

indicator

*I have tried to be objective.
I do not claim to be detached.*

C. Wright Mills



McGill Weighs Marcuse Decision

On December 5 Professor Herbert Marcuse spoke at the 20th Anniversary celebration of the Guardian newspaper in New York. The theme of the meeting was "Radical Perspectives, 1969."

On December 6 and 7 the San Diego Union and the Evening Tribune carried the banner headline: "Sabotage U.S. Order, says Marcuse".

Once again attention was focused upon Professor Marcuse's contract, a constant thorn in the side of the San Diego community. Letters calling for Marcuse's dismissal flooded the columns of the Union-Tribune and the Union added its voice in an editorial (Dec. 12) entitled "Dr. Marcuse Harms UCSD." "Dr. Herbert Marcuse", trumpeted the paper, "has again embarrassed and hurt the University of California at San Diego and all of higher education in the United States of America."

Professor Marcuse will be 71 in July. Because he is past retirement age, he is employed on a year to year basis. Chancellor McGill's decision on this matter can be expected sometime near the end of this month. The standard procedure for deciding such cases is as follows:

1. A confidential file is put together by the department containing letters of recommendation for the department and from outside referees.
2. Duplicate copies of the file are sent to the Vice-Chancellor in charge of grad-cont. on p. 3

S.F. State: How a Strike Grew

Thursday, Sept. 27 --

In the wake of the Eldridge Cleaver controversy at the University of California. The State College Trustees move to have Black Panther Minister of Education, George Murray, removed from the S.F. State faculty. The Trustees "request" that S.F. State President Robert Smith place Murray in a non-teaching position.

Tuesday, Oct. 1 --

Smith, feeling that the time is not right and the issues not clear enough "refuses" to act on Trustees "request" regarding Murray.

Monday, Oct. 28 --

Black Students Union (BSU), seeing that all proper channels for the implementation of the Black Studies Program have been exhausted call a student strike as a means of achieving their demands to begin on November 6th. Murray delivers speech suggesting that oppressed students may have cause for armed struggle on campus to protect themselves from racist administrators.

Thursday, Oct. 31 --

State College Chancellor Glen Dumke orders Smith to suspend Murray. Smith balks at the order.

Friday, Nov. 1 --

Smith, waiting until the campus is virtually cleared for the weekend, orders Murray suspended pending due process.

Monday, Nov. 4 --

BSU calls a press conference reiterating their demands and a call for the strike to begin Nov. 6th. SDS calls a mass meeting of all interested white students to muster support for the BSU strike and demands.

Wednesday, Nov. 6 --

The strike begins. White students picket buildings, classroom educate the strikebreakers, and hold a rally culminating with a march on the Administration Building to get a statement from Smith. Smith states that he is too busy and doesn't have the time to face the students at this time. Concurrently

the Third World students dismiss all classes one by one, disrupting those classes resisting. The S.F. Police Tactical Squad is called to maintain "law and order".

Thursday, Nov. 7 --

Students continue picketing and classroom education. Noon rally ends with a march through the halls of classroom buildings by hundreds of strikers chanting "On strike, Shut it down!" Classes are effectively disrupted. Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) adds 5 demands to strike goal.

Wednesday, Nov. 13 --

The strike continues to grow. Discussion groups are formed all over the campus. At noon the Tactical Squad appears in front of the BSU and stands information, intimidating students. Students hail Tac Squad with rocks, dirt clods, food and wood. Tac Squad breaks formation, indiscriminately starts clubbing students. Students fight back, liberating prisoners. Cops then draw

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In Whose Interest...

Chancellor McGill has said (Evening Tribune, Oct. 28, 1968) that Marcuse's case would be reviewed on the basis of the answer to the question, "Is professor Marcuse's position in the University so vital that his continuance for another year seems justifiable. The supposed basis by which his position is decided has been very clearly set down within the rules of academia. If this were all there was to the Marcuse hiring we could all rest our minds on the good doctor's laurels, however, the San Diego Union and American Legion cannot leave it at a mere question of academic qualifications. They recognize a real (viz. non-academic) threat from a man who has not only developed a critique of American society, but who can articulate it with such eloquence and footnotes that he necessarily gains the respect of the academic community. Marcuse is above all a true scholar, and in many respects the fulfillment of the classical archetype set up for academics. Beyond that, he is a Marxist, and applies an approach and a method which compel and all him to bring to light the contradictions inherent in our society.

If the university were indeed a "finding out place" and education really what our faculty would have us believe it is, then the question of Marcuse's rehiring would never arise. But the Union and the Legion prove that picture a fantasy, an illusion, a lie. And all their clamoring for his dismissal push us towards the realization of the real function of the University.

We find ourselves in much the same position we were over a month ago with the question of Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver was called a 'racist' and unqualified to teach the state's children; Marcuse is called an 'avowed Marxist' and capable only of indoctrinating them. What they mean in both cases is that these men arouse an awareness and bring questions to the minds of students which subvert the purpose of the university. That purpose is to make us all fit technicians for this countries corporations. These technicians either develop the methods of exploitation of labor (as managers, programmers, scientists, etc.) or remain in the university to develop the methods of socializing for the next generation of apologists for corporate America.

We say to those who consider both Marcuse and Cleaver questions of Academic Freedom that the ruling class and the working class are alot more practical than that. In both cases they view the university as an investment, from which they expect to get a return.

