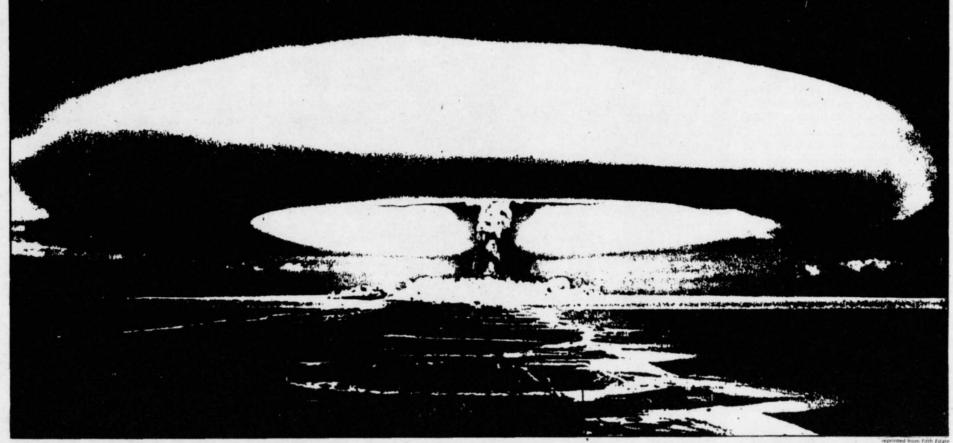
Volume 8 No. 3

16th year of Publication

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NUCLEAR WAR ERUPTS!



MILLIONS DEAD IN WAKE OF ALL-OUT WAR

THIS ONLY A TEST... IF THIS WERE A REAL NUCLEAR ATTACK YOU WOULDN'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT TUNING IN TO YOUR LOCAL EMERGENCY BROADCAST SYSTEM... IN FACT, YOU WOULD NOT HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT A THING!

The issue of nuclear weapons policy, specifically the recent campaign for a bilateral US-USSR nuclear arms freeze, has raised popular opposition about this issue in the US to a level approaching that in Europe and perhaps the highest level since the beginning of the atomic age.

Among activists, the freeze campaign has raised criticisms from many quarters. As Seymour Melman, chairperson of SANE, points out the freeze initiative falls short of a comprehensive reversal of the arms race and total disarmament. According to Melman the freeze initiative does not "freeze" the 25,000 to 30,000 nuclear warheads in the U.S. arsenal in 1982, when the freeze campaign started. President Reagan has already set in motion plans to increase the nuclear arsenal by some 17,000 warheads which, allowing for retirement of some older warheads, would bring the total up to 40,000 to 45,000. Thus, argues Melman, we would be freezing the arsenal at a level roughly 50-60% higher than the previous level, which was already adequate to destroy every Soviet city of 100,000 or more 40 times over. So now we destroy them 60 times over. Not affected by the freeze are delivery systems, new missiles, "invisible bombers," and "defensive" weapons of nuclear warfare such as new antiballistic missile systems, which make the possibility of a nuclear strike all the more real, according to Melman.

Opposition to nuclear arms and nuclear systems must be viewed in the

context of whose interests it has served and its history.

Cause for international concern is over the policy of confrontation rather than negotiation, that the U.S. has maintained since World War II and which has now reached new peaks. The U.S. leadership has used the threat of "Communism" as an ideological tool to maintain domestic uniformity and justify foreign intervention. The creation of the USSR as "The Enemy" through official propaganda has had a double purpose-to divert attention away from domestic problems, and to form anti-Soviet public opinion that will support any sort of foreign policy. In an attempt to prevent loss of American economic influence in Europe and the Third World, the U.S. has developed a military-political strategy which insures the influx of goods and raw materials. This strategy includes economic and military aid to pro-Western dictatorships in South America and

In 1949, NATO incorporated nuclear weapons as an instrument which has aided the bipolarization of Europe and acted to deter the Soviet sphere economically. Since the 1950's, NATO has maintained and developed a first strike capability against the USSR. The response by the Soviets was the building of a nuclear arsenal.

Less than 25% of the military budget is actually used for "defense" spending, that is, on strategic weapons. Rather, the present arms buildup is one of the conventional weapons. The sale and gifts of conventional weapons (\$15 billion annually) have been used to hold vital U.S. interests in the Third World, and as an attempt to bolster a stagnating economy. However, this welfare system for war-oriented industry is socially unproductive: funneling research, development and production of goods for non-civilian uses and resulting in unusable products.

No Nukes is Not Enough

The recent outcry for armament reduction/freeze must also call for the halt of sales of manufactured weapons, eighty percent of which go to Third World countries who support the policies of the U.S. government, the means of production of these arms, and a total disarmament of nuclear and conventional weapons. We must go on to demand far more than what the nuclear freeze initiative is asking. We must not misrepresent the status quo as being "safe."

The dangers of nuclear weapons and power are not separable nor are they simply ecological. Capitalists are more concerned with today's profits than tomorrow's consequences. Nuclear technology is just one aspect of the madness that is capitalism in both its western ruling class and eastern "Soviet" manifestations. Dioxin, asbestos, Agent Orange, the list of biological horrors inflicted on workers is endless—nuclear weapons is merely the most potentially horrific.

Nuclear technology is a centralizing force that chains generations to the subjugation of corporate monoplies and government manipulation.

The nuclear state is the police state. Because nuclear installations are extremely vulnerable to sabotage the state can and does demand the acceptance of security measures that

would otherwise be unthinkable. "Potential subversive" must be monitored and installations must be guarded, with seccurity forces given wide discretionary powers.

The nuclear state requires a technological elite to expand, and maintain the nuclear industry, and make decisions that we "silly populace" should take as gospel.

No civilization has yet managed to endure more than 1,000 years without a major disruption. The Catholic Church, the most enduring of present day institutions, has managed to barely survive 2,000 years. But the nuclear waste and fallout we must deal with today will be active for the next 250,000 years.

"Nuclear freeze" and "No Nukes Nuclear" is not enough! Nuclear armament and technology is merely a symptom of the disease of capitalism. A disease that places profits ahead of people's health and even their lives. The sterility of liberalism is nowhere more evident than in the anti-nuclear movement. Appeals for reforms within the system and polite protests are deadends that the power elite are quite happy to let us explore indefinitely. This is serious business. We are talking about our lives and the lives of our children. The time for direct action is now.

New Indicator Student Organizations UC San Diego, B-023 La Jolla, Ca. 92093 Non-Profit Órg. U. S. Postage PAID La Jolla, Calif. Permit No. 256

Collective Commentary...

The New Indicator Collective has a longstanding committment to providing a forum for the discussion of critical issues, such as the ongoing conflict in the Middle East-in the wake of Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of Palestinians and Lebanese.

The recents events make the continuation of such a discussion all the more important. It is in this sprit that the following article is presented.

We have previously offered statements representative of the areas of greatest agreement between our members, (See "Peace in Palestine for All", n.i. V6, April 14-27 1981; Special issue Summer 1982; and Volume 8 No. 1. September 24th-Oct.24th 1982). There have always been points on which we have not reached agreement. This series of articles, hopefully, will serve to promote futher discussion on the issue in our community.

Readers who wish to contribute to this discussion are welcome to do so. We do ask, however, that all submissions be kept as short as possible.

Today: Palestine Tomorrow: Lebanon, Jordan, Syria. . .

The main reason that so many Americans have sided with the Zionists for so long is that they are unaware of the facts; they do not understand what the name "Palestinian" carries with it. To be Palestinian is to have a nationality, just like anybody else. To be Palestinian is



Palestinian Fighters

LNS Photo

also to be an oppressed person, fighting for survival.

One day, the Zionists had a dream that was drawn from their experiences with anti-Semitism in Europe. They immigrated into Palestine in large numbers, forming a skeleton of power and disrupting the indigenous Palestinian population that had lived there in peace with the Jews for almost two-thousand years. Finally, the Zionists got their wish, and their dream became a reality. Palestine was transformed into a Zionist state, and it was too late when the Palestinians finally organized themselves to try and stop what was happening to them.

Unfortunately, the world was so overcome with guilt for not putting an end to Hitler's atrocities from the start, that it did not even notice the Palestinians. It could not even see the injustice of displacing an entire people, or maybe it felt that uprooting Palestinians would be better than leaving Jews without protection from anti-Semitism. But two wrongs do not make a right. They simply create more injustice, and this time the Palestinians are the victims. When they fight for their lives and their freedom, they are called 'terrorists" and "sadistic savages."

Once again, the Zionists have a dream: 'Eretz Yisrael," or biblical Israel, which includes all of the land between the Nile River in Egypt and the Euphrates River in Iraq. If one were to analyze the Zionist flag, one could see that the two blue continued on page 4

ERRATUM

In the last issue of the new indicator the articel entitled "Former UCSD employee files age discrimination suit" contained garbled paragraphs. The new indicator will re-run that story in our next issue. In addition, the letter on page 7 should have been signed "CSEA". We apologize fro these errors.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Thursday, October 21, 7 pm. Committee Against Registration and the Draft (CARD) General Meeting. Update on prosecutions of resisters, final plans for Counter-Intimidation Campaign. 3850 Westgate Place, San Diego. 283-6878 or 753-

Thursday, October 21, 7 pm. Land of the Burnt Houses. Film by Peter Torbiornsson, followed by discussion with filmmaker. UCSD P&L 1110. UCSD Salvdorean

Thursday, October 21, 7:30 pm. Referendum on Reaganism? Newsline's notorious Larry Remer discusses Brown/Wilson, nuclear arms freeze, more. Grass Roots Cultural Center. 1947 30th at Grape, Golden Hill. 232-5009.

Saturday, October 23, 11 am. Aluminum can "Trash-A-Thon" for Yes on Proposition 11, Returnable Container Initiative. Crown Ponit Shores. 295-8858 or 275-1162.

Friday, October 23, 7 pm. UCSD Political Film Series. San Diego Premiere of Nuclear Nightmares plus The Last Epidemic and La Jette. Free admission. UCSD TLH 107. Committee for World Democracy. 452-2016.

Saturday, October 23, 7-9:30 pm. Citizens Party Benefit with author and Progressive Senior Editor Sidney Lens. 1366 Hornblend, Pacific Beach. 272-5155. Saturday, October 23, 7 pm. The Great Gay Music Festival with Yankee Freedom

Band, L.A. Gay Men's Chorus, more. Golden Hall, San Diego. 565-2865 or 296-

Saturday, October 23, 8 pm. Feminist folk musicians Deborah Liv Johnson and Cathy Curtis perform at Grass Roots. 232-5009.

Monday, October 25, 7-10 pm. Gay/Lesbian 1982 Election Rally and Dance at WCPC's. 1845 Hancock, San Diego. 295-3724. Tuesday, October 26, 8 pm. San Francisco Mime Troupe does Last Tango In

Huahuatenango at El Cortez Center, 8th and Beech, San Diego. 232-5009. Thursday, October 28, 6:30 pm. Symposium on Nuclear War with Dr. Bernard Winter, Dr. Robert Livingston, Professor William Cheek. Southwestern College, Music Room 801. Physicians for Social Responsibility. 483-7774.

Friday, October 29, 7 pm. Special UCSD Political Film Series showing of Costa Garvra's Missing followed by talk given by Thomas Hauser, author of the book upon which Missing is based. \$1 admission for film, free lecture. Committee for World

Democracy. 452-2016. Saturday, October 30 and Sunday, October 31, 9 am- 9 pm. Mexico-U.S. Border Conference in Solidarity with the people of El Salvador. Casa de la Cultura, Tijuana, Baja California, Mexico.

Saturday, October 30, 8 pm. Community Energy Action Network (CEAN) Spook da Nukes Halloween Benefit Party. 2225 Pine, Mission Hills. 275-1162. Saturday, October 30, 8:30 am- 5 pm. Education for the Nuclear Age. SDSU

Extension Course for Secondary Educators. PSR. 483-7774. Every Tuesday, 6 pm. Fight the Right! New Indicator Collective Meetings. The new

indicator needs investigative journalists, reporters, writers, typesetters, proofreaders, layout and production workers, distributors- No experience necessary! UCSD Student Center, Room 209.

