democrats' like Franco, Trujillo and Somoza... (226)

Thus, McGill prefers mindless acquiescence to the state; when it comes to testing the claims put forward by the left, however, McGill returns to his higher standard:

Discussions with protestors in those days were nearly always characterized by what seemed to me a diminished quality of thought. Adversarial habits of thinking, coupled with assumptions

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The Year of The Monkey...

of moral rectitude, led protest groups to assert views that I considered virtually paranoid...

It is not a new observation, but the impact of such intense emotional commitment, unaccompanied by genuine critical skepticism, was almost chilling. It shows once more how thin the veneer of our civilization is. (222)

McGill's standards of proof, of course, are beyond question, being based not on "adversarial habits of thinking" but rather on blind acceptance of the



status quo; not on "moral rectitude," but on the assumption that whatever acts necessary to serve those in power were legitimate, while anything that threatened that grip was immoral, almost pathological. I have already noted the lack of evidence underlying McGill's charges of diminished thought and low standards of proof. The fact should be kept in mind, however, that campus activists went to great length to put forward their perspective, and the reasoning and evidence behind it, and it was only through critical thinking—through critical examination of the claims advanced by servants of the established order such as McGill—that people were able to move beyond the blind acceptance of the status quo that our socializing institutions seek to create and maintain.

Protest as a rational act

McGill's arguments about the irrationality of protest and protesters fundamentally spring from a school of sociological theory—Collective Behaviour theory—which views social movement activity as relatively spontaneous and volatile, and movement participants "as nonrational actors functioning outside of normative constraints and propelled by high levels of strain." (Aldon Morris, *American Sociological Review*, "Black Southern Sit-In Movement," December 1981) Careful readers will discover little variance between McGill's analysis and this theoretical tradition.

This theory found its most fertile application in the analysis of movements arising out of the Great Depression; when sociologists attempted to apply it to the Civil Rights and Student movements they found that the model had no predictive ability whatsoever. Instead, research found that movement participants tended to be better integrated into society, and better off relative to non-participants (although some research indicates that Collective Behaviour theory may partially explain participation in right-wing campus groups), (see, for example, Richard Flacks, "Who Protests: The Social Bases of the Student Movement," in *Protest!*, J. Foster, ed.) In the face of this evidence, and unable to reconcile the empirical evidence with existing theories, sociologists have been developing new models that view protest as rational behaviour engaged in by low-power groups.

McGill's footnotes indicate that he is familiar with at least some of this material. However, he is forced to rely on a discredited theory in order to justify the analysis he has determined to present, regardless of the growing body of evidence against it. This raises a final question, hinted at towards the beginning of this review: what is the purpose of this book?

Resurgent America: Overcoming the Post-Vietnam Syndrome

No one who has been following discussions in elite circles in recent years can have failed to notice the obsession with overcoming the post-Vietnam syndrome. This 'syndrome,' a healthy reluctance to follow government



leadership into war, is manifested in the reluctance of young men to register for the draft, in the movement against ongoing U.S. intervention in the Middle East and Central America, and in the propensity—discussed by McGill in *Monkey*—to distrust the government, and suspect it of foul play. For obvious reasons, government officials and others in and close to the establishment are concerned by these tendencies, and are actively striving to overcome them. As part of this effort, we have seen in recent years a spate of books and articles reinterpreting the Vietnam War as a "noble effort" by more conservative theorists, and as a "tragic mistake" in which right was not clearly on our side (unlike other U.S. military interventions, which have been uniformly moral and motivated by the highest principles, such as the installation of vicious dictatorships throughout Central and Latin America whenever U.S. interests were felt to be threatened).

This campaign—an attempt to restore the blind acceptance to which the government is accustomed—has been accelerating as the American ruling class is being forced to prepare for war to defend its interests around the world. Current military strategy, according to media reports, is being built around the need to fight two-and-a-half simultaneous wars defending the right to plunder the world's resources. These plans are dependent on a complacent public, willing to accept what is told, and above all else unwilling to take any form of concrete action to interfere. We are being prepared for Resurgent America, for fighting a new Cold War. Part and parcel of this preparation is the manufacture of consent.

And in case we are not convinced, McGill offers a warning; if he has learned anything from his experiences, we are told, it is that "we must never allow ourselves to become soft again." (8) It is this softness, and the "provocations" "staged" by the left, that McGill blames for such crimes as the murder of James Rector in the struggle to defend People's Park, and for the murders at Kent State (which McGill terms a consequence of the movement's violence!!!); he does not mention the routine beatings conducted by police against demonstrators on a regular basis, or the killings at Jackson State, or any number of similar incidents.

But there is more.

McGill focuses special attacks against "leaders," against those who he claims exploit students' perhaps legitimate concerns to pursue their own ulterior motives of gaining power and effecting social change. (Of course, 'leading' a movement without power or influence, and without the ability to gain these, is hardly a position likely to yield much chance of gaining power; but this is another of those 'details' which McGill is bypassing in the interests of getting the bigger picture.) Not only are these 'leaders' cynical and manipulative, but they lack compassion not only for administrators and other servants of the ruling class (as if that were not bad enough), but for the victims of social strife as well!

McGill provides little evidence for the latter claim, and the one example he does cite does little to buttress his case. Commenting on the case of George Winne, who burned himself to death on Revelle Plaza in a desperate protest against the war which McGill and his ilk defended (in actions, if not in words), McGill says:

A decade later we do homage to the protestors of the Sixties for ending the war, yet no one seems to care about that young man's real-life struggle in Revelle Plaza, or about any of the others lost along the way... It is easier to concentrate on the attractions of a great cause instead of facing the damage suffered by a generation of students... (37)

McGill, of course, is overflowing with concern, and knelt down on the plaza to pray near the spot where Winne immolated himself. But these assertions, like so many McGill makes, have little basis in fact. Ignoring, for the moment, the material reality that most of those who suffered damage as a result of the anti-war movement (outside of those in the ruling class whose plans were thwarted) suffered at the hands of state repression, or at the hands of lower-echelon instrumentalities (such as those students McGill subjected to disciplinary measures for opposing military recruitment on campus); setting aside, again for the moment, the fact that it is those who rule society who must bear responsibility for the conditions they create and the repression they inflict upon those who oppose them; the fact of the matter is that it is the administration which has sought to suppress the memory of George Winne, not the left. Campus activists—many of them veterans of the anti-war movement and the movements since then which have



taken place on campus—fought for a plaque to be placed on Revelle Plaza remembering George Winne; held rallies and petition drives, even got the Associated Students Council to come up with the money to pay for the memorial. The administration, claiming that any sort of memorial would "encourage suicides," would not allow the plaque to be placed on Revelle Plaza.

Conclusions

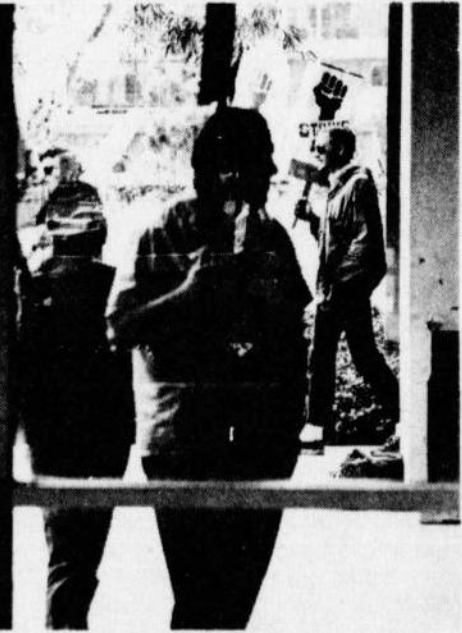
McGill is not unaware of most of the issues this review has raised, he comments on them at various points but never attempts to confront them and put

forward his case. This, however, is consistent with the generally low level of evidence presented, the scant regard for fact, and the sloppy form of argument. (Indeed, at one point, McGill remarks that he over-estimated the size of a crowd, and claims that he does so consistently, citing as authority the fact that the newspaper gave a lower count the next day. (26) Research by Leon Mann (*Journalism Quarterly*, Summer 1977) and others has demonstrated that estimates of crowd size in newspapers are a function not of the number of people attending the event, but rather of the newspaper's editorial slant.)

