

indicator

Out of the libraries
stride the slaughterers.
The mothers stand
clutching their children, and
stare searching the skies numbly
for the inventions of scholars.
Bertolt Brecht



Murphy Talks Shop

The following is an extract from an interview between the Indicator and George Murphy, Vice-Chancellor and Dean of Student Affairs.

INDICATOR:

Could you describe what you think the role of the university is in American society and specifically, which activities (i.e., research, graduate work, undergraduate work), you think are most important and why.

MURPHY:

The role of the university seems to be changing at this point in time and neither the direction of change nor the eventual outcome is entirely clear to me. The American university, traditionally, has tried to respond to a series of roles described for it by society within a context of higher education, which goes back several hundred years. It's been a process of adjusting then existent societal demands to the traditional roles of the university as an ongoing institution. The problem that this changing role now suggests is that society is putting many demands on today's university—demands which are in many ways conflicting. The need for the university to interpret those demands into its own terms is perhaps more important than it's ever been and more difficult than it's ever been. Let me suggest a couple of examples to make clear what I am saying.

It was easy enough for the university of the late 1800's to address itself through schools of agriculture, through agricultural extension to questions of how do I get more and better milk from my herd of cows and how do I grow bigger and better ears of corn, and all of the kinds of responses which the Morrill Act and the Whole evolution of an agricultural society put to the university. Additionally, I suspect, from something of an historical perspective, there was a uniform sense of purpose, there was an agreement on what the nation was about and therefore what the university should be about.

I think to a very large extent this continued into the early 1900's as schools of commerce and business administration addressed themselves to the kinds of issues which the national purpose, if I may use that phrase in quotes, then suggested. Corporate structure, business management, accounting techniques, and the beginning of industrial psychology, became legitimate goals of the university.

The difficulty now, is not that those kinds of demands have changed in their nature so much as the kinds of issues which are now being put are so much more difficult to resolve. It's no longer how do I organize my plant or how do I breed my cattle. Questions now address themselves to war and peace, poverty and race, and the kinds of issues which do not lend themselves to problem-oriented research of the traditional university. In addition they come a good deal closer to home, on a good many more toes, than the kinds of easier questions the university is used to addressing itself to. The absence of any real national purpose, or I guess more properly, the combination of national purposes which we now seek, makes priorities very difficult to assess, in terms of what society

(continued to page 2)

The University at War

NOTE: During the summer the SDS did a research project that had as its goal finding out in what ways the university is connected with the military and the war in Viet Nam. This is the first article in a series that reports the results of that project.

The purpose of the SDS project on government financed research at UCSD is not to create feelings of horror and indignation among the student body—we are not concerned with purifying the University. Rather, the research project was the way in which we discovered—and feel it is essential to pass it on—just how intimately universities are involved in the policies and goals of the United States government. We have begun to see stopping military recruitment and ROTC on campuses can only be the beginning of a movement against US imperialism. This series of articles, published under the title 'THE UNIVERSITY AT WAR', will demonstrate, at least in part, the 'uses of the university' in order to lay to rest the notion of the ivory tower 'house of the mind', to dispel the myth of this value-free, neu-

trality and to show that the university's function is to perpetuate the economic and social order of the society and to give the technical expertise necessary to implement the ruling class's policies around the world. Specifically we will be dealing with the relationship between the Department of Defense and the University.

INTRODUCTION

Like any other institution in the US, the University has done its share to perpetuate imperialism.* By training officers for the military, by defending military recruitment and by having many

*Imperialism: Imperialism is the name given to that stage of capitalism in which production is concentrated in monopolies, banks assume major roles in financing, massive export of capital occurs i.e. investment in undeveloped countries, and the world is divided up into 'spheres of influence' by the capitalist powers. It is the system that—in order to survive—must make colonies of other countries, use their raw materials and land, control their economy, enslave their people.

of the faculty actively engaged in Department of Defense research, the University is significantly aiding the war in Viet Nam and is a willing tool in the hands of big business, the government and the military. This is what 'university complicity' means. The University is not the 'house of the mind' that the administration and faculty pretend it is; it is more than the 'pure' research center that graduate students and science faculty often think it is. The University is what society's controlling interests want it to be.

Throughout the US's involvement in Viet Nam in the 50's and 60's, government leaders continually proclaimed that US forces were needed there to protect 'our interests'. What 'our interests' are and how the US attempted to protect them enables us to understand capitalist society in ways that the liberal administration—whether government or university—will attempt to cover up.