Every Wednesday, 6 pm. Committee for World Democracy Meetings. Help plan the Political Film Series. UCSD Student Center, Room 209, 452-2016

Every Wednesday, 7 pm. Lesbian/Gay Support Group informal discussions. UCSD

Women- Concerned about losing your right to abortion? Contact Womancare Feminist Women's Health Center pro-choice advocacy group. 298-9352. You Can Prevent Nuclear War. Impressive new publication available from Common

Cause, 2030 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Oppose the so-called "Moral Majority" and support family planning, education for teenagers and a woman's right to choose abortion, by sending donations to Planned Parenthood, P.O. Box 5687, New York, NY 10249. Locally, call 234-6215 or 747-

Protest U.S. military aid to right-wing regimes in Central America, support freedom fighters, by sending donations to Medical Aid for El Salvador, 1509 Crossroads of the World, Los Angeles, CA 90028. (213) 461-4404.

FALL PROTEST CALENDAR

Saturday, October 23, 1-4 pm. Peace Rally for Disarmament and Yes on Proposition 12, Bilateral Nuclear Freeze In tiative. Starlight Bowl, Balboa Park. 576-1893 for

Tuesday, October 26, 2 pm. Speak Out! Protest at public hearing on absurd Nuclear Crisis Relocation plans, before County Board of Supervisors. 1600 Pacific Highway, San Diego. No Nukes! 755-4283, 265-0730 or 275-1162.

Thursday, October 28, Noon. UCSD Rally for Disarmament/Yes on Proposition 12! Benjamin Sasway, Dr. Robert Livingston, Michael Marsh and others will speak from the Gym steps. UCSD Progressive Coalition. 452-2016.

Saturday, October 30 and Sunday, October 31, All Day. Reagan Ranch Tent City to protest Reaganomics! Newtown Park, India & G. Rally, speakers, music, dancing. Citizens Action League. 275-3200.

Thursday, November 4, Noon. Protest the Trident Monster! Harborside demonstration in support of Australian vessel, The Pacific Peacemaker. Peace Resource Center, 265-0730 or CEAN, 275-1162.

the new indicator

is officially recognized as a campus newspaper. The views do not represent those of the Communications Board, the Chancellor or the

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: (714)452-2016 the new indicator is a member of the Alternative Press Syndicate (APS). copy which is printed without a byline may be assumed to represent the position of the New Indicator Collective. contributors and workers: kevin, jon, monty, lee, jorj, paul, mike, robin, kyr, casey, coll, barry. nancy, reggie, lisa, daniel, mark, paul, greg, susan, antone, karen, stuart, karl, steve, shirhan, laura, randall, robin, marylynn, robin, penny, javie, rick, david, vic, victor, beth, charles, charlie, & shirley, thanx

Funky La Jolla Service... This, despite the fact that only

Interesting how the bureaucracy has a

By Rambling Rosie

way of changing its mind to suit the circumstance... The AS Council did exactly that with the Committee for World Democracy's budget, at their meeting last week. You may recall that since Chu vetoed the CWD's budget illegally over the summer, every attempt by CWD supporters to have that veto overturned-including numerous appeals to the administration—and an attempt two weeks ago to have the AS Council nullify that action has proved to be futile... However, in the most curious of reversals, the AS Council ruled the veto by President Chu illegal on several grounds-all of which have been raised by CWD on more than one occasion. According to sources, AS junior bureaucrats felt threatened by the campaign conducted by a group of students to "democraticize" the AS by adding 25 seats in order to provide a "diverse" representation on the Council. Sensing a power drain, the ASer's decided to proclaim Chu's veto illegal in the hopes of diffusing that campaign... As one Council put it, adding 25 seats to the Council will play havoc with Chu and his supporter's plans to pay themselves stipends...

As far as that campaign to "democratize" the AS, it was noted in the last issue of the paper that this "democratizing" process has several shortcomings, nonetheless it is certainly a step in the right direction... As one student put it, obviously most AS types don't believe in the "more the merrier" theory... While others have gone so far as to call the petition drive "undemocratic means", even though the provison to petition is clearly granted in the AS Constitution. Undemocratic indeed...

In other business, the AS Council established a subcommittee to look into Henry Chu's power play to take over the space allocated to the AS Soft Reserves. You may recall that last year, in the wake of the decision by the university libraries to cease carrying class notes, past exams, and homework solutions, the AS Council established the Soft Reserves in order to pick up some of the slack... According to sources, Chu decided that this service was "not important" and took over the office space allocated for Soft Reserves to give more space for his

pet project, the AS Lecture Notes the Student Center Board can allocate and resign space and the room allocated to the Soft Reserves has remained empty since July and continues to remain empty... In the meantime, thanks to Chu's petty vindictive politics, many students go without this service. According to sources, Chu is upset because the Soft Reserves people will not let him run the operation, despite Chu's claims that he "created" the jobs for

In the meantime, Chu is being paid over \$6.00 an hour as manager of the AS Lecture Notes Service. His assistant manager, by some coincidence, is none other than Chu's former campaign manager from the last elections... In addition, several AS Council members have found the AS Lecture Notes Service a convenient place for employment... At the last count, at least three AS Council members have been hired by Chu as notetakers for approx. \$6.00/hour. The Lecture Notes Service has refused to hire work-study students for these positions, because according to the assistant manager, they are not as

In other news, the Student Center Board voted to recommend that, Student Center Programmer, Josh Harris's, budget be frozen by the Assistant Vice-Chancellor for using Student Center funds without authorization... Harris bought "future advertising space" on behalf of the Student Center Board in his paper, the Koala, thereby allowing the Koala to print its first issue... In a related development, the AS allocated \$2000 for four more issues of the Koala this quarter-to inform students of the parties and "interesting" graffiti on campus. During debate some Council members defended funding the Koala because it is UCSD's only "mainstream" and "party" paper.

Well, enough said. I'll have more for you next time. Keep those tips coming. . .

ORGANIZERS NEEDED NOW

or California Nuclear Weapons No-First-Use Initiative on '84 allot. Call 295-9414.

LETTERS:

Khomeini Continues

We were shocked to hear that the known internally and internationally. Iranian Government has executed then one can easily believe in the Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, the man once massacre of innocent and defenseless called "my son" by Khomeini. This is a clear indication that the Khomeini regime does not even refrain from murder in its own former officials and his inactive rivals in order to create more

If regardless of the worldwide attempts-even by some of his closest allies (e.g.Syria)—Khomeini dares to execute Mr. Ghotbzadeh who was well

women and children. And is it not yet more horrible that we have remained silent in the face of this genocide. The fact of 20,000 executions of such innocent people over the past 15 months has received very little attention in this

Sincerely yours,

Committee of Professors to Stop Torture in Iran(SDSU)

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Political Movie Series Funding 'Reinstated' by AS Council

On Wednesday, October 6th, the A.S. Council unanimously decided to simply ignore Henry Chu's veto of the Committee for World Democracy's budget. Kim Piontkowski, the Council's Vice President, explained four reasons upon which she urged the Council to deem the veto illegal. They were: 1) Chu's veto having taken place after the 6 days allowed by the constitution, 2) Not having the constitutional grounds to perform a line-item veto 3) Not having the authority to allocate money to CWD to cover the first few weeks of the Fall series, after he had vetoed their budget over the summer and 4) Not having the AS budget in effect by July 1—the start of the university fiscal year. Later she commented,"We see this veto as dead now and never having existed." Interestingly, these very same arguments were presented to the Council and the UCSD Administration this summer, and during the beginning of the quarter by CWD, however they were continued to be ignored or re-directed as another attempt was made to destroy the CWD's sixth annual film series.

At the first Council meeting this fall the AS Council refused to overturn Chu's actions because the item was not submitted for the agenda on time. However, by the next meeting the AS Council changed its mind. The reason for the sudden change, even though the AS had been aware of the illegal nature of Chu's actions for some time, is till a subject of debate.

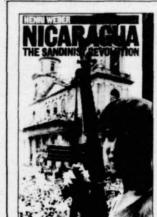
Chu's attack started last summer when he illegally line-item vetoed the budget of the CWD. Although the veto was both against the A.S. Constitution and state law, the UCSD Administration refused to overturn the veto, arguing that it was a matter for the AS Judicial Board, knowing full well that the series takes at least two months of preparation, and that re-directing the matter would effectively cripple the series. According to state law, all state organizations are to have their finalized budget passedand implemented by July 1st, Chu vetoed the budget on July 15th. Then in an attempt to minimize the political fall-out Chu "allowed" (illegally) the CWD to program for the first few weeks of the fall quarter, pending resolution by the Council.

This latest action to destroy the political film series has been one of numerous attempts by the right wing to put an end to the progressive trend at UCSD. As was hinted during the AS meeting, the veto will not be the first attempt to stop the successful programs and progressive groups nor will it be the last attempt.

CHILDCARE NEEDED

Responsible, loving person needed for part-time care of two year old boy in my Pacific Beach home. Students male and female welcome. Call after 5 p.m. 274-5628.

One reliable babysitter full-time (Sat. and Sun.) in my home in San Diego. Own transportation and references required. Call after 4 p.m. 279-5138.



Nicaragua: **The Sandinist Revolution**

n 1979 Nicaragua's long-lived Somoza dictatorship fell before a mass insurrection led by the Sandinist movement, which has now established the first anti-capitalist power on the American mainland. The background and course of this dramatic upheaval, and the character of the society now emerging from it, are the subject of this compact and timely work of political

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Exterminism and Cold War

Mike Davis-Raymond Williams-Rudolf Bahro · Lucio Magri · Etienne Balibar · Roy & Zhores Medvedev · John Cox · Saburo Kugai · Marcus Raskin · Noam Chomsky · Alan Wolfe · Mary Kaldor · Fred Halliday ·

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writes Edward Thompson, 'is the openness of tone and of terms, the reach for international discourse, the common pursuit of convergent analysis and strategies. ... An international discourse of a new kind has been opened, and this

> must go on. \$8.95 paper \$25.00 cloth

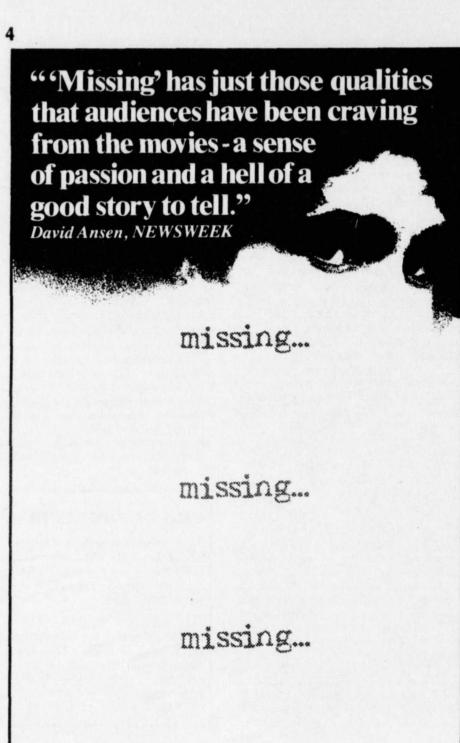
HERBER 1 MARCUSE **Art of Liberation**

Barry Katz **Herbert Marcuse** and the **Art of Liberation**

Philosophical speculation seldom attracts banner of death. Yet such was the Marcuse in the late 1960's when he was catapulted into international controversy as a prophet of the novement. Barry Katz shows that this startling change of fortune was consistent with the whole pattern of the philosopher's

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Also:

\$1 admission

7:00 p.m.

Friday Oct. 29th

Hear Tom Hauser, author of "Missing", speak before the movie.

Co-sponsored by: AS Programming Commission, University Events Office, and Committee for World Democracy and Third World Studies

continued from page 2

Today: Palestine Tomorrow: Lebanon, Jordan, Syria. . .

stripes on the top and bottom symbolize the two rivers, with the Star of David, symbolizing Israel, in the middle. As anyone who dares to look beyond the surface can see, the conquest of Palestine is only the beginning.

