la jolla, california / october 15, 1969

indicator

"ON OCTOBER 15, I UNDERSTAND, MANY WILL SIMPLY BE SAYING: 'I AM FOR PEACE.' I WOULD ARDENTLY JOIN WITH ALL AMERICANS IN WORKING TOWARD THAT GOAL."

EVEN NIXON WANTS PEACE– TO CONTINUE ECONOMIC EXPANSION IN ASIA WITHOUT HAVING TO FIGHT.

Moratorium - Channeled Protest

Bruce Coston SDS
Cathy Rose SDS

The National Vietnam Moratorium to End the War starts today. Vigils, speeches and letter writing are touted as 'doing something' to bring an end to the 'madness' in Vietnam. A quote from Richard N. Goodwin, included in a UCSD Moratorium Committee leaflet says, 'This moratorium is an unusual opportunity for those of us who believe that public policy can be made to yield to citizen action without violence or coercion. It opposes the superior moral force of peace to the alluring insanity of war.'

But the war in Vietnam is not 'alluring' or 'insane'. The US government is not fighting in Vietnam for the sake of waging war--they too would prefer peace--but because its the only way the ruling class can control Vietnam. And 'peace' is not a 'superior moral force' against war; the struggle of the Vietnamese people is a just and necessary struggle. Would anyone say the Vietnamese should fight US aggression by laying down their arms?

Vietnam has become a base for American corporations and banks in Southeast Asia. US government and corporate investments there now are of huge proportions. In 1965, Henry Cabot Lodge outlined the goal of US aggression as follows: 'He who holds or has influence in Vietnam can affect the future of the Phillipines and Formosa to the East, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the West, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the South. Vietnam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum--from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined.' (Boston Globe, February 28, 1965.)

Opposition to the war simply must take account of its causes or it is entirely irrelevant. Only to the extent that the anti-war movement, the Moratorium in particular, can hinder the ability of the US to wage war does it become effective. In general, the Moratorium Committees around the country lack any such perspective.

We must not be misled into believing that it is the Moratorium itself that can stop the Vietnam war, much less bring about a repudiation of the imperialist policy that caused it. Certainly the latter is not even a goal, expressed or other wise, of the organizers of the Moratorium. But the 'respectable leftists' who are backing the Moratorium describe it as a 'campaign to pressure the Nixon Administration to do either of two things: negotiate a Vietnam settlement fast or get out fast'(New Republic, September 13, 1969). The Nixon Administration undoubtedly will make moves to indicate that the Moratorium is exerting pressure so as to

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The Peace Corps - an equal opportunity exploiter

The following is a shorter version of Bob Pearlman's article The Peace Corps Servant of U.S. Imperialism, written for the "Committee of returned volunteers".

On October 12, 1968, El Tiempo, Bogata's major daily newspaper carried an article explaining the initiation of a counter-insurgency plan to control the areas in which guerrilla forces have been most effectively operating. The plan involves the mobilization of the army, the creation of 'strategic hamlets' and 'economic development'. Among the agencies involved in the operation were listed the Armed Forces, the Agrarian Reform Office, and the Peace Corps.

The Cubans have always said that the Peace Corps is an agency of imperialist penetration into Latin America and the rest of the Third World. Students in Latin American universities have demanded the expulsion of Peace Corps volunteers from Latin America. But it is difficult for the PCV's to see what these people are saying, because the volunteers feel that wherever they go they seem to be the most progressive force around. They want to build schools bring medical care, increase literacy and so on. So they think they are working in behalf of the Third World people. It is only after they return home that many of them, including myself, look at their experience and try to analyze it.

My analysis reveals to me that the Peace Corps is an agent, though not an obvious one, of American imperialism. I am using Jean Lacouture's definition of imperialism, or neo-colonialism as a "situation in which rich countries invest in poor ones more for the benefit of the giver than the receipient and within the latter more for the ruling groups than for that of the masses." (For further discussion read Harry Magdoff, Economics of US Imperialism, Pierre Jalee, The Pillage of the Third World, and Andre Gunter Frank, Capitalism and Underdevelopment, all published by Monthly Review Press.)

Three years after I left Chimbote, Peru (where I was stationed) I reanalyzed my work and realized how I had in fact served US imperialism:

1) AID had one major self-help housing project in Peru, located in Chimbote. I replaced volunteers there and acted as liason for the AID project man in tying up loose ends of this project and generating local publicity for AID.

2) Along with another volunteer I fought the Peace Corps bureaucrats in setting up a newspaper center, which the local bourgeoisie used to boost their own prestige and to ingratiate themselves with US publications. I wrote a nice little article for a special edition of 'our' newspaper telling Americans that Peruvians are nice little people who have a hard life (but said nothing about why that was so.)

3) I pointed out people for the AFL-CIO labor leader training school. When they returned from the school they won new prestige in their communities. The boss of the fishmeal plant that employed them promoted them from obreros (workers) to empleados (employees). They became labor leaders in the union and rose through the ranks. Inculcated with the AFL-CIO labor ideology, they were hardly militant.

4) I wrote exhaustive reports on my barriada, naming the most active individuals, and described them as honest fighters for the people. These reports were as good intelligence reports of the neighborhood as anyone could write. I don't know what's become of them.

5) Since my concept of organizing was 'community organizing' and not class organizing, the effect of my work was to build up a strata of emerging middle class leadership in the slum neighborhoods where I worked. I gave them prestige through friendship with the gringo, significant aid in boosting their leadership among the people through conversation and the establishment of the community newspaper. On the whole these people turned out to be indirect rulers needed to maintain the status quo on the lower levels, and never revolutionaries. They helped organize the band-aid projects which never did enough, and always fooled the people into believing things were improving, when they were really only improving for these 'leaders'.

The important question is not whether we were well-intentioned but whether we were serving imperialism. And this question is not for individual PCV's but for the Peace Corps as a whole-as an institution.

For a general analysis of how the Peace Corps is serving the needs of US imperialism, I would like to begin with a summary of the development of American expansion. According to Jalee, the main period of American expansion was after WWII when the US followed a policy of 'Imperial Anti-Colonialism' throughout Asia and Africa, and took advantage of the end of British and French colonial rule to penetrate formerly 'offbounds' regions. From 1950 to 1965 US businessmen invested $ 8.1 B in Europe, $6.8B in Canada, $3.8 B in Latin America, and $5.2 B in Africa and Asia. The income from these investments was respectively $5.5B, $5.9B, $11.3B and $14.3B. Investments in the developed world over a 15 year period yielded a 76% return (5% a year); from the Third World, 285% return, or 17% a year. In the past twenty years the United States has gained control of the export products, the raw materials, the minerals and markets of Latin America and thus has the imperialist infrastructure it needs.

But the US has encountered expansion problems since 1950. First, this has been a period of anti-colonial, anti-imerialist revolution. Second, in most countries native oligarchies have so attached themselves to the imperialist system that neither have a political base sufficient to back up their repressive regimes nor the ability, knowledge nor power to put down insurgent movements. Thus the majority of the non-socialist governments of the Third World are propped up by American arms, advisors, counter-insurgency technology and, when necessary, marines. The US, for its own interest, must bypass these oligarchies and develop forms by which band-aids are applied to hold down revolutionary sentiment. To do this effectively, there must be Americans who can understand and work with all levels of society in these countries.

What role does the Peace Corps play in this system?

1)It trains future 'neo-colonialist cadre'. 20% of all former volunteers, including 100 RPCV Foreign Service Officers work for the Federal government. 125 former Volunteers are working for AID pacification programs in Viet Nam, and more are being sought. Others go into international business and banking. It is the special training in language and cross-cultural relations, especially with the potentially revolutionary lower classed, of the host countries that makes these volunteers the 'neo-colonialist cadre' that it took France and Britain 100 years to train. Today they are needed desparately by the agencies of imperialism.

2)PCV's 'develop friendlies' as a former director of United Fruit characterized natives who side with US interests. PCV's suggest their friends for AFL-CIO labor leader training schools, for scholarships and trips to the US.

3)PCV's act as liasons for AID projects and for US based school-to-school, city-to-city type programs. PCV's become the American institutions' contact in the host country's communities.

4)PCV's become in many cases the main cadre for population control programs. They conclude that the answer to the problem of world hunger is birth control rather than recognizing that the underdeveloped nations are economically deformed by imperialism. If they could develop their land, raw materials, and human resources to the full potential there would remain no hunger problem. What stops them is not too many people (Japan has 270 people per sq. km. the highest density in the world) but rather the economic deformation caused by imperialism and by the archaic social structures.

5)PCV's write reports about activity and people where they work and live. Few of us know what eventually becomes of this information.

