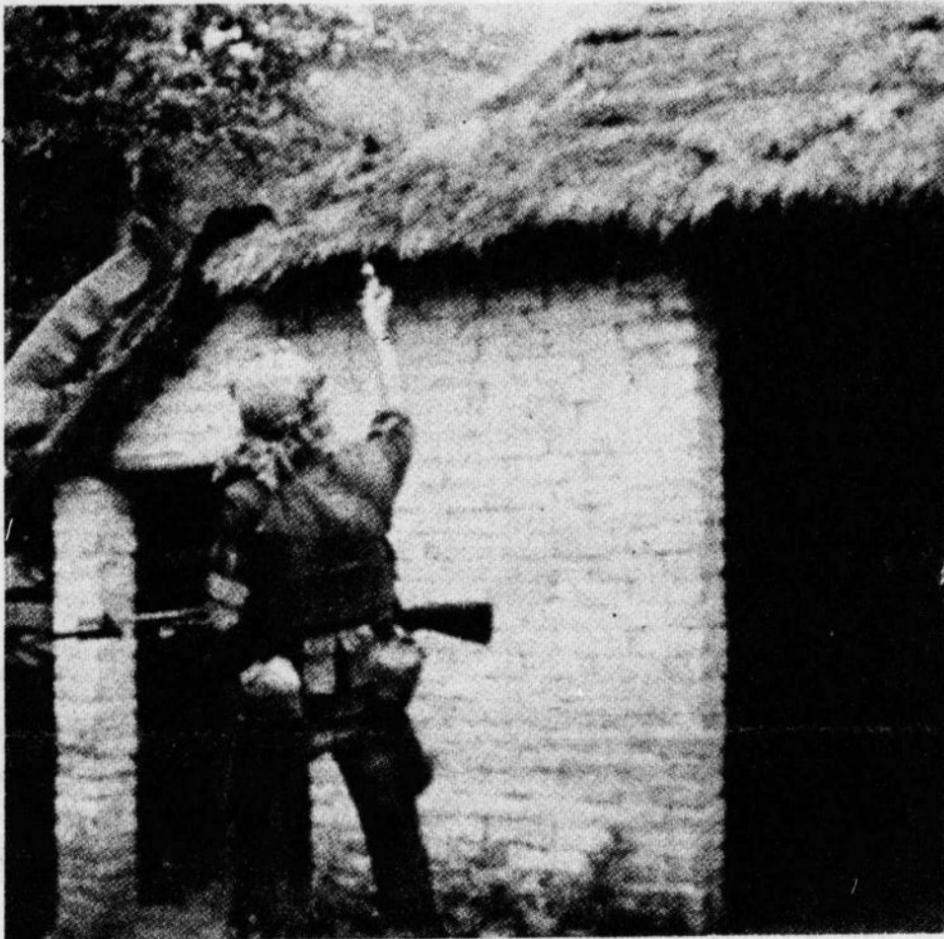


# indicator

**Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.**

Martin Luther King, Jr.



In defense of order?.. Vietnam 1965, Dominican Republic 1917

## Academic Senate...

### or how they stopped worrying and learned to love law and order

Tuesday, March 25th, the Academic Senate met. The primary item on the agenda was a resolution from the Committee on Academic Freedom defining academic freedom. This resolution was a response to the blocking of the Marine and to the "heckling" of Orr's inaugural address although it was intended to be "completely general".

The Committee on Academic Freedom is composed of Professors Jackson (Chairman), Kohn, and Popkin and two student members. The resolution was brought to the Senate by Professors Jackson and Kohn; Professor Popkin would not associate himself with it; the students do not vote. Professor Jackson said in his report that he and Prof. Kohn felt that they could reach a decision on the Marine incident "without prejudicing the legal or treating the moral and political implications of the marine." The Marine, he continued, was to visit and interview two students. His recruiting accorded with University policy and with the ACLU. The entrance was blocked by a group of students and one faculty member. This violated the students' rights of free speech and association. They did not criticize protest demonstrations,

he said, but only the physical blocking of the doorway.