Similarly, McGill argues "everyone agrees that student radicalism began to fade nearly a decade ago." (x) without citing any evidence for this extraordinary claim. Indeed, at UCSD some of the largest rallies in the campus's history have occurred within the last five years, along with countless pickets, 3 occupations of the Chancellor's office, and the like. Media commentators and others have sought to portray campuses throughout the country as apathetic and calm, hoping that saying so will make it true. However, although the overall level of campus militancy is somewhat lower than it was in the late sixties and early seventies (or, to cite a more recent wave, the mid-seventies), it remains much higher than some would have us believe.

Despite its shortcomings as history, or as an "explanation" of campus revolt, however, *Monkey* is not entirely useless. It offers a relatively honest (if not entirely accurate) insider's account of how the administration works to co-opt movement organizations and subvert our achievements. As such, it deserves to be read (not bought, the UCSD libraries have several copies) by activists and others who need to be on guard against these ploys.

But *Monkey* is not the work its author, or its publisher, would have us believe. As a contribution to an understanding of campus revolt it is worse than useless. As history it is too badly flawed to be of interest. It does document the intense hatred felt by at least one administrator towards the New Left in general, and people who feel the necessity to act on their beliefs in particular; but this hatred is hardly surprising or unexpected. And—for those willing to make the effort to consider the implications of what McGill writes—*Monkey* does serve nicely to point out the essential similarity between McGill (and liberals in general) and the more upfront conservatives whom he



criticizes, not so much for their beliefs as for their tactics. In his concluding chapter, McGill remarks that:

I could not help noticing how often in those days students would link me with other hated authoritarian symbols. For instance, a portrait once appeared on the cover page of UCSD's radical student newspaper captioned 'Heads I win, tails you lose.' The right side of the photo was Governor Reagan's face, the left side was mine! (207)

The passage of time, and the publication of *The Year of the Monkey*, show once again that we were right.

—Jon Bekken

Forced High-Technologizing: The Banker's Paradise

Lynn Turgeon. *The Advanced Capitalist System, A Revisionist View* (E.M. Sharpe, Inc., New York 1980) 131 pages.

In his book, *The Advanced Capitalist System, A Revisionist View*, Dr. Turgeon gives a critical review of economic thought in the United States. He begins by outlining "a bipartisan consensus," and then proceeds to enumerate various deviations from this consensus.

Both Republicans and Democrats assume (1) that "increasing unemployment would control or reduce inflationary pressures" and (2) that reducing unemployment would increase inflation. But the two parties have different priorities: The *Republican Party* represents the managerial class which (a) can better bargain with labor when there is high unemployment, and (b) holds large savings which inflation tends to erode. The *Democratic Party* is supported by organized labor which (i) represents debtors who benefit from inflation, and (ii) benefits from full employment. Because of this "bipartisan consensus," the two parties depend on one another and together they alternate in a "Mutt & Jeff Act" which Turgeon labels the "political business cycles."

This "good-guy-bad-guy" see-saw syndrome is, however, not the only show in town. The search continues for a correct analysis of economic laws which can be implemented to govern U.S. economic policy. Turgeon gives an informative critical review of the three deviations to the left of the "bipartisan consensus": the *Institutionalists*, represented by John Kenneth Galbraith, Gunnar Myrdal, et al.; the *New Left*, represented by Paul Sweezy, James O'Connor, et al.; and the *Old Left*, represented by the Communist Party, U.S.A. There is also a *New Right* deviation: the "Chicago School," represented by Dr. Milton Friedman of Santiago fame. The *Old Right* deviation from "bipartisan consensus" was discredited by Adolf Hitler, although "In recent years the World Bank under the leadership of Robert MacNamara has been pushing population control as an important solution to the developmental problems of the Third World." (62) Turgeon subjects these five "deviations" to a thorough examination, and in so doing submits his own analysis of the Advanced Capitalist system.

Turgeon entertains no illusions of changing "human nature" overnight. The role of government is to mitigate, not to eradicate or to mutilate, human behaviour:

Profits are properly a goal of individuals and corporations, but not of governments or societies as a whole. The object of the economic game, according to Adam Smith, was the production of useful goods and services. They can either be produced internally or produced abroad and imported. (82)

Thus, Turgeon contends that "inflation (is) inevitable and functional because it stimulates the propensity to consume and discourages the propensity to save." (80) and that the "bust-boom" cycle of capitalism is not an immutable law. Rather, this cycle is engineered by misguided Democrats and Republicans, who think their only choice is between inflation and unemployment. (80)

According to the bipartisan consensus economists, monetary and fiscal policies are complementary tools to be used in guiding the advanced capitalist system along a path of steady growth. The problem, in a nutshell, is to find the proper combination or "mix" of the two types of policy... (86)

The Republican, pre-Keynesian economists favor using the Federal Reserve Board to tighten *monetary policy* (i.e. to raise interest rates and

activities in Chile:

at the present time the main contradiction under capitalism is *within* capital. It is between the monetary or financial capitalists and the industrial capitalists. The industrial capitalists are the good guys and the monetary economists are the bad guys, and they have very different interests... In my view, the multinational corporation is a positive force... The bad guys of course are the IMF, the source of all evil for the underdeveloped countries. It is coming to the surface now, because in the past it only affected underdeveloped countries. Now it's beginning to affect overdeveloped countries. (116)

The *Republican Party* has been galvanized by an ideology that does not carry with it enough truth to keep it solvent. It explains nothing and mystifies everything. The guru of this "New Right," Dr. Milton Friedman, of Santiago fame, who was scheduled to be Chairman of would-be president Barry Goldwater's Council of Economic Advisors, is a pre-Keynesian "monetarist." This ideology is simple: It asserts that "inflation (is) caused primarily by too much money in the system. Policy proposals include cutting wages to restore full employment." (6) But the Republican Party only wears this ideology; it did not invent it and it certainly did not benefit from it, as the November elections and the more recent opinion polls evince.

Foreign workers are one traditional scapegoat. "Guest workers" have been "rounded up" and sent home by Western European governments (and more recently in Nigeria), but this dehumanizing procedure has been of no beneficial consequence to the domestic economies.

Labor Unions don't benefit from high unemployment. In fact, it weakens the labor movement by creating a ready reserve of cheap labor, not to mention potential strike breakers (i.e., scabs) and a general fall in jobs and wages.

Military Spending is another scapegoat. As wasteful as the military is of human beings and of raw materials, it produces very high rates of profit, and some of these profits are poured into further research and development. In a Market Economy, such as ours, a large military budget means more high-paying jobs. (Only in a Planned Economy would high military spending necessarily mean fewer jobs in the non-military sectors of the economy.) The Advanced Capitalist System thrives on waste, and

Turgeon tells us that it is the Banking Community which is the culprit.

The *Foreign Competition* is a "paper tiger": both the Japanese and the West German economies are hurting domestically. Both countries have been forced to throw their youth and their women out of the work place, and the increasing misery makes their competitive exports a temporary phenomenon.

Ronald Reagan does what he is told to do, and he does it poorly. Inappropriate smiles and a chain of broken promises have brought this Actor up from making grade B movies to making over a quarter of a million dollars a year on the condition he play a new and uncomfortable role: the villain in a world-wide spectacle. (The irrational utterances of both Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan are only smoke screens for a dangerously efficient banking community whose hidden premises are unacceptable: high short-term profits, at any cost.)