6)PCV's write papers on how to improve PC work in the field by better integrating themselves into host country institutions or by integrating host country nationals into their work. A friend of mine noted that a volunteer's prestige 'gives him social mobility. There are no closed doors...few host country nationals can do the same, and in terms of inter-class communication the volunteer serves perhaps his most useful purpose.' The question is, whom does he really serve?

San Diego City Employees Strike

The San Diego "community" has often been considered right-wing, but more likely reactionary by a large number of people at the University. The most reactionary and racist faction apparently is the working people of San Diego. The proof of this, say people at the University, is that these workers read the monopoly right-wing paper, and that they do not respond favorably to long-haired students telling them they are racist and how they should protect a University that essentially ignores them.

Over the summer a strike occured in San Diego that calls into question these stereotypes and gives us a glimpse of working people fighting for what they know is just.

Local 127 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Union traces its roots back to almost 20 years ago when public employees of San Diego were mostly members of a municipal association that was management dominated (it included both supervisors and workers). It provided very little protection for the workers, and has never entered into collective bargaining with the city. Within this group began the present Union. Today there still exists side-by-side with Local 127 the remnants of this company union, but more city employees are seeing the necessity for real collective struggle and 127 continues to grow.

Growth began with a willingness to confront management 2 years ago when worsening conditions led to a change in leadership, and more rank-and-file control and participation in the Union. But last July at the time of the strike the union was still very small in terms of overall employees (700 of 3,500). Its strength is primarily among the men who work outside--sanitation workers, beach clean-up crews, highway maintenance crews, etc.--as opposed to inside office workers. The racial composition moreover of these outside jobs is about half black and brown and half white.

There are reasons for the smallness of the Union. First by nature of the job, the men are separated from each other. Second, the city continually plays down Local 127 while building up its own union. Thirdly, the city has several methods of intimidating workers and discouraging militant unionist activities; preventing workers from soliciting union membership during free time; transferring union sympathizers to isolated jobs and generally favoring non-union over union men.

RACISM

One of the central demands of the strike was an end to "minority employee harassment", a demand which gave the workers a chance to see how racism works against their interests by dividing them. Through the strike the mutual interests of black, brown, and white workers were recognized and considerable amounts of racial tension was reduced, while the ways in which racism is used by the city bosses became clearer. Black and brown workers in lower job classifications are often placed in jobs that call for higher classification without receiving the higher pay that the higher classification requires. They are generally given the dirtiest jobs while at the same time the possibilities of advancement are more limited for non-whites. In addition the city supervisors are in the habit of making racist remards to black and brown employees.

Racism is not just a reflection of attitudes on the part of the workers themselves, but has a material basis in these relatively more exploited positions that black and brown workers hold. This situation is most favorable to (and encouraged by) the city bosses because the difference existing in wages, conditions and treatment generates competition between the workers, and in general depresses wages and worsens conditions for all the workers. Furthermore, racism maintains those devisive feelings that must be overcome if an effective fight against the boss is to be waged.

THE STRIKE

The efforts to stop unionization, discrimination, no holiday wages and no grievance procedures forced Local 127 to call for a strike of city employees in June, but a legal injunction was immediately issued. Many rank-and-filers were angry at the court decision and several demanded that the union ignore it.

On July 4, nearly 50 employees refused to work without receiving holiday pay. Four of these men were probationary employees and hence were summarily fired, the others received suspension. On July 9 a San Diego Superior Court overturned the injunction issued in June, and on July 12 the Union called a city-wide strike to get the men reinstated. Besides this demand there were nine other demands concerning grievance procedures, job classification ratings, discrimination, and holiday pay scales.

As it was, the city was unable to get a new injunction, but other means to thwart the strike were used. Through phone calls to workers and supervisors were threatened with loss of job, reduction of salary and no promotions to those phone calls to workers, supervisors threatened loss of job, reduction of salary and no promotions to those who walked out. Police were on hand at all municipal garages to make sure that the trucks were kept running. Students were hired directly and through the Mayor's pet project, Youth Opportunity, to break the strike. This naturally generated antagonisms towards students, even though some workers were able to see that they too were being used by the city. Finally, the city used Mexican green-card workers to pick up the garbage that was collecting in the streets.

Picketing went on for a week and a half while the city remained intransigent, and since the Union had no strike fund they were running out of time. A meeting of the strikers was then called and they unaminously decided to increase the militancy of the strike. The next days workers greeted cops and strike-breakers with a mass picket line that had to be broken up so that trucks could leave. The next day a double picket line that stretched for more than a block in front of the City Administration Building--just in time for the City Council meeting. Support was now beginning to mobilize in the Southeast area where shoot-outs with cops had occured just the week before.

UNION MEMBERS MARCH ON CITY HALL

SETTLEMENT

A coalition of CIC, CORE, and a Mexican-American group threw in its support. Confronted with the threat of mass-based action in the minority communities, the City within hours gave in and the Strike was settled. The penalty for the four men who had refused to work on the Fourth of July changed from dismissal to suspension, and the city agreed to pay premium time of holidays. At least partly because there was no specific demands associated with an end to "Minority harassment", no real gains were made on this issue, and the Union agent merely stated that this had been cleared up "in negotiations". On the other hand, the Union had asserted itself as a legitimate representative of city employees by way of support from a more broadly-based community group.

indicator published twice monthly by students of the University of California, San Diego

The INDICATOR is officially recognized as a student journal by the Communications Board of the University of California, San Diego, Building 250 Matthews campus, La Jolla, California 92037.

In taking editorial positions, the INDICATOR is not representing the views of the University, the student government, or the student body as a whole.

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinion of the INDICATOR staff but are the responsibility of the author. Unsigned articles are the responsibility of the INDICATOR staff.

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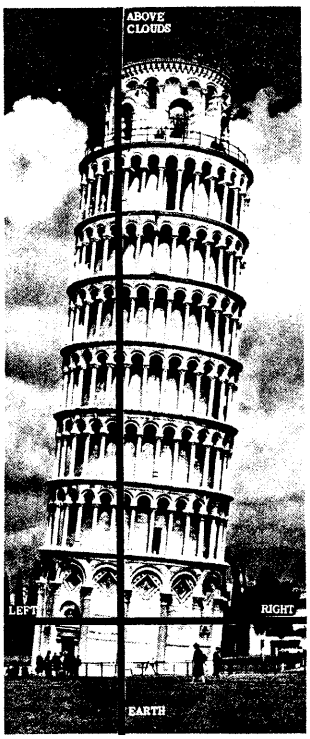
The University at War : Who Pays



IVORY TOWER*: The higher you go the more you lean right.

* Made from authentic Asian and African tusks.

INTRODUCTION

Last week we began an exploration of "university complicity" with the imperialist policies and practices of the US in Viet Nam and the rest of the Third World. In that article we defined the two main classes in a capitalist society--the ruling class and the working class*. Ruling class control of institutions, the planning of the war in Viet Nam, "think tanks" and various funding agencies were analyzed. In that article the emphasis was on the institutions controlled by the ruling class and how they were used in the planning and carrying out of the war in Viet Nam. In this article we will explain further the nature of imperialism and the role of the University in this society.

Why are we in Viet Nam? Henry Cabot Lodge, former U.S. Ambassador to South Viet Nam and a member of the ruling class, tells us: "He who holds or has influence in Viet Nam can affect the future of the Philippines and Formosa to the east, Thailand and Burma with their huge rice surpluses to the west, and Malaysia and Indonesia with their rubber, ore and tin to the south. Viet Nam thus does not exist in a geographical vacuum--from it large storehouses of wealth and population can be influenced and undermined." (Boston Globe, Feb. 28, 1965) This statement is contrary to what we normally hear in the media, from the government and in the classroom. How the University fits into this society, and how the University has attempted to cover up both the nature of imperialism and how it has aided imperialism is important in understanding the nature of class society.

*Those who own and have control over the means of production constitute the ruling class. Those who by their labor actually produce the wealth of society constitute the working class.

COVER UP

One idea of the University that is propagated by the ruling class is the "academic cloister", the "house of the mind", or the "ivory tower". Cardinal Newman summarized the nature of this illusion when he said that a university is "..... the protecting power of all knowledge and science, of fact and principle, of inquiry and discovery, of experiment and speculation; it maps out the territory of the intellect, and sees that there is neither encroachment nor surrender on any side." (1) This was spoken more than one hundred years ago when universities trained only members of the ruling class and a few of their underlings. Even then Newman's statement was completely inaccurate--the schools were not impartial value-free institutions then, nor are they now.

It is this concept of the University, the ivory tower, that leads people to believe in such things as academic freedom. According to the apologists of this position any and all ideas are equal. Every position is to be given equal consideration etc. The champions of this belief are, of course, the faculty encouraged by the administration. Whenever a crisis occurs in the University the banners of academic freedom are held high, banners behind which the faculty seeks to hide. Academic freedom and its accompanying inaction are a shroud that can easily hide the real nature of any crisis and the real nature of the University.