WHO OWNS WHAT

A relatively small group of people de- (continued to page 3)

Murphy Interview

cont. from p. 1

is saying to the university, or demanding of the university.

I guess really what I'm trying to say is not so much that the role is changing, which is what I started out to say, as we are now trying to interpret what it is society is saying to us and how we can respond to that in a fashion which a university can live with, which takes advantage of those features of the university which are peculiar to it and which, at the same time, are responsive.

If the role is shifting, or is being redefined in terms of 1960's, 1970's, it seems to me that the relative roles of those university activities which you described may also be shifting or should be shifting; just as discipline emphases, it seems to me, are shifting. Students seem to be making a rather considerable input here. If I understand some of the things that I hear students saying these days, their questions, as indeed society's questions, are: 'Don't just teach me the laws of physics, address yourself to some of the moral judgments, the value judgments which must make in applying these rules which I have learned. What is the significance of my making this application? What are the consequences of it, to me as a person, and to the society which is looking on my work or which will be looking on my work in properly critical terms.'

The kinds of shifts in activity importance that I think I see would include such things as more than the rubric of the importance of undergraduate education, as we seem to be moving to a much more realistic and demanding sense of virtually universal higher education, at least universal in a relative sense. The university's ability to describe its role in traditional terms—and here I'm talking about preparing a cadre of the nation's ministers, lawyers, and doctors as the initial function which the university performed, later expanded to farmers and businessmen and labor unions—is called into question by the black and brown communities, in the sense that the university is extending its traditional role now must address itself to what these communities see as critical. The increasing insistence that I earlier referred to coming from students, that the university talk in terms of not just how to make the bomb but whether to make the bomb, all of this goes to make a sense of commitment to undergraduate education a much more far reaching and a much more threatening one in the university's institutional terms. The conflict between basic research and problem-oriented research, I can differentiate them I suspect is not a new problem but it seems to be taking on some more critical features these days as the antagonism grows and the dollars are limited and some choices have to be made as to where the dollars are going to go. The long standing, I think, conflict between undergraduate education and graduate education is certainly no stranger to UCSD, and despite all of our hope and our claims, I still don't think we've resolved the question or supported our claim that we can maintain excellence at the graduate and undergraduate levels simultaneously.

I guess the last of the activity areas that I'd like to touch on is the lip service that I think we have traditionally paid to public service, or whatever title one wants to give to that function. We've spent a lot of time talking about it and have talked about it rather convincingly, at least to the point where many people have come to believe us, which now puts the university in the interesting position of being expected to deliver in terms of its claims. All of this, goes back to what I was earlier proposing as the competing and conflicting demands which society places on us. The role of the university seems to be shifting in terms of those areas of primary importance, and I suspect that the activities, which are the practical translations of that role, or those roles, are going to undergo similar shifts. One of the troubling things in higher education today is our inability really to foresee clearly enough the end result of this sequence so that we can rearrange priorities in some convincing and defensible fashion.



INDICATOR:

You said that the university must respond to demands placed on it by society. Given the fact that large corporation like General Dynamics gave \$1 million to have UCSD at its present location, wouldn't that indicate that some sections of American society are more important than others in determining these social demands?

MURPHY:

I was not aware of the gift, but I certainly have no doubt that ... I don't doubt it for a moment. I guess I can best answer the question by suggesting that it is this weighing of demands in terms of its own integrity which the university is called upon to do, I think, has been called upon to do historically, and which is increasingly being called upon to do these days, as the crunch becomes more and more apparent. As the university is increasingly being asked to be all things to all people, it cannot, it seems to me, in good conscience, continue the fiction that this is precisely what it's all about, that it can be all of these different things. It must in response to the demands that are being put upon it, decide in its own terms, which the university now has to define, which of those demands it can now satisfy and still remain a university.

I don't see General Dynamics or any other group buying the campus or a substantial fraction of it. I'm not saying by this that the university does not have the role of preparing people for roles in a society. To say so would be foolish. The point I'm trying to make is that this role of the university is only one of its roles. We are now being asked, as much within the university as from outside it, to address ourselves to the other functions of the university: What is the nature of the academy?? What are its tenets? What is basic to its existence? What can be adjusted, if you will, to respond to society? What cannot be adjusted without changing the very nature of what a university is or should be.