Large Multi-National Companies depend on consumers, who must be employed to consume. They can no longer afford to borrow from banks, but must plow their profits back into company expansion for more employment, more consumption, more profits. (The stock holders' dividend payments are low because of this drive to expand and because double-digit interest rates preclude borrowing from banks.) Turgeon argues that, notwithstanding IT&T's criminal

studies such as Seymour Melman's research for the International Machinists Association and the National Education Association report, *The Empty Pork Barrel* (1978), only boil down to the fact that "the value added per worker is higher in defense than it is in nondefense government expenditures." (14) (I went to Junior High School in a town where "car-hops" working at Drive-in restaurants earned more money than teachers, but I never blamed the "car-hop" for the teachers' low pay, nor did my teachers.) The unemployed know that they are between the proverbial "rock and a hard spot," but if the "rock" is the heavy military budget, then we must look at the "hard spot"—that mythical goal called "the balanced budget"—to discover how and why large-scale unemployment has become U.S. domestic policy. "The multinational corporation is by and large a positive force, spreading technology throughout the world. And I would make the same argument for defense." (116)

According to Lynn Turgeon, millions and millions of Americans are out of work because the powerful banking community planned it that way, because they make enormous profits when there is high unemployment. Turgeon proposes we notice the expensive office interiors banks are able to purchase in hard times, and the homes of bank presidents across the U.S. in towns both large and small are always the monuments to affluence. "In other words, bankers are no different from any other economic interest groups: they place self-interest above the needs of society as a whole." (91) And in recessions they thrive. Today there are over 200 banks (31 main offices and 194 branches) listed in the San Diego telephone directory. "The recession, which the banking community has planned causes the bank profits to go up. The same thing shows up in the international sphere." (116)

We have been encouraged to blame the Navy technician and the illegal alien for our unemployment. Now, if Japan, West Germany and Switzerland are any indication, we will have pointed out to us the married women and the young people "who really don't need the jobs." But we might keep in mind Turgeon's critique of the "New Right": "Trickle-down is a term that we use to describe the preference for investment over consumption. Obviously it's a little bit related to Stalin's policy in the 1930s, or 'supply side' economics." (92)

—R. Francis

UCSD Students Return From Protest on Honduran Border

As we go to press, two UCSD graduate students have returned from Nicaragua where they had set up camp for five days on the Honduran border with over 20 other U.S. citizens to protest and observe the U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers. The maneuvers—the largest to date between the two governments—constituted an attempt to intimidate the Nicaraguans in an on-going effort to destabilize and eventually overthrow the popular Nicaraguan government.

Over five million U.S. dollars were spent on the project; most military equipment that was used in the maneuver is expected to be left behind and, no doubt, will be used by the Honduran military and U.S.-backed Somocistas against the Nicaraguan people.

The protesters' camp, which was located less than 20 miles from the military maneuvers, had been attacked only three days before the group arrived by *Contras* (counter-revolutionaries attempting to undermine the popular government with economic and military assistance from the U.S.) During the second day of their stay in the border

area, a battle took place seven miles away in which 5 Sandinistas were killed.

Ellen Bamberger, one of the two UCSD students involved, told the *new indicator* that members of the group found evidence of war in the area, including mortar charge capsules and shells, bullets and rocket launchers that appear to be of U.S. origin. Many such items were brought back by members of the group. Robin Andersen, the other UCSD student, is currently en route to San Diego.

The group also spent time at the Puerto Cabezas military base which was implicated in the notorious air photos by the U.S. government as being the site (and proof) of Soviet-provided advanced technology and facilities. Members learned that the base actually has no electricity, running water or latrines—a far cry from Alexander Haig's belligerent ravings.

"The Nicaraguans," Bamberger concluded, "have an enormous desire for peace—they've been fighting for years (for their liberation)—but they continue to be willing to sacrifice their lives to defend their country."

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM IN RUSSIA'S WAKE continued

On October 29, 1918 the German fleet at Wilhelmshaven mutinied. The revolution quickly spread, with the formation of workers' and soldiers' soviets in every major German city and town by November 10, 1918. This sudden armed proletarian uprising in Germany took the major German socialist parties by surprise, as had the 1917 Revolution of the Bolsheviks, SRs and Mensheviks in Russia.

Certain elements in the German military government had been seeking to end the war by the fall of 1918. And proletarian opposition to the war appeared as early as spring of 1917 with munition workers' strikes. The German Social Democratic Party (SPD) had voted for the German war budget in 1914, signaling the end to the Second International. The Party's left-wing, under Luxemburg and Liebnicht, continued to mount a revolutionary opposition. Bitter struggles to democratically reform the imperial constitution produced a domestic German crisis from April to July of 1917.

Out of this crisis came the formation of the Independent Social Democratic Party in opposition to continuation of the war, and the weak "peace without victors or vanquished" resolution that united the SPD, Center and Progressive parties of the Reichstag into a majority. The struggle between the government, the supreme command of the army and the Reichstag intensified, resulting in Reichstag capitulation, the weakening of government authority and domination of the supreme command of the army.

Capitulation, loss of legitimacy and military dominance were factors that speeded up what a continuation of the German war effort made inevitable: armed proletarian uprising. Indeed, the war produced working-class unrest in all belligerent powers by 1917, among them the United States under the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World and France where soldiers mutinies were inspired by a vast strike movement of metal workers in industrial centers, encompassing 16 French army corps before Petain suppressed both in 1916. In England, the Labor Party grew in strength. The German uprising approached the dimensions of a revolution.

The November 7, 1918 Revolution in Munich was followed by the November 9 Revolution in Berlin with the abdication of William II and the crown prince. The Social Democrat Scheidemann proclaimed a republic, whose powers of government were transferred to the chair of the SPD, Ebert. On November 10 the king went into exile and a new government was formed consisting of a Council of Peoples Deputies comprised of 3 SPD members and 3 Independent Socialist Party members. Of more importance was the creation of an executive council of the workers and soldiers deputies parallel to the government out of the October/November revolution. On November 11, the Armistice was signed, ending the first World War.

From the start Ebert's government sought to bridle the workers councils and their executive council, and the German working class—long used to SPD party discipline—allowed Ebert to prevent the establishment of a Soviet Germany based on a dictatorship of the proletariat through the soviets. An advanced industrial society with a large working class, a Soviet Germany might have overcome many of the limitations facing socialism in Russia, and Luxemburg and Liebnicht tried to realize this aim by regrouping German socialism's left-wing into a revolutionary alternative.

When Ebert's government guaranteed labor's cooperation with capital under the Stinnes-Legien agreement, and when the Berlin Congress of German Workers and Soldiers Councils in December called for the election of a National

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Assembly, the Independent Social Democratic Party left the Council of Peoples Commissars. Luxemburg and Liebnicht gathered the left from November 1918 to January 1919 into the Spartakus League. The Spartakus Uprising in Berlin of workers and soldiers Red Guard in January 1919 was brutally suppressed by the paramilitary forces of Gustav Noske, the Freikorps. The founding members of the German Communist Party (KPD) out of the Spartakus League, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebnicht, were murdered.

This did not end the German workers' revolution, but reaction was in full swing. From 1918 to 1919, Kurt Eisner, the socialist premier of Bavaria headed a virtual "Red Republic." Active soviets existed in Bavaria, Bremen, Kiel and Berlin when the National Assembly opened at Weimar in February 1919. Eisner was assassinated and Noske's "White Army" of proto-fascist Freikorps waged a ruthless SPD-supported internal war against the German working class, its revolutionary councils and its revolutionary leadership, from 1918 to 1921.