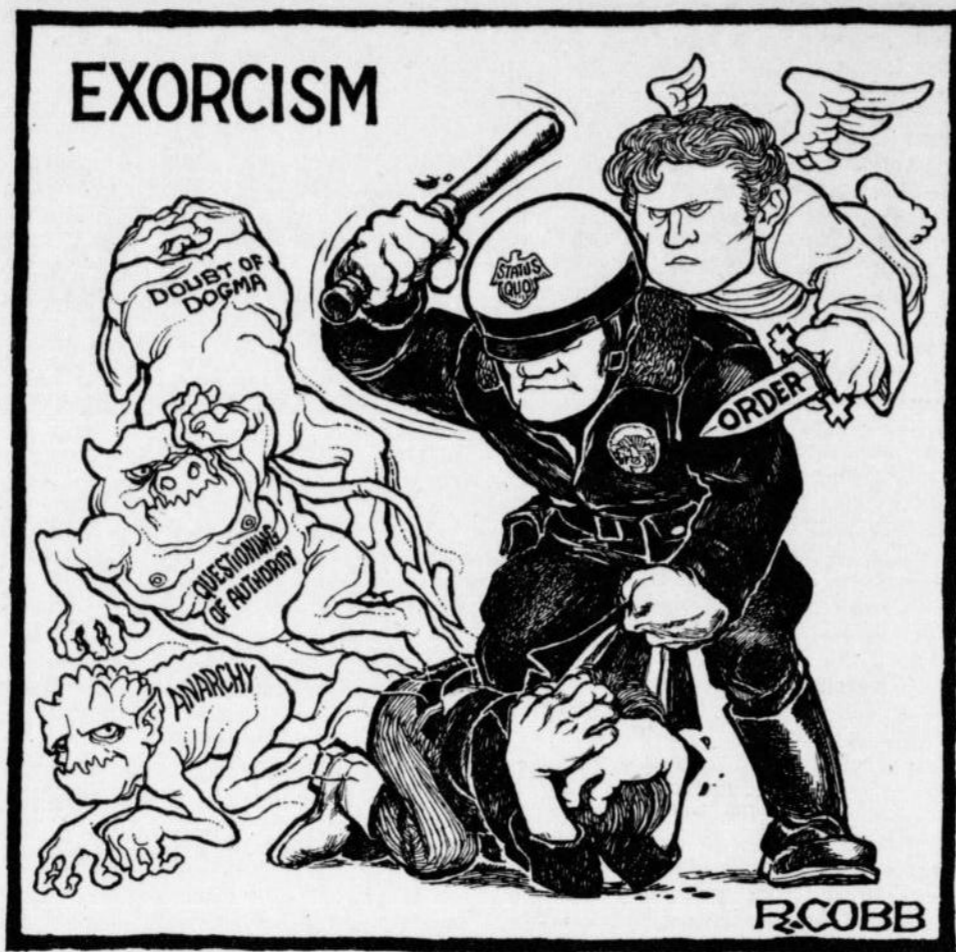
The ruling class is getting that return indeed. The working class can only respond to its lack of returns through the eyes that the ruling class gives it -- eyes that say that the university is not working for you because of agitating students and dogmatic professors. What it really means to say to the working class is that the university is not working for you because it is working for us. And it is in fact doing that. It is delivering the engineers to General Dynamics in return for its million dollar investment (Indicator, Nov. 20). It has effectively separated the students from their necessary relationship with the rest of the population. It is teaching us all values which will determine in whose interest we will act in the future. It is th site of much Defense work and the training ground for new Penners and Nierenbergs. But the one thing it cannot be is the fulfillment of the promises it makes to the rest of America, promises of the eventual elimination of racism and poverty. The University cannot do this, for the only way it could would be to listen to the experience of the Eldridge Cleaver's and learn the methods of the Herbert Marcuse's. And as the San Diego Union has proven this cannot be tolerated for it disrupts the appointed function of the university - sustenance of a decadent society.

So where does that leave us. It leaves us with the reality of if not the immediate eventual lose of one of our finest professors. A professor that already feeds defensive about much of what he says. And the realization that what we must address ourselves to is not a picture of the university as a "finding out place" but as a training ground. What we must decide is if we can afford to be socialized for corporate use, and whether or not our interests lie with those of the Blacks and the working class in America -- interest which cannot be approached without the demise of corporate power.

Politics of Isolation

The fundamental prerequisite of suppression of a race or group is territorial. By isolating and defining the physical area that a group can act within, society can control the group's access to expression and social change, and control social mobility within the group. No one can debate the power of a ghetto to maintain and fortify the role of a black man in our society. He is "kept in his place" by his limitation within a certain area. The college campus serves the same purpose. The role of a student is strictly defined as within the territory of the campus. Any acts involving off campus relations are considered damaging to the tradition goals of the educational system (Keep Cleaver out). A student's access to non-campus information cannot be controlled easily. This makes it difficult for the school to serve its role as a "socializing or conditioning" tool to preserve status quo and to provide working tools for expansion of the corporate economy. The reliance of a ghetto community on

outside sources of capital is a second source of control by the majority community. The college operates in much the same way. Fear of loss of revenue from government and business sources makes it impossible to change the role of educational institution from socialization to humanization. A third source of oppression is to base your symbols of authority or powers from without the community. Police do not reside and contribute economically and socially to the life style of ghetto residents and yet they hold the power or authority to determine which actions will be permitted within the community. In the same context the police and campus administrators do not participate actively in any educational processes on campus. Their authority exists merely to serve the best interests of the majority community. Another traditional means of keeping ghetto residents "in their place" is to provide some form of meaningless decision making bodies, controlled by the



majority powers to channel the energy of concerned people into harmless directions. The student government and service organizations on the campus serve this role very well. The concerned or active students are channelled into areas of no consequence in order to neutralize their effect on status quo. Instead they debate whether cheerleaders are qualified or pass resolutions that mean nothing except that the Senate can play parliamentary games. They promised more chances of future success if they play these "extra curricular activities."

Many other facets of suppression can be found in a much more covert form on the college campus. The Panthers, by dealing with obvious and overt dilemma have their tactics well defined. The white student must realize that these tactics are relevant to his own position.

We must first analyze and comprehend our own position.

Secondly we must acquire some feeling of group identity.

Thirdly we must realize that we have to discard the "traditional" modes of expression and define our own.

Fourth we must organize and work together to break the control of our environment by sources concerned only with their own self interest. Listen, learn, and act. Time and the rest

of the world will not permit apathy. Injustice and misery are the results of your inaction. Free Huey!

Mike Lee SdS San Fernando Valley State Free Student Gov't

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McGill Weighs Marcuse Decision, Cont.

uate studies and to the Provost of the appropriate college, each of whom reviews and comments on it.

3. The file then goes to the Budget Committee which reviews it and appoints an ad hoc committee whose function is to make a detailed study of the case. The constitution of this latter committee is secret.

4. The Budget Committee reviews the report of the ad hoc committee along with all other documents submitted, makes their own recommendation and forwards it to the Chancellor and the Vice-Chancellors in charge of Academic Affairs.

5. The final decision then rests in the hands of the Chancellor. The criteria he employs are the same as those used by each of the deliberative groups. These are:

- a) Scholarship
- b) Teaching
- c) University Service (committee work)
- d) Community Service ('community' is to be understood in its broad, not parochial sense. This includes participation in academic and public lectures.)

Notwithstanding the fact that the decision is to be made in accordance with standard procedure, various reactionary elements within the San Diego community have tried to prevail upon McGill not to renew Marcuse's contract. On Dec. 3 representatives of thirty-two American Legion posts met and approved a letter addressed to McGill written by District Commander Billy Newsome. The letter noted "The eventual welfare and future of UCSD is in extreme danger, not from without, but from within." The Legion charged Marcuse with "preaching anarchy" and with "advocating and urging the destruction of our form of democracy."

The letter continued, "We believe Marcuse, by his latest outbreak (the Guardian speech) should convince you of his danger on the campus. We believe you now have sufficient grounds for removal. This is not a question of academic freedom. His activities off campus must be taken into account when considering the desirability of keeping Marcuse on the campus."

UCSD students have initiated several petitions encouraging Chancellor McGill to withstand the pressure exerted by the Legion and the Copley Press. Circulated during the final examination period, the undergraduate petition acquired 1035 signatures within a week. The same petition was signed by 122 graduate students from all departments. The five T.A.s who taught Humanities I under Professor Marcuse wrote a letter of support. And, the graduate students in the Department of Philosophy circulated their own petition. Out of 65 graduate students contacted 62 signed. Of the three who refused, one said that he was not sufficiently acquainted with Marcuse, another said that he thought that retirement in all professions should be mandatory at age 70, and the third claimed "It would jeopardize my status in the Y.R.'s."