I suspect these kinds of questions have been put before and we've developed some handy rubrics for pretending to answer them. And I'm simply suggesting that those rubrics don't find themselves that useful any more. It isn't enough to say academic freedom and flash that on and off from time to time. Society is, I think, saying to us, what do you mean by that: Define it. Define it to your own satisfaction, but don't just wave that flag at us and expect us to salute. It's not unlike the kinds of things it seems to me, that the medical practice is now going through. There was a time when the phrase doctor-patient relationship covered a multitude of sins and that just isn't hacking it any more either. What I'm trying to say is that the university has got to make some choices from among, and in some cases I'm sure, equally attractive, if conflicting, alternatives. I think we can make those choices wisely. I hope we can make them well.

Comments on Dean Murphy

In his interview with the Indicator, Dean Murphy presents a fairly accurate picture of the university although he couches it in misleading terms. Dean Murphy says that the university has tried to adjust itself to a series of demands made on it by 'society.' He then lists some examples—it trained a cadre of doctors, lawyers, and ministers, it set up agricultural schools when the US was an agricultural society, and it began to deal with accounting and industrial psychology as the corporate economy developed. These examples are accurate. Harvard, for example, was founded in 1636 to educate the sons of the wealthy and to train ministers for the Puritan state; now it has expanded to include a school of business administration and to do military research. The Morrill Act, as Dean Murphy said, set up colleges to develop better methods for running large farms (as do some of the UC campuses right now). But these examples do not point to 'society'—a vague concept supposedly including all of us—placing demands on the university but to the fact that the university's function is determined by those with the most economic power—the large landowners and the directors of the large corporations.

US society is a class society. This is what Dean Murphy neglects to say even though his examples clearly point to it. There is a small group of people (less than 1/2 of 1%) who own and control the means of production—the ruling class—and a much larger group (most people) who work for the ruling class in their factories, stores, and schools—the working class. The interests of these two groups are conflicting—the ruling class needs to maximize profits and thus pay the lowest wages possible while working people need and want higher pay and better working conditions. This contradiction existed in the late 1800's and early 1900's when Dean Murphy said there was a 'uniform sense of purpose,' just as it does now. The period was filled with massive strikes for the 8-hour day, for higher pay and better working conditions, for the right to have a union—for example, the Pullman strike, the Homestead Steel strike, the strikes of the Chicago packinghouse workers in 1917-1921, the strike for the 8-hour day in Chicago that led to the Haymarket Massacre, the Seattle general strike, etc. It was not that there was a uniform 'national purpose' that the university was responding to; rather it was only responding to demands put on it by the ruling class. It saw its role as devising ways to set up plants—that is, of helping the bosses make more money and get more work from their workers. It did not, as an institution (although some individuals may have), see its role as one of helping the working people fight for better pay and better working conditions. In fact then, as now, the university is a boss, employing workers, both full-time and student, for as low pay as possible (UCSD employs 400 campus workers).

The university still performs the same function—that of serving the ruling class—that it did in the late 1800's and early 1900's. (This is made somewhat clearer by Dean Murphy's identification of himself with those who own the corporation—'how do I organize my plant?') It may address itself to questions of 'war and peace, poverty and race,' but only to do research and perfect tactics that will help the ruling class maintain its control. It addresses itself to war by doing military research on bombs, missiles, infra-red detection devices, chemical and biological warfare; to peace by studying how to convert defense plants into plants for oceanographic and space industries and still make a profit; to poverty

and race by setting up cop institutes to develop better techniques to put down ghetto riots (which, generally, have not been attacks on all white people but on those landlords and merchants who gouge the community with high prices and low quality goods) and better methods to break strikes. The dollars are limited, as Dean Murphy said, and they go to financing the cop institute at the University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, the Lumber Center at Brandeis, and DOD research at UCSD.

It is probably true that more demands are being made on the university than before, but not that the conflicts these demands reflect are new. Students, the black and brown communities are all demanding things. For years the university and press have been pushing the idea that education is the solution to all one's problems. If you are a worker and are getting low pay, it is because you're stupid or maybe you just lacked the opportunity to go to school. Education requirements have been pushed up so that you need a high school diploma for some factory jobs. Over the years many people have come to accept the myth that what they need is a college education, even though on almost all levels people are overtrained for the job they do. And now, as Dean Murphy said, people are demanding that the university deliver, that it work on the problems that affect them. How these conflicting demands will be resolved, however, seems clear even from what Dean Murphy says—they will be resolved as they always have, in the interests of the ruling class. They will be resolved not in the right way but in a 'convincing and defensible fashion,' in a way that hopefully will fool the people into once again believing that the university is serving them.