The intricate political balancing act that was the Weimar Constitution was initiated in a time of crisis, domestically and world-wide from 1919 to 1923. The Third International, under Bolshevik direction, was established March 2-6, 1919 amid international proletarian rebellion. In 1920 it accepted Lenin's 21 points that all communist parties were to be modeled unconditionally after the Russian communist party, the Soviet Union was to be defended, communists were to observe strict discipline, subordination to the commands of the central organization was essential, and struggle against Social Democracy (which Lenin saw as splitting into reformist and revolutionary wings) was to continue.

The Bolsheviks maintained firm control over the Third International, but after Soviet defeat by Poland, the Kronstadt mutiny and the collapse of the German general strike (March 1921) the Comintern (Communist International, or Third International) initiated the discussion of "unity from above," which meant cooperation with Social Democratic leaders. By 1922 social democrats had reorganized the Second International, called the Socialist International, trying to heal the nationalist splits engendered by the first World War. Comprised of social democratic parties in various countries, the Socialist International was anti-Bolshevik. With the failure of revolutionary movements, the Comintern attempted to cooperate politically with the social democrats. Final suppression of revolutionary resistance by 1924 led the Comintern to call for the formation of a "united front from below" in which they endorsed cooperation with socialist workers.

Bela Kun led the Hungarian Soviet uprising from March to August 1919. The labor activities of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)—mass strikes, sabotage and anti-conscription work—led to its wholesale repression by Palmer's "Red Scare" from 1919 to 1920 with mass jailings, deportations, beatings and harassment. Britain experienced waves of strikes from 1919 to 1922 among miners, railworkers, dockers and transportation workers for higher wages that produced the massive Transport and General Workers Union as well as growth in the Labor Party. French syndicalist unions also staged strikes, and from 1919 to 1923 the Italian working class went on a militant offensive with strikes and occupations in Turin, Milan and other northern

industrial Italian cities led by the Italian Federation of Metal Workers (FIOM).

The Italian class struggle occurred within the context of a crisis in democracy precipitated by the formation of fascist *squadri* out of associations of combat and disabled veterans and their entry into politics under the leadership of Benito Mussolini. The mass anarchist, socialist and syndicalist inspired strikes of 1920 threw these fascist combat units against the working-class. The fascists usurped the ineffective government organs and fought workers and their socialist leaders with terrorism. Anarchist and syndicalist tendencies were strong in the Italian proletariat, and the Italian communist Antonio Gramsci worked to form a "united front" against fascism. Though the two tendencies split after 1921, the Italian councilist movement was more militant and more advanced in many ways than its German counterpart. Factory occupations and attempts to continue production were features of Italian general strikes. But Mussolini's "March on Rome" October 28, 1922, and fascist consolidation from 1922 to 1926 decimated the Italian working class and its revolutionary movement.

Returning to Germany, the Weimar Constitution, while giving much power to a liberal-dominated Reichstag, hindered its democratic expression through proportional representation, plebiscites, emergency presidential decree powers and limitations on states' rights. The right, not satisfied with the murder of Eisner, Erzhergen and Rathenau, staged overt coup attempts in 1920 (Kapp Putsch) and 1923 (Kustirn "Black Army" Putsch). A currency crisis and the Ruhr Invasion added to political instability. In October, 1923 communist uprisings occurred in Hamburg and in the same year radical KPD/SPD coalition governments in Saxony and Thuringia were dissolved. Also in 1923 Hitler staged his aborted Beer Hall Putsch in Bavaria.

FASCISM: SOCIALISM'S EXTERNAL NEGATION

Working-class struggles in England and France strengthened the power of laborite forces in the government. Working class militancy in the United States was suppressed by the government, producing the seeds of future radicalism. The Italian and German proletariat were suppressed by paramilitary forces—either fascist or protofascist—that eventually became the government. Spanish working-class militancy would suffer the same fate, though not without a revolutionary struggle. Fascism—in Mussolini's Corporate State, Hitler's National Socialism and Franco's National Syndicalism—proved to be an external negation of socialism wherever it gained power.

A number of historians contend that fascism was a collectivist ideology originating from socialism. There is some truth to this. Georges Sorrel, in his bloody syndicalism, prefigured fascism on a number of points. Gustav Noske was a right-wing social democrat and Mussolini was a member of the Italian Socialist Party until expelled for his pro-war views. But such an analysis ignores the class origins and class support of fascism.

Socialism originated from both the *bourgeois* intelligentsia and the industrial working class, and socialism's support, no matter the kind of socialism, came from these two class strata from 1918 to 1939. Fascism originated from the *petit bourgeois*—from shopkeepers, professionals, university students and professors, white collar workers—as a revolt against being squeezed between

organized capital and organizing labor, and it was supported both by the lumpenproletariat and the capitalist ruling class. The lumpenproletariat as society's dregs—the unemployed, underemployed, petty criminals, disabled, etc.—seathed with a mindless rebellion against society easily regimeted into black shirts and fascist violence. The ruling class saw fascism as a means to combat socialism. Fascism by 1939 proved to be more than that. Fascism became, not merely a radical capitalist attempt to save capitalism by smashing the working class, *bourgeois* democracy and even some elements of the ruling class, but also Germany's and Italy's attempt, once again, to enter the motor-core to the world capitalist economy.

Fascism claimed to be anti-liberal. In smashing liberal democracy and liberal elements in the *bourgeoisie*, however, fascism permitted an even greater consolidation of capital in society. Fascism claimed to be anti-capitalist, anti-industrial and anti-urban, yet fascism in power enhanced capital expansion, industrial development and urban growth. Fascism claimed to be anti-conservative, anti-Marxist and revolutionary, but fascism's nationalism, "peasant and shopkeeper socialism," "corporativism," and "vertical syndicalism" did not disguise that it was really anti-working class. Fascism used state power to brutally smash independent proletarian organization and to discipline the forces of capital. This distinction must be made clear—under fascism, capital suffered. Labor was destroyed.

Socially, fascism championed youthful energy and idealism, a return to nature, a worship of leadership and organic hierarchy, rebellion against the decadence of industrial capitalist societies, and the cathartic qualities of violent direct action. Culturally, ultra-nationalist fascism searched for a mystic/pagan national spirit rooted organically in soil and folk, and dwelled upon the positive, purifying effects of wars of conquest upon a national culture. Politically, fascism pushed forward the principles of patriotism and power, leadership and discipline, the totalitarian party and the one-party state, absolute national unity and imperialist expansion. Economically, fascism sought to counter Marxist contentions of class struggle with schemes to coordinate the interests of capital and labor through the state to create a "national" unity. But as noted above, fascism never nationalized capital in society. Fascism did nationalize first the working class movement through fascist organized unions under state control, then the working class itself through conscription and war.

Without a doubt fascism was and remains an ally of capitalism. Fascism's ultra-nationalism, born from national "humiliation" after the first World War, easily channeled fascism's insurrectionary totalitarianism into defense of the

nation's ruling class. Fascism, however, heralded what might be called the autonomy of power—the use of political violence and state power by a ruling party or group, bolstered by a sophisticated technological infrastructure and based in control of the military, in ways unrelated or completely contrary to the class interests of society's ruling elite.

In this sense then fascism was more than the last stage of monopoly/finance capitalism-in-crisis as Marxists interpret it. For Marxists, fascism is the logical conclusion of capitalist Bonapartism—the expression of the ruling class's will in *bourgeois* dictatorship during times of revolution or crisis. This ignores both the complex class nature of fascism and the nationalistic/developmental role played by fascism on the world-capitalist economy. And this ignores that fascism,

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once in power, often acted autonomously of ruling class interests, sometimes to the detriment of those interests.