Ideas are not all equal and they are not all the same. Ideas that cover up racism, imperialism and the class nature of society, ideas that apologize for the status-quo and hence capitalism cannot be equated to ideas that demand an end to racism and imperialism and seek to change the ecomomic and political basis of society. These ideologies which are in total conflict with each other are not neutral concepts for academicians to argue over; these ideologies require committment and action. Even though the academic freedom concept allows ideologies other than the ruling class' to be taught, it does not allow one to take action on those principles. Ultimately, it is through action on ideas contrary to the interest of the ruling class that any significant changes can occur. What real significant difference does it make if Marcuse teaches a course in Marxism? A few people, perhaps, will adopt these ideas; but the majority of students will continue their education. Upon graduation Marxism was just another course taken along with Economics 1A, Sociology 130, and Math 2A. So what?

By claiming academic freedom and by pointing to some individuals who oppose the ruling class in the classroom, administrators and faculty declare that the University is indeed what Cardinal Newman thought it was. However these ideas build illusions about the nature of the University in a class society. In the first article in this series a brief description of the ruling class and what they control was given. The industries and corporations they control constantly need to expand; highly trained people are needed to run them; and the military and the government need to be advised on how best to protect the investments of these corporations overseas. By what process are people trained to be obedient officers in the military, willing consultants to RAND and IDA, and skilled managers for General Dynamics? The University and colleges are the only institutions in society capable of doing this on a mass scale. But as we shall see, the teaching aspect of the University is secondary to organized research.

THE RESEARCH INSTITUTE

An extension of the ivory tower concept and academic freedom is the notion of the "pure research" institute. In this myopic view of social reality, science and technology are treated as completely neutral and value-free. The research practitioners are people whose only stated conscious pursuit is that of knowledge for knowledge's sake. Very noble, but it completely covers up the nature of class society and the role of technology within that society. As science and technology advance, the ruling class is able to operate their industries and their war machines more efficiently. Within the past twelve years the growth of technical knowledge has more than doubled. As soon as Sputnik I went into orbit, the United States poured massive amounts of money into basic research and development. In table 3 the total amount of money to the University of California in 1967/68 from the federal government was $420,779,000--more than half of UC's operating budget for that year. This excedes state support by more that $170,000,000. Table 4 gives the breakdown of this federal money for this campus for the 1968/69 fiscal year. By examining tables 1 and 2 we find some more interesting facts. At UCSD 48.7% of all income is devoted to research--all paid for by the US Government, mainly the AEC, NSF, and the military. When all the money is rearranged and allotted we see that 47.2% of all expenditures are for organized research. These figures lead us to believe that research is important to the University and the ruling class.

TABLE 1

CURRENT FUNDS INCOME — UCSD(1967/68)

State of California	29.6
U.S. Government	48.7
Student Fees	2.0
Teaching Hospitals	14.9
Auxiliary Enterprises	3.5
Endowments and Donations	.9
Others	.4

TABLE 2

CURRENT FUNDS EXPENDITURES — UCSD (1967/68)

Organized Research	47.2
Instruction and Department Research	15.6
Hospital	18.5
Student Aid	2.3
Libraries	4.0
Administration	2.6
Maintenance and Operation	3.8
Institutional services	1.0
Auxiliary Enterprises	2.8
Others	2.2

TABLE 3

SOURCES OF SUPPORT FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (1967/1968)

Total from all sources	$830,163,000
Major AEC Laboratories	250,342,000
State of California	247,419,000
US Government Contracts and Grants	170,437,000
Organized Activities (Hospitals, clinics, educational departments)	36,526,000
Auxiliary Enterprises	33,207,000
Gifts and Private Grants	15,059,000
Student Fees	48,204,000
Lesser amounts from other sources such as endowments, sales, investments, etc.	

There are reasons why this is so. Imperialism is based on the need to make profit. An expanding technological base and exploitation of underdeveloped countries are two methods by which the capitalist can increase his profits.

VALUE

In order to discuss the profit we must first explain the Marxist use of the word "value", which begins by noting that human labor is contained in all commodities. We use the word "value" to mean nothing more nor less than a measure of the total human labor time that went into producing a commodity. An instrument of production such as a machine, being itself a product of human labor, has a value then; this value is the total socially necessary human labor time that went into its production. It imparts its total value bit by bit to those commodities that are produced with its aid, until it is completely worn down and must be replaced. The value of each product is, then, the value imparted by all other machinery used directly in producing it, the value of the raw materials that went into it, and finally the total living labor time involved directly in its production. The machinery and raw materials are referred to as dead labor.

The bourgeois economist would have us believe that the profit that the capitalist makes is actually created in the market place; that is, that the capitalist creates his profit by adding on an amount to his cost of production. But as we shall see, the capitalist does not create his profit in the market, he only realizes it there in the form of money. This profit is already congealed in the commodity as it rolls off the assembly line.

The capitalist buys labor power. The value of this labor power does not equal the value of the products produced during it. The value of labor is determined by the value of those goods necessary to keep up the worker's ability to do labor, such as food, clothing, shelter, and psychological needs. In other words, in order to continue to be able to work day after day, the worker must completely be renovating himself, or compensating for the wear and tear on his body and mind. And since the working class must reproduce itself, the value of his labor power also includes the upkeep of the family.

The value that a worker produces above the value of his labor power is called surplus value. And this would be produced in a socialist economy as well as in a capitalist economy. The essential difference between socialism and capitalism, however, now stands out in high relief: under socialism the surplus value is socially owned by the working class itself, whereas under capitalism the surplus value is owned by the bourgeoisie. Thus the essence of capitalist exploitation is that though the workers produce the surplus value, the bourgeoisie owns it.

Because of the competition between capitalists in the same branch of industry, each capitalist finds that in order to continue to realize the surplus value, he has to do three things continually, all three of which are the only major ways of producing greater amounts of surplus value, given a constant length of the working day: 1) expand his scale of production, 2) increase the intensity of labor through speed-up, i.e. producing more goods per unit time, and 3) increase worker productivity. The last two result in a decrease in the total labor time that goes into each unit of the commodity. The net result is that the value of the commodity has been lowered, since value is only a measure of the socially necessary labor time.

As competition among the capitalists becomes more intense, those corporations that can produce goods more efficiently than others are the ones that accumulate the most profit and hence can expand production more easily. Eventually, through periodic crises (depressions, wars), a few large corporations emerge in various branches of industry. These corporations eventually assume monopolistic control over

the Piper?

their respective branches of industry. During this process productivity is increased by introducing new machinery, hence reducing the total amount of human labor in the commodities produced. A quantity that begins to assume a very important role in capitalist economy is the rate of profit. The rate of profit is essentially the ratio of the surplus value to the total amount of capital invested in the productive process. This invested capital goes partly to human labor and partly to raw materials and machinery. Now as more and more machinery is introduced into production, the total amount of human labor in the commodity is reduced. Hence the value of the commodity is reduced. This means that as capital investments increase (machinery etc.) the amount of surplus value does not increase as fast and begins to fall behind. Therefore the ratio of the two, the rate of profit, begins to decrease.

The decreasing profit rate makes it increasingly difficult to keep up the introduction of new machinery. The resulting pressures on the workers due to speedups and wage depression have their limits as do the various methods of expansion and of market manipulation. Hence capital must seek outlets with a higher profit rate. These outlets are in areas with low labor costs, namely abroad.

IMPERIALISM

Direct foreign investments after WWII went from about $7 billion in 1946 to about $44 billion in 1964. The corresponding volume of profits from foreign investments nearly quadruples from 1950 to 1965, while that from domestic investments did not come close to doubling for the same period. (Harry Magdoff, "Economic Aspects of US Imperialism", Monthly Review, vol. 18, no. 6, Nov. 1966, p. 20)

Prior to 1962 the United States faced a variety of problems. Having rebuilt Europe after WWII through the Marshall Plan the US was in the position of owning 60% of modern industry (there are more than 1,100 US subsidiaries in England); the US controls 80% of Europe's computer business, 90% of its microcircuit industry, 40% of its auto industry. (Progressive Labor, "US Imperialism and Vietnam", vol. 6, no. 5, Oct. 1968, p. 13) However, in 1962 the rate of profit on US investments in Europe began to fall sharply. Also, the US share of markets in the poor countries fell between 9% and 24% in the years 1955 to 1961. Finally, competition with other advanced countries began to increase. These factors have caused a big push of US investments in the poor countries since the early 60's. In 1961, of its total profits, Anaconda made 70% abroad on only 40% of its assets. Colgate made 78% abroad on only 37% of its assets. But most startling of all is Chrysler which made 81% of its profits abroad on only 9% of its assets. Chrysler's profit was 14.5% abroad and only 0.3% at home. (Business International Report on Profit Performance of US Corporations Overseas, 1962) A President's Commission back in 1952 reported the following percentages of materials imported from abroad for domestic uses: 43% of tungsten, 78% of the tin, 85% of the aluminum bauxite, 86% of the nickel, 94% of the manganese, 98% of the cobalt and 100% of the chromite. They further reported that in order to meet the demand from now to the year 2000, the US will require between 50% and 100% of the known reserves of the "free world". (US President's Materials Policy Commission Report 1952) This absolutely requires a coercive relationship with the producer countries, because on a free market those countries would sell to those capitalist nations from which they could buy back finished products most cheaply, and US prices are very high. Thus the US has to get in first with a combination of coups, bribery of regimes, control of the capital equipment such as the electric power, etc.