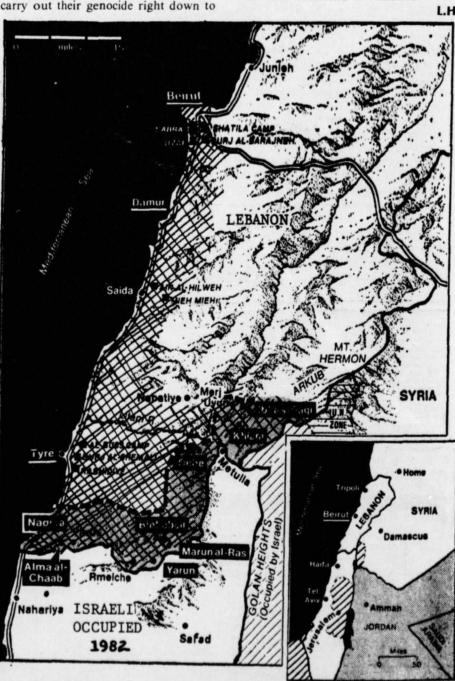
As a result of the 1967 war, four more Arab lands were captured by the Zionists in the name of "security." These lands include the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (both Palestine), the Sinai Peninsula (Egypt), and the Golan Heights (Syria). The very same Palestinians who once felt degraded, powerless, and ignored have since organized themselves. The result of Palestinian determination and steadfastness is their representative body, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). As the Zionists murder children and torture unfortunate people who sit in Israeli prisons, the underestimated Palestinian fights that much harder for his/her rights as a human being. The Palestinians are making it perfectly clear that they will not simply retreat into the rest of the Arab world.

Much of what happened in Palestine is now happening in Lebanon. Palestinian and Lebanese civilians have been murdered and terrorized by Israeli soldiers and their allies, not to mention the schools, hospitals, and homes that have been taken over. The Zionists are again creating a skeleton of power, which they term "a strong, central Lebanese government." They wish to "cleanse" Lebanon of Palestinians, as they did in most of Palestine. The typical Zionist procedure to attempt to silence the Palestinians is two-fold: to deny them their very existence while committing genocide against their people. Zionists are afraid of the truth that the Palestinian carries in his/her heart, so they try to destroy the truth by destroying the Palestinian. Even if they carry out their genocide right down to

the last Palestinian, the truth will come out. Fortunately, this tragedy could not possibly occur. Whenever the PLO suffers some type of military defeat, the Zionists shout "Bye-bye, PLO!" Somehow, the endurance of the Palestinians carries the organization through its crises. A determined PLO can always re-group, but the point is that the 15,000 dead Palestinian and Lebanese civilians cannot rise up from their graves, no matter how determined they once were.

With the majority of PLO out of Lebanon, one must wonder why the Israelis are still there. The soldiers ordered their winter clothing not too long ago, so they obviously do not plan to leave anytime soon. By ignoring the Geneva Convention and going out of their way not to protect the civilian population in occupied land (Lebanon). they have caused more Palestinian bloodshed in the massacre of the Sabra and Chatilla refugee camps. They now demand that "the rest of the PLO must leave so as to secure the borders of Israel." Prime Minister Menachem Begin even went so far as to deny his horrible actions in Lebanon in his nowfamous statement, "We did not invade a country." These people will not even admit their crimes!

To the Zionists, the path to achieving "Eretz Yisrael" is the genocide of the determined Palestinians who stand in their way. Former staunch supporters of Zionism are now realizing that these people do not want any peace until they have conquered all of "Eretz Yisrael." The late Anwar El-Sadat understood the outrageous Zionist dreams very well when he exclaimed at one of the Camp David "peace" meetings, "Premier Begin, you want land!" The Palestinians have only one dream: to be a selfdetermining people living in peace with Christians, Jews, and Moslems in their treasured homeland of Palestine.



ongoing effort to go from city to city describing what the real effects of even a single thermonuclear weapon are, trying to make that clear to people, talking indeed about typology, the burns and fractures, bleeding and the trauma, trying to find some way to make clear what the simultaneous, virtually total destruction of a human social biological and a physical environment means. I've learned over some years of doing it now, what some of the responses to that kind of information and that kind of presentation are. I know because I feel them myself. They are very obvious; horror, revulsion, depression, feelings of hopelessness and helplessness, only then subsequently anger. And yet anger is the feeling that we can take and put to work. And I thought I would begin today, beforehand with something of an anecdote, because I've come across such a good one of someone taking that anger even in the anticipation of these events

and expressing it in action.

It's a letter printed in a San Francisco newspaper a few days ago by a young woman that deserves our thanks in this concern. Her name is Sarah Perlin and she is in second grade there, and she is seven years old. I'll leave it with you to decide whether Sarah Perlin has a grip on things or not. She wrote a letter to the president and it reads, and I will not try and communicate various misspellings and such, they're not really pertinent, it reads: "Dear Mr. Reagan: I think that you should stop making any kind of bomb, just because I am in second grade does not mean that I do not care, because I do. In the world we have enough bombs to blow up the world ten times. You might think that I am just a stupid little girl, but I am not. It is so disgusting that if there was going to be a war with us, I would take a knife and kill myself. I am not the only one who cares, it is not funny at all. We want peace in our world. You might not know what happened in Japan, in 1945, but I do, and I and thousands of other people do not want it

and I want this to stop." (applause)
That kind of letter has to be kept in mind, I think, as we confront the paradoxes and the ironies and the tragedies that we have to confront now. The first of them is the idea that we're talking about medical consequences of a nuclear attack as if the word medical could thoroughly or accurately be used as a description of the kinds of death and devastation and destruction and desolation that we are about to describe, which is beyond our capacity properly to

to happen again anywhere. I am going to tell my children about this. I am not being funny. I am not doing this because I heard someone say that they did it. There is a time to play and a time not to, and I am not playing. I am Sarah Perlin

It is words like victims and survivors which as we will see in the course of this day have in fact no useful distinction, it is in confronting the problems of scale that afflict all of us in trying to deal with thermonuclear explosion. Let me give you just one example, because you'd tend to get lost otherwise in the figures that we throw about. The total megatonnage of the nuclear superpowers is at this point somewhere between eleven and twelve thousand megatons, and will almost certainly by the middle of this decade have reached fifteen thousand megatons. Well, what is fifteen thousand megatons, and how does one handle a figure of that type? If one could devise fifteen thousand megatons into Hiroshima-size weapons, and if one exploded such a Hiroshimasize bomb: one a minute, sixty an hour, one thousand four hundred and forty a day, one would have to do that for two years and three months to use up fifteen thousand megatons. We're talking about an arms race that consumes a million dollars a minute, one point four billion

dollars a day, around the world, in terms of total arms expenditures.

If we turn to a single thermonuclear weapon we are talking about an event that begins at a hundred and thirty million degrees of temperature, air pressure of a hundred million atmospheres. All of this contributes to those differences between what we know and what we can specify, and what the biological and physical sciences can tell us and what in fact we can understand. If we talk about one megaton which has become the international unit of comparison, simply because more than one weapon, multiple megatons and the like, are more than one can adequately describe. If we're talking about one megaton we are requiring you to imagine a million tons of TNT; a train three hundred miles long of dynamite that would take you six hours to have it pass if it were going fifty miles an hour. A megaton requires you to try to imagine eighty Hiroshima weapons going off simultaneously, since Hiroshima in fact most accurately was probably twelve and a half kilotons.

A twenty megaton weapon—a large one by today's standards—requires you to try to imagine one thousand six hundred Hiroshima weapons exploding simultaneously, at the same place. Indeed, even a single thermonuclear weapon, certainly any probable thermonuclear attack, violates all of our intuitive perceptions of disaster and catastrophe, though based on our past experience, which are visions of some dreadful effect with effects which would gradually and steadily wear off with time

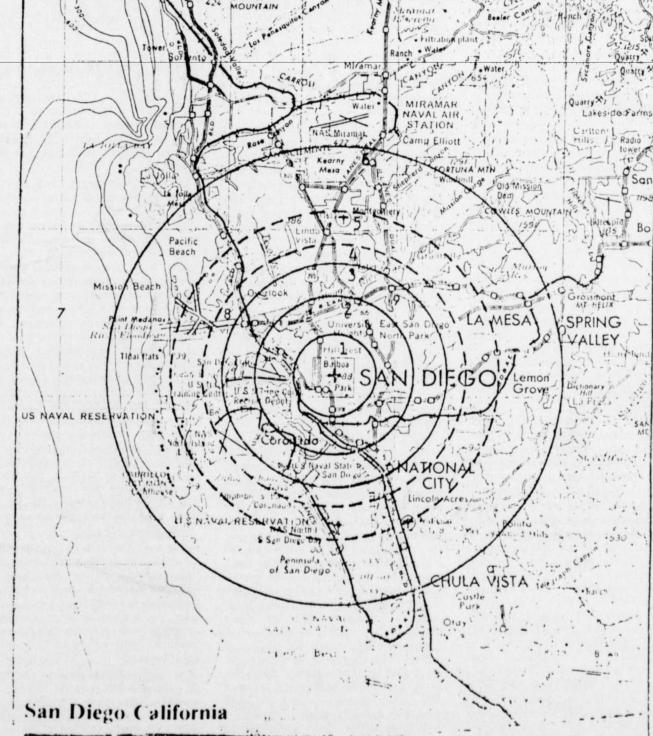
and which no matter how dreadful are we are saved by help from outside. But in any likely scenario today of nuclear attack there will be no outside, because every other possible source of help will in all probability be similarly affected. At one megaton we are talking about one of fifty thousand weapons in the possession of the two superpowers alone, we're talking about a simple one megaton event where San Diego-in reality, San Diego would be targetted for three or four or five or seven or more... Because of its military and strategic importance. We think in terms of megatons as part

of a single strike, but the reality is that in a real thermonuclear exchange in cities like San Diego, would far more probably suffer a megaton or more at ten o'clock in the morning and then again at four o'clock in the afternoon, and then perhaps again at ten o'clock the next morning and indeed given the proportion of the arsenals that are on submarines there is a possiblity of a subsequent strike two weeks later, three weeks later, and four weeks later. And finally one megaton needs to be kept in mind against the background of a probable thermonuclear exchange among superpowers which would involve 6,000, 6,500, 7,000 or so megatons delivered by each side, on the other. And not a single one megaton weapon, so we are taking an absurd and unrealistic example where we attempt to make these events more meaningful. And yet while, as we'll see shortly, it's not difficult to specify the consequences of these kinds of explosions, it's very difficult not to miss the essential nature

of the event, it's as if I had done some huge kind of epidemiology on the Nazi holocaust and had managed to find all the records of all the death camps and had plotted year by year and month by month and camp by camp the number of deaths and the process of death by month, place whether execution or nutrition or illness, and and presented it to you, and yet in the doing missed the essential nature of the event ...

Let me turn briefly to the forces that are involved in this thermonuclear explosion that we are talking about. What one hears of course most frequently and most often about, is radiation, but at least fifty percent of the energy in a thermonuclear weapon is released by blast energy and another thirty to fifty-five percent as heat, and only fifteen to seventeen percent is radioactivity. Certainly, the usual effects of an airburst (we are talking about a one megaton airburst at about 8,000 feet over Balboa Park in San Diego)...The first thing that would happen, and let's not look at them in order of sequence; the sequence initially would be a blinding flash of light brighter than any light any of us have ever seen, because an exploding thermonuclear weapon has created a small sun, indeed a small supernova in some respects...light, an enormous thermal pulse, the heat, and then the black wave, is the real sequence. The light and pulse would have its own effects. Anybody on a clear day within thirty-five miles roughly (at that altitude, an explosion) who made a reflex glance

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How would your fare in a one megaton nuclear attack? In the event of a 20 megaton air burst, the effects felt inside the sixth circle become those felt in the first circle of a one megaton burst.

Geiger. . . continued from page 5

at the fireball would suffer serious retinal burns and retinal blinding, and indeed in the Marshall Islands, tests in the Pacific in the 1950's small animals were found with focal retinal burns as far as three hundred and fifty miles away.