By 1939 fascism had conquered in Germany, Italy and Spain. Beyond the notes presented above, fascist development in each country is unique. The development of fascism specific to Germany and Italy needs to be considered. Spain's Francoism we will save for **Part Eight**.

Italy belonged to the Entente at the conclusion of the first World War but it gained nothing from the war or the peace. Indeed, the war left Italy's economy in a shambles, and the unsatisfying peace bred resentment and nationalist discontent. The formation of Mussolini's "Fasci di Combattimento" and their reign of terror against the working class and its socialist leadership from 1919 through the 1922 "March on Rome" took full advantage of Italy's democratic crisis to bring Mussolini to power, as was mentioned above.

The Partito Nazionale Fascista was founded in 1921 and, taking the opportunities offered by a powerless government, economic crisis and inflation, Mussolini's "revolutionary" movement-become-political party embarked on a program of direct action. Workers and their socialist allies were threatened and attacked, the provisional bureaucracy in upper Italy was all but eliminated and the party developed a parallel government of terror with the support of Italian industrialists and the military. Playing upon the fears of the *petit-bourgeoisie*, fascism created an all-prevailing atmosphere of violence that Mussolini's *bourgeois* allies blamed on the Left.

In contrast to socialist armed proletarian insurrection, the use of revolutionary terror and civil war after a revolutionary situation, as exemplified by Russia, fascism utilized tactics of terror and civil war in the absence of an insurrectionary base to create a situation ripe for a fascist coup. Prior to the "March on Rome," the party proclaimed the revolution and appointed a *Quadrivirat*. The king gave Mussolini power to form a Cabinet with his triumphant march, power that produced a cabinet of fascists and their sympathizers.

From 1922 to 1926 Mussolini consolidated fascism. He was granted unrestricted powers by the Italian Parliament for two years in November 1922, which he used to create the party's militia, the "Milizia Volontaria per la Sicurezza Nazionale" which consolidated the *squadri* and *Fasci* in an oath of loyalty to the party, not the king. Force had been institutionalized. New election laws favoring the nationalists insured an electoral victory of 65% for the fascists and terror was unleashed against the socialist opposition with the assassination of Matteotti and the exit of opposition deputies from the Parliament in June 1924.

Mussolini established his dictatorial regime from 1925 to 1926 on the pretext of fighting the "anti-Fascist conspiracy." Freemasons and emigrants were attacked, arrests, ostracism and a purge of the civil service followed, and opposition parties were dissolved, liquidated and banned. Mussolini was made the head of the state, the *Duce del Fascismo* and was given unlimited governing authority. From 1926 to 1938 he attempted to mold Italy along syndicalist-corporate lines in trying to fashion a hierarchical economic order.

Labor and the professions were disciplined into fascist syndicates, the foundation of which was the fascist law

controlling strikes and lockouts. By 1927 the syndicates had been gathered together by law into corporate bodies meant to plan production to meet state needs. New election laws in 1928 established a list of 400 deputies nominated by the corporations and selected by a "Fascist Grand Council." A National Council of the Corporations in 1929 was followed by the first National Assembly convened in 1934. By 1938, Mussolini as *Duce* headed the Chamber of "Fasci and Corporations" composed of the Fascist Grand Council, the 150 member National Council of the Fascist party, the 500 member National Council and the 22 councils of the corporations.

Italian fascism's fantasy of recreating the ancient Roman Empire produced a half-assed imperialism. Mussolini sought to establish a "Mare Nostrum" in the Mediterranean with designs on Corsica, Tunisia, the Balkans and Turkey. Already in possession of Libya, Italy took South Tirol, Istria to include Fiume, and Corfu before 1930 to secure dominion over the Adriatic, as well as Rhodes and Dodecanese to gain a foothold in Turkey. Italy's ludicrous invasion of Abyssinia in 1935 was followed by the occupation of Albania in 1939. But despite Italian fascism's claims to making the Italian trains run on time, the trains did not run on time and Italy remained a third-rate European power struggling to modernize via fascism.

Germany was an altogether different matter. Despite the war and reparations, Germany remained a highly industrialized country. But it also remained in a state of more or less permanent political crisis from 1918 to 1933. From 1918 to 1921 the suppression of the German proletariat uprising that ended the first World War proceeded under Noske, as we have discussed. In many ways, Noske's paramilitary forces resembled Mussolini's *fasci* in being composed of combat soldiers and veterans who used terror against the working classes and their socialist leaders. But they did not possess an explicitly fascist ideology, so traditionalist, conservative and monarchist elements prevailed the *Freikorps*. German fascists would have to wait for Hitler's prison contemplations, in the form of *Mein Kampf*, published after his Bavarian Putsch.

The "Parliamentary" period of the German Republic under the Weimar Constitution lasted from 1923 to 1930 and was racked by political crisis, produced by the unwillingness on the part of most political parties in the Reichstag to consider parliamentary compromise. In general, the German *bourgeoisie* moved to the right, with the election of a monarchist, Hindenburg, to the presidency in 1925, the choice of Hugenberg and Kaas as chairs of the German National Peoples Party and the Center Party respectively, and the growth of the National Socialist German Workers Party (NSDAP) which fomented against the "fraudulent republic" under Hitler.

The trials and questionable verdicts regarding left opponents of the Weimar Constitution, coupled to a legal protection of the ultra-right, further eroded the Weimar Republic's legitimacy. Foreign capital did not stabilize the German economy, rather, cycles of depression and rampant inflation created further social unrest. And all of this contributed to the politicization of the army.

Throughout this period the SPD and the KPD held a third, and sometimes more, of the seats in the German Reichstag. But the two parties refused to cooperate, the KPD preferring to try and "capture" the SPD's constituency through agitation in the SPD's unions. The KPD's militancy and policy of parliamentary obstruction divided the SPD's sympathies and prevented the German left from presenting a united socialist alliance against the rise of fascism. After 1930, the KPD's militancy, parliamentary obstructionism

and anti-fascist streetfighting proved suicidal. The KPD's attitude of "first Hitler, then us" after 1930 was its fundamental mistake.

German politics after 1930 became increasingly polarized as both the right and the left denounced and fought the center. In 1931 the NSDAP formed the "Harzburg Front" with the German National Peoples Party and the "Stahlhelm" group, which was countered by the "Iron Front" comprised of the SPD, the trade unions and the paramilitary "Reichsbanner." Streetfighting between fascists and communists increased, creating a general atmosphere of terror. And ironically, the KPD cooperated with the NSDAP in disrupting parliament. The NSDAP's share of the Reichstag increased dramatically until it could command over a third of the vote in 1932, which motivated the turn toward "legal" means by Hitler, and the legal "seizure of power" in 1933.

Hitler's rise to the position of Chancellor of the Reich from 1933 to 1933 was also due to the continuing political crisis that the NSDAP managed to provoke as well as by support from Germany's ruling class hoping to use Hitler to eliminate the Left. Once having accomplished his "National Revolution" in achieving power, Hitler embarked on his "legal revolution" by which German fascism was established. Using the emergency powers article of the Weimar Constitution Hitler concentrated power into his hands as *Fuhrer*. From 1933 to 1936 the police were consolidated and placed under Nazi Gestapo control, becoming Hitler's executive organ along with special "People's Courts." All parties and trade unions were liquidated, dissolved or proscribed, political opponents were persecuted, jailed, assigned to forced labor, or simply eliminated, public works were undertaken to eliminate unemployment, reindustrialize and remilitarize Germany, and the Church was attacked. All of this stemmed from the Nazi social policy of "Gleichschaltung."