There will be an open meeting of the Indicator tonight at 8:00 pm in Upper Blake Hall Lounge.

Workshop on Women

A workshop will be conducted during fall quarter by Women's Liberation Front, beginning Tuesday, Oct. 7 at 7:30 pm in H-L 1205. Any student who wishes to receive credit for the workshop should ask to sign up for a 199 with his or her advisor or Mr. Gusfield (Sociology, 508 Matthews Campus). Schedules may be changed without penalty through Oct. 10.

Topics for discussion, reading and lectures include: contraception, abortion, population; sex and role behavior; myths of femininity and masculinity; economic and political bases for women's oppression.

The workshop will be followed winter quarter by Women: The Longest Revolution, a course which fulfills the Contemporary Issues requirement for Muir freshmen and will be open for credit to all undergraduates.

SDS General Meeting
Thursday, Oct. 2
7:30 P.M., 1205 HL

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The University at War cont.

decide what the interests of the United States are around the world. Less than one half of one percent of the population of the US controls the economic and hence political activities of this country. Fortune Magazine lists 500 of the biggest industrial corporations (out of 300,000) which account for 50% of the industrial profit in the US; the 50 biggest banks (out of 14,000) which account for 35% of the bank assets in the US; the 50 biggest life insurance companies (out of 1,650) which account for 85% of the insurance assets. The often overlapping boards of directors and the top management of those corporations—those who own and control the means of production—are the ruling class.

The previously mentioned relationship of ownership and control of the means of production defines the ruling class. They are 'a social upper class which owns a disproportionate amount of the country's wealth, receives a disproportionate amount of a country's yearly income and contributes a disproportionate number of its members to the controlling institutions and key decision making groups of the country.'¹ (These paragraphs are intended only to suggest the idea of the American ruling class. For more detailed and concrete analysis read Dornhoff,² Mills,³ and Sweezy.⁴) Even though there may be disagreement within the ruling class on various issues (Dem. vs. Rep., pro-ABM vs. anti-ABM) they are inevitably concerned with preserving their position of control and maximizing profit. They have an interest in the success of the existing economic system as a whole.

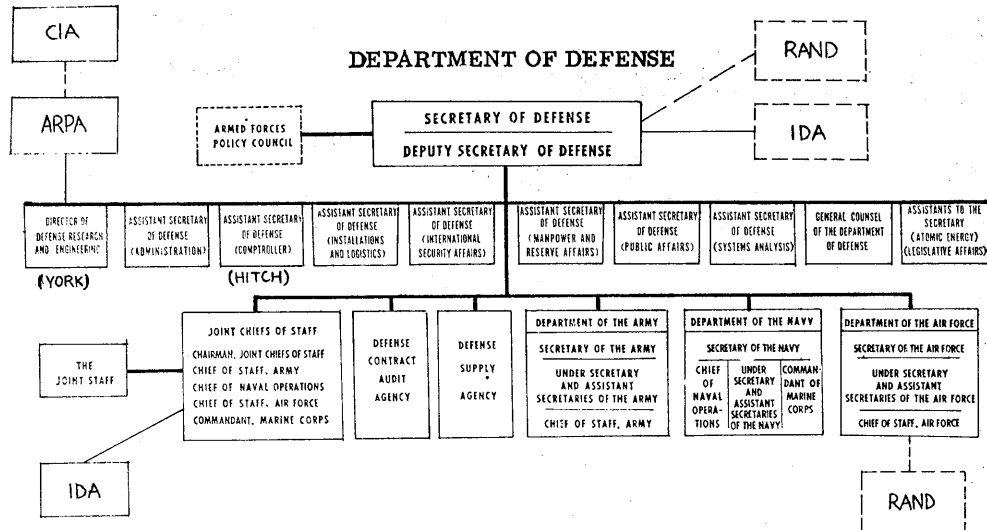
The most obvious ruling class control over the University is the Board of Regents, some of the most powerful and wealthy men in the state. It is their duty to oversee the running of the University of California. By their positions in big business, the media, agriculture and government, the Regents make sure that the University is run in the interests of the ruling class.

At the other end of society is the working class. The working class produces the wealth of this country. This statement is not a metaphor nor only an abstract theory. Quite literally, what going to the job every day means in a worker's life is producing by his physical labor the steel, cars, planes, etc. that allows another class to become very wealthy.