The Marcuse case has attracted the attention of the academic community at large. Thirty five faculty members of Grossmont College sent a letter to Chancellor McGill affirming their commitment to academic freedom and their

confidence in Professor Marcuse's intellectual integrity. Their letter urged Chancellor McGill to continue to resist efforts to have Professor Marcuse removed from the faculty of UCSD. The Philosophy Department at UCLA sent a statement to President Hitch expressing their concern for the welfare of the University. Copies of the statement were mailed to Chancellors McGill and Young, UCLA committees on Academic Freedom & University Autonomy, and to the Chairman of the Legislative Assembly. According to Professor Donald Kalish, Philosophy Dept. Chairman at UCLA, the members of his department feel that the University of California is under grave political attack in general. "In our view," said Professor Kalish, "damage to the University can be prevented only by firm resistance to this pressure on the part of all elements and officials of the University."

When queried as to his views on the outcome of the decision, Avrum Stroll, Chairman of the UCSD Philosophy Department, replied, "I have absolutely no question but that Marcuse's case will be decided wholly on academic grounds, that is, in terms of the standard criteria for determining the reappointment of a professor at the University of California."

Chancellor McGill has made several statements on the Marcuse case. On the one hand, he has insisted (in a reply to the Legion's letter of Dec. 9) that he is "trying to settle the matter on its academic merits" and he has maintained "that it is wholly inappropriate that an issue as subtle and as sensitive as this one...should be the subject of undue pressure...from local newspapers and from the American Legion." On the other hand, McGill has admitted that he "cannot ignore the fact that there is great public clamor for Marcuse's dismissal," and in the same reply to the Legion (cited earlier) he said "We are perfectly prepared to receive your views and to consider them seriously."

In an interview with the Evening Tribune on Sept. 26 McGill noted "My mail from citizens and members of the Legislature has been extremely heavy." The Chancellor said that he would take into consideration the views of students, however. Commenting on the possible influences of the student petitions and the demands of the Legion et. al. (in an interview with the Indicator) McGill remarked that these two groups in effect neutralized each other. And, in an interview with the Union on Dec. 13 he said "I find myself with the burden of disapproval by the



people of San Diego and perhaps the state Legislature, or the disapproval of the academic community and the national press...I expect to be investigated no matter what I do..."

From the beginning, however, Chancellor McGill has maintained that he has "an obligation to deal justly with this man--with the academic community--and with the general public."

At its annual meeting in Honolulu, August 29 to September 1, 1968, the American Philosophical Association, Pacific Division, elected Herbert Marcuse as its president. The announcement of his election included the statement that "The presidency of a Division of the American Philosophical Association is the highest honor which the philosophical profession can bestow upon one of its fellows." Professor Marcuse was elected with full knowledge of the attacks made on him by some residents of the San Diego area. According to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Pacific Division, "His election signifies the respect which fellowphilosophers hold for Professor Marcuse, and should serve to show the public that the attacks directed against Professor Marcuse by extremists have no educational or professional foundation...A man of Professor Marcuse's stature and eminence should receive the proud support and encouragement of Californians."

Chancellor McGill himself has noted that the central question regarding the retention at UCSD of the President of the Pacific Division of the American Philosophical Association is the following: "Is Professor Marcuse's position in the university so vital that his continuance for another year seems justifiable?"

Who Makes History?

The German poet Bertolt Brecht wrote in the following poem perhaps the best discussion of historiography to be found anywhere.

Who built the seven gates of Thebes?
The books are filled with names of kings.
Was it kings who hauled the craggy blocks of stone?
And Babylon, so many time destroyed.
Who built the city up each time? In which of Lima's houses,
That city glittering with gold, lived those in the evening when the Chinese wall was finished
Where did the masons go? Imperial Rome Is full of arcs of triumph. Who reared them up? Over whom
Did the Caesars triumph? Byzantium lives in song,
Were all her dwellings palaces? Where did the people live? And in Atlantis
The night the sea rushed in,
The drowning men still bellowed for their slaves.

Young Alexander conquered India.

By himself?
Caesar beat the Gauls.
Was there not even a cook in his army?
Philip of Spain wept as his fleet Was sunk and destroyed. Were there no others' tears?
Frederick the Great triumphed in the Seven Years War. Who Triumphed with him?

Each page a victory,
At whose expense the victory ball?
Every ten years a great man,
Who paid the piper?

So many statements.
So many questions.

We realize now that what we called World History in high school was nothing more than the history of Western Europe, a tiny portion of that world. What is more important is that the history we are taught in college, though broadened geographically, is little more than the history of a single, tiny class. "The books are filled with the names of kings," and we study the conflicts between elements of the ruling class. Every quarrel between King and Pope is chronicled in loving detail, while little, if anything, cont. on p. 7

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The University Scientist: Who Pays the Piper?

The university scientist is no idle observer of American society. He performs an indispensable function for U.S. governmental, economic and military interests: he sells his brains (and as a result, his soul) to these concerns. His payoff although not equal to the value of his soul, is very handsome indeed. His research is given a luxurious home in an institution run by the interests of big business (witness the Regents) and is amply (and almost entirely) funded by the U.S. Government (with a very healthy portion coming from the Department of Defense). But, the most important part of the payoff is that the university scientist is allowed and, in fact, encouraged to believe that the laboratory and money are rewards for the intrinsic worth of his own ideas. The university scientist, then, is well paid to maintain and extend the present conditions and tendencies of American society and is allowed, at the same time, to believe himself independent of these conditions -- a very enviable position (or is it?).

We can characterize the function of the university scientist in American society in another manner. The university scientist is the one who is allowed and encouraged to believe that he is doing "pure" or "basic" research in a society in which no such research can take place. By "pure" research we shall understand investigations into natural phenomena motivated primarily by simple curiosity, by a desire to understand how the natural world operates. Pure science is to be contrasted with "applied" science, by which we shall mean the acquisition or employment of scientific understanding in order to transform the object understood. The university scientist is, then, the one who is allowed and encouraged to believe that he is merely attempting to understand the natural world (a world that includes people) when he is really, due to the nature of his society transforming the world according to the ends of his society.

Two questions immediately come to mind: 1. Aren't there at least a few clear cases of pure research? and 2. Why would university scientists be encouraged to believe something that is false, namely, that they are doing pure research?