"Gleichschaltung" was called a policy of coordination and harmonization by the Nazis. In point of fact, it was a policy of centralization and subordination to the National Socialist state and its party. The government of the various German states were "harmonized" with the national government, as were the trade unions to the Nazi German Workers Front and the German Army to the Nazi Supreme Armed Forces Command. This meant the elimination of autonomy and the imposition of fascism by force. Through "Gleichschaltung" the German Nazi Party "aryanized" the civil service and persecuted the Jews as "unintegrated" social elements after the infamous *Krystalnacht*. With the purge of Rohm and the left-leaning SA, the unity of Party and Reich proposed by Hitler faced few obstacles, and German fascism was ready after 1936 to embark upon a policy of imperialism.

German conscription was reintroduced in 1935. The 1936 Anti-Comintern Pact allied Germany with Japan and later Italy and Spain, which produced the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. Fascism even attempted to establish a short-lived "Black International." In September of 1936 Hitler enunciated the aims of German foreign policy: incorporation of all lands settled by German people, economic autarchy through a 4-year plan, and the conquest of additional living space (*Lebensraum*) for the German nation. And to this end, Hitler forced the reunification of Austria with Germany through plebiscite (Anschluss of Austria), the annexation of Sudetenland, the liquidation of the "rump" of Czechoslovakia and the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.

Germany's Pact of Steel with Italy was followed by the German Soviet Non-aggression Pact, which divided Eastern Europe between German and Soviet spheres of influence. With this latter pact, and following the series of demands made upon Poland by Hitler,

Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union invaded and carved up Poland in September 1936, beginning the second World War.

STALINISM: SOCIALISM'S INTERNAL NEGATION

The rise of fascism was in many ways paralleled by the rise of Stalin in the Soviet Union. Lenin, before his death in 1924, warned the party to remove Stalin from the position of General-Secretary. But Lenin's comrades—Trotsky, Bukharin, Rykov, Kamenev, Zinoviev and Tomsky—did not act quickly enough. Stalin's position as General-Secretary permitted him to control the local party organizations, choose the delegates to the Party's congresses, promote obedient and malleable party members and eliminate disobedient and opposition elements in the party. He successfully suppressed Lenin's recommendations and orchestrated the 14th Party Congress of 1925 to support him, despite Trotsky's, Zinoviev's and Kamenev's opposition to "one-man rule."

Stalin, with the aid of Kamenev and Zinoviev, removed Trotsky from Commissar of War, ostensibly because Trotsky's thesis of "permanent revolution" conflicted with Stalin's "socialism in one country" which the 14th Party Congress endorsed. Afterwards, Rykov, Bukharin and Tomsky sided with Stalin out of expediency, whereas Kamenev led a left-wing opposition. Both Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party in 1927, followed by Trotsky's banishment. Bukharin was ejected from the politburo in 1929 and Tomsky and Rykov lost their offices. Stalin's first 5-year plan (1928-1933) signalled his consolidation of power, for by his 50th birthday in 1929 Stalin had eliminated the "Old Bolsheviks" from direct power and became sole leader (*Vozhd*) of the Soviet Union.

Stalin's five year plans transformed the Soviet Union into a modern industrial nation, but at a tremendous social cost. Forced peasant collectivization affected some 60% of all landholdings, creating *kolkhoz* (village based agricultural cooperatives) and *sovkhoz* (state farms). In order to do this, Stalin liquidated some 11 million *kulaks*—the Russian peasants holding middling sized estates before the Revolution—and resorted to forced labor and expropriation.

Heavy industry was developed on the basis of newly opened coal and ore mines in the Urals, Siberia and Central Asia run with forced labor. Industrial complexes were created to help rationalize the economic system, and industrialization advanced to the point of permitting electrification. The Soviet Union achieved autarchy in coal and oil, but the Russian working class lost what little autonomy it possessed as Stalin fashioned one vast, militarized industrial army of workers out of the peasantry. After 1935 the "Stakhanov" system was used to further exploit Russian labor, a system that increased the wage and salary differentiations in Soviet society in the name of economic incentive. And a privileged stratum of new "technocratic intellectuals" became the heart of Stalin's regime.

Stalin initiated a new Soviet constitution in 1936, reflecting his position of power. The USSR became, theoretically, a federation of 11 Soviet Republics (the Russian, White Russian, Georgian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Azerbaijani, Kirghiz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tajik and Turkmen Socialist Soviet Republics) any of which could secede from the Union in theory. The general Union controlled in matters of peace and war, defence, foreign policy, economic planning, banking, postal services and transportation. Nationalities within the Union were given state protection, and the Soviet of Nationalities, along with the Soviet of the Union, constituted the

continued on page 11

Socialism Between Imperialist Wars

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Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the highest public authority in theory.

The Supreme Soviet, in turn, elected the Presidium (whose chair was head of state), the Soviet of People's Commissars (the Cabinet) and the Supreme Courts, a division of power that did not exist in practice. All members of all soviets were nominated by the Communist Party, and the list of nominees were submitted to the Soviet public for secret elections. Soviet citizens were guaranteed basic democratic rights, so long as the rights conformed to the interests of the working class as defined by the party. And the Communist party, which Stalin firmly controlled by 1936, was enshrined in the new constitution with respect to its claim to leadership and its guiding function in Soviet society.

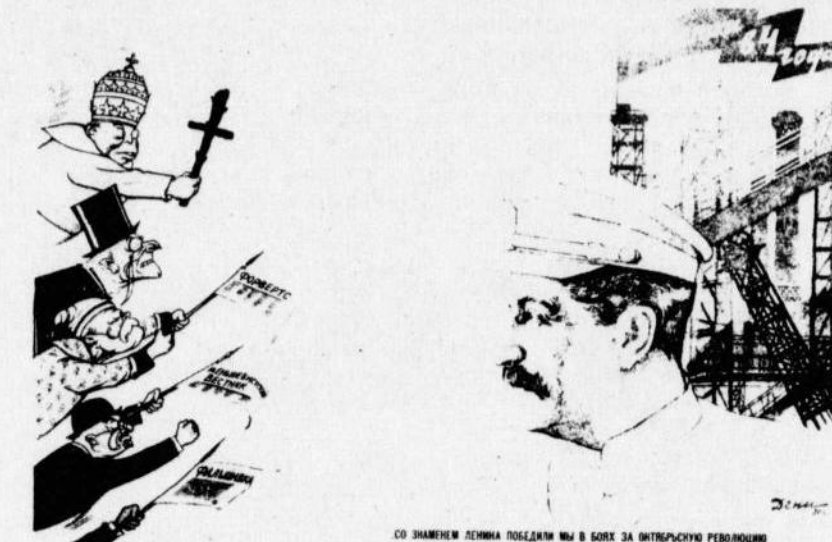
The state led society, the party led the state, and Stalin led the party. From this pinnacle of power, Stalin began his *Chistka*, the Great Purge from 1936 to 1938. Stalin sought to settle accounts with his 1920's opponents and to eliminate the "Old Bolsheviks" once and for all from the party and army in order to insure his dictatorial grip over Soviet society. Stalin had converted Lenin's GPU into the NKVD (All-Union Commissariat of Internal Affairs) and with the cooperation of Stalin's bureaucratic functionaries (Kaganovich, Andrevey, Molotov and Zhdanov) the secret police arrested, interrogated and executed millions. The purge was highlighted by the Great Purge trials: "The Trial of the 16" (Zinoviev, Kamenev, etc.) in 1936, "The Trial of the 17" (Radek, Muralov, Pyatakov, etc.) in

1937, and "The Trial of the 21" (Bukharin, Rykov, Krestinsky, etc.) in 1938.

Stalin also purged the Red Army of some 3 marshalls, 13 commanding generals and 62 corps commanders, beginning with the trial of Marshall Tukhachevsky. What must be remembered about the Great Purge trials is that they represent only the surface of Stalin's terror. Eight million people were arrested, some six million were in forced labor camps in northern Russia and Siberia (doubling to 12 million in 1940-42) and countless

the power of Stalin.