Remembering what Henry Cabot Lodge told us about Viet Nam we can see several reasons for US involvement there. Primarily, the US is there to steal the labor and wealth of the people of Viet Nam. The US is there also to show the world that a struggle against US imperialism cannot win. Third, the US wants Viet Nam as the stepping stone to all of Southeast Asia. Finally, the US is there to try and save the capitalist system from the twin enemies of international competition and the saturation of profitable investment in the US and the areas of the world it already controls.

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The Beginning of UCSD

UCSD was first mentioned in San Diego when in 1955 Assemblymen Hegland and Schrade introduced a resolution to the Regents asking that the possibility of opening a campus of the University in San Diego be studied. Such a resolution found much support in the San Diego community:

1) from the president of General Dynamics, who reemphasized the need for a San Diego campus to aid the "industrial growth of San Diego"--Convair was handicapped by its inability to offer graduate work to its engineers and by the need to import engineers,

2) from a vice-president of Convair, Robert H. Brown, who was chairman of a Special Chamber of Commerce committee to work on bringing a UC branch to San Diego,

3) from Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, a regent, who saw the need for a science-oriented university, citing his extensive experience in training Navy recruits as proof of the need,

4) from the San Diego Union--because the US was behind Russia in the training of engineers. "Trained manpower is essential for the nation's defense and the expanding state economy." (Union, Dec. 16, 1955)

In May 1956, the establishment of a graduate technical and scientific institution with Scripps as a base was recommended to the regents and in September hearings on the plans for this institution were set by the Chairman of the Regent's Ways and Means committee. In a pamphlet titled "University Community Study" done by the City Planning Department of San Diego we see some of the factors considered in selecting the La Jolla site for the campus.

"General Atomic, recognizing the worth of a University close at hand, has offered the State a sum of $1 million to facilitate the University's growth on Torrey Pines Mesa. The interrelation of these two great institutions should flourish in years to come.....The developers of this valley area (Sorrento Valley MIC) which is now under a single control have been working closely with the university's master plan developments.

The Regents issued a policy statement saying that the primary function of the La Jolla campus would be to provide instruction in science and technology and conduct research. Only that undergraduate instruction which was "essential to support the graduate program" was to be provided.

In an editorial endorsed by Governor Knight, the Union supported the idea of a campus that consisted of a nucleus of "distinguished professors working largely with graduate students." They felt that a campus which was largely an undergraduate school with a subordinate graduate division "would severely limit the contribution that the University of California at La Jolla would make to the unique quality of this community and thereby diminish the institution's contribution to national security" (Union, Aug. 12, 1957).

TABLE 4: DISTRIBUTION AND SOURCES OF SUPPORT FOR CAMPUS DEPARTMENTS AND RESEARCH INSTITUTES (1968/69)

DEPARTMENT OR RESEARCH INSTITUTE	NSF	AEC	Air Force	Navy	Army	NASA	DHEW	PHS	OTHER US
Anthropology	7,651						353	2,491	
AMES	94,889		330,926		34,795	34,347	2,460		39,948
AEP	279,355	39,823	22,572		44,486	213,293	722		
Biology	696,564	132,619					18,091	1,098,061	24,804
Chemistry	491,700	128,354	9,082	10,269	8,196	380,327	7,399	703,756	
Drama	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------	-------
Economics	11,830						240		
History								2,261	
Linguistics	2,276								
Literature							713	3,883	
Mathematics	124,550			33,818		17,208			
Music							3,055	430	
Philosophy	5,054						72	2,057	
Phys. Ed.							2,729		
Physics	319,699	1,007,503	108,350	124,783		1,778,906	5,285	113,030	50,568
Psychology	127,810						10,047	135,000	
Sociology	8,750						569		
Visual Arts							2,834		
SIO Department	57,818			41,258			562	37,457	4,536
TOTAL DEPT.	2,228,396	1,308,299	470,930	210,128	87,477	2,424,081	55,131	2,098,673	119,676
Scripps Inst.	10,401,575	255,108	473,784	10,665,455	33,893	231,772	27,550	666,964	751,313
IGPP	265,966		188,978	206,040			115	87,002	
IPAPS		143,458	319,584		832,301				
TOTAL RESEARCH INST.	10,666,541	398,566	982,346	10,871,495	866,194	231,772	27,665	753,966	751,313
TOTAL CAMPUS	12,895,937	1,706,865	1,453,276	11,081,623	953,671	2,655,853	82,796	2,765,637	957,991

TOTAL FROM US GOVERNMENT $34,553,649 TOTAL FROM STATE OF CALIFORNIA $20,190,000 TOTAL FROM OTHER SOURCES (Hospitals, Auxiliary Enterprises, etc.) $17,400,000

Sources: Tables 1,3,4 appear in the memo to Department Chairmen from Dr. S.S. Penner dated January 1969. Table 2 appears in the publication " Budget of UCSD 1967/68".

An Open Letter to Faculty and Students

Herbert Marcuse

At the opening of the meeting of the UCSD Senate on October 7, Professor Walter Kohn spoke in support of a resolution submitted by the Committee on Academic Freedom. According to this resolution, the faculty would not report grades to the registrar pending a decision in the case of Angela Davis. In his solid, scientific way, Professor Kohn presented the perhaps best argued and most moving statement I have ever heard in a faculty meeting. He emphasized the seriousness of the situation, said that he expected aggravation rather than improvement in the near future, and pointed out that the time had come when some action had to be taken. The resolution provided for minimum action, which was made dependent on a number of contingencies, including the consent of the majority of the students. In spite of all these safeguards and restraints, a motion to declare the resolution out of order was immediately offered, and when this motion was defeated, a motion to adjourn. Although this motion too was defeated, in the ensuing discussion it soon became evident that the majority sentiment was strongly against the resolution. At the bitter end, even those who had submitted the resolution were persuaded not to insist on a vote because it was obvious that, at best, the vote would be a very close one, and because the resolution would have no effect unless it were passed with all but unanimity or at least with a very large majority. The resolution was thereupon sent to two combined Committees, for further discussion of possible contingencies and further thought.

At this point, I offended against the rules of procedure and politeness. Abusing a "point of privilege", and reiterating a suggestion made previously by Professor Blanco, I asked all those who would have voted for the resolution and who do not exactly enjoy acts of self-abdication and self-emasculation, to move to another room and to discuss possibilities of independent minority action. A handful of faculty members followed me.....

I shall try to justify my position that, now, talk and thought, and good will must be translated into action--even if such action is only that of a small minority and likely to have disagreeable consequences for the students and for the faculty.

In my view, what is at stake is not the fate of the particular action suggested by the resolution (I have considerable doubts about its adequacy) but rather the necessity of some action at this juncture. I believe that the decision of the Regents against Angela Davis is much more than illegal and unconstitutional. If it were only this, the case could indeed be adjudicated by the courts, which may well take two years. The Regents' decision also testifies to an attitude and a policy which betray the very principles of education for a free society and make the university a plaything in the hands of political powers set against such education. According to these powers, education in the State of California must exclude, nay must protect the students against ideas, opinions, and values which are unpopular and which may become dangerous, not (as is alleged) to American society but to certain powers in this society. The Powers who arrogate to themselves the decision as to what is and what is not to be taught, are the Governor and his forces, and the "community" and its public opinion. Members of the Board of Regents have reportedly issued statements which are so shocking that they seem to be unbelievable. I quote from the Los Angeles Times (September 22 and October 8):

"We just couldn't stand the heat of being called 'soft on communism'. I hope she (Angela Davis) gets a quick decision and we get slapped down'.

"I am deeply concerned about the attitude of the people of California. We need their support. If they are dissatisfied with the university, they will not support it. Last November we found we had lost public support in the vote on the bond issue. We need bonds next year for medical schools. We have a long way to go in reestablishing support."