There are many illusions among students as to what we will do when we finish school. College graduates are often super clerks or super technicians. Boeing Aircraft, for example, has a room filled with hundreds of men—all graduate engineers—lined up in rows, each in front of a drawing board, designing aircraft in assembly line fashion. Nearly 50% of all students drop out of school and get jobs, working class jobs. They become lower level technicians, clerks, secretaries and factory workers. Of the remaining students, most enter jobs that are objectively working class in nature, jobs like the graduate engineers at Boeing, teachers, scientists, and social workers. These are jobs in which the people work and produce and provide services for another class—the ruling class. Only very few students will enter the ruling class. As students, we should realize that, objectively, our interests are bound up with the interests of the working class as a whole, and not those of the ruling class.

IMPERIALISM AND THE MILITARY

U.S. corporations have invested large amounts of capital in Third World countries where they can make huge profits from cheap labor and raw materials. As the rate of profit declines within the United States, U.S. corporations look to underdeveloped countries for markets and resources to exploit. More than 50% of the raw materials used in production in the U.S. comes from outside this country, and more than 60% of the world's wealth is controlled by the United States.



Hence the economies of many Third World countries are controlled and dominated by U.S. corporations—and more than 50% of the profits made by these corporations in the Third World returns to the U.S. ruling class. By controlling the economies of these countries, by supporting Pro-American dictator governments and by armed intervention the U.S. makes sure that this exploitation, imperialism, continues. These are the interests of the U.S. ruling class in the Third World.

And the military is there to protect them. U.S. troops are in every Latin American country. U.S. troops are in Thailand and Korea. U.S. troops intervened in the Dominican Republic in 1965, and have been waging war in Viet Nam for many years. The U.S. fleet is all around the globe. The United States has military alliances with countries all around the globe and sends military aid to almost every dictator in the world. For what purpose?

To protect Ellsworth Bunker's, Averill Harriman's and Abe Fortas' sugar interests in the Dominican Republic. To keep the markets and resources of Southeast Asia open to U.S. exploitation. To prevent "friendly" dictators from being overthrown in Latin America.

The Department of Defense is an organization that wages war, develops counterinsurgency movements, carries out imperialist national policy, and consumes approximately 80 billion dollars a year. To list the expenditures of this department is a formidable task. In 1966 the hearings on Defense Department appropriations required 2,136 pages to record. The number of projects, programs, departments, analyses, etc. is staggering. All this planning, all this money works toward the same end: protection of U.S. investments.

ENTER THE INTELLECTUALS

Prior to 1960, things were not going well for the planners in the Defense Department. Generals were the strong men in the Department and they generally tried WWII solutions to national liberation movements. The Department stagnated, new ideas were not forthcoming and U.S. investments were in danger. Committed to fight in places like Viet Nam, they did not know how to carry out the struggle.

In January of 1961 President Kennedy took office and things began to change. He realized the nature of the struggles of the future and set out to make the military capable of fighting guerrilla war. Kennedy and MacNamara understood that in the repressed peoples of the world there were rising up to throw out the United States from their lands, so they then set out to overhaul the Defense Department. Long range planning with emphasis on guerilla warfare was begun.

Cost analysis, systems analysis, operations analysis—these were the procedures enforced by MacNamara and his assistant Charles J. Hitch, now president of the University of California. Civilian control was firmly estab-

lished and intellectuals began to take over the job of military planning. Kennedy's pets, the Green Berets, were greatly expanded and given new responsibilities. Sent to Viet Nam, Laos and Bolivia, they helped train dictator's armies to crush guerrilla movements. The 1st Air Cavalry division was assembled marking the first major attempt to completely mechanize a fighting force. Policy planning groups were instituted at the highest levels. Their purpose was to introduce technological developments into the military as fast as possible. The powers of the Directorate of Defense Research and Engineering were expanded. New emphases were given to that position. Prior to Kennedy, this post was concerned mainly with nuclear war and missiles. Now the Directorate, which controls all research throughout the Defense Department, has new tasks. Under its control are Tactical Warfare Programs, Southeast Asia matters, Strategic and Space Systems, Chemical and Biological Warfare, and the Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA). It is through ARPA that CIA money is channeled; it is through ARPA that some of the programs and policies used in Viet Nam were evolved.

Kennedy, MacNamara and Hitch also recognized the need for highly trained people in the Defense Department. Every field of the natural and social sciences is represented in military research. Psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers have heard the call and work for the military. Their job is to study the populations of countries like Viet Nam and Venezuela. They write handbooks for the Green Berets, develop psychological techniques, and advise on political factors.