Let's look at them in a slightly different order because in reviewing these forces we can be talking first about blast, and the effects of blast for our purposes come as two kinds of pressure; static over-pressure, pressure above normal air-pressure, and dynamic overpressure. Static over-pressure is the gigantic wave of compressed air as if the whole sky had become a concrete jackhammer crushed down, it is a depressing and collapsing and pulverizing force, powerful enough to destroy all of steel concrete reinforced skyscraper kind of construction in downtown San Diego. And secondly, the effect of this collapsed crushing force and its alternative, dynamic overpressure, which is a fancy word for wind. The effects of the two of them, enormous winds and enormous pressure, are secondly to create flying missles as the means of death and injury; all of those hunks of steel and concrete buildings, trucks, locomotives and the like turned into debris, hurled enormous distances, fifteen miles or more, at very substantial velocities, such that indeed thirteen miles away a fist-sized piece of rock will be travelling at velocities such that if it hit anyone in the head it would have a better than fifty percent probability of creating skull fracture. Glass turned into thousands of shards. travelling at speeds of a hundred miles an hour or more, at distances of eleven miles or more. And thirdly, in addition to the collapsing and crushing force, and flying missiles, simply flying people, winds in particular of this magnitude would be able to pick up a 180-200 pound adult at distances of five miles from ground zero and hurl them against walls, standing objects, debris, and the like at speeds of more than 54 feet per second, enough to again create death in 50 percent of adults. That, very briefly, is

Heat, that thermal pulse travelling at almost the speed of light, the effects of which we measure in clinical terms in calories or sonimeters; we have to remember that we are talking about, among other things, scorched earth, about square sontimeters to the human skin, flesh, and the enormous effect. Of course, heat is secondary to third degree burns and almost unimaginable numbers of direct burns, flash burns...Catching on fire, being broiled, being turned into charcoal, as a consequence of fireballs 27 million degrees Farenheit from the thermal pulse of radiation, from that source. So burns, as a major consequence, plus, of course, all of the fires that will be started as a consequence of blast damage, and blast injury.

And this is without dealing with such complicating factors as firestorms and conflagration that we'll be looking at in just a moment and their effects. And finally radiation is here...the most complex of the variables to measure.

And so in sum we are talking about huge numbers of people blinded by retinal burns, we are talking about ruptured lungs, rupture of other internal organs, we are talking about pressure injuries, we are talking about skull fractures, we are talking about lesions of the spinal cord, paralysis, we are talking about penetrating wounds of the chest and the abdomen, we are talking about multiple huge lacerations, hemorrhage and shock, we are talking about overwhelming burns, more third degree burns than have existed in any one place in any one population in the history of the human species, we are talking about all of these injuries in combination.

In fact one of those is your bullseye in this case, Philadelphia—with various zones of destruction. It's simply a representation of the attack of firestorm. You might look at that huge big area (as compared to a much smaller circle inside bounded by the thin white line) represents the increase, in fact, there is the so-called five pounds per square inch mark, which is equal to what will burn out, as the consequence of an ordinary one megaton burst which is preceded by a firestorm. That area becomes the lethal

And here we come to San Diego. What's happening in those circles is over ground zero. That first circle is a radius of a mile and a half, and that's an area of about 7 square miles. Everything and everybody is fried, really, in that first circle. The blast effect is such, the static overpressure is such, as to take any one of the downtown skyscrapers and in that circle and any skyscraper in that circle and redistribute it uniformly over 7 square miles. So people will be uniformly redistributed over the 7 square miles. Near the center of ground zero, overpressures are 200 pounds per square inch or more, out of the edge of that first circle, they're twenty pounds per square inch, which is again enough to destroy one of those buildings. Winds are 500 to 700 miles an hour. We are talking about enourmous crushing and collapsing, twisting and shaking and exploding forces in terms of blast effects alone. Ships in the harbor will sink, subways and tunnels will be crushed. The winds alone are enough to pick up things the size of locomotives and hurl them very substantial distances and those hunks of steel and debris are such that they will begin to be hurled outward. The temperatures, as I indicated, at ground zero are 27 to 30 million degrees. Everything at ground zero and close is simply vaporized, and turned into gas. Throughout that first circle steel and glass will melt, concrete will explode, and the effect of course is to crush people, vaporize them, char them to death. Or lethally irradiate them. At ground zero, even with an airburst where radiation is normally not a factor, there will be about 11,000 rads out at the edge of the circle, a thousand or eleven hundred rads...as you go four hundred and fifty. So people simply have a choice of ways to die.

In that second circle, a radius of a little less than three miles, i.e. 19 square miles, of San Diego, to our map. The blast pressure range from 20 to 10 pounds per square inch at the outer edge, winds are 250 to 300 miles an hour. That blast alone, and wind, is enough to destroy everything but the skyscrapers, and with the steel-reinforced concrete skyscrapers collapse the floors down or sweep them out through the skeleton with people in them. Ordinary concrete wall bearing structures will collapse, factories will collapse, commercial buildings, frame structures will be totally destroyed.

The heat here is in excess of a hundred

calories per square pound, that means aluminum siding will not just melt, but will evaporate, glass and windows will melt, radiation effects are negligible. Here again humans will be crushed. burned, charred, blown. Fifty percent of the people will die from blast alone and everyone will have third degree flash burns of all exposed skin of all those inside or outside. The third circle, has a radius of a little over four miles. It's got 58 or 60 square miles inside of it, and adds another 32 square miles to our list, and at the outer edge of that third circle, the overpressure is 5 pounds per square inch. That doesn't sound like a lot, but 5 pounds per square inch is a 108 tons of pressure on the wall of a two story building. Winds are 160 miles an hour; heat is 40 calories per sontimeter squared. That's enough to make asphalt roads melt, the roads will melt and bubble out at the edge of that third circle. Factories will be severely damaged, wood and fabrics will ignite, interiors will ignite, clothing will ignite, and again injuries from crushing, burning, collapsing debris, flash blindness and retinal burns. In circles 2 and 3. conservatively 50% of the population will be killed immediately. And another 40% seriously injured with the kinds of injuries I've described. Mostly up to this point blast injuries, it is at the edge of the third circle and from there out that burn injuries begin to predominate.

They will be vastly increased by the two probabilities, mass conflagration, which is like a great moving brushfire burning, depending how the winds blow, where there's available buildings and fuel still standing to be consumed, or firestorms. We don't know how to estimate the probabilities of firestorms in American cities, but they are considerable. And the effect of firestorms is to create a nonstationary fire, a gigantic chimney flue in the sky, a single huge column, a jet of fire, along with temperatures of 800 degrees centigrade or more, producing huge amounts of carbon monoxide and other toxic gases, sucking in the oxygen, creating convection cross winds from outside at 200 miles an hour. And the point of firestorms is that people who enter ordinary shelters will have discovered that they have entered a crematoria, in which they are simultaneously dry roasted and asphixiated. That's what happened in Hamburg and Dresden in World War II. The only survivors were those that fled those conventional shelters. Reaching out now to the sixth circle, way out about eight and a half miles away, there are 127 square miles, covered on our map now, even out there the blast is two pounds per square inch, with overpressure enough to blow out all the windows, for example, and make them a kind of flying cuisinard of thousands of people; pieces of glass aimed at people at 1200 miles an hour, winds are going 70-80 miles an hour, heat is still such that one in five of the people outside will die of third degree burns, 70-80% of those outside second degree burns, and still significant numbers of people killed and

The real significance of that sixth circle, however is otherwise. You will remember what I said about the first circle, and the total death and destruction. The winds of 500-700 miles an hour, the temperatures of 2750 degrees Farenheit, the radiation effects and so on. If I were talking about a 20 megaton weapon rather than a one megaton, if this were a 20 megaton weapon, the sixth circle would be that first circle.

Let me try very rapidly to communicate some of this to you in the nature of one or two comments. That's some where between 10 pounds and 20 pounds per square inch, that is a heavy factory and skyscraper type of construction, which is of course. Hiroshima and Nagasaki kinds of data. That's what 5 pounds per square inch does to ordinary kinds of construction. Some illustrations of what the immediate post-attack environment will look like to the people in San Diego is simply a depiction of a world on fire with nothing but flames and heat and burns in among the blast. And of course the consequences, charred and charcoaled people, broiled, third degree burns, flash burns...Try to imagine thirty, forty thousand, a hundred thousand people with third degree burns within San Diego, more than have ever been in one place at one time, and remember as well that all the burn beds in the United States total only two thousand or so.

The problem of triage, assuming there will be any physicians left, is there will be no way to distinguish between those who have received only modest doses of radiation from those who have had very heavy doses of radiation. Again, longer term effects, which we'll hear about in a moment, will decrease resistance to infection. There will be no facilities left for treatment.

A one megaton airburst over San Diego would conservatively kill 522,000 people outright, 33% of all people in San Diego metropolitan area, and serious and compounded kinds of injuries I have talked about another 453,000, or 25% of all the people in the metropolitan area, for total injuries of almost a million of the 1.4, that's killed and injuries. Total casualties of almost a million total of the

1.4 who are here. The enormous burden of death and suffering would of course simultaneously wipe out the medical care system. Physicians who tend to be clustered in the downtown areas, are killed with greater rates than the general population. Hospitals are similarly located. Only one major hospital, the V.A. Hospital, would survive outside of that sixth circle that we are looking at, and it would not in fact be functional because of electromagnetic pulse effect that all of the things inside would have burned up. We will lucky if the ratio of surviving physicians and surviving injured is one to a thousand. The meaning of that is simply that if every such surviving physician were to waste no time finding all of the injured, were to spend only ten minutes on the diagnosis and treatment of each injured person, were to work 15 hours a day, it still would be 8-14 days before all of those injured were seen for the first time by a physician or any other health worker. Of course, the vast majority of those would have died in the interim without so much as narcotics to relieve their pain.

But even this calculation is an absurdity, we are talking about a physician with a black bag running around, in the face of these kinds of injuries, with what's left of the buildings lying on what is left of the streets. There is no power, there is no communications, there is no transport, there are no operating rooms, there is no emergency room, there are no blood supplies, there are no x-rays, and the like. There will be one empty hospital bed intact for every 800 of the people with those kinds of injuries. And that is without beginning to recount the appalling kinds of death and suffering and epidemics potential of the ensuing thirty days or years after that. And without even addressing long-

In conclusion, we are talking about deaths without precedent in human history, which Hiroshima and Nagasaki represent, and about which in fact as you have heard often already, we have to think differently than we have. We have had death, and injury and suffering, on that kind of scale, war was something fought by armies. Even since World War II, the ratio of civilian deaths to military deaths has always been more than one to one, it has still been essentially on a comprehensible scale. So that can be a representation, if you will, of war, up to thermonuclear. But only since then have we had this kind of death, that somebody vaporized at Hiroshima and all that remains of that individual is a shadow burned into a pair of concrete steps. It is in the face of that kind of image and that kind of reality that we need to turn and listen to Sarah Perlin, to physicians and other health workers. I think I've found such thoughts in Albert Hemin's novel "The Plague," which indeed many of us on first reading saw as a metaphor for this kind of thermonuclear madness. At the very end of that novel, Cabul reveals that his narrator is a physician and that in fact the novel is that physician's journal.

He muses at the end,"So that you should not be one of those who hold their peace, but should bear witness in favor of those plague-stricken people so that some memorial to the injustice and outrage done them by the juror, and to say quite simply what we learned...that there are more things to admire in men than to despise. Nonetheless, he knew that the tale he had to tell could not be one of the final victory, it could only be the record of what had had to be done, and what we would have to insure would be done again in the never-ending fight against terror and its relentless on slaughts, despite their personal affliction by all who were unable to be saints but refusing to bow down to pestilence, strive their utmost to be healers."

And there I think is an agenda for us. We must bear witness. We must refuse to keep our peace. We are unable to be saints but we can say we will not bow down to this pestilence. And we will strive our utmost to be healers. Thank

MUTUALLY ASSURED MADNESS

The following article is a condensed version of "Mutually Assured Madness" from her book "Nuclear Madness—What YOU can do!" by Dr. Helen Caldicott.

The vision of "peaceful" nuclear power as a reliable energy source in the United States is fading fast. In 1965 the U.S. government predicted that 1,000 nuclear reactors would be operating in America by the year 2000. But new power plant orders have decreased from 20 in 1974 to none at all in 1977. Today, 65 reactors are in operation, and only 185 are projected by 1985.

Why is the domestic nuclear power industry not fulfilling the expectations of its proponents? The reasons are mostly economic: The price of uranium has quadrupled in the past four years, largely because multinational corporations have curtailed production to keep prices high. The cost of constructing a nuclear power plant stands at around \$1.2 billion, and total plant construction time is now 10 years. Frequent shutdowns due to safety-related problems have cut the operating capacity of most plants to 45-55 percent. However, perhaps the major obstacle to expansion of nuclear energy has been the rapidly growing public opposition.