Before Stalin's deformations of Marxism-Leninism are considered, a few material comparisons must be made between fascism and Stalinism. Whereas fascism was an outgrowth of capitalist societies in crisis, Stalinism was an outgrowth of Lenin's revolutionary socialism. Whereas fascism and Stalinism attempted to industrialize and modernize their respective countries, fascism did so within a capitalist class society. Stalinism developed in a proto-socialist society in which capitalist class relations had been substantially altered



The first Five Year Plan, achieved in four years by kindly, disingenuous Stalin against whom international church, capital and Social Democrats rage in vain.

millions were executed or died of forced labor. What is more startling about this reign of terror was that the Soviet Union was at peace. Soviet foreign policy under Stalin sought to create alliances that would prevent war and invasion by dividing the imperialist forces of the west by treaty. Yet the use of terror, which Marx denied and Lenin reserved for war, civil war, counterrevolution and invasion, had emerged under Stalin with the Soviet Union at peace. Clearly, the Great Purge served only to strengthen

by extensive nationalization and aborted socialization, increasing the stratification of Soviet society as it developed.

Fascism employed tactics of terror and civil war in order to seize power. Stalinism employed terror to consolidate power. Fascism's totalitarian party in theory opposed class struggles and sought to integrate the interests of capital with labor through the state, coming to side with

capital and smash labor in practice. Stalinism's communist party sided, in theory, with the working class, coming to impose the rule of a new ruling stratum on the proletariat. Internal repression and external imperialism were part and parcel of fascism's practice. The defensive "imperialism" of the Soviet Union emerged only after the second World War to protect Soviet borders, though Stalinism did justify internal repression. And finally, the autonomy of state power achieved by fascism before 1939 was achieved by Stalinism after the second World War. Socially, little comparison can be made between fascism and Stalinism.

The fact that socialism had been attempted in only one country guaranteed that most Marxist-Leninists supported the Soviet Union, despite Stalin's "mistakes." Stalin's iron-fisted control of Soviet society prevented a wide dissemination of Stalin's practice to the rest of the world, and the Comintern fostered apologetics among its member Communist parties. The crisis in modern socialism precipitated by Stalinism did not emerge until after the second World War.

Stalin's brutal regime was complimented by his brutalization of Marxism and Marxism-Leninism. For while Stalin could not have justified his brutality without the changes brought to Marxism by Lenin, the changes brought to Marxism-Leninism by Stalin constituted a virtual negation of socialism internal to modern socialism. Stalin might have been considered a horrifying, Czarist aberration in Soviet politics had not Stalin's interpretation of Marx and Lenin been accepted by Marxism-Leninism as a movement.

Next issue Part Seven: Socialism Between Imperialist Wars continues with a continuation of Stalinism: Socialism's Internal Negation and Socialism And The Second World War. We will also begin Part Eight: The Spanish Revolution.



7:30 PM: San Diego Lesbian Organization meeting, 1295 University Avenue, Hillcrest. 224-7530.

FRI. FEB. 18

7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series. *Kanchenjunga* directed by Indian filmmaker Satyagit Ray and *Waves of Revolution*. Free admission. UCSD USB 2722. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

7:30 PM: Slightly Older Lesbians meeting. 1295 University Avenue, Hillcrest.

SAT. FEB. 19

10:30 AM: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom meeting, presentation by WILPF United Nations study group and *No Frames, No Boundaries* film. 3712 Promontory, Pacific Beach. 755-4283.

7:30 PM: Slideshow presentation on Nicaragua with SDSU professor Nick Nichols. Wesley Foundation. 5225 Campanile Drive, near SDSU.

8 PM: Benefit slideshow, discussion and party for Australian sailboat Pacific Peacemaker, with skipper Ted Phillips and crew. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 30th and Grape. Golden Hill. 232-5009.

MON. FEB. 21

7 PM: San Diego County Draft Resisters Defense Fund meeting. 753-7518. 283-6878. 233-1701. — Funds are urgently needed for Ben Sasway's upcoming appeal. Please send donations to DRDF, P.O. Box 33544, San Diego, CA 92103.

7 PM: Training program begins for lay health workers who wish to work at Homecare. 424 Pennsylvania Avenue. 298-9352.

7:30 PM: North County National Organization for Women (NOW) meeting. Village Park Recreation Center, Encinitas. 753-3594, 753-7493.

By appointment. Free, confidential draft counseling at the Wesley Foundation on Campanile, near SDSU. 583-0772.

TUES. FEB. 22

6 PM: New Indicator Collective meeting. New volunteers welcome. UCSD Student Center. Room 209. 452-2016.

7:30 PM: *Men's Voices* discussion group for Gay men. The Men's Center. 574-7744.

8 PM: *Arms Control and Disarmament Prospects* with physicist Herbert York. UCSD USB 2622. World Federalist Association. 755-2305, 276-3247.

Quaker discussion group on draft resistance, conscientious objection, etc. La Jolla Friends Meeting. 456-1020.

WED. FEB. 23

6 PM: Committee for World Democracy meeting. Help plan the Political Film Series. UCSD Student Center, Room 209. 452-2016.

6 PM: Free, confidential draft counseling with professional National Lawyers Guild legal workers. 3000 E Street. 233-1701.

THURS. FEB. 24

7:30 PM: San Diego Lesbian Organization meeting. 1295 University, Hillcrest. 224-7530.

7:30 PM: *Doing Field Research in Africa: How to Go About It. Some of My Experiences* slideshow with UCSD professor Benetta Jules-Rosette. UCSD Student Center, North Conference Room. Third College Commuter Activity Board.

7:30 PM: San Diego Democratic Club meeting and analysis of the *California Commission on Personal Privacy Report* from a Gay/Lesbian perspective. Hillcrest Community Center, 3911 Fifth Avenue. 224-2921.

FRI. FEB. 25

4 PM: Oceanside Women's Resource Center open house. 4070 Mission Avenue. 757-3500.

4:30 PM: Groundwork Books work party. UCSD Student Center. 452-9625.

7 PM: UCSD Political Film Series. *Memories of Underdevelopment* directed by Tomas Gutierrez Alea. Also, *Temptation of Power and 1000 Years of Communism*, both directed by Gordian Troeller and Marie Claude Deffarge. Free admission. UCSD TLH 107. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

8 PM: Pete Seeger in concert. California Theatre. 1122 Fourth Avenue, San Diego. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 30th and Grape. Golden Hill. 232-5009.

SAT. FEB. 26

10 AM: Third Anniversary conference/celebration for the International Front for Homosexual Rights begins, continues through Sunday. 280-4333.

11:30 AM: Special Annual Meeting of San Diego Humanist Fellowship, panel discussion. Carlsbad. 729-1462. 222-9477, 232-4801.

8 PM: King Sunny Ade and 28-piece African orchestra. Club Reggae/Carpenters Hall. 24th and Broadway, Golden Hill. 233-4271, 283-1566.

SUN. FEB. 27

2 PM: *Black Women Poets* with Shirley Williams. San Diego Historical Society. 239-2211.

MON. FEB. 28

5:30 PM: Lesbian Solidarity Planning Meeting at UCSD. 1295 University Avenue, Hillcrest.

7 PM: New Palestinian film. SDSU AH 2108.



SAT. FEB. 26

Noon: BRITS OUT OF IRELAND! Protest Queen's Visit to San Diego! U.S. Government is spending millions of tax dollars to entertain/protect Queen, while millions of American workers are jobless and Irish people suffer British tyranny. Protest rally, Irish music at New Town Park. India and G Streets, downtown San Diego. 263-4335.