SELL OUT

This need for science and technology was met in two ways: massive government funding of basic research at universities and industry, and the development of 'non-profit' organizations such as RAND and IDA. The massive funding of basic research has brought the universities and the federal government so close together now that separation is virtually impossible. Besides the Defense Department, this funding was accomplished through several agencies. Among them are the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), the National Science Foundation, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and the Public Health Service (PHS).

These agencies are concerned with developing a large scientific base upon which technology can expand, hence aiding industry and the government. The AEC is concerned with developing nuclear power. It makes all the nuclear bombs for the military and also funds research in solid state physics and high energy physics. More than a quarter of a billion dollars goes to the University of California from the AEC. NASA is primarily concerned with the development of missile technology and the space program. The

military has a keen interest in the space program, for as the RAND corporation said in 1946: 'Since mastery of the elements is a reliable index of material progress, the nation which first makes significant achievements in space travel will be acknowledged as the world leader in both military and scientific techniques.'⁵ The NSF supports research in physics, chemistry, math and the social sciences. By telling people that their research is neutral and pure, they hope to build the illusion that science can be advanced without the military, industry and the ruling class being aided. The PHS which funds biology and social sciences also puts forth the same line: research is neutral. However, as science and technology have advanced, the US's ability to expand its industry and to exploit has increased.

The massive funding by the government in all of the basic sciences has had the purpose of strengthening the ruling class's grip around the world. As universities receive more and more money from the government, they fulfill their purpose in serving the ruling class.

PROFESSIONAL MANDARINS

The RAND Corporation

The RAND corporation is the first and the most famous of the military 'think tanks'. It was organized after WWII when military leaders realized that it would be imperative to maintain the partnership that had been established with university scientists during the war. Its stated objectives are to study and do research on intercontinental war which 'in this context is interpreted in the broadest sense as including the pursuit of the twin objectives of decreasing the probability of thermonuclear war or other war (an objective more commonly termed the arms race) and of stemming or reversing the advance of communism.'⁶ By providing a campus like environment and informal working conditions, RAND's founders were able to recruit academic scientists who spurned the discomforts of Pentagon employment.

RAND's staff is now about 1100 persons, 600 of whom are research professionals. RAND's budget is about 22 million, two-thirds of which comes from the Air Force, the rest mostly from other government departments. RAND produces reports on such things as space technology, rocket engines for strategic weapons, the statistical theory of radar detection, the theory of games, econometrics, nuclear propulsion, optimal design structures for military aircraft, bomber and fighter design. Since WWII, however, military problems have changed. As a 1963 report of the RAND corporation so wisely states: '...such problems as those of Berlin, Korea, Cuba and Viet Nam cannot be resolved merely by nuclear weapons.'⁷ And so RAND research has moved to areas other than merely weapons; to include, among others, 'the interaction of political and military' (continued to page 4)

The Uni-War cont.

itary factors in the conduct of limited war and cold war, weapons and tactics for limited war and counterinsurgency operations.⁸ Recent RAND reports include studies of Red China 'Viet Cong Motivation and Morale', 'Support Systems for Guerrilla and Limited Warfare', and 'Politics and Economic Growth in India'.

RAND was among the first groups to discuss conditions following a nuclear war. They helped popularize terms like 'overkill', 'megadeaths' and 'minimum acceptable destruction' through their scenarios, which is the method RAND uses to analyze their problems.

The Institute for Defense Analyses

Perhaps even more overtly connected to universities than the RAND corporation is the Institute for Defense Analyses. IDA was formed in 1956 by five top universities: MIT, Stanford, Tulane, Case Institute and the California Institute of Technology. In the IDA publications, the section entitled 'How IDA Came To Be' What It Is' explains that after the Korean War 'the US as the strongest member of the free (sic) alliance undertook to support the preservation of peace for a protracted period by the maintenance of military power sufficient to deter aggression.'⁹ The arms race had begun to develop, new types of warfare needed to be dealt with and the Department of Defense realized that universities would provide the essential scientific and technical expertise. The original member universities were joined by Michigan, Chicago, Princeton, Columbia, Penn State and the University of California.