To be concerned about the attitude of the people of California is one thing, to make the existence of the university, even its medical schools dependent on their political satisfaction is quite another. Was there any awareness that there could be something fatally wrong in this surrender of the university? Was there any awareness that this kind of submission to outside pressure violates the principles which the country so proudly professes: freedom of thought and opinion--principles which presuppose that the citizens of this country, and especially the young generation, are free to learn all the facts, and all the ideas which enable them to form their own opinion, to judge by themselves? Has it perhaps occurred to these Regents that the will of the people to which they and the politicians so humbly defer may be largely their own product? First they "educate" systematically, by their actions and speeches, the will of the people to fear and distrust seriously controversial opinions, and then they happily execute this will. Are these Regents aware of the extent to which they have become prisoners of the public opinion which they themselves helped to create ever since the McCarthy era?

But such questions were not raised in the Senate; the discussion was only occupied with arguments against the resolution.

Foremost was the appeal to unanimity, unity--the outcry against the threat of division, the dismal consequences of a divided faculty: better no resolution than one passed by a small margin. I did not trust my ears, because it seemed to me that the insistence on all but unanimous decisions was the hallmark of Fascism and Stalinism, and that democracy was based on the division into a majority and a minority, with the necessity of dissent. I also remembered that it was a tiny minority which refused to sign the loyality oath in 1949, and that all protest in history started with a tiny minority. And the notion that minority opinion and action are necessarily ineffective seems to me abundantly refuted by the facts of all progressive changes in history. For effectiveness cannot be gauged in terms of the immediate measurable effect: there is such a thing as causation by example, contagion.

Perhaps the second most frequently repeated argument was that of "escalation": the action suggested by the resolution would inevitably lead to sharper repression on the part of the Regents and further alienate public opinion. It would be a provocation. But was the action of the Regents which initiated the Davis case the response to a provocation? Was it not rather itself a provocation? Perhaps it was the response to the fact that the faculty had refrained from any effective action against the decision of the Regents to take back the authority over tenure appointments which they had previously delegated to the faculty? Was it not the Regents who had escalated their actions against the university? To be sure, any effective action runs the risk of aggravating the situation. I think there are only two ways to meet this challenge: either to lie low and accept the escalating of the other party, or to react to escalation by escalating yourself.

Would it do any good? We must finally realize that the issues are not merely campus-wide and not even state-wide, that they concern (and are ultimately decided by) the nation as a whole, and the international community. On this scale, I believe the minority is already very large. It was this far larger power which eventually brought the first McCarthy era to an end and awakened the faculty of UC, it may also stem the tide of the second McCarthy era in which we live. But it will do so only if we start the protest visibly and tangibly right here and now where we are directly hit.

Far more substantial is the argument according to which the action proposed by the resolution would shift the burden of the risk to the students. But as far as I know, the recording and transmission of grades is part of the contractual duty of a faculty member, refusal to perform this duty would make him liable to dismissal. Quite apart from this, the resolution made the action contingent on majority approval by the students, and, moreover, provided for procedures to protect the students from the draft by issuing certificates of good standing.

The argument raises the most important issue of solidarity. It was introduced, in a magnificent and exemplary manner, by Professor Kohn: the Regents have singled out Miss Davis for reduction to a lower status on the faculty: she is not entitled to give credit for her courses. By in turn refusing to give credit for our own courses we would demonstrate that we consider ourselves of the same lower status and will continue to do so until Angela is restored to full status of equality. It might be appropriate to point out that this manifestation of solidarity would recapture events that have already become of historical significance: under the Nazi occupation, the king of Denmark wore voluntarily the Yellow Star enforced upon the Jews, and in Paris in 1968, thousands of students marched under the signs "we are all German Jews" and "we are all undesirables." Such determination turns the sign of degradation and humiliation into one of pride and protest.

To be sure, this solidarity can never be imposed upon the students by a vote of the faculty, it must be the result of their own determination. However, I believe that it is the obligation of the faculty, as the associated educators, to explain to the students the situation in all its aspects and consequences. Such explanation, if adequate and without hypocrisy, would necessarily have to go beyond academic talk: just as the issue is far more than academic, so must the ways of dealing with them show the willingness of the faculty to stand up and be counted. This may well appear as "dramatizing" the situation, or, as was said in the Senate, as the attempt to be more radical than other radical groups (as if today being radical were a desirable and rewarded status!). Such declarations can only serve to rationalize the shirking of responsibility. The drama is not staged by those who resist--it is the brutal reality created by the Regents. To cope with this reality, unity is indeed one of the strongest weapons--but a unity which does not express solidarity with the underdog black woman who has become the victim of a new McCarthyism is hollow from the start. And a do-nothing unity is useless.

Whether or not the action provided for by the resolution is at present the best possible action is a different question. I repeat: I personally don't think it is adequate. The argument that one could not possibly get enough support for any stronger action is defeatist: the action of a very few may trigger off action on a much larger scale. I myself believe that the adequate response at this juncture would have been the refusal to teach until and unless Angela Davis is restored to full faculty status. The second best would have been a pledge to stop teaching if and when Angela would be dismissed and/or barred from lecturing. I shall take this latter course--regardless of numerical support. I shall not resign, but I shall stop teaching. Whatever good I might do if I continue to teach, would be more than offset by the harm being done if I continue to teach in an atmosphere of fear and intimidation.

In concluding, I shall state my opinion as uncompromisingly as possible. I believe that the attitude of the majority of the faculty, revealed at the last meeting of the Senate, in spite of the good and honest motives, amounts to aquiescing in the disastrous policy of the Regents. It is painful for me to say this in view of the fact that the same faculty has so strongly supported me in my own case, but I do not want to enjoy a privilege which is not granted to a younger faculty member.

A Lesson in Democracy

Reinhard Lettau

The Academic Senate in its Special meeting of October 7 has almost unanimously endorsed a new principle. From now on votes will only be taken if an overwhelming majority (say 10:1) favour a given resolution. The old-fashioned idea that votes are taken to establish majority and minority opinion to begin with, is passee since it exposes divisiveness. According to this new concept of democracy, divisiveness must be invisible, kept secret. Thus, democracy might now be defined as a common effort towards the prevention of either majority or minority opinion, as the case may be.

Since it appears difficult to establish whether or not a vote will manifest divisiveness before one has voted (even straw votes are not permitted), complicated parliamentary procedures will from now on precede either the near-unanimous vote or else the near-unanimous non-vote depending. If, for example, during the course of careful deliberations, it appears as if the issue at hand appears to demand no concrete actions by the Senate members (as, for example, motions calling for abstract and passive commitments on Academic Freedom) a relapse to old-fashioned democratic procedure is in order, as was the case in the October 3 meeting' permission to vote unanimously, followed by joy in the aisles.

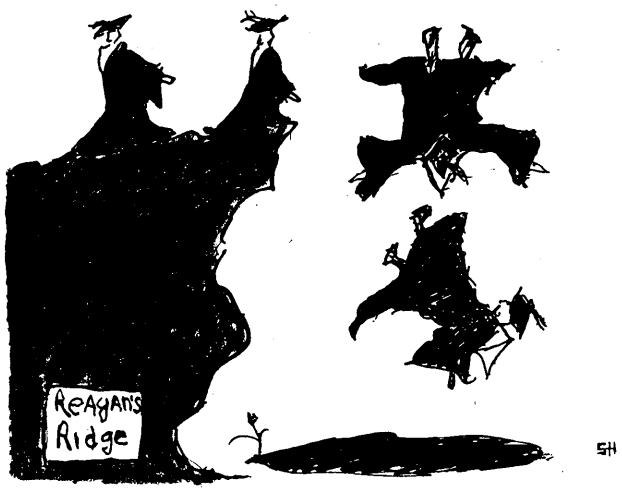
If, on the other hand, preliminary and cautious discussion unveils the ugly truth that the motion (even though brilliantly presented) is important (involving possible risks, perhaps leading to consequences), as was the case in the October 7 meeting, and if, in addition, it appears as if it would only pass by a two-thirds majority, the hard labour of eliminating this majority must begin immediately. At this delicate intermediary stage it is a mistake if impatient Scientists demand the floor to oppose the motion itself. This is clumsy and might alienate the majority which is after all still in favour of the motion before the house. The gentleman with several cheeks who actually went to the rostrum and suggested that we should also be fighting for the rights of a white Fascist instead of just a black Communist showed the way: warm applause. To save the motion, one would now have had to produce a live white Fascist who was being persecuted, preferably in the State of California which would have been extremely difficult on such short notice.