Those scientists whose work is so theoretically far out and bizarre that no practical consequences can be seen as possibly issuing from it would certainly be doing pure research if any such research existed. Yet, even this type of research loses its purity in a repressive society because of the function it necessarily performs for such a society. By serving as an (apparently) obvious example of pure research, it makes possible (and plausible) the whole pure research myth. It does this because a belief that is false in all cases (e.g. all cases of alleged pure research) cannot be held to be generally true unless there are a few cases for which it (seems) obviously to hold good. The obviousness in these cases is only apparent, though, because a scientist who realized that his investigations were serving this purpose couldn't have simple curiosity as his primary motivation. Pure research is a necessarily empty concept in a repressive society: instead of describing a type of research, it functions as an excuse for co-operating with representatives and policies of that society.

We come now to the second question, viz: Why would university scientists be encouraged to believe that they are doing

pure research when they are really doing the opposite? This question is very easy to answer. The complexity and technical sophistication of our government, economy, and military make them dependent on a massive scientific labor force. The active co-operation of this specialized labor force is a necessary feature of our repressive government, our exploitive economy, and our repressive-exploitive military. In short, there would be no way of waging law and order, both at home and abroad, without the scientist's help. Many scientists, and typically the university scientist, know that they are helping and many find this fact just distasteful enough to repress. Since repressing the fact that they are taking part allows many scientists to in calm conscience help the forces of law and order, the forces of law and order are more than willing to let these scientists repress the fact that they are helping by telling them the lie that they are doing pure research within the cloister of academe. It works out better for both that way.

Even though university scientists are "allowed and encouraged" to believe that they are doing pure research when they are really doing the opposite, it must be pointed out that many do not succumb to this encouragement. Many scientists are fully aware of their servitude to U.S. governmental and military interests and appear to be quite pleased with what they are doing. It seems that scientists who are liberals politically are the most susceptible to the encouragement given them to believe that their work is independent of the goals it really serves. Just like their politics, their conception of the function of science in U.S. society is based upon "legitimized", i.e. generally approved, self-deception; it is based upon a self-deception that covers up the painful (and repressed) knowledge of the real nature of their deeds. These are the scientists (the ones who fall for the pure research story) who most characteristically represent the university scientist--after all, the university is the classic case of the "liberal institution."

There is no pure research going on in American universities even though university scientists are encouraged to believe that their investigations are basically of this type. All research must be considered from the point of view of its possible applications. Leaving aside those projects that theoretically too far out to have any foreseeable applications (already discussed) and those designed solely for pre-existing "defense" and related needs, we shall now consider 1) research that has both good and evil applications (probably the great majority of research that goes on within the university) and 2) research for which no evil applications can be envisaged, e.g. research into food sources, cancer (but don't forget David Ferris), smog, etc.

The individual researcher is often faced with a perplexing situation when he sees that his research could have evil as well as good applications. Should he, for example, discontinue work that might lead to social goods just because it could be employed for military purposes? How is the individual scientist to solve this problem? The problem vanishes once it is realized that it isn't really the individual scientist's. Which of the many possible applications of a scientist's research will be utilized is almost always up to the scientist's society and rarely up to the scientist. The priorities to bear in mind are those of the society, not those of the scientist. Thus, even though the indi-

vidual scientist's priorities may differ drastically from those of his society, he cannot legitimately use them (as many try to do) to excuse his research. This is especially true when (as is the case), the great majority of funds come from the government and military.

There remains the case of research that has only good applications. What can we say? All we can say is that there is far too little of it being done.

How does this analysis of the university scientist and his research fit UCSD as a particular case? Since UCSD scientists are distinguished only by the fact that they are unusually good scientists, their analysis fits quite well. Let us turn to some concrete facts about UCSD.

UCSD scientists are faithfully serving the interests of the government and military. Although no classified research is allowed under the auspices of the university, a healthy 93% of research grants and contracts were funded by the U.S. Government for the year ending June 30, 1968. Of this total about 37% came from the Department of Defense. If we add funds from the Atomic Energy Commission (the chief benefactor of Harold Urey's research) to those from the Department of Defense, the figure is close to 45%. These are campus-wide figures; some departments are in heavier than others. Scripps, for example, received about 50% of its research funds from the Department of Defense (mostly from the Navy and for the operation of Scripps research ships) The AMES Department is indebted to the Department of Defense for at least 40% of its research money.

Although 93% of UCSD's research funds come from the government and military, most of our scientists accept the pure research story to some extent. Some UCSD scientists know exactly whose interests they are serving and are apparently content in their servitude. Yet, even some of these clear-sighted scientists, as we shall see, have fallen for parts of the pure research story. There are many others, though, who seem to have swallowed the story whole.

S.S. Penner (chairman of the AMES Department and Director of the Institute for Pure and Applied Physical Sciences) serves as a good example of a UCSD scientist who knows whose interests he is working for. In a recent proposal to the Air Force, he stated: "The principal objectives of the proposed investigations are improved basic understanding of physical phenomena which have applications to re-entry vehicle and missile phenomenology, rocket boosters, and new developments (e.g. lasers) that are of immediate or potential interest to DoD (Department of Defense)." According to this proposal, Penner was to be the principal investigator while P.A. Libby,

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S.C. Lin, F.A. Williams, D.B. Olfe, D.R. Miller, C.H. Gibson, and C.W. Van Atta (all AMES professors) were to be participating investigators. The proposal describes the investigators as follows: "The proposed basic research programs will be performed by faculty members who are familiar with current DoD needs relating to a wide spectrum of immediate and potential developments."

Penner's connections with the defense establishment are very close. For example, he was Director, Research and Engineering Support Division, Institute for Defense Analyses from 1962 to 1964 (Lin, Olfe, and Williams of the AMES Department have consulted for IDA). He was the editor of Journal of Missile Defense Research (classified "secret"). He has been, since 1962, a member of various ARPA (Advanced Research Projects Agency), IDA study panels on such topics as Ballistic Missile Defense, Limited War, Space Technology, etc. And, he has been, since 1965, a consultant to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

William Nierenberg (a physicist and Director of Scripps) is a UCSD scientist who works for the interests of the military (he has signed many of the contracts Scripps has with the Navy), is satisfied serving these interests, and, yet, still accepts part of the pure research story. He has stated as a participant in a recent symposium concerning the moral responsibilities of scientists in today's world that he "will supply information to the government in order to make it stronger." Yet, notwithstanding his feelings on this matter, he insisted on making what has become a normative distinction between "scientists" and "technicians," saying that scientists shouldn't be treated as if they were technicians. But, the "scientist-technician" distinction is just a special case of the "pure-applied" distinction as we have described it.

Russell Doolittle (a biochemist and a recent Democratic candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives) is a UCSD scientist who seems to have swallowed the pure research story whole. At the above-mentioned symposium he stated that the scientists engaged in making the first atomic bomb--a group that includes our own William Nierenberg, Edward Teller, and Harold Urey--were motivated primarily by a desire to "understand the nature of the nucleus of the atom." That is, Professor Doolittle would have us believe that the Manhattan Project was a case of pure research! Unfortunately Doolittle, as a liberal politician and a defender of pure science, is a perfect example of the university scientist.