Because the dramatic decline in the U.S. market for reactors has threatened the financial survival of the nuclear industry, multinational nuclear suppliers, especially Westinghouse and General Electric, are now heavily promoting overseas trade. Their most eager customers are developing nations, such as South Korea, Mexico, Spain, Taiwan, Yugoslavia, and Brazil. Many of these countries lack the capital needed to purchase a nuclear power plant, so American loans are arranged through the Import Export Bank. They often lack power-transmitting grids to distribute the electricity generated, but the desire to produce electricity is not always their primary motivation: often their ultimate goal in purchasing a nuclear reactor is to gain access to nuclear weapons-grade materials and to join the "nuclear club". India proved this point in 1974; Israel claims to have nuclear capabilities; experts suspect that South Africa may have atomic weapons; and Argentina, Brazil, Pakistan, South Korea, and Taiwan have the potential to develop weapons capabilities in the very near future.

This spread of nuclear power plants around the world—and the directly related proliferation of nuclear weapons—seriously threatens global peace and order. At this writing, the United States and the Soviet Union still maintain the balance of power, but the sale of each new reactor tips the scale toward a world of uncontrollable proliferation, in which regional nuclear conflicts could draw the superpowers into all-out nuclear war.

The nuclear industry knows that the reactors it sells produce material for weapons, but its major concern seems to be corporate profit, not morality or human survival. (General Electric is known to have conducted promotional conferences with Egypt and Israel on the same day.)

Nuclear suppliers have, however, voiced concern over the use of reactor by-products for military ends: Corporate representatives from Great Britain, the United States, France, West Germany, Japan, Sweden, and other countries agreed in 1978 that any country buying a nuclear reactor and using its plutonium to manufacture bombs would receive a "reprimand." Such a scolding would not, of course, preclude further sales to the country at fault

The U.N. is keenly aware of the weapons potential involved with nuclear power. To minimize the diversion of

nuclear materials toward weapons manufacture, it passed the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), whose signators agreed not to utilize nuclear materials to build bombs, or to sell such materials to any other country for that purpose. But the NPT is impotent: The world's nations are not required to ratify it, and those which have can retract their ratification with ninety days' noticeduring which time a nuclear weapon could be produced.

and geo-thermal research. Moreover, while candidate Carter attacked arms sales and opposed U.S. leaders "who try to justify this unsavory business on the cynical grounds that by rationing out the means of violence we can somehow control the world's violence," his administration has seen a rise in U.S. arms export of 17 percent, to a total of \$13.2 billion in 1978, maintaining America's role as the world's chief arms supplier.

The American government is also conscious of the "diversion" problem. The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Act, approved by the U.S. Congress in 1978. attempts to restrict foreign purchasers of American nuclear materials from diverting such materials into nuclear weapons, and calls for universal ratification of the NPT. But the new law gives the President power to override any denial by the NRC of an export license In April 1978, for example, the NRC refused to approve the sale of enriched uranium to India because it had not signed the NPT or complied with IAEA safeguards, but President Carter promptly exercised his option and approved the deal.

U.S. government policy toward nonproliferation has been totally nconsistent. Before Jimmy Carter was elected to office, he asserted that nuclear power should be the last resort in America's quest for new sources of energy, and in his inaugural address and first State of the Union message he set the goal of "eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the Earth." In keeping with this goal, he placed a moratorium on nuclear reprocessing and on the construction of breeder reactors. But in his proposed energy legislation, he shifted his position, calling nuclear power a safe, reliable source of energy, and allocating \$1.7 billion for its development in his 1978 budget, compared to only \$421 million for solar

The sale of commercial nuclear technology to the world's developing nations is an extremely dangerous aspect of the suicidal arms race that, will move the earth \$400 billion closer to Armageddon. At a rate of over \$1 billion a day, nation after nation is stockpiling weapons of unprecedented destructive power, preparing the way for global catastrophe. Entrenched and self-perpetuating, the arms industry reaps enormous profits, while the world's military bureaucracies grow in political influence.

Foreign arms sales is a booming

business. From 1960 through 1977, the U.S. sent arms worth \$71 billion to 161 countries, accounting for almost half of all the weapons sold abroad. The U.S., Russia, France, Britain, and China continue to dominate the post-war arms race and are responsible for 80 percent of all military expenditures and foreign sales. But the sharpest proportional increase in expenditures for armaments since 1960 has occurred among the developing nations (9 percent of the world total in 1960, 18 percent in 1977)those least able to afford such spending. Their entry into the international arms market means that military power is being dispersed more widely over the globe than in any pervious time in history. The wealthy nuclear nations dominate the poor Third World, where the majority of the earth's citizens live. The result is a war system which integrates nuclear weapons with conventional arms and shifts greatpower confrontations to the battlefields of the Third World.

No matter where military spending occurs, the effects are the same. Arms expenditures not only enhance the threat of global war, but divert precious resources from urgent social needs, obstruct economic growth, fuel inflation, and raise unemployment.

In today's world, 1.5 billion peoplelack access to professional health services. Over 1.4 billion people have no safe drinking water. More than 500 million people suffer from malnutrition. But world governments spend twice as much on armaments as on health care.

Although 700 million of their adult citizens are illiterate and 500 million (more than half) of their children do not attend school, today's developing nations are importing the most sophisticated conventional arms at a rate of \$6 billion a year.

In our modern arms economy, military research consumes the creative efforts of over 500,000 scientists and engineers worldwide and gets more public funds than all social needs combined. Over half the scientists in the U.S.A. are employed by the military-industrial complex. And despite the much-publicized "energy crisis," energy research and development in the U.S. still gets only one-sixth as much finding as weapons research.

When compared to the threat of nuclear war, the nuclear power controversy shrinks to paltry dimensions. A reactor meltdown might kill as many as 50,000 people; a war fought with nuclear weapons would put an end to civilization as we know it.

Conventional weapons release the molecular energies of TNT, the chemical compound trinitrotoluene. Nuclear weapons contain the explosive force of the stars: their power can be millions of times greater than conventional bombs.

The explosive force in 1,000,000 tons of TNT is called a megaton. The detonation of a single weapon of this nature over any of the world's major cities would constitute a disaster unprecedented in human history.

Today, many missiles carrying one heavy warhead have been replaced by more accurate ones carrying three to ten lighter warheads; called M1RV's (multiple independently targetable reentry vehicles), these weapons are capable of breaking away from the main rocket and landing on separate targets with deadly accuracy.

The complex technology required by America's military and defense apparatus concentrates an enormous amount of power in the hands of a few common mortals. Spending long hours in cramped quarters, two men guard each Titan missile silo in the U.S., knowing that at any moment they may receive orders to launch the missiles against the enemy. Each is armed with a pistol and is under orders to shoot the other if he exhibits abnormal behavior. Since these missiles were first deployed, thirty of these men have been seriously psychologically disturbed.

What would happen if the world's nuclear arsenals were put to use?

Erupting with great suddenness, a nuclear war would probably be over within hours. Several hundred to several thousand nuclear bombs would explode over civilian and military targets in the U.S. (every American city with a population of 25,000 or more is targeted), and an equal or greater number of bombs would strike the principal targets in Europe, the Soviet Union, and China. Both major and minor population centers would be smashed flat. Each weapon's powerful shock wave would be accompanied by a

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searing fireball with a surface temperature greater than the sun's that would set firestorms raging over millions of acres. (Every 20-megaton bomb can set a firestorm raging over 3,000 acres. A 1,000-megaton device exploded in outer space could devastate an area the size of six western states.) The fires would sear the earth, consuming most plant and

Some experts believe that the heat released might melt the polar ice caps, flooding much of the planet. Destruction of the earth's atmospheric ozone layer by the rapid production of nitrous oxide would result in increased exposure to cosmic and ultraviolet radiation.

People caught in shelters near the center of a blast would die immediately of concussive effects or asphyxiation brought on as a result of oxygen depletion during the fire-storms. Exposed to immense amounts of highenergy gamma radiation, anyone who survived near the epicenter would likely die within two weeks of acute radiation

Those who survived, in shelters or in remote rural areas, would re-enter a totally devastated world, lacking the lifesupport systems on which the human species depends. Food, air, and water ************************** would be poisonously radioactive.

Physical suffering would be compounded by psychological stress: For many, the loss of family, friends, and the accustomed environment would bring on severe shock and mental breakdown.

In the aftermath, bacteria, viruses, and disease-bearing insects-which tend to be thousands of times more radioresistant than human beings-would mutate, adapt, and multiply in extremely virulent forms. Human beings, their immune mechanisms severely depleted by exposure to excessive radiation, would be rendered susceptible to the infectious diseases that such organisms cause: plagues of typhoid, dysentery, polio, and other disorders would wipe out large numbers of people.

The long-term fallout effects in the countries bombed would give rise to other epidemics. Within five years, leukemia would be rampant. Within 15 to 50 years, solid cancers of the lung, breast, bowel, stomach, and thyroid would strike down survivors.

Is it not remarkable how we manage to live our lives in apparent normality, while, at every moment, human civilization and the existence of all forms of life on our planet are threatened with sudden annihilation? We seem to accept this situation calmly, as if it were to be expected. Clearly, nuclear warfare presents us with the specter of a disaster so terrible that many of us would simply prefer not to think about it. But soothing our anxiety by ignoring the constant danger of annihilation will not lessen that danger. On the contrary, such an approach improves the chances that eventually our worst fears will be realized.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union already have enough firepower in their arsenals to destroy every city on earth seven times over. Still, the arms race continues, the weapons multiply and become more specialized, and the likelihood of their utilization grows. Why? Because both countries, driven by fear and a mutual distrust bordering on the pathological, are locked into a suicidal strategy calling, in the words of the Pentagon, for "mutually assured destruction" (MAD) as the best deterrent to war. But "arms for peace" and "security through mass genocide" are strategies that defy logic and common sense. They epitomize our nuclear madness.

Nuclear disarmament is the first and foremost task of our time; it must be given absolute priority. It is increasingly urgent that we find a way to achieve this goal, for time is running out. Moreover, with nuclear reactors and thousands of containers of radioactive wastes vulnerable to attack around the world, all war-conventional or nuclear-is rendered obsolete.

Our environmental circumstances changed dramatically when the appearance of nuclear weapons forever altered the nature of war. If we are to survive, we must accept personal responsibility for war and peace. We cannot afford to delegate these

responsibilities to generals, politicians, and bureaucrats who persist in the politics of confrontation and in outmoded ways of thinking that have always caused-and never preventedwars. International disputes must now be settled by reason-not with weapons.

If the 1978 United Nations special session on disarmament proved anything, it is that existing approaches to arms control are inadequate-and that it is seemingly impossible to get governments to commit themselves to genuine disarmament. It is imperative, therefore, that a mass movement of concerned citizens around the globe take up this cause and compel our governments to make nuclear disarmament the central issue of national and international politics.

Only if we abolish nuclear weapons and permanently halt the nuclear power industry can we hope to survive. To achieve these ends, it is vital that people be presented with the facts. Today more than ever, we need what Einstein referred to as a "chain reaction of awareness": "To the village square," he wrote in 1946, "we must carry the facts of atomic energy." once presented, the facts will speak for themselves.

Out of the growing number of organizations opposed to nuclear power and nuclear arms must come a grassroots movement of unprecedented size and determination. Its momentum, alone, will determine whether we and our children-and all future generations of humankind-will survive.

Do you expect that workers in other countries are likely to attack you on their own initiative? Or do you expect that if they attack you it will be because their rulers have told them to? And because they fear that if they do not attack you, you will get them first?

Isn't this like the situation workers face in an unorganized industry? And something we need to deal with in the same way? The upper crust has kept us at heel by making us distrust each other across the work bench, and now, across the ocean. The obvious remedy is to build union solidarity on the same scale.

If some ruler abroad wants to seize the place where you work, he will have to occupy it with troops drawn from his work force. Will he/she dare do this if your ways of life will innoculate them with democracy and vigorous rank-and-file resistance? If you practice militant unionism on the job, if you practice democracy and respect for your fellow workers on the shop floor and in daily life, will he/she risk letting his/her obedient forces minge with you? But if you are obedient workers, unorganized or practicing little democracy in your union, you surely tempt him/her to invade you and exploit you. If you build militant unionism, any dictator will no more want to occupy your home and your workplace than he/she would want to thrust his/her hand into a hornets' nest.

We need to build such unionism anyway to make our job a good place to

The more we resist those who would get us to fighting each other, the more our fellow workers in other countries can resist too. The less we resist, the more they are driven to obey, and the more they feel it is in their interests to obey.

What Is a Nation?