MON. MAR. 7

Noon: PROTEST LINKING STUDENT FINANCIAL AID WITH DRAFT REGISTRATION! Rally at UCSD Revelle Plaza. Join UCSD Committee Against Registration and The Draft (CARD). Call 565-1224, 755-2826, 284-2344. Statewide/national protest supported by UC Student Lobby and U.S. Student Association.

Long Stories In Short

Israel: From Egypt to Turkey?

Menachem Begin believes that Israel will someday stretch from Egypt to Turkey, the Rev. Jerry Falwell said the Israeli prime minister has told him, the Tyler Courier-Times-Telegraph reported today.

Falwell said Begin, whom he termed a personal friend, told him the Bible predicts that the Israeli state will eventually include portions of Iraq, Syria, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Sudan, Lebanon, Jordan and Kuwait.

"Begin is the first prime minister to believe in the inerrancy of the Old Testament," Falwell, the founder of the Moral Majority, said in taped comments. "Begin will quickly tell you 'We don't have all the land yet we're going to have.'"

Falwell said Begin told him Israel is not aggressively trying to take the land. "All he is doing is preserving that which has been delivered to them."

the Los Angeles Times

Following His Own Advice

Michael Morgenstern, who once wrote a book called *How to Make Love to a Woman*, will soon stand trial on charges of punching out his girlfriend upon finding her in an apartment with another man. In his book Morgenstern urges men to show "sensitivity" to women when making love. He faces up to a year in jail if convicted.

Big Mama Rag

Going Bananas

Dole, a Castle and Cook Subsidiary, has suddenly closed down its Nicaragua banana operations, leaving the Nicaraguans stuck with 83,000 boxes of bananas which they are trying to sell in Calif. Nicaragua's trade minister has charged that the companies decision was a part of the effort by the Reagan administration to destabilize the Sandanista government. Dole had tried to pull out of Nicaragua in 1980 but was talked out of it by the Carter administration. This time there was no opposition to the company's decision. Boycott all Dole Products, Bumble Bee Tuna, Andy Boy Produce, Maggio Carrots and Red Coach Lettuce.

Big Mama Rag

God Dead?

Remember Nietzsche? He was a n-i-h-i-i-s-t. Nietzsche said, "God is dead."

When did this happen? Was it on the news? Did it happen before television?

If God is dead (if god is dead) then how come I'm not dead? And how did god die? Heart attack? Stroke? Cancer? Did god die of a drug overdose? Or did god pass away peacefully in his old age?

I wish I could have talked to god before he died. I would like to substantiate the vicious rumours that he was a closet taoist. I would like to have found out, once and for all, the answers to vital questions that plague the learned sages of our society—questions like, "How many angels fit on the head of a pin," and I would certainly like to settle that age old puzzler, "If a tree falls in the



Bill Bül © TB LWS
DOES IT SAY ANYTHING IN THERE ABOUT TENDERNESS, EMPATHY OR WOMEN'S SEXUAL NEEDS?

Sex Aversion Therapy

Prison officials in Vermont have announced they will try a new form of "aversion therapy" on sex offenders. During treatment sessions, foul smelling chemicals will be pumped into prisoner's noses when they become aroused by erotic photographs and literature being shown them.

Reprinted from Big Mama Rag

Moonies Finance College Republicans

The College Republicans, one of the Republican National Committee's campus organizing arms, allegedly financed a 1981 campus protest against the Soviet Union's involvement in Poland with funds provided by the Rev. Sun Myung Moon's Unification Church, according to another Republican group.

Iowa Congressman Jim Leach made the charges at a Washington press conference, citing the College Republican tie as part of an "alliance of expediency" between the controversial Moon and several New Right groups. Leach press aide Fulton Armstrong says the information backing up the charges

forest and no one hears it, did it really fall?"

And if I told you god was Black? What would you think of that? Or maybe god was a woman. Or maybe only Mr. god died, and Mrs. god lives on in glory and splendour. That would explain a lot of things.

One time when I was on a late night walk in an altered state of consciousness in Berkeley, I came across Nietzsche's immortal words spray painted on the sidewalk, with the added flourish of an exclamation point. I laughed for about a block, so hard that tears came to my eyes.

Or if god had been a student at UCSD... would he major in humanities? If he majored in engineering, would he work for defense contractors? Would god have taken out a student loan?

—Locke Breaux

Prime-Time TV Distorts Reality

George Gerbner, who is the dean of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications, recently studied 1,600 prime time TV shows.

Gerbner found that male characters on these shows outnumbered the female ones three to one. Further, of the few married female characters depicted, only one in five was portrayed as having a job. In fact, more than half of American married women work outside the home.

Gerbner found that heavy viewers of television were more likely to agree with the statement: "Women should take care of running their homes, and leave running the country to men."

—D.C. Gazette

came from the Ripon Society, a moderate Republican group.

Ripon Society spokesman Bill McKenzie says the group has "a very reliable source" who revealed details of the episode in which the Republican group asked the Unification Church for money to protest the events unfolding in Poland.

—Prairie Sun

If Elections Could Change Things, They'd Be Illegal...

When social democrats take over, nothing changes as far as workers are concerned. Take the case of Francois Mitterand's France.

Last month, about 17,000 workers were laid off at the huge state-owned Renault auto plant near Paris following a strike by 100 paint-shop workers. The painters' demands included a wage increase amounting to about five cents an hour and an additional 10 minutes of shower time.

According to *The Wall Street Journal*, the French government is concerned that any pay increase conceded to the painters would spread "throughout the Renault group and elsewhere in French industry" and "undermine national wage guidelines." Five cents an hour?

—The People

Nuclear Fallacies

7% of all nuclear families in the U.S. are with a "breadwinner father" and a "homemaker mother" with 2 or 3 children. Yet, public and private programs and policies designed to serve families are formulated on the basis of the above composition.

CNI Weekly, 4-24-80

British Women Protest U.S. Missiles

Through December and January, demonstrations continued against the construction of silos for 96 US nuclear cruise missiles at the Greenham Common air base, 50 miles southwest of London. Tactics included 20,000 women forming a human chain around the base, dawn-to-dusk blockades of eight base gates, forming human carpets on roads leading to the base, using ladders to scale the fences around the base, and sitting in the bunkers until dragged out by the police. At least 50 protesters have been arrested despite police attempts to keep arrests to a bare minimum. The women vow to continue protesting until spring.

—Industrial Worker

Dense-Thought Continues At Pentagon

In case dense-thought—uh, dense pack—basing for the MX—uh, "Peacekeeper"—does not make it through Congress, the Air Force has begun throwing money at another hare-brained scheme—uh, carefully considered option.

According to the *Village Voice*, the Air Force has allocated \$37 million for studies of a "deep basing" deployment for the first strike—that's "defensive"—weapon. Tax money is going to the government's parent corporation—uh, Bechtel (we're trying to get this right, honest!)—and R.A. Hancan Company to dig "feasibility tunnels" to test the scheme that Bechtel has some doubts about.

MX—"Peacekeeper"—missiles would be placed in deep tunnels under mesas or in walls of canyons. Following a Soviet attack, missile crews would dig to the surface and fire the missiles; this could take several years. *Aviation Week* says, "A deep base would have the ability to fight a protracted war, according to Defense Department (fantasists, uh.) planners, because it would be a self contained system that could be launched years after an initial Soviet attack."

—WIN

Truth In Advertising

In Boston, the board of health and hospitals has posted warning signs stating, "Nuclear War/No Shelter - No Escape/Warning" in all nonresidential buildings in that city. The signs are posted next to all existing fallout shelter signs.

Big Mama Rag

Covert Actions in Central Am.

The *New York Times* reported recently that U.S. covert activities in Central America have become the most ambitious paramilitary and political operation mounted by the CIA in nearly a decade. More than 150 agents are stationed in Honduras alone, where they are helping to train troops to overthrow the government of Nicaragua.

—D.C. Gazette