Irrelevant arguments or paradoxes ("Since we have not discussed it enough, let's not discuss it any more!" "Since this is not radical enough, let's be less radical!" "Since we trust the courts, let's fight the courts after they pass their decision!" "Since this motion would hurt the minority of dissenting students, let's just hurt Miss Davis' students!") are advisable at this point because the democratic body must be united, and since it is not united on the issue, a discussion of the issue itself must be avoided. The Aesthetics of Parliamentary procedure now triumph. With boy-scout eagerness a gentleman will jump up and read from his notes a proposal that "we throw ourselves into a Committee of the Whole." This may not be elegant English, but the chair will, pantomimically, establish "consensus" and now a gentleman in the rear gets up and announces boldly that, since he himself would vote against the motion, the motion would be divisive, and since it would be divisive, it should not be voted upon at all.

This logical conclusion is not only made in the spirit of the New Democracy, it has also removed the motion from the indicative to the subjunctive: more than just a grammatical refreshment. At this new stage the mode of presentation (polite vocabulary, smiling persuasion), a casual stance (placing one foot on the rostrum while the other remains on the floor, expressing the casualness of a great diplomat) becomes more important. A gentlemen who introduces himself as a human being, a scholar as well as an administrator (and who will one day probably be the President of the University) suggests that he does really not like to shoot from behind a student's back. "Yes", cries one of the floor leaders of the administration, "let's keep our powder dry!" "Yes, let's not rock the boat!" repeats another.

Now it is time for another gentleman to rise. He has a good sense of timing and the advantage of easily being recognized by the chair. He rises very slowly. "Gentlemen", he begins, still rising, "it's at times like these that I feel very heavy the burden of responsibility you have placed upon me." The Electorate is now a little ashamed of itself. This is a statesman speaking, voted into office through free and secret elections: the prime minister in a moment of national crisis. An expression of deep sorrow on the face of the philosopher next to him. He knows things the house doesn't know: he sits next to the prime minister.

The house enjoys moments such as these. They love the aesthetics of it; playing parliament is fun. There is elegance, self-questioning, soberness: "This great deliberative body is famous throughout the entire world for the wisdom of its decisions," they hear. Hardly any resistance is possible against the force of this argument (Next morning, on French Boulevard: "Extra! Extra! UCSD Senate Adopts Divisive Resolution! Read All About It!"). Now they are convinced. The startled backers of the motion are politely asked (three times) to withdraw or table or refer it, the consent, consent, consent, and an overwhelming majority votes to table, correction: not to table, correction: to refer to one or two committees, where majorities, hopefully, will also be eliminated, and the Committee of the Whole or the Senate is recessed or adjourned or dismissed.



"Gentlemen, I propose that we throw ourselves into the Committee of the Whole."

Moratorium cont.

encourage the belief that 'respectable' dissent is effective. The firing of Lewis Hershey as head of the Selective Service System is such a move. Totally insignificant in its effect on the government's ability to continue the war, it is only an attempt to mislead supporters of the Moratorium into believing that their action was the stimulus. Even CBS News said this was the case; they reported that the decision to fire Hershey was made at least a month ago, but the announcement was delayed to coincide with the demonstrations.

Similarly, an end to the direct involvement of the US in hostilities in Vietnam cannot be regarded as a victory for the Moratorium demonstrations. Only an end to imperialist foreign policy can br regarded as a victory. In 1965, at the beginning of the large scale fighting by US troops in Vietnam, Senator Gale McGee stated, 'That empire in Southeast Asia is the last major resource area outside the control of any of the major powers on the globe.' American business in the economy of South Vietnam may soon be judged to be secure enough to allow Nixon to withdraw US troops from the actual fighting. Negotiations would then only have the job of insuring a government friendly to further US investment. Then US exploitation of cheap Vietnamese labor (maximum Saigon wage is $1.40/day)and resources would be unhindered. Only an anti-war movement that is based on an anti-imperialist perspective can prevent the domination and enforced suffering of the Vietnamese people at the hands of US industrialists and bankers. And it is exactly because the Moratorium Committee determinedly continues to state that the Vietnam war is a mistake and not the product of imperialist foreign policy that men like Jerome Grossman, owner of the largest lumber company in New England, Alan Cranston, John Lindsay, and Sam Brown, 'the first-rate choreographer of mass-moverments,' chosen by the media 'as spokesman for the respectable student left' , support it. What makes this left respectable is their inability or refusal to see that fundamental change is necessary.

The government sees the Vietnam Moratorium as its best chance to co-opt and mislead opposition to the war. Marches and demonstrations against the war have always been seen as only a first step for the participants, a way to bring masses of people into organizations that could exert significant pressure. But this has never worked out. Demonstrations by themselves have served only to salve the conscience of guilty or embarrassed Americans. Now, demonstrations have been redefined as political ends in themselves. No wonder this point of view has received support in such high places.

Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all US personnel is the only legitimate solution to the Vietnam war--there should be no negotioations about the perogative of the US to exploit the human and natural resources of other countries. A mass movement must be built that will fight seriously around these goals. Significant actions attack the government's ability to extend US economic hegemony to exploit the masses of people around the world and prevent the movement from being misled or co-opted.

Field Trip to Health Center

Women's Liberation Front

Womens' Liberation was under the illusion that the following had been settled on with the Administration (until adequate gynecological service could be secured on campus): a woman student would be entitled to a referral by the Health Service to one of four gynecologists in La Jolla who would charge the University instead of her for their services. However, intimidation tactics are sometimes still used against women students trying to get routine medical care. We are therefore obliged to spell out the following:

DIRECTIONS FOR USE OF STUDENT HEALTH CENTER

1) Go to the window and ask to see a doctor for a referral to a gynecologist. Demand to see somebody else than Dr. Watson or Dr. Small; these two doctors (any others?) are somehow unable to perform the simple task of the referral.
2) You are now in the Dr.'s office. All that he is supposed to do is ask you why you want to see the gynecologist (birth control information and prescription, pap smear, etc.--). He then phones the gynecologist to make your appointment. The envelope he gives you is to be used by the gynecologist to bill the University so that you don't have to pay anything. This is the strictly administrative role which the Dr. at the Health Center is supposed to play. Any attempts to discourage you from seeing a gynecologist (What makes you think that you need a pap smear at your age? etc.), or comments, or stalling (Wait for the gynecologist to come to the health center next week, etc.) should not impress you. You have a right to medical care.
3) If you have any transportation problems, ask to be referred to Dr. Halcomb (he has his practice near Scripps Hospital which is quite close to the campus).

Womens' Liberation would appreciate your comments on the doctors' conduct. Meetings are Sunday nights at 7:30 in upper Blake Lounge.

Research cont.

Within the capitalist framework science and technology are essential both for the expansion of corporations to maintain their profits and to provide the military means to protect their expanding interests abroad. The University provides industry with the trained technicians who can develop new and better means of production; and the type of research done by professors plays an integral part in this whole process.

The faculty and administration hardly ever brag about the nuclear bombs made at Livermore and Los Alamos, or the chemical warfare research they do at Oakland, or the classified research done by Scripps. The ruling class, through the administration and faculty, will not advertise all the war research that goes on in universities; but, rather, the concept of "pure research" is promulgated. This is another attempt to cover up the real nature of research.

"What has transformed the relationship between science and war has been the fact that in the twentieth century the development of technology has become increasingly dependent upon advances in basic knowledge about the physical world." (2) Research in any area of human knowledge advances man's understanding of his environment and himself. However, this does not take place in a vacuum. The ruling class, through the government, pays for the research. That which is not useful is slowly phased out, and that which serves their interests in encouraged. To say that pure research can be done in a class society is to ignore the fact that the ruling class is the only class capable of deciding what is to be implemented and what is to be researched. The scientists, engineers, and technicians have about as much control over what happens with their work as do workers in the factories. An example of this is easily seen in an incident at Berkeley last September. Two math professors who had their contracts severed by the Army and the Navy for political activities were informed by the Army that "the results of your efforts have been utilized by the Army in various activities related to the current conflict in Viet Nam." (RSU publication on the Berkeley campus, Sept. 1968, p. 2) The fact to remember is that in this society, research can only be subject to business and government control.

This complicity, however, has its price. Despite all one hears from Reagan, UC does not owe its existence to the generosity of the state of California. In a memo to all UCSD department chairmen, Dr. S.S. Penner, former vice-chancellor, presented table 1 for consideration. We can see that state funds are "supported" by what are called extramural sources (especially government contracts and grants). Dr. Penner states that:

"It is no exaggeration to assert that, in the absence of all extramural resources, support for graduate students would practically disappear (of about 1000 UCSD graduate students, fewer than 100 are supported by state funds.) It is an often repeated fallacy to state that the removal of extramural grants and contracts would be felt only in the physical science departments. Under presently used administrative procedures, highly biased resource allocation is normally made to the humanities, fine arts, and social sciences, thereby acknowledging the availability of extramural funds for the physical sciences. .....We could remain what we are without federal support (and assuming that state support would then not be cut) by raising student fees and charges at UCSD by a factor of 26, that is, by raising our out-of-state tuition to about $30,000 per year, etc.