A Quiz on You and the Arms Race

say about which way they will be pointed when they get used? Does anyone

Are you more secure because of the arms that were shipped to Iran? To

For 5,000 years, from spears to H-bombs, people have accumulated

arms to make us more secure. Has it made us more secure? Will spending

There are other ways

ways. They raised food instead of hunting for it. They built water systems

and sewers. Which gives you more security-the wheat belt and the local

For greater security our ancestors merged with their neighbors into

larger social units. Does the lack of fortifications at state lines make you

fear that people from adjoining states are more likely to kill you than

Will stretching your boundaries 10 miles north or 10 miles south make

you more secure or better off in any way? Which is the more likely way to

pick a good place for a boundary—a war, or tossing a coin? Or how about a

During these 5,000 years our ancestors also sought security in other

Taiwan? To Israel? To Pakistan? To Saudi Arabia? To any place?

near you have anything to say about that?

more on arms make us more secure? Will war?

sanitation system, or the Pentagon?

vote by the folks along the border?

people from your own state?

When arms are shipped to other countries, do you have anything to

In these times does the term "nation" any longer mean those with the same ancestors, the same language, the same culture? No. A modern nation is the body of people who support the same military-industrial complex with their labor and their lives. Can you point to any nation that does not fit that definition? What good does it do people to kill each other

corporations. People have come thousands of miles to live and work here. People from here have crossed oceans to work there. We depend on each

way for them to improve their grandchildren's chances in life-to stretch their boundaries by war, or to aim at making life good everywhere? (When answering that question, keep in mind that mankind spends more on arms each year than it spends on improving the equipment with which we do the world's work.) Which should you aim to leave your children, a green planet inflation-wracked and radiation-poisoned world of post-war scarcity?

What Good Is War?

Has it been military victory that has shaped history? Or rather has it been the mix of climate, inventions, the social practices, scientific developments, and the social struggles that have gone on inside the

Can there be winners in World War Three?

Build for Peace

We built unions so that employers could not use us against each other on the same job. We extended our unions so that workers in different plants in the same industry could not be used against each other. For many practical reasons we need to extend the understanding among union men and women so that workers in different countries cannot be used against each other, in peace or in war. It is even poorer unionism for workers to bomb each other's children than it is to bust each other's picket lines.

We must do more than resist. For a peaceful and prosperous future we must build arrangements for the peaceful and rational use of this planet's resources. This cannot be left to exploiters, or to war mongers, or even to the most benign persons charged with the responsibility of protecting their national states against each other.

It is the ultimate function of unionism to enable those who do the world's work to reach a global understanding about what work we will do, where we will do it, what we will produce and where we will move it, for our mutual benefit and the common good. And it won't be arms.

It is time for digging by union research departments and for thinking by all of us, about the nuts and bolts of such an arrangement. Won't that sort of thinking put war and world politics and all else into a new perspectiveone that can make otherwise insoluble problems soluble? It is an appropriate union undertaking because it is the most rational way to improve collective bargaining, fight inflation and avoid recession-for inflation and recession and war are not destinies, like the coming of winter, outside of our control, but they depend on what the working class does. A world labor movement in active communication over such planning of our work is not likely to let any sinister handful split it up into armies killing each other. A nationalistic labor movement is a natural for war.

Chicago General Membership Industrial Workers of the World

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Erratum to A History of Socialism-Part One

In Volume 8, Number 2, page 6, the last line in the third column should read: "In this region proto-capitalist modes of production dominated, and what has been called the First Industrial Revolution succeeded."

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Introduction

With the French Revolution, we enter the modern world. Whereas England experienced a relatively gradual transition from limited feudal absolutism to bourgeois nation state, France experienced a revolution. Karl Marx contended that the French Revolution was the first bourgeois revolution, and anti-Marxist historians have tried to discredit Marx by demonstrating the existance of the administrative state and capitalist relations under the French ancien regime. What such historians fail to realize is that revolution is not the springing into existance of something entirely new overnight. Revolution is the violent overthrow of one social order or class by another social order or class. One set of social relationships is dramatically overturned, and another set of social relationships, existing in embryo within the old order, gain legitimacy and hegemony over society. In the process, revolution heightens social contradictions, synthesizes radical social forces, and produces new ideologies and world-views.

French feudalism produced a synthesis of the feudal class struggle between peasant and lord in the protocapitalist free cities, a new social mode comprised of younger noble sons and runaway peasants. French absolutism consolidated the territorial, political and economic sovereignty upon which a bourgeois nation state and national economy could be built. The protocapitalist social mode, fostered by absolutism, gained hegemony over French society through revolution, consolidated the base provided it by feudal absolutism, and inaugurated the bourgeois nation state in all its glory.

But once the proto-capitalist social synthesis produced by feudal absolutism gained revolutionary dominance the distinction between workers and capitalists began to emerge, and a new class struggle was set into motion. The French Revolution, then, was not only the violent overthrow of the ancien regime by a bourgeois order existing within French feudalism, it was the first violent confrontation between a nascent proletarian class and a nascent capitalist class within the new bourgeois order. We can trace the origins of modern socialism to this confrontation between workers and capitalists as played out during the French Revolution.

The Ancien Regime

In many ways, the French ancien

regime followed along the historical course taken by England and described in Part One: Origins of the Modern World. Through treaty and conquest French kings managed to subdue a rebellious nobility and secure a national territory. Through edict and machination French kings brought French Catholic bishops under control of the crown. Through tariff and brute force French kings suppressed a rebellious peasantry. And through charter and conquest, French kings incorporated Paris and other free cities. Following the example of the Dutch and England, France adopted mercantilist policies and a colonial empire, in the attempt to reap the benefits of a controlled proto-capitalist economy and the First Industrial Revolution.

These changes, induced by absolutism, placed strains on French society. England had experienced English Civil War, but French development was always a matter of catching up with England, and therefore additional strains were placed on French

The Dutch and England had set in motion a developing world-capitalist economy, and the French sought to compete in that world-capitalist economy against the Dutch and England. In 1750, this nascent world-

capitalist economy was comprised of

several mercantilist spheres, each

composed of a nation state and its

colonial empire, competing in the

Baltic/ Mediterranean trade of Europe.

This world-capitalist economy extended

economic tendrils into the Americas,

Africa and Asia and had already affected

a regional economic division-of-labor in

Europe. By 1750, trade and

manufacturing (wool, textiles, etc.) were

coming to center in northwest Europe,

while eastern and southern Europe

devoted their economies more and more

to surplus grain and agricultural.

production. The prosperity and promise

of the Italian city-states based on the

Mediterranean trade, as expressed in the

Renaissance, was fast being eclipsed by

the Dutch and English economic

"miracle," the same "miracle" French

absolutism was desperately trying to

bring to France. Whereas English

development was relatively gradual-

the product of circumstances,

entreprenuership and crown

intervention-French development was

more forced, more the product of royal

Therefore, when France was

beginning to experience the effects of the

First Industrial Revolution

(improvements in technologies and

techniques in use) England was rushing

toward the Second Industrial

Revolution-the industrialization of

coal, steel, factory production, and

eventually electricity. Social differences

between France and England

compounded French developmental lag.

In England, an avaricious landed gentry

had, early on, adopted a market

orientation and initiated a successful

enclosure movement of peasant

common lands to raise sheep for the

wool trade. In turn, English peasants cut

loose from their land migrated to the

cities to feed proto-capitalist economic

developments.

even the implementation of agricultural also threatened by a growing strata of propertyless agricultural workers,

peasantry, having hereditary feudal title to their land under the manorial system, became a conservative force blocking innovation. Subject to extensive tariff, taxation, obligation and a feudal reaction (in which the nobility tried, too late, to recover land titles through local judiciary parlemants) the peasantry was exceeding 50% of the entire peasantry.

In the old French feudal order, the

peasantry had constituted the Third (and

lowest) Estate of French society.

However, with the emergence of a proto-

capitalist social mode out of the free

cities within feudalism, new groupings

joined the Third Estate. The nascent

bourgeoisie (bankers, manufacturers,

lawyers and physicians) found

protection from the crown through the

royal mercantilist system, and the

nascent proletariat (artisans.

shopkeepers, craftsmen, tinkers and

petty traders) found an unsympathetic

crown willing to dissolve the

autonomous guild system of Paris into

factory-style production in order to

On top of this diversified Third Estate

rested the Second Estate of the clergy,

much anti-clerical sentiment in the

proto-capitalist elements of the Third

On top of the Second Estate, in turn,

rested the First Estate; the nobility

stratified into the upper nobility

dependent upon royal offices, pensions

and rents from landholdings, the

country nobility on vast landed estates,

and the noblesse de robe who had

purchased their titles as bourgeois

officials. Though the aristocracy, in

general, benefited from royal

mercantilism, vast differences in

standards of living existed between these

These three Estates-nobility, clergy,

and everyone else—were symbolized by

the French flag with its blue, white and

red stripes. These Estates formed a social

order that had been showing signs of

strain. All three Estates were subject to

the French king, and the efforts of

French royalty to develop France in pace

with English development caused the

structure of the ancien regime to

noble stratifications.

supply the French army.

Estate.

were granted to traders and manufacturers, usury was controlled, markets were maintained through royal edict, and a complex system of licensing. taxation and administration was established. Indeed, the absolutistbureaucracy created to administer French society was overcentralized. Local powers remained, but tensions increased between local and royal power. The purchase of offices and official corruption was rampant. Extravagant spending engendered by royal projects and failures to make France competitive with England produced constant deficits bordering on state bankruptcies. Taxes were used to make up these deficits, but the nobility

> their affect on peasant incomes, nor does it consider the peasantry's indebtedness to their manor lords. With each fiscal crisis of French absolutism the burden of taxation grew heavier on the peasantry. In addition, the crown suffered a loss of authority and prestige because of the incompetence of Louis XV, failures in foreign policy after 1714, and challenges by the Paris judiciary parlemant which claimed the right to approve royal edict. But it was taxation that brought matters to a head. In order to affect tax reforms, the local Paris parlemant convened the Estates General on May 5, 1789. The Estates General, a general assembly of all three Estates with each Estate voting as a block, had not met since 1614, and a

great deal of social tension had

accumulated in the interim 150 plus

was exempt from taxation and the clergy

contributed only voluntary payments.

this left the burden of taxation fully

upon the peasantry. Through a variety of

excise taxes (most infamous being the

salt tax) and tariffs, the peasantry lost

nearly 70% of their income. And this

takes no account of rising prices and

Under mercantilist economic policies

adopted by the crown to control and

enhance the development of France's

proto-capitalist economy, monopolies

Finally, Paris as a factor leading to the French Revolution must be discussed. Paris, once a free city, remained a metropolis bursting with enterprise, heresy and republican sentiment. The Enlightenment of Voltaire and the encyclopedists, with its criticisms of the ancien regime and its faith in human reason and progress, emerged from Paris, producing an intellectual framework for the revolution in the form of demands for liberty, equality and fraternity. The Parisian parlemant was first to challenge royal perogatives. Paris was the revolutionary spark, and Paris remained the radical, cutting edge throughout the French Revolution.



divided into the upper and lower clergy. The French Revolution Venal and corrupt, the clergy generated On May 5, 1789, the Estates General

convened. The Third Estate raised its demand that voting be done by head instead of by Estate. When its demand was refused, the Third Estate called the First National Assembly on June 17. 1789, launching the French Revolution. The National Assembly took the famous Tennis Court Oath and pledged to write a constitution. The king finally acknowledged that the ancien regime could not continue as before and that much reform was needed. But the fall of Necker's financial ministry and the concentration of army troops in the suburbs of Paris prompted dramatic action. The Parisian masses stormed the Bastille and proclaimed Paris an independent commune. The army dissolved itself, and the National Guard. with their tri-color republican French hats, was established. The Revolution

Rather than go through the French Revolution date by date and detail by detail, we simply will discuss the three

continued on page 10

their military-industrial complexes?

Today we live in a world economy, run increasingly by transnational other's work around the globe for the things that make life enjoyable.

Can young people today in any country feel at all sure on what continent or continents their grandchildren will be born? Which is the more effective where they can grow things, or a wheelbarrow full of green paper in an

How enduring is victory anyway? Is it the victors of the last world war or the losers, who have the advantage in today's world market? Did the Civil War settle where American jobs would be moving now?