What can be done? At the very least, science students, and especially those in introductory science courses, ought to initiate some critical thinking by making sure that the place of science in contemporary American society is made a topic for classroom discussion. More suggestions are needed--everyone should put his mind to the problem. For recognition of the fact that pure research is only a tool, is face saving rhetoric, is only the beginning.

Tran Van Dinh "The problem of change"

Last of a series

If you look at the revolution in agricultural countries, I think the Maoist thought is the most valid. Either you like Mao or not, that depends on individual taste, but I feel that the experience in China is a very instructive and informative to any country which tries to solve its problem through revolution and through the peasantry. And I think it is something which is going to last at least in the next ten years and is going to influence a great many of the underdeveloped countries especially in Latin America. But now, if you take that line, then the State Department here, or the American Administration, they say "This is of course what we want to prevent. We don't want people to copy the Chinese Revolution." But the Chinese Revolution is basically a home made revolution, the self-made revolution. And this is something which many Americans don't understand. They say, "Well, if China succeeds, the whole world may become revolutionary." I really doubt that: the whole world may become revolutionary only if the masses in each of these countries of the world become conscious of the problem.

You have now a big contradiction within the communist world. You have in some countries the Communist Party becoming actually the party of the right rather than the party of the left. Because these are the orthodox Communist Parties, like in Bolivia, like in Guatemala. They believe that the alliance between the bourgeois and the worker in the city could bring the party into power, which I think is terribly wrong because even if it did, it's going to be very reactionary because the trend in the twentieth century is the workers are the conservative element not the liberal any more. Now the peasantry is the most liberal element. And the people who make the liberalization and the liberation of the peasant possible are the intellectuals. So, in the next few years, the most revolutionary group in any country in an underdeveloped area would be the peasant and the intellectual. Not the peasant and the workers any more.

Now this brings us to a fundamental question which I always try to discuss with Americans. What is actually in American society? Unless you have a clear analysis of American society, it is very difficult to offer a solution for change. Is that a society in which there is a struggle of classes or is it a society in which the industrial-military complex is so vast that it could influence practically all classes? So what I really aim at is this: what is actually the role of the workers in this country regarding the problem of change? You can call it revolution, but I think we had better be a little



U.S. imperialism must get out of all the places it has occupied! Poster

bit humble about it at first--call it the "problem of change." You and I agree on one thing: that the workers in this country have become very conservative, so therefore you cannot expect them to bring about change or even to accept it. But at the same time, a technological society has one real weakness and strength at the same time. It cannot operate without the cooperation of the intellectual, of the brain. You cannot expect a technological society to operate without the PhD, the scientist, and all this. So I think the problem in this country would be to first define a strategy for the intellectuals and the scientists and all this--you can call it the "brain community." And at the same time, this community has to educate the workers into being the liberal element.

Now the Black problem is a little bit different. I think the Black community here, as I can see it, is in a very innocent phase of revolution: the definition of the Black identity. You can see some black people who reject a priori any cooperation with the whites which in revolutionary thought is very strange, very illogical. Any revolution tries to reach the masses and at the same time you have some Black militants in this country who a priori reject any kind of possible cooperation. I have nothing against this because I know that for some of them the problem is not change yet, but the problem to define a Black identity, who they are and what is their culture. You cannot talk about integration or even change without knowing who you are. So I guess that the Black problem has to be taken rather separately in the sense that you have two kinds of situations going on in this country. One is that the intellectual community, the student movement, asks for a change in the structure of American society. The Black people are asking the same thing but through their own identity first. I think it is quite a complex situation,

but from this complex situation may emerge two things: one is a very oppressive kind of society of a society or a kind of gradual coalition between all the groups who feel that if you don't do something about that there will be some kind of political oppression in this country. So if my analysis is correct, then everybody who wants change in this country has to work on two premises. One is to use all the available means possible at this stage, for example elections of liberal congressmen, senators, and working within the McCarthy movement like many have done within the last few months and, at the same time, trying to radicalize all those movements to the point where they accept a common strategy for change. I think this may take a few years.

By associating themselves with liberal causes, the radicals might tend to lose consciousness of their political identity if they don't have a strategy. But if they do, then it is not a problem. For example, I think the revolutionary is like one who tries to drive from here to LA for example. The importance is to know if LA is north of San Diego or south. If you think LA is south, then you get into a very strange situation: you can stay in the same highway but you get nowhere. So I think the direction is very important, you can take a few exits, you can turn left or you can turn right. So I think the election of liberal senators and congressmen may be dangerous things if you don't know your directions, if you don't know what you really aim at because once you get there you become part of that semi-establishment. But once you know your sense of direction, all this becomes tactical steps rather than a strategy. I always regard the McCarthy movement as a very successful tactical step towards the creation of two things which are very important for change: acceptance that war and peace is one of the fundamental problems in American society. McCarthy has made, in my opinion, peace acceptable to the large majority of the people--even the people who are very conservative. And the second thing would be to involve the young generation in some kind of political consciousness although it is very minimal. You have seen cases where many students who have never done anything political suddenly have to do something for Mc Carthy. And the convention in Chicago radicalized all of them because without McCarthy's campaign they would not have seen it. But if you stop at that, then you become part of the new establishment. If you aim in a very precise direction, then any kind of tactical step is only leading to the general strategy you have in mind. And that is why I think the need in this country is for the political thinkers to define what kind of society this country wants to be.

Now if you look at some radical thought, it's basically conservative in that they want to return to the 1776 principles, the First Amendment and the Constitution of the United States. You can even call some of the radicals here the most patriotic and the most conservative. But I think there is nothing really wrong about that because the American Revolution hasn't really been taken off the ground yet. There's a lot of structure there in 1776 that has never been implemented. You take the case of the Open Housing law: strange enough, it was voted in 1866 and now, in 1968, people are still talking about open housing. In other words, the American Revolution was ahead of its time. And for some reason, there was a period when no one even thought about it, nobody made it work. So I think that what we will witness will be first a stage of return to the American Revolution's principles: the Liberty of Man, and all these things, but I don't think this would be enough.

The second thing would be to define the role of the citizen in technological society. The 1776 revolution was basically a nationalistic one--to provide the American with a sense of identity, exactly like in the Black community now. I'm much more interested in this kind of proposal: what would be really a citizen of this country in the technological structure. You simply cannot say that technology is useless.

It is functional, but functional for whom, in what direction? You can live in a very big house with all the comforts, but you could be a prisoner of that. You can have a system of prison which is very comfortable but you are still a prisoner. I just finished a book called The First Circle by a Russian novelist. He cont. on p. 8

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S.F. State Strike, cont.

guns and withdraw from campus. Tac Squad reappears ten minutes later and is forced off campus by 2000 strikers. Students and faculty demand that Smith close down the college. Smith closes campus indefinitely.

Monday, Nov. 18 -- Smith is ordered by Trustees to open the campus immediately. Smith asks all students to come to campus to engage in Departmental meetings to discuss the issues.