In 1967 the Board of Trustees of IDA adopted certain clarifying 'principles of operation' and stated 'Its (IDA's) primary orientation is towards the needs of the Office of the Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.'¹⁰ IDA's initial function was to provide the scientific and technical support to the Weapons Systems Evaluation Group (WSEG), but it now holds contracts with the Advanced Research Projects Agency, the National Security Agency and—most recently—the Department of Justice. The research for WSEG and ARPA consists principally of studies of the effectiveness of proposed weapons systems, particularly missile systems. IDA's total receipts for DOD contracts in fiscal 1967 amounted to \$15.8 million.

It became apparent that IDA would not be able to rely solely on those scientists who had consulted for the military during WWII and Korea. New blood would have to be recruited, and so the JASON division of IDA was formed in 1958. JASON recruited some of the elite scientists in the United States, offering them the unique and very desirable opportunity to work on IDA projects while remaining on their home campuses, coming together for several weekends a year and for several weeks every summer.

Also around this time IDA changed its character slightly and began to do different kinds of studies, not in the realm of the physical sciences, but most relevant to the 'national security'—i.e. to the maintenance of US imperialism. IDA began to emphasize research on counterinsurgency and unconventional warfare. This work has included studies of the utilization of chemical and biological warfare and tactical nuclear weapons in counterinsurgency. According to IDA's annual report 'JASON's work in 1966 related primarily to two of the larger issues of national security: the ABM and the war in Viet Nam.'¹¹

Most recently IDA has turned its attention to the domestic scene. Under a \$498,000 contract with the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, IDA made a report which recommended the application of military counterinsurgency systems to antiriot operations. Another recent study was 'an analysis of the effects of the draft on the supply of both first-term enlistees and officers.'¹²

About a year ago IDA's structure was reorganized. Sit-ins and other agitation, led primarily by the SDS, against university sponsorship of an organization involved in secret defense contracts led to a cut of all legal ties

with the universities, putting the management of the new corporation into the hands of a maximum of 24 trustees, at least one-third of whom must be active members of the academic community. However, articles in both the May 30, 1969 issue of Science and the August 18, 1969 issue of Scientific Research explain that taking classified research off campus does not hamper the cooperation between the DOD and universities.

The new IDA structure is designed to satisfy critics and the clients alike; it makes no substantive change. 'I don't think you will see any radical changes (in IDA's work)' says Alexander H. Flax, a trustee and its new vice-president for research. 'We don't expect to divert the forces of IDA into civilian projects. That would be inappropriate'. Our own Academic Senate has decided that no classified research will take place on campus. It doesn't. Instead Scripps does it at the Marine Physical Lab and the Visibility Lab on Point Loma.

1. Who Rules America, G. William Domhoff, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967, p. 142.
2. *ibid.*
3. The Power Elite, C. Wright Mills, Oxford University Press, 1956.
4. 'The American Ruling Class', Paul M. Sweezy.
5. RAND—the first fifteen years, 1963.
6. *ibid.*, p. 2. 7. *ibid.* p. 4
8. *ibid.* p. 22
9. Annual Report of the Institute for Defense Analyses, 1959, p. 12
10. *ibid.* 1968, p. 12
11. *ibid.* 1967 p. 16
12. *ibid.* 1968, p. 16

Health Center Stalemate

Women's Liberation Front

Over the past year, the Women's Liberation Front has been discussing the need for a health service which would satisfy the routine medical requirements of women students. We have talked with dorm residents and other students who have expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the lack of available gynecological care and the unwillingness of the staff to distribute birth control information and devices. Many humiliated and angered women students report that instead of receiving the medical treatment they request and need, they are given lectures warning them about the downhill life of loose women. Most women seek private doctors at great expense of their short funds and valuable time.

A substantial portion of the incidental fee—from \$22 to \$36 each quarter—goes to cover each student's medical care. Since women are encouraged by medical authorities to have a pap smear every 6-8 months, and since women students must go to private doctors for this and other gynecological care, and birth control medication, their mandatory health-center fee brings them little return service.

We met last spring with Dean Murphy to discuss this gross neglect of the health needs of women students. We felt that steps should be rapidly taken to institute a policy in the health center of routine gynecological care, the distribution upon request of birth control information, and of birth control devices or medication following the required vaginal examination. We also felt that the medication should be offered to students at cost, and should be free to those who cannot afford to pay for it. Dean Murphy expressed sympathy with our position and declared he had begun to work on establishing a gynecological clinic. At that time he promised that by the fall term this care would be available.

On September 23 we again met with Vice Chancellor Murphy to discover whether there would be a clinic for women students this fall. Murphy again expressed great concern over the problem, but, you know, these things take time. In short, there is no gynecological clinic yet for women students.