Kulture: **Costa Gavras: Missing in Action**

Costa-Gavras in an interview claimed that when he came to Hollywood to direct Missing, he only came with the director's glass view finder in hand nis seems to be the only thing he brought, since he left his careful "militant political" approach behind him. Unlike Z and Special Section, Missing's ideology is sickly liberal. The Ambassador to Chile, Mr. Davis comes off as a faceless bureaucrat who defends corporate interests in the line of duty. Senator Ted Kennedy during a senate hearing on Nestle asked their corporate president why in the name of morality did they keep up the false advertising campaign in the Third World that was killing infants. Kennedy doesn't assume that corporations have no morality but only profits. Costa-Gavras, like Kennedy doesn't assume that embassy

with the statement by Ed Horman of his suing everybody does not lead the audience to think that the U.S. government chooses to be right-wing in Latin America. U.S. officials are not portrayed as more than equal to the Chilean military.

Costa-Gavras does not think too much of women in Missing. Both, Terry Simon-the close friend, and Beth Horman, the wife of Charles Horman are locked into their roles. Terry is only seen as cute, whenever she is photgraphed alone. Costa-Gavras will show her from the navel up, in a tightfitting leotard with all the necessary close-up cute face shots. When she is together with people the beautiful or cute which she has been set up as, is literally man-handled by the Chilean

by literally giving permission to kill Charles Horman or by planning the death of over 50,000 Chileans through their help for the right-wing coup against Salvador Allende. The analogy of the mafia, concerning squealors, by Captian Ray Tower to Ed Horman in the U.S. Ambassador's office is not answered, but met with silence. Even at the film's end

Charles, Terry assumes the "smiling girl from next door" routine. She becomes the amourous interest of the CIA paid Naval Engineer, Carter Babcock, or being totally concerned with Charles' against the aristocracy, other French cities followed the example of Paris and declared themselves autonomous

upwards. When Terry has dialogue in a

scene, it is only about being with

Charles, or breaking into tears. With

continued from page 9 The French Revolution

phases of the Revolution. From 1789 to 1791 has been called the "Constituante." More properly, it should be called after the mass peasant uprisings throughout France which put the aristocracy to

True, this phase saw the National Assembly abolish the feudal order, formally liberate the peasantry, establish a single French citizenry, write the Declaration of the Rights of Man, confiscate Church land, abolish monastic orders, nationalize and attempt to democratize the church, and produce a constitution. But the Terror peasants rising up to burn their lord's manor house or to murder their lordfrightened much of the First National Assembly's aristocratic opposition into flight, thus permitting these reforms to be implimented without full aristocratic resistance.

The French peasantry, however, must not be mistaken for a revolutionary social force. Extremely conservative, royalist and ultra-Catholic, the French peasantry wanted to preserve everything of the old feudal, except their obligations to the manor lord. The sale of ecclesiastical lands under the National Assembly produced a new set of landed individuals—bourgeois landowners bent on applying capitalist techniques to French agricultural production. And, as the Revolution progressed, becoming more radical, the peasantry rose up in royalist rebellion against the

During the phase of peasant uprisings

communes. With the clergy broken and much of the nobility in flight, revolutionary France became a number of radical/republican city-communes, islands in the sea of a rebellious feudal

The phase of nascent bourgeois ascendency occurred from 1791 to 1793 and encompassed both the Legislative Assembly and the first period of the National Convention. The Legislative Assembly followed the writing of a liberal constitution which provided for a constitutional monarchy, the separation of governing powers into a weak executive, a strong popular assembly and open courts, the election of all officials, judges and juries, the organization of the state into 83 autonomously administered departments, guarantees of human rights, equality before the law and private

The National Convention came about when the Legislative Assembly declared France a republic, but the first period of the National Assembly as well as the Legislative Assembly before it were dominated by the nascent bourgeoisie in the form of the Girondist faction. As representatives of the propertied bourgeoisie the Girondists were moderate republicans opposed to centralized power, meaning that the Girondists advocated equality before the law, the sanctity of private property and the local autonomy of administration.

But the Girondists were caught between a dismal domestic situation, agitation from noble emigrees and Habsburg imperial machinations. In order to thwart domestic criticism and

Beth fairs no better where she is locked in as the rebellious daughter type and tantly juxtaposed to the

rvative father Ed. Her only other rose is being the scared but loving wife of Charles during his live act when he wasn't missing in the film.

When the two women are together alone, this is accomplished only through the direct or indirect actions of men. Women in the film are never portrayed as taking independent action.

Costa-Gavras uses glass will to portray escape, revelation and physical shattering of emotions. By the time of the earthquake scene, the glass in the hotel has become dangerous as opposed to its prior physical beauty. The stain glass of the bar the art-noveau 19th Century frosted round bulbs, crystal chandeliers, and mirrors all become dangerous with the shout of the hotel personal to "stay away from windows". The revolving glass door in the hotel lobby revolves as a father holding a baby and a mother following go outside. The sound of machine gun fire is heard and they revolve right back inside. The revolving glass door now has the qualities of a barrier, protection and

The image of the empty lawn that is revealed when Ed looks out of the window in the U.S. Ambassador's office

shows both, the U.S. embassy not taking in refugees as well as the empty lives of the embassy personnel.

For Ed and Beth the morgue's glass reveals the horror of the sheer number of dead people the Junta had killed. Not only around them by their feet where they found Frank Teruggi murdered, but above them as darkened forms through frosted aberrated glass framed in flat skylight. Also at the end of this scene, Ed and Beth are sitting with their backs leaning of a glass partition. A wooden ledge is behind their shoulders representing their new found bound that has finally developed between them.

Liberal treatment to politically sensitive material seems to be a constant in Hollywood. The fact that Missing is either condemned by the Right or lauded by the Left should not blind us to the film's shortcomings. These shortcomings are serious in relation to the material. The coup in Chile must be vigorously struggled with. Defenders of Missing assume that the American public is naive and politically backward and wouldn't be able to handle a strong leftist analysis. This is foolish, for our language is based on human liberation and people do see contradictions in their own lives to be convinced of a leftist

Barry Hyman

GAY . LABOR . LATIN AMERICA . ECOLOGY MARXIST-HUMANISM • POLITICAL ECONOMY WOMEN • MEN • BLACK • NON-VIOLENCE Groundwork MARCUSE HEALTH Books CHINA **UCSD Student Center** ENERGY **IRELAND** ART MEDIA 452-9625 ALBANIA RECORDS Mon-Sat 11 am-8 pm SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE • ASIAN AMERICAN NUCLEAR POWER • MARXIST/LENINISM • IRAN LEGAL HASSLES • YOUNG PEOPLE • CHICANO MARXISM • NATIVE AMERICAN • ORGANIZING FOOD • US LEFT • LIBROS EN ESPANOL

inrest, the Girondists declared war on Austria and terrorized the French aristocracy, producing a second wave of noble emigrees. The military setbacks, famine,

inflation and royalist peasant uprisings engendered by Girondist policies, in turn, drove the Revolution left. The final phase of the Revolution was one of nascent proletarian ascendency, led by the Jacobins.

The Jacobins considered themselves a "holy league against the enemies of liberty" and the "watchdogs of the revolution." They met in closed meetings, and through a network of Jacobin clubs, they created an efficient political organization throughout France. The Jacobins wanted a centralized French administration, a centralized power capable of disposing of private property to ease the burden of the poor. The Jacobins used agitation, pamphlets and newspapers to influence the French urban masses, their seat of power being Paris.

The National Convention, having executed the king under pressures raised by the Jacobins, produced a constitution that insured plebiscites for every law based on absolute popular sovereignty and the elimination of the separation of powers. But when the Girondists fell from power, the Jacobins under Robespierre established a dictatorship through the Committee of Public Safety. The Jacobins, with the backing of the Parisian working classes (the infamous sans culottes) then initiated the Reign of Terror against all whom the Jacobins perceived to be enemies of the

From 1793 to 1794 the Reign of Terror intensified under the Jacobin Revolutionary Tribunal. Terror

extended beyond the aristocracy and royal family to include all "suspicious persons," among them Girondists and other members of the nascent bourgeoisie. In the rest of France, commissars of the Committee of Public Safety ruthlessly suppressed rebellions, uprisings and unrest through mass liquidations. Loyalists were exterminated in the Vandee and Brittany. And the Jacobins initiated internal purges to keep themselves pure. The radical Jacobin republicans desired to remove the blue and white stripes of the French flag-symbolic of the nobility and clergy-leaving only the red of the Third Estate, and the red cap became the mark worn by the radical republicans. In addition, Christianity was

abolished and a Cult of Reason was proclaimed. Churches were closed and Notre Dame was renamed the Temple of Reason. Predictably, the excesses of the Jacobin "popular dictatorship" produced a white terror by royalists, especially in southern France, that went on after the Jacobin fall. But it was the Jacobin "Great Purification," in which the Revolutionary Tribunal was reformed so as to permit condemnation on "moral proof" alone, that united all opposition forces in the National Convention to bring about the fall of Robespierre, the abolition of the Revolutionary Tribunal, the prohibition of the "Marseilleise" and the cleaning up of the Paris Commune.

The Jacobin Reign of Terror and Popular Dictatorship had fallen. Within a year the Directory was established and a capitalist class society was consolidated. With the execution of Babeuf in 1797, who advocated the

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French The Revolution

imposition of a communist regime by force, and the crushing of early protocommunists (organized in the "Conspiracy of Equals" of the "popular tribune") the bourgeois Directory finally ended the French Revolution.

Origins Of Modern Socialism

In Jacobinism we come upon the tap root of modern socialism. Striking parallels can be drawn between 1789 Revolutionary France and 1917 Revolutionary Russia-both with a decaying feudal order, both with an emerging capitalist economy, both with an overwhelmingly peasant population and a small industrial proletariat, etc. And striking parallels have been drawn between Jacobinism and Bolshevismboth instituting state terror against perceived counter-revolutionaries, both claiming to institute a popular, revolutionary dictatorship, both liquidating internal opposition in a civil war, both claiming to be the sole protectors of their Revolutions, both espousing atheism, both meeting clandestinely, etc., etc.

In point of fact, the Reign of Terror and Popular Dictatorship of Robespierre had little chance of becoming the French equivalent of Lenin's Revolutionary Terror and Bolshevik Dictatorship, for a number of reasons. First, the French protocapitalist synthesis was just that; an uneasy amalgum of nascent bourgeois and proletarian elements emerging from feudal adsolutism. Still in formation, the new bourgeois order of France could not have given rise to a full-blown proletarian revolution. Capitalism in Russia, though, developed from the national model pioneered by England and established by France and Germany, and fully-developed capitalist class relations and struggles were more or less introducted into Russian feudalism from

Second, the world-capitalist economy was embryonic and relatively unformed at the time of the French Revolution,

stratifed by the time of the Russian Revolution. While competing with England and trying to match English development. France was never imperialized by England. Both nation states had their own colonial empires to exploit. By the eve of the Russian Revolution, Russia was economically imperialized by industrialized western Europe. Russia, in a sense, was a Third World country with respect to capitalist western Europe in 1917, much as say,

Central America is a Third World region

To be sure Jacobinism, based as it was upon a popular dictatorship in the interests of a nascent working class that had not yeat separated into lumpen, industrial, lower petit bourgeois and (eventually) white collar strata, could not have produced a coherent, fully class conscious ideology or movement. However, Jacobinsim did claim to be the instrument of popular interests, in

hands of a particular social class to serve

the interests of that social class.



with respect to the United States today.

Third, the French Revolution happened first. There was no French Revolution for Robespierre to draw upon for a history of successes and failures. Lenin had the French Revolution, and countless other revolutionary attempts, from which to learn. And finally Marxian socialism, as a coherent ideology for the working class to draw upon, had not emerged. It required the triumph of the bourgeois order in northwestern Europe, and a capitalist world economy over the rest of Europe, in order for Marxism to

to drawing the parallel between Jacobinism and Bolshevism. The state, under feudal absolutism, had been seen as a protection racket sanctified by God. The state, under the bourgeois Girondists, was seen as a protector of private property limited by constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties and the separation of powers. The state, under both the Jacobins and the Bolsheviks, was seen as an and nearly global and powerfully instrument of naked coersion in the

Nevertheless, there is a grain of truth

particular the interests of the lower social classes, and in Jacobinism we can find a beginning for a history of modern

With the Directory, and the rise of Napoleon, the bourgeoisie restored order. Napoleon brought the bourgeois aspects of the French Revolution to the rest of Europe through war and conquest, the effects of which we will discuss in Part Three of this essay. In France, Napoleon institutionalized the bourgeois order. He made peace with the Church, streamlined the bureaucracy, centralized the government, established a civil service, organized a uniform education system, stabilized the economy through a national bank, craft and industrial tariffs and public work projects, established universal military conscription, and codified civil law and civil liberties in the Code Napoleon.