Tuesday, Nov. 19 -- Smith addresses students and faculty. His decision to reopen is rejected by students and faculty. Faculty calls for a Crisis Convocation to resolve the issues. Smith declares school will open Wednesday.

Wednesday, Nov. 20 -- Some classes reopen as Convocation goes on in hostile atmosphere. BSU-TWLF agrees to participate in Convocation as an educational tactic. Campus occupied by 200 plainclothes police and Tactical Squad in boiler rooms.

Thursday, Nov. 21 -- Classes and Convocation continue. BSU-TWLF demand that Smith suspend classes to establish atmosphere of good faith for Convocation. Smith refuses and striking students walk out of Convocation. Thousands of strikers march through buildings, closing down classes. Plainclothes men attempting to stop the action and arrest leaders are hassled by strikers. Tac Squad appears to protect empty buildings on a closed campus.

Friday, Nov. 22-- Alioto proposes negotiations. Academic Senate suggests Department meetings to discuss possibility of another Convocation. Smith cancels afternoon classes for Department meetings. Departments call for Convocation with no classes to be held and immediate withdrawal of all cops from the campus.

Monday, November 25 -- BSU-TWLF approved convocation (televised to the community) begins with Trustees meet in Los Angeles to discuss the S.F. State crisis.

Tuesday, November 26 -- BSU-TWLF call an end to convocation when letters of suspension are received by some striking students. In Los Angeles Smith submits his resignation to the Trustees. Smith's reason for resigning "an inability to resolve issues amidst the various political pressures. A half hour later the Trustees name S.I. Hayakawa to be their new President. Hayakawa orders campus closed.

Wednesday, November 27 -- Students and faculty in defiance of Hayakawa's "closed campus" order the occupation of the campus to organize the strike and denounce Hayakawa.

Monday, Dec. 2 -- Hayakawa reopens the campus with a hardline "state of emergency" and 650 cops. Hayakawa attacks strikers sound-truck parked off campus, assaulting students, ripping out speaker wires and inciting to riot by littering the street with "blue armbands" which were being passed out to students supporting Hayakawa's position. At noon an "illegal" rally was held on the steps of the Administration Building. Rally is followed by marches on police occupied classroom buildings resulting in a massive confrontation between thousands of striking students and 650 cops.

Tuesday, Dec. 3 -- Picket line formed by 30 students at classroom building is routed by 40 club swinging Tac Squaders. Picketers are chased into student Commons where students are indiscriminately hassled and clubbed. At noon rally Third World community leaders speak in support of strike. March on classroom building is met with 650 cops. Bloody two-hour battle ensues between students and cops. Hayakawa, summing up the day stated that it was his "most exciting day since he rode a roller coaster on his tenth birthday."

Wednesday, Dec. 4 -- Black community leaders meet with Hayakawa and denounce him. Hayakawa walks out. Third World community leaders march on campus in support of strike and join rally. Thousands of strikers march off campus to build community support for the strike. Community people picket Hall of Justice in protest of police on campus. Strikers picket City Hall in protest of the same.

Thursday, Dec. 5 -- Noon rally with many working people from the Third World communities (mothers from Hunters Point, etc.) ends with a march led by Third World community people and students on the Administration building to confront Hayakawa. This march is met by cops with drawn guns and mace protecting Hayakawa's office. A confrontation ensued resulting in the arrest of more students. The confrontation is carried to the streets tying up traffic in front of campus for 45 minutes.

Friday Dec. 6 -- The strike is one month old. Hayakawa, in an effort to squelch growing community support, meets about 1 1/2 demands. The strikers and community meet Hayakawa's deal with cries of Bullshit, bullshit, bullshit! Strikers and community people march off campus in solidarity chanting, "We'll be back," and once again march on city hall.

Saturday, Dec. 7 -- The Strike Committee holds a community rally at City Hall attended by several thousand strikers and supporters. The rally is followed with a march through downtown to S.F. Chronicle & Examiner building to protest racist distorted coverage of the strike.

Sunday, Dec. 8 -- Third World community holds a rally at City Hall in support of the strike.

Wednesday, Dec. 11 -- Students walking picket lines attacked several times by Tac Squad. At noon rally 200 police surround strikers and wade in to arrest one strike leader in center of crowd. Students wearing blue armbands and welding blackjacks attack striking students; when soundly trounced by the strikers, they ran behind the police lines.

Friday, Dec. 13-- Tac Squad runs into picket line to arrest strike leaders. Hayakawa closes campus one week early for Christmas vacation to avert show of community support for Monday.

Strike Demands

Black Students Union Demands and Explanations (from a BSU position statement).

1. That all Black Studies courses being taught through various other departments be immediately part of the Black Studies Department and that all the instructors in this department receive full-time pay. Explanation: At the present time the so-called Black Studies courses are being taught from the established departments which also control the function of courses. In order for a brother or sister to teach a Black Studies course he or she has to go before the assigned department head to receive permission to teach, which clearly shows that the power lies with the departments and the racist administrators, not the Black Studies department chairman, faculty and staff. At the end of the summer before the Fall of 69, the racist administration announced that 47 full-time teaching positions were unfilled. The Black Studies Department only receives 1.2 teaching positions out of the total number of 47. The Black Studies Department instructors

should receive full-time pay like the various other departments on the San Francisco State College campus.

2. That Dr. Hare, chairman of the Black Studies Department, receive a full-professorship and a comparable salary according to his qualification.

Explanation: Dr. Hare is one of the best sociologists in the country and one of the most sought after, yet he makes less money than any Department chairman and all newly appointed deans and administrators.

3. That there be a Department of Black Studies which will grant a Bachelor's degree in Black Studies; that the Black Studies Department, chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire faculty and control and determine the destiny of its department.

Explanation: That the Black Studies Department have the power to grant Bachelor degrees; and that the Black Studies department Chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire and fire without the interference of the racist administration and the Chancellor.

4. That all unused slots for Black students from Fall 1968 under the Special Admissions program be filled in Spring of 1969.

Explanation: That the 128 slots that were not filled by so-called "special admittee", be filled by any Third World students who wish to attend SFSC in the Spring of 1969.

5. That all Black students wishing so, be admitted in Fall 1969.

Explanation: In San Francisco 70% of all Primary, Jr. High School students are Third World, but at SFSC only 4% of the entire student body are Third World students. In other words the racist pig power structure does not want an abundance of "niggers" in their so-called "institution of higher learning."

6. That twenty (20) full time teaching positions be allocated to the Department of Black Studies.

Explanation: At the beginning of the Fall semester 1.2% of a teaching position was allocated to the so-called Black Studies Department function of such a small number of teaching positions.

7. That Dr. Helen Bedesom be replaced from the position of Financial Aid officer and that a Black person be hired to direct it, that Third World people have the power to determine how it will be administered.