Murphy told us, however, that there has been definite progress, that we are in a transition stage from an antiquated to a progressive health service. The University is

Easy Rider - Review

"A man went looking for America....and couldn't find it anywhere."

These are evocative words that conjure up the splendid futility of a Don Quixote jousting his windmills. Audiences seem always to be deeply involved by a quest, whether it is for sweet Dulcinea, the World Series pennant, or the moon. 'Easy Rider' is a quest for America; Wyatt and Billy, long-hair and motorcycle riding, journey to the Mardi Gras in New Orleans and run into a segment of America that is supposedly murderously hostile to their style of life.

'Easy Rider' is a magnificent exploration of personal relationships and agonies. The dialogue, the road photography, the New Orleans drug scene, the Odysseus-atmosphere of the film combine to beautifully express the way Billy and Wyatt see themselves. Hippy versus redneck, radical versus reactionary—these conflicts shape the action for the characters. (Radical in this movie, as is often the case, has nothing to do with a political consciousness). The way these conflicts are set up, however, perpetuates an ideology that says long hairs or students are inherently at odds with the working people. It seems to be saying that the main thing wrong with America is that poor Southern whites are racist, reactionary and violent, that they won't understand why it is important for people to

be able to live like Billy and Wyatt. And the very rich are at least somewhat cool because they're into the drug scene—a character with a chauffer and limousine buys some drugs from Billy and Wyatt and makes their journey possible.

The easy riders invite a man they meet in a small Southern town to come to New Orleans with them. Around the campfire that night he explains that the local bigots harass the trio because they feel threatened by Billy and Wyatt. That is, such people talk alot about constitutional and rights, but when they are confronted with a man who is really free, says the new friend, they are afraid. This sort of analysis stops short after exploring the lack of existential awareness or anguish in the reactionary townspeople. It ignores the fact that objective conditions determine that these townspeople are in a situation easily leading to reactionary attitudes. That is, a certain class, the ruling class, profits not only from their lack of freedom, but from their fear of freedom. A worker has a low-paying and alienating job, but it is his only security. If all of a sudden the government says to this worker that there must be certain quotas of black people employed here, and we're cutting back on federal spending to curb inflation, there's no longer enough jobs to go around, so you must be laid off—the tradition of racism in this country becomes a useful tool in diverting anger from the government to the black workers. Hippies may not threaten jobs, but they threaten life styles. If working people took off on a cross-country journey anytime, or wanted to "drop out", or thumbed their noses at all authority, they'd lose their jobs. They cannot be "carefree" like Billy and Wyatt, but their antagonism is toward the easy riders, not their bosses, for whom they continue to work hard.

More and more this change in life styles is being adopted into the "establishment", is being made a way people can escape from the reality of their relationships, the implications of the things they defend, or at least do not attack—their country for doing. Billy and Wyatt's freedom that is supposedly threatening the small town Southerners is illusory, a pacifier. For if the opportunity to grow long hair and ride motorcycles across the country defines freedom for us, the easy riders are not representatives of a new way of living being slaughtered by remnants of the old way, but are instead prophets of doom.

Perhaps this is what Wyatt was realizing the last night around the campfire when he said, "Billy, we blew it." The sparseness of the dialogue gives an air of profundity to this and other observations, which might have been difficult to match by detailed analysis within the context of the movie. Maybe the writers and director just knew that that had to be said, but not really sure why.

And so Wyatt and Billy are massacred in a Bonnie and Clyde type ending that leaves the audience in something of a state of shock. The easy riders become martyrs, but not for any particular cause, not for any movement. They are not "outside" society in any significant way. Their life style, because it is disconnected to any political analysis, seems a new way of adapting to basic contradictions which are no longer bearable, instead of a way to change them. They were not consciously intending to challenge the existing order in those Southern towns—Billy says he never thought of himself as the freak the townspeople see him as. Having them die the way they did seems unnecessary and meaningless. The only social comment that is made by their deaths is, I think, that people in this country—on all sides—are becoming increasingly and perhaps permanently paranoid.

Easy Rider stops short of indicating that hippy vs. redneck is only a symptom of more basic contradictions. Peter Fonda, who produced, wrote, and starred in the movie, has said on the Tonight show that he thinks it is more important to find and ask the right questions than to find and create answers. His movie is this kind of questioning—an absorption in a "quest" that is so all inclusive that it matters little if it is a quest for something.