Socially, classes began to stratify internally—the bourgeoisie into an upper, middle and petit bourgeoisie and the working class into lower petit

bourgeoisie, white collar, skilled and unskilled industrial, and declasse elements. Large bourgeois landowners, middle and small-holding peasants, and a peasant majority of landless agricultural workers constituted the divisions in French agriculture. The upper bourgeoisie and large landowners controlled society, with the help of press censorship and a secret police.

This, then, was the social mode Napoleon's armies rudely introduced the rest of Europe to, and the social consequences of the French Revolution via the Napoleonic Wars will be examined next issue.

A Note On America

In many ways, the United States is an example of "pure" capitalist development. Without the full historical baggage of feudalism, the American colonists developed a dynamic entreprenuerial system within English mercantilism as a result of English Salutory Neglect. American Yankee merchants became the middlemen in a lucrative trade between Europe and less developed areas of the New World, all the while American Yankee farmers penetrated deeper into the sparcely populated Indian frontier. Southern plantation owners produced cash crops for a European market. Indeed, some historians have argued that it was the north Atlantic trade that permitted northwest Europe to develop economically and outstrip the Mediterranean trade.

Responding to new imperial needs engendered by greater competition in the nascent world capitalist economy, England tightened up its mercantilist system and the colonists revolted. Very much a conservative revolution, the American Revolution did not become an internal class struggle, first because of the lack of a feudal past, second because of the lack of extreme wealth and poverty in American colonial socieity, and third because of the frontier. The United States, while achieving a modern bourgeois nation state and national economy, did so without the overthrow of a feudal order and a modern bourgeois revolution to generate class antagonisms or class ideologies.

-to be continued-

At the preview screening for critics in

New York City, members of the

audience openly laughed during some of

INCHON: Moon's Anti-Communist Propaganda

The most expensive anti-communist movie ever made-the \$48 million theatres across the U.S.

It may also be the most expensive flop but Hollywood and the MGM/UA Entertainment Company, which distributed this unintentionally comic tribute to Gen. Douglas MacArthur, aren't worried

The right-wing Rev. Sun Myung Moon and his Reunification Church appear to be picking up the tab, including at least another \$10 million to \$20 million on publicity and a milliondollar "sweepstakes" to attract the gullible into movie houses.

Inchon is the story of the U.S. landing at the South Korean seaport of the same name soon after the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950. It repeats the anticommunist conceits of the time, amplified in Dolby Stereo, and all the blood and gore Moon's millions could

It even bought him, for a reputed \$1.2 million, the services of one of the world's great actors, Laurence Olivier, as a wax museum MacArthur. Jacqueline Bisset. Ben Gazzara, Richard Roundtree and the famous Japanese actor Toshiro Mifune also lost their reputations in this grotesque caricature of one of U.S. imperialism's ugliest moments.

The film opens with Washington's standard propaganda explanation for the origins of the war (the USSR gave arms to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to launch



"unprovoked aggression" across the border) and concludes with MacArthur reciting the Lord's Prayer after the successful landing at Inchon.

the film's more "tragic" moments, such as the battlefield scene in which bodies In between, the audience is treated to began flying in the air before the explosion took place, one of many such ineptitudes. Among the most outrageous sequences were those in which Bisset always seemed to emerge from the dirt and sweat of war as though she were leaving Bloomingdale's after a hectic afternoon selecting a new frock. Moon is nothing if not persistent,

however. After the reviews were in he purchased full-page ads in various newspapers noting "with sorrow how motion picture critics have reacted" and claiming that Inchon was panned because of religious bias against him. Coupled with the "sweepstakes" offer (first prize: a 1982 Rolls Royce with \$100,000 in the glove compartment) Moon's claims might generate a few more admissions but hardly any converts to the film's rabid anticommunist message. It was just too poorly done to have any real political significance for U.S. audiences.

Moon poured his money into this fiasco because he thought the combination of anti-communism, god and a right-wing war hero, backed by an all-star cast, a love angle and a spectacular production, would earn him some credibility in this country. In this he misjudged the ideological as well as cultural mood of the American people. They evidently are not interested in wasting their time watching lavish war movies glorifying the struggle against the "communist aggressor."

-Jack A. Smith, Reprinted from the

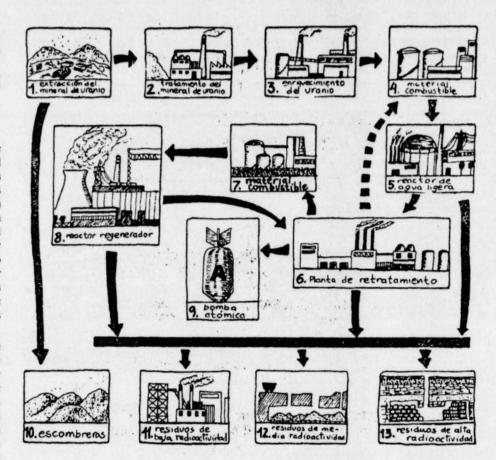
Long Stories In Short

Fox Guarding the Chicken Coop

There are strong indications that the U.S. Army wants to have the command authority over nuclear weapons changed. In a presentation for members of Congress ("Air Land Battle 2000") several months after President Reagan took office, U.S. Army officers urged that the "existing authority" to order nuclear weapons use should be "up front", that is, with the local commander on the battlefield. These Army officers said that they want to have "preclearance" to use nuclear weapons before the war is underway.

In a secret April 1, 1982 hearing before the Defense Subcommittee of the House Appropiations Committee, Deputy Under Secretary of Defense (Strategic and Theater Nuclear Forces) T.K. Jones (the man who believes nuclear war is survivable if there are enough shovels to go around for everybody to dig a hole) and Major General Niles Fulwyler, the Army's chief beauracrat of the Nuclear and Chemical Directorate were asked for their comments about such a change. Their response was "sanitized" from the hearing transcript. A subsequent comment by Fulwyler, though, suggests that both spoke in favor: "I might add it would be much simpler to plan for that battle and to take care of it if we had predelegation, for obvious reasons.'

CounterSpy



Sweet Justice!

A man who pleaded guilty to beating his wife in Kansas was "sentenced" to buy his wife a box of sweets. What price the murder of woman?

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Unholy Fairy Tales

Evangelist Penny Baker, a former country singer, persuaded residents of Des Allemands, Lousiana, to burn "devilish" books, records and magazines, including works like Snow White and Cinderella, as well as such publications as McCall's and Ladies' Home Journal.

progressive

Paint 'Em Red

Members of the "Movement" in Switzerland, whose slogan is "Make cucumber salad out of the state," made spaghetti sauce out of CBS 60 Minutes crew last fall.

The London based 60 Minutes crew went to one of the Swiss youth centers and began filming the scene outside. They had hoped to get interviews with some of the people inside but just as they stopped filming they were grabbed by a dozen or so masked youths and tied up to posts.

While some threw bucketfuls of red, white and black paint over the crew, other poured bottles of ketchup over their heads and others took the film from the cameras and burned it on the street. Someone slashed the tires of their van.

After about five minutes the men were cut free and the equipment taken from them was returned.

Overthrow

More Chemicals For the Army

The Pentagon has had a tough time convincing the public and the sectors of Congress of the need to vastly increase the Army's chemical arsenal. To overcome this opposition, the Army has initiated an "Army Chemical Action Plan." The Army, according to Defense Week, wants to neutralize public concern about "the immoral and inhumane nature of CW (Chemical Warfare);...and the fact that the principle target for the chemical weapons will be the civilian population since it cannot be protected." The Army's plan calls for improving contacts with "media/journalist (and) persons who are influential in industry, academia, etc.," to "explain" the need for increased chemical armaments.

If details of the Reagan administration's chemical warfare plans become known, the Army will have a lot of propaganda work on its hand. Reliable reports, pieced together in Defense Week, indicate that the total cost of the program could be \$9 billion over the next decade. The Pentagon intends to produce 20,000 tons of chemical agents. In addition, the Pentagon is developing a new nerve agent, codenamed EA5774. According to the Defense Department's "Annual Report on Chemical Warfare and Biological Research Programs" this new agent "will have an increased lethal agent effectiveness," attacking the skin and lung simultaneously. Army propagandists are going to be severely taxed to come up with a saleable justification for \$9 billion more in expenditures when the U.S. already has more than enough chemical agents to kill everyone on

Counterspy

Help Stop Racist LA Cops

Pamela Dunn, an eight year old Black child was raped in the back seat of a police car by two white Los Angeles police officers. . . Eula Love was murdered in the yard of her home by two police officers over a twenty dollar gas bill. . . April 16, Delores Young, a Black woman nine months pregnant, was shot in the chest and stomach while lying flat on the floor of her home begging and pleading with six white police officers not to shoot her, the baby died instantly while she remains in critical condition.

". . . We need your help to get the brutal racist rapes and murders of Black women and children published and communicated . "For information contact Dr. Shekiba Mbuma, Honorary Chairwoman, The Black Woman Today, Inc., Suite 206, 4433 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles, Ca 90043 (213) 299-2692

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Golden Arches On Shaky Ground

Fast food chains were the success story of the seventies, but the burger days may be over. Hamburgers sales haven't grown at all in the last year and a half. At first, McDonald's and Burger King weren't taking it personally, and they started branching out into Chicken McNuggets and veal parmegiana sandwiches, but nobody seems to be buying these either.

What could it be? Creeping vegetarianism perhaps? On the contrary, it seems to be matter of style versus price. According to E.F. Hutton's restaurant expert, "the esthetics of the fast food dining experience have declined," while prices have risen much faster than food prices as a whole.

McDonald's and friends may have new opportunities, though, behind the Iron grille. A Hungarian governmentrun catering firm is about to introduce 15 self-service hamburger joints, if they prove popular, it will offer franchies to private companies.

dollars and sense

Heaven Sent

God must love nuclear power plants because he made so many of them. That's the apparent reasoning of a Long Island Lighting Co. pamphlet sent out to 3,000 people in the New York area the company serves.

Carrying reprints from religious magazines, the pamphlet notes that the sun and stars are nuclear power plants and says, "It is a sobering thought that god has made more nuclear power plants than anything else."

But a Long Island church leader has a different idea.

"I have the feeling that LILCO is preparing us for some accident they want to blame on god" he told the Wall Street Journal

Environmental Action

MIT Worker Fights Radiation Exposure

The Boston Sunday Globe of June 6 reported the story behind the firing of a machinist in the Laboratory for Nuclear Science at M.I.T. in March 1981 Vincent Raulinaitis, 58, had asked for the radioactivity of some pieces of metal to be measured one day before he started work on shaping them. Two people independently found the activity of the pieces to be between 4 and 5 millirems per hour-twice the federal and state limit of 2 millirems per hour for people not covered by a recognized radiation protection program. Employees in the lab are neither hired nor trained to work with such radioactive materials, and the lab is considered exempt from M.I.T's protection program. On these grounds, Raulinaitis refused to start wearing a film badge that would monitor his subsequent exposure to radioactivity. For this he was fired, and his request to be transferred to work in a non-radiation area was refused.

Shop employees had been told on the day of the incident that the pieces of metal came from the Bates particle accelerator and might be mildly radioactive but safe to machine. However, the piece with the the activity of 4-5 millirems had not come at the same time as the rest of the accelerator batch. Raulinaitis had in fact already worked on it for 112 hours as early as 1979. Radioactivity dies down with time, so the piece would have been even "hoter" then. Based on the records of its composition, another employee estimated that Raulinaitis had probably received over 1600 millirems over three times the federally allowed annual limit.

Since the metal came from a particle accelerator, and not from a nuclear reactor, the M.I.T. shop was exempt from scrunity by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) is no use to Raulinaitis either: OSHA is drafting, but has not yet set, rules about how much information employers must give employees about the possible risks of their jobs. Raulinaitis lodged complaints with the NRC and the state Department of Labor and Industries, and his union is appealing his dismissal. However, the 4 millirem piece of metal mysteriously disappeared, which makes an independent assessment of its 1979 activity impossible. For the moment, Raulinaitis is out for a job, and the head of the M.I.T. radiation protection program is left smiling on the front of the Boston Sunday Globe.

Science for the People