Not only the University but individual professors must be dependent on the federal government. In the list of contracts accompanying this article (representing a small fraction of the contracts researched here at UCSD in the past four years) every one was financed by some government agency. The Department of Defense is a major contributor to this campus along with the AEC, NSF, NASA, and the PHS. All these contracts in physics, oceanography, engineering, math and chemistry have increased man's knowledge in these fields. Of course some are more important than others to the military, but on the whole, the government is getting its money's worth and more from this research.

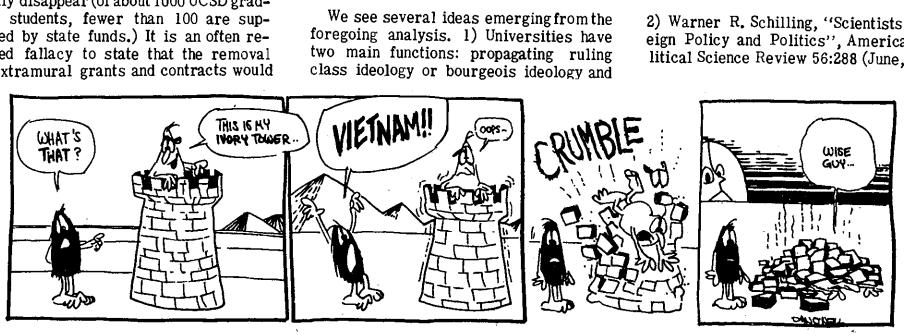
SUMMARY

We see several ideas emerging from the foregoing analysis. 1) Universities have two main functions: propagating ruling class ideology or bourgeois ideology and conducting organized research which advances technology and directly aids the war effort. 2) Pure research is really impossible in a class society since the research is controlled by and conducted for the ruling class--regardless of the intentions of the investigator. 3) Academic freedom and the ivory tower do not exist. It is perfectly natural for the ruling class to move against those whose actions and ideas challenge the political and economic basis of our society. 4) Universities cannot exist without federal support--and this support is there only if the universities continue their job of producing results for the military and big business. 5) Imperialism, as a stage of capitalism, is inevitable and to survive it requires a massive scientific and technological base upon which it can operate and expand and defend itself. 6) The combination of the needs of imperialism and the massive funding to universities and the ideologies propagated by universities shows the real nature of the University in a class society.

These ideas will be expanded further in the remaining articles in this series. Next issue: The Scripps Institute of Ocean ography.

1) John Henry Cardinal Newman, The Idea of a University, (New York: Longman Green and Co. 1947), p. 129.

2) Warner R. Schilling, "Scientists, Foreign Policy and Politics", American Political Science Review 56:288 (June, 1962).



UCSD Contracts

The contracts listed here are only a small fraction of the total number of contracts researched in the last four years at UCSD, Scripps and Scripps controlled labs (Marine Physical Lab and Visibility Lab) at the Naval Electronics Laboratory on Point Loma. Some of the research is directly applicable to milirary use, such as contract 98--The Electronic Warfare Graphic Intercom System; or contract 101--Underwater Optics; or contract 139--Radar Return from Vehicle in the Ionosphere. These contracts involve new systems for communications and reconnaissance that the military especially the Navy, can benefit from. Many of the contracts in oceanography and geophysics provide theoretical and empirical knowledge about the nature of the ocean and land masses. At the same time the Navy and large oil companies and mining companies are interested in the results. The research in physics, especially solid state physics, has important applications for the electronics and computer industries. The research in the AMES department is directed towards making a better missile. What we are saying is that even though some research does not have immediate application for the military or for industry, the important fact to remember is that it is the sum total of basic research and development in every field enables the world wide expansion of US industry and the complete mechinization of the military

*Small fraction means here that these 196 contracts represent less than 20% of all contracts researched at UCSD in the past four years.

Sources: Technical Abstract Bulletin (Department of Defense) 1964-1967. U.S. Government Research and Development Reports Index 1964-1969.

> The authorities say: Peace and war
> Are of different substance.
> But their peace and their war
> are like wind and storm.
>
> The war grows out of their peace
> Like the son from the mother.
> It bears
> The same hideous features.
>
> Their war kills
> Whatever their peace
> Has left over.
>
> Bertolt Brecht

EVENTS

All interested persons are invited to attend the SDS Study Group. This week's topic for discussion will be, "Analysis of Classes in the U.S." Suggested readings: Mao Te Sung "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society;" and Ernest Mandel: "Where is America going?" (New Left Review, No. 54, 1969). The Study Group will meet in Upper Blake Lounge on Thursday at 7:30.

The Women's Liberation Front will have a meeting on SUNDAY at 7:30 in Upper Blake Hall