8. That no disciplinary action will be administered in any way to any student workers, teachers, or administrators during and after the strike as consequence of their participation in the strike. Explanation: That the racist administrators do not threaten the security and well-being of people who support and participate in the strike.

9. That the California State Trustees will be allowed to dissolve any Black programs

cont. on p. 7

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Strike, cont.

on or off San Francisco State College campus.

Explanation: On November 22-24 the California State Trustees will meet on the request of Pig Dumke to dissolve the Associated Students on all state college campuses throughout the State. This means that we cannot create and maintain programs on campus and off campus. Everything we do will be controlled by Pig Dumke. All programs such as the Associated Students, C.S.L., E.C., etc., will have to have Pig Dumke's O.K. If the Trustees dissolve creativity on campus and off campus, we will use our creativity in a prolonged and protracted war against them.

10. That George Murray maintain his teaching position on campus for 1968-1969 academic year.

Explanation: That George Murray is one of the best English instructors on the campus. He was fired because of his political philosophy. This is insane and absurd and he must be reinstated; to continue to educate and enlighten the Third World students in his classes.

THIRD WORLD LIBERATION FRONT DEMANDS

1. That a School of Ethnic studies for the ethnic groups involved in the Third World be set up with the students in each particular ethnic organization having the authority and control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, and administrator, as well as the curriculum in a specific area of study.

2. That 50 faculty positions be appropriated to the School of Ethnic Studies, 20 of which would be for the Black Studies program.

3. That in the Spring semester, the College fulfill its commitment to the non-white students in admitting those that apply.

4. That in the Fall of 1969, all applications of non-white students be accepted.

5. That George Murray and any other faculty person chosen by non-white people as their teacher be retained in their position.

see Gregory Peck and Eva Marie Saint in "The Stalking Moon"



see "The Stalking Moon" Fashion Collection -Indian and Western scenemakers- only at Paraphernalia 7764 Girard Ave 454-6119

to serve the 300,000 non-white people who live in this urban community in poverty, in ignorance, in despair." (Inter-collegiate Chinese for Social Action)

The present struggle at San Francisco State can best be understood in terms of the ideas that continue to hold the vast majority of its students together against perhaps the greatest amount of overt suppression ever to be aimed at a campus. The strikers speak best for themselves:

"We are not educated, but trained as highly paid workers to serve the ruling class and spread their ideology. The role of higher education in this society, as well as all other formal institutions in this country, is to serve the ruling class. The Black and Third World Students at SF State are attempting to make the university serve the interest of the community. White students must follow their example and build an alliance with the white working class community. The BSU and Third World Liberation Front are a Vanguard force that is leading this struggle. The role of white students in this strike is to join with the vanguard in making the trustees yield on these demands. This struggle is the beginning of the fight to make the colleges and universities serve the masses of the people and not just the ruling class." (SDS-SFSC)

The striking students feel that San Francisco State is not serving the interests of the community, and in particular, that the college perpetuates racism. While racism is helpful to Trustee Dudley Swim, whose Del Monte Corp. makes profits off paying black and Mexican-American farm-workers low wages, it does little to train social workers and teachers who are sensitive to the needs of ghettoes. Just one example of the racist nature of the college is that it has no programs to deal with the problems of Chinese people in the ghetto known as Chinatown.

The strike is based on unified support for the fifteen demands of the BSU (Black Student Union) and TWLF (Third World Liberation Front); which attack racism on campus. There are no "white demands". The white students feel the fight against racism is in their best interests: "...we, as white students, support the right of Black and Third World people to liberate themselves from their oppression. We, as white students, have no interest in maintaining the oppression of other peoples. The racist ideology pumped into us through the college system does not serve our interest; it is detrimental to the building of a decent society. We, as white students, must fight corrupt racist ideology." (Strike Committee)

The key to the success of the strike was the support it received from the white and non-white working class community. The strikers made it clear that workers and students were fighting a common enemy, for the Trustees are also bosses of large corporations. The community understood: "Violence seems to be a frequently recurring issue in this strike. Working people know where the cops stand in regard to a strike--they are sent there to crush the strike. They are sent armed, helmeted and club-wielding to brutally attack the students who are trying to

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Who Makes History, cont.

is said about the great peasant revolts. At one time, historians explicitly argued that history should be the study of the elite. To study the masses of men argued Charles Kingsley in his inaugural lecture as professor of history in Cambridge in 1861, would be "about as wise as...to determine the proportions of the human figure from a crowd of dwarfs and cripples." But the onslaught of democracy has made that argument untenable: like other undemocratic ideas and institutions, it must be camouflaged if it is to be accepted. So historians have retreated to methodological arguments: it is, unfortunately, the ruling class which

keeps the records, write the memoirs, and dominates the communications media. To study the inarticulate would be nice, the historians argue (although such a study would be disappointing because the inarticulate would probably echo ruling-class values in a less intelligent fashion), but it is simply impossible.

and yet, the inarticulate did leave records, and those records are more revealing than the most sophisticated of ruling-class apologies. The Watts rebellion tells us more about the state of the black man in America than the reams of statistics provided by the government to show how much progress has been made. Recent studies by George Rude, E.P. Thompson and other historians are showing that the working class was capable of enormous political inventiveness and initiative. Despite the rearguard attempt of Stanley Elkins to revamp the Sambo stereotype, it is clear that black men resisted slavery by both violence and sabotage. What emerges from the work of men who have studied the masses of men is a feeling for the cultural and political tenacity of the downtrodden.

But you will not learn any of this. Instead, if you are in American history, you will study the differences between Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom and Theodore Roosevelt's New Nationalism; no one will tell you that another alternative offered by the American Socialist Party was embraced by over 100 cities. You will learn a great deal about the building of the railroad, but very little about the railroad strikes of 1877 where whole towns fell to the strikers. You will learn about the squabbles of the ruling class, but you will not learn very much history.

defend their right to strike--to fight for justice--and to unite to destroy racism. We recently saw on our strike the attempt to use strike-breakers at several picket lines, workers run down by scab cars, and the tac squad in San Jose to protect the scabs and intimidate the strikers. The students have supported us in the past and walked our lines. Let's give them the same kind of support. Join them on campus. Their fight is our fight. Solidarity forever." (The Rank and File Telephone Workers)

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Tran Van Dinh, continued

describes the system of prisons during Stalin. Every way comfortable, the scientist was there working on his project, but it was still a prison. So you can end up having a beautiful technological society in which everyone is a prisoner and nobody knows about it. So I think the problem is how to combine all the technological advances with a meaningful life for each citizen. That is a very difficult job, but I think that if in this country we could find a solution and then we could offer it to many other countries around the world because they all face the same problem basically.