1. Transition Probability Operators
2. A Study of the Velocity Field in M82 and its Bearing on Explosive Phenomena in that Galaxy
3. Rb-Sr Ages of Chrondrules and Carbonaceous Chrondrites
4. Ionized Gas in the Nuclei of Elliptical, Square, Spiral and Irregular Galaxies
5. T Phases from 80 Alaskan Earthquakes
6. Seismic Waves Recorded in the North Pacific from FLIP
7. Multistate Dissociation and the Effect of Pressure on the Equilibrium of Magnesium Sulfate
8. FLIP-An Oceanographic Body
9. Volcanic and Clay Materials in the Southwest Pacific
10. Approximate Band Absorption and Total Emissivity Calculations
11. Diving Saucer Descents into Submarine Canyons
12. A New C15 nub B-Type Phase
13. Superconductivity of Tellerium
14. Experimental Research on Techniques for Determination of Magnetic Properties of Lunar Planetary Materials
15. Hermetically-Sealing Seawater Sampler
16. New Techniques in Undersea Technology
17. Isotopic Composition of Lead in the Sediments Near the Japan Trench
18. Superconductivity in 1 and 2 dimensions.
19. Morphology and Sediments of a Portion of the Mid-Atlantic Ridge
20. Inorganic Nutrient Anions in Deep Ocean Waters
21. Superconducting Tubes and Filaments
22. Exchange and Correlation Effects in an Inhomogeneous Electron Gas
23. Functions of Markov Processes
24. Infrared Continuum from HII Regions
25. Characteristics of the Surface Layer in the Northeast Pacific Ocean
26. The Upper Limit Solar Gamma-Ray Spectrum to 10 Mev.
27. Effects of Rare Earth Additions on the Pressure Dependence of the Superconducting Transition Temperature of Lanthanum
28. Superconductivity and Phase Transformations in Titanium Alloys and Titanium-Chromium Alloys
29. On the Energy Concepts in the Theory of Elastic Stability
30. Infrared Line Emission from Planetary Nebulae I--General Theory
31. Vapor Pressures of Titanium Tetrabromide and Chromium Carbonyl
32. Subsea Coring for Geological and Geophysical Technical Surveys
33. Coastal Sand Dunes of Guerrero Negro, Baja Calif., Mexico
34. Hypsometry of Ocean Basin Provinces
35. Littoral Processes and the Development of Shorelines
36. Near Bottom Currents Measured in 4 Kilometers Depth off the Baja Calif. Coast
37. Nucleophilic Substitution on Ferrocenylmethyl Chlorides
38. Anomalous Scattering of Conduction Electrons in Dilute Alloys with a Moderate Concentration of Paramagnetic Impurities
39. Indeterminate Elastic workhardening Beams
40. Many More superconducting Bismuth Phases
41. Ferromagnetism in a Narrow Almost Half-Filled S Band
42. Towards a Quantum Many-Body Theory of Lattice Dynamics, I, Time Dependent Hartree Approximation
43. Passive Sonar Signal Processing
44. Note on the Calculation of Fourier Series
45. Radiative Cooling in Transparent Shock Layers of Wedges and Cones
46. Transverse Ultrasonic Attenuation in Gapless Superconducters
47. High Energy Cosmic Photons and Neutrinos
48. Ultra-Violet Emission from Galaxies
49. Redistribution of Trapped Photons During a Magnetic Storm
50. Drift Velocity of Trapped Particles
51. Chemical Evidence Relating to the Origin of Solar System
52. Manipulators and Special Devices
53. Radioactivity Induced in NaIby Trapped Photons
54. Determination of Rubidium in Seawater
55. Navy Supply Unclassified Publication of SIO
56. Importance of Submarine Valleys in Funneling Sediment to the Deep Sea
57. Internal Waves in the Sea
58. Nonlocal Fracture Zone.
59. Depth Patterns of Benthonic Foraminifers in the Eastern Pacific
60. Effects of Nuclear Explosions on Marine Biology
61. The Equations of Continuity for Seawater and River Water in Estuaries
62. Seismic Refraction Studies in the Gulf of California
63. Annihilation of Positrons in Metals
65. Continuity Between Bound and Unbound States in a Fermi Gas
65. A New Formulation of the Inhomogeneous Electron Gas Problem
66. Transverse Conductivity of a Degenerative System of Landau Electrons and Optical Phonons
67. Dispersion Theory of the Kondo Effect
68. Electronic Structure of Indium-Cadmium Alloys
69. Inertial Mass of a Moving Fluxoid
70. A Symposium on Continental Drift
71. Igneous Rocks of the Indian Ocean Floor
72. Intermediate Waters of the Pacific
73. Some New Superconducting Compounds
74. Search for Superconductivity in Alpha-Cerium
75. Paramagnetic Impurities in Metals at Finite Temperatures
76. Energy Gap in a Cubical Model for Nuclei
77. On the Detection of Second-Sound in Crystals by Light Scattering
78. Algebraic Derivation of the Partition Function for a 2-Dimensional Ising Model
79. On a Second Order Thomas-Fermi Theory
80. Earth Noise 5 to 500 Millicycles/sec.
81. Acoustic Transducer Evaluation Center
82. Radio Refraction by the Marine Layer and its Effect on Microwave Propagation
83. Marine Biological Sound West of San Clemente Island--July 1963
84. Ground System Effect on High Frequency Antenna Propagation
85. Reflection Profiles Across the Middle America Trench
86. Onset of Convection in a Layer of Fluid Cooled from Above
87. Ultrasonic Absorption in MgSO4 Solutions as a Function of Pressure and Dielectric Constant
88. Tuning Switching Circuit That Keeps Recorder on Scale
89. Transcurrent Faulting in the Ocean Floor
90. Carbon Dioxide in Surface Waters of the Pacific
91. Migrant Sound Scatters Interaction with the Sea Floor
92. The Resistance Minimum in Dilute Ti-Mn Alloys
93. Superconducting in Tin-Gallium Systems
94. Superconducting in Alkali Tungsten Bronzes
95. Weak Time Dependence in Pure Semiconductors
96. Weight Factors for the 2-Demensional Ising Model
97. Low Energy Electron Scattering by Metastable Helium
98. The Electronic Warfare Graphic Intercom System
99. Shipboard Interference Simulator
100. Omega in the Atlantic Ocean
101. Underwater Optics
102. Nitrite Distribution in Peru Current Waters
103. Galactic X-ray Sources
104. Desorption Rates of two Component Gas Mixtures from an Absorbent Bed
105. Thin Film Metal-Base Triodes
106. Microcircuit Reliability Prediction Methods
107. World-Wide Ocean Depths
108. MPL Participation in SEALAB II
109. A Review of Evidence for Biological Material in Meteorites
110. Continuous Representations in the Statistical Theory of Electronic Energies
111. A Magnetic Mineral from the Ocean Floor
112. On Heat Transfer Through the Ocean Floor
113. The Concept of Probability Applied to Future Oceanographic Ship Operations
114. An Aspect of Submarsild Ecology Revealed by Echo-Sounding in a Fjord
115. Oceanic Research
116. Fatty Acids Derived from Lipids of Marine Origin
117. Concentration of Lead in Greenland Snows
118. Radiogenic Leads of the Canadian and Baltic Shield Regions
119. Structure of the Continental Margin off Central California
120. The Effect of Pressure on the Dissociation of Manganese Sulphate Ion Pairs in Water
121. The Scattering of Plane Waves from Periodic Surfaces
122. Chemical Equilibrium of Ferric Ion in Sodium Chloride Medium
123. One Particle Properties of an Inhomogeneous Interacting Electron Gas
124. Exact Solution of the One-Particle Model of Exchange Scattering in Solids
125. Theoretical Ideas Concerning X-ray Sources
126. Inequality with Applications in Statistical Mechanics
127. Entropy Transport Between Two Superconducters by Electron Tunneling
128. Stability of Cylindrical Shells Under Moving Loads by the Direct Method of Liapunov
129. Pacific Pleistocene Cores Faunal Analyses and Geochronology
130. An Example of Unsteady Laminar Mixing in Power Law Fluids
131. The Alpha Ti-Fe Solid Solution and its Superconducting Properties
132. Experiments in X-ray and Gamma-Ray Astronomy
133. Processes Acting Upon Outer Zone Electrons I -- Adiabatic Perturbations
134. Linear Instability Theory of Laser Propagation in Fluids
135. Aerial Measurements of the Atmosphere Clarity and Sky Luminance Near Alamogordo, N.M.
136. Distortion of the Magnetosphere During a Magnetic Storm of 30 Sept. 1961
137. Cauchy-Weil Formulas for Cuts in Coherent Analytic Sheaves
138. Carbonium Ion Radicals and Oxy Radicals
139. Radar Return from Vehicles in the Ionosphere
140. Surface Conditions of the Original Meteorite Parent Body as Indicated by Mineral Associations
141. Theoretical and Experimental Study of Wave Enhancement and Runup on Uniformly Sloping Impermiable Beaches
142. Excitonic States on Metals
143. Interaction of Lasar Radiation with an Absorbing Semi-Infinite Solid Bar
144. FLIP Acoustical Self-Noise
145. Temperature Structure in the Transition Region of the North Pacific
146. The Temperature of Intergalactic Matter
147. Nonradiative Dissociative Electron Capture by Molecular Ions
148. Many-Body Perturbation Theory Applied to Open Shell Atoms
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150. Many Particle Derivation of the Effective Mass Equation for the Wannier Exciton
151. Importance of Relativistic Effects in the Scattering of Slow Electrons
152. Molecular Collision Cross-Sections and the Effect of Hydrogen on Vibrational Relaxation in Water Vapor
153. Models of Plastic Behavior
154. Laminar Boundary Layer on a Cone in Supersonic Flow with Uniform Mass Transfer
155. Model Studies for an Oceanographic Ship Derived from an Offshore Supply Vessel
156. Estimation of Mean Monthly Anomalies of Sea Surface Temperature
157. Heat Flow and Magnetic Profiles on the Mid-Indian Ocean Ridge
158. Boundaries of an Area of Very Long Magnetic Anomolies in the Northeast Pacific
159. Analysis of the Organic and Inorganic Constituents of Carbonaceous and Other Selected Stony Meteorites--Semiannual Status Report
160. Effects of Different Field Expansions on Omni-Directional Proton Counting Rate Data
161. Optimum Plastic Design of a Portal Frame for Alternative Loads
162. Strong-Coupling Limit in Dilute Alloys
163. Pressure Dependence of the Superconducting Transition Temperature of Vanadium and Niobium
165. Radiative Cooling in Shock Layers of Wedges and Cones
166. Di-T-Butyl Hyponitrate, A Convenient Source of T-Butoxy Radicals
167. Transverse Ultrasonic Attenuation in Gapless Superconducters
168. Tomsach Effect as a Probe of the Dispersion Relations of Electrons in Gapless Superconductors
169. Long-Range Spin-Polarization in the Kondo Effect
170. On the Detection of Magnetic Microstructures with Charged Particles
171. Superconductivity and Particle Size in Heterogeneous Copper-Lead Alloys
172. A New Opening-Closing Paired Zoo-plankton Net
173. Lunar and Solar Daily Variation in the Magnetotelluric Field Beneath the Ocean
174. Advanced Propulsion Techniques
175. Cosmic Dust in the Stratosphere
176. The Influence of Natural Light on the Vertical Migration of an Animal Community in the Ocean
177. An Image Restoration Experiment on Turbulance-Degraded Images
178. Transducer Calibration Facility at San Vicente Lake
179. Structure of Resonances in Electron Scattering by Hydrogen Atoms
180. Theory of Atomic Collisions with Negative Ions Associative Detachment
181. A Modified Version of Price's Theorem
182. Transport Properties of the "Exciton Insulator" II. Electrical Conductivity
183. Transport Properties of the "Excitonic Insulator" II. Thermal Conductivity
184. Direct Numerical Determination of the Stress Field in a Thin Elastic Disc
185. Ion Temperature in the Upper Atmosphere
186. Pressure Dependence of Nonmetalized Hybrid Fuel Regression Rates
187. The Oceanic Delta
188. Transitional Types of Crust Under Small Ocean Basins
189. Tensor Arm Manipulator Design
190. Precision Hydrophones for the Hull Steering Array
191. The Search for New Materials
192. Theory of a Charged Base Gas I.
193. Theory of a Charged Base Gas II.
194. Will Pressure Destroy Superconductivity?
195. Parisitic Transport
196. Holocene Changes in Sea Level Evidence in Micronesia