In France you know, the student movement is basically humanist and nihilist at the same time. Nihilist in the sense of destroying the existing French structure which has never really been taken off the ground since the French revolution. You go through all sorts of monarchy and republics and still the same system prevails. I think that the student rebellion in France is the best indication of two trends. One is the refusal to accept all structure but at the same time the very strong feeling of communal life. There were two flags, the Red one and the Black one. The red one, without the hammer and sickle, means really the brotherhood of man in the true sense and the black one stood for the Nihilists. I wrote an article where I said that the word is now "Black and Red." Red because of really a concern for the position in one given society, and the position of that man in the community of man. And the Black means that the destruction of a kind of structure which, to say the least and to say it kindly, is no more relevant to the man in the twentieth century, and naturally not in the twenty-first century.

I think that in America we confuse the problem of civil liberty and political education. These are two different problems. The civil liberty problem is like you respect the Constitution, the First Amendment and all that. These are in the framework of the civil liberties. A man who can read from the top to the bottom of the Constitution of the country may be very ignorant in politics, serious personal commitment and analysis. For example, you have many priests who read all the Bible and yet to me he is not a priest unless he had translated what he has read in the Bible and served his community. The same thing in America, there are a lot of people who say they defend the constitution but this is only what we may call the civic problem. It's not politics. It's civic duties and civic understanding but not political education. Political education requires first an analysis of the society which you live in; second, the strategy he should follow in order to accomplish what he wants to accomplish; and third, a very precise political commitment. For example, if you say that you are against the war, that in itself is not yet a political education. That we may call at best a political awareness. If you say that because I oppose the war, I'm not going to cooperate with any

industry or any kind of research which directly affects the war or is in connection with the war. Many scientists refuse to do this; that is a political education. But I think that many Americans say that if you oppose the war it's good enough. You can go back and sleep in the dormitory and the next day say, "Oh, I'm against the war?" That becomes even dangerous because if you do that in four or five years then naturally you don't see any result because if you don't commit yourself how are you going to see the result even if it happens? Then you become frustrated and you become either terribly ineffective or dull, or you may move to the right where every problem is answered by a very simple solution: "Finish the war in Vietnam? Ask the military."

This is in essence the evolution of the Rightist movement. The Rightist movement sometimes grows out of a political awareness without political education. And gradually the Rightist movement says, "All right, it's very simple. If you want to deal with the Student movement, put them in jail." Like Wallace says, "Let your car run over them" All these are very easy. And if you are not conscious of the problem of political education, I think many liberals could fall in that trap. It would be very interesting to analyse the vote of the people who vote for Wallace, you may see among them even liberals who do...liberal in quote and unquote.

I think that if you look at the total picture of the American involvement you have to go back to the seven basic American premises. That's why yesterday I talked a little about the pacification in the Philippines which is very little known in this country but cost several thousand Filipino lives. And it was done almost in the same pattern like in Vietnam. Even back in the beginning of this century there was a kind of imperialist tendency or imperialist policy. So I think this is the first root of American imperialism. The domination of other countries for economic privilege or even a kind of very confused and very loose security privilege.

A second would be also a kind of self-righteousness. Since many Americans believe that the American way of life is the best, not only the best, but almost the will of God. This means that if someone doesn't accept it, he must be a sinner, it means there is something wrong with him. If somebody says that America is no good, this means that this man is crazy or something is really basically wrong. So this is in the framework of self-righteousness and the belief, a sin-

cere one, that the American system is the best and that therefore it could benefit all mankind only if mankind accepts it and if they don't, we have to make them accept it even if we have to kill them.

I think the third one which is also detected in many Americans here and abroad is a very subtle racism. For example in the campaign in the Philippines the rules applied by the army there is a rule applied to the Indian wars and according to a document in the Senate at that time the American soldiers in the pacification in the Philippines called the Filipinos "niggers". So I think the three elements, first imperialism, second, self-righteousness, and third, racism are always there. So it depends in which case one of these problems is more dominant than the others. For example in the case of Guatemala, American action there is basically economic imperialism: United Fruit and all this. In the case of Vietnam, the economic interest was not very real at the beginning of the American intervention but at the same time, the second factor, self-righteousness, which is Puritanism, anti-Communism, and all this, became very real. And with the situation developing, you have all these problems involved. Now you take for example the construction company who has built the American bases: these become the beginning of American economic interest. And second, when the war is going on, many racist problems begin to appear. That is why recently you have something very significant happening in Vietnam now. There is much more conflict now within the Army between Black and White in Vietnam. And recently there was a Black major who during a press conference distributed a statement against the U.S. Army, saying that it is a racist army. So I think that all these three elements are there, but I think that in the case of Vietnam, the second one, the combination of self-righteousness--saying that we go there to build a nation for Vietnam, we want Vietnam to be anti-Communist, we want Vietnam to be democratic, and all that, are for a certain time the most predominant elements. But there are always these three elements involved in any American action overseas.

Johnson may be called a millionaire, but he is not really in the financial establishment. But he is very much in the

second establishment, the Puritan, anti-communist, southern kind of Americanist establishment. But at the same time you may have a Secretary of State like John Foster Dulles before who is actually acting to protect the economic interests of his corporation, in this case the United Fruit. But here you have another element which is very important to look into: the role of religions in foreign policy. As you may know, one of the most important men in the whole American involvement was Cardinal Spellman. So here you find a Catholic church in this country involving in Vietnam in order to build a Catholic stronghold in that country. You know that the president Diem before is Catholic and Thieu today in South Vietnam is Catholic. Here you have to go back to some kind of historical context. The first Marine ever to land in Vietnam was not in 1965 in Danang but in 1854 in Danang, the same place. At that time the Vietnamese emperor resisted the Catholic penetration and one day a French bishop was arrested. An American ship was patrolling in that area, it was commanded by Captain Percy, and when he heard about this news he landed a Marine in Danang, arrested a Vietnamese official and sent an ultimatum to the Vietnamese court until the Vietnamese court released the bishop. So you know it's not only in 1950 that the US intervened on the side of the French, but in 1854.

I must say that I learned a lot in the last few years. I was very naive regarding America and you can't blame me. The whole world after the Second World War admired America, loved this country. One of them is Ho Chi Minh and probably one of them is also me. We had a kind of illusion and admiration because after all, Hitler was this horrible man and anyone who defeated Hitler forced your admiration, although I think the defeat of Hitler is not only an American venture alone. The Russians contributed over twenty million dead in this kind of struggle. But for all of us, America represented the force of sanity against the force of insanity. So we forgot all about American history. I never knew about the racism in this country until I came here. I never knew that it existed. I didn't even know about the campaign in the Philippines, I didn't even know about anything; I came here with the acceptance that this is one of the shining examples of decent life, of progress and all this.

Vo Van Ai to Speak

Vo Van Ai, Secretary-General of the Vietnamese Buddhist Association, and his wife, Phuong Anh Vo Van Ai, will speak on "The Struggle for Freedom and Peace" Sunday night (January 19) at 7:30 in the H-L Auditorium. Author of books on philosophy and poetry, he is the chief representative of the militant wing of the Buddhist Church. Madame Ai is also an author; she has written both poetry and short stories. The program is jointly sponsored by the Associated Students and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. No admission charge.

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