Professor Popkin, like many other professors was not able to be at the meeting due to its scheduling and no minority report was submitted. Jackson said he had a long letter from Popkin on the matter but would only read a short passage. In the passage read Professor Popkin called for a program in "thanatology" and said that his moral repugnance overrode technical considerations of civil liberties.

Mr. Jackson then presented the following resolution:

"It is a fundamental obligation of the academic community to protect the right of its members and their guests to pursue their legitimate activities without being subjected to interference by physical means or disruptive tactics. For the purposes of this resolution, legitimate activities are any activities not in conflict with existing University Regulations or Policies. The academic community has the responsibility and the means to deal directly with such interference when it occurs on University premises and originates with other members of the academic community. These means include

persuasion as well as disciplinary measures administered in accordance with the established procedures of due process. We deem it essential that these measures be applied with determination and to whatever extent may be necessary for the protection of this fundamental right."

He said that "disruptive tactics" did not apply to peaceful picketing and demonstrations but was to be interpreted as defined in the University student regulations and included heckling that prevents someone from being heard. The word 'Legitimate', he said, was chosen because it seemed that it strengthened protection of the "broadest range of activities". In this way the burden of proof would be on those who wanted to deny the activity. This resolution, he said, will tell the governor, the community, etc., that we will govern ourselves without calling in outside forces. If placed in the larger context of San Diego County, it is minimal affirmation that we will govern ourselves and because of its general nature it does not apply to any activity now in existence but will still apply if rules are changed.

McGill spoke at this time. Although there was no violence or physical in-

jury, he said, he felt the incident suggested possible 'degenerative transformations' in the life of this campus. "Our pride is now deeply tinged with concern because within the campus and for the first time, members of our community have passed beyond reason and degate into the sphere of physical coercion.... The San Diego campus of the University of California is either a place of reason or it is a farce as an academic community." Although he disagreed with the use of force, Chancellor McGill said, "We must consider the rights and sensitivities of our minorities. Often enough they signal abuses that we are otherwise unwilling to address." There may be reason to change but "the problem presented by the incident of Feb. 21 is that a group of people who barred the way and threatened force, took the law into their own hands, making no attempt to use the avenues of rational discussion and peaceful change we make available to them." He then described the recruitment policy (which is "open" to all legal organizations offering gainful employment). He said that he supports this policy and felt that the student body also did, but since the placement center was

cont. on p. 5

# Vote YES on Genocide

The response from the UCSD community to the proposed referendum on military recruiting should be swift and clear. There are two important considerations which override all others.

- 1) Does anyone (including students) have the right to decide in favor of imperialism, genocide, and racism?
- 2) Who has the decision making power in our university and in our country?

The answer to the first question is obvious. No one has the right to exploit other people for profit, to murder them in a genocidal war, to establish color of skin as a criteria for whether or not one is to be classified as a human being. The record of U.S. corporations abroad in Vietnam and other parts of Asia, Latin America and Africa and the supporting role of the U.S. military is well documented. The role of the University in these actions is just as clear. One of the uses of universities like UCSD is to provide the specialized labor (officers) thru military recruiting and ROTC programs that the military needs to function. UCSD complicity in the genocidal and imperialist war in Vietnam is a fact.

The point is that for one to participate in a referendum which allowed one to vote either for or against military recruiting on campus is to give implicit approval to the opinion that the issue of imperialism is one that can be voted upon. To vote on this issue (even if one votes against military recruitment) implies that a vote for this policy of genocide will make it legitimate, a vote against legitimizes the possibility of a vote for that policy. All students must refuse that approval.

O.K. While the first consideration is enough in itself to warrant boycotting the referendum, the second question is also important. Chancellor McGill and the rest of the administration would like to make it seem as if the students actually had some voice in the decision making process in this university. Actually, the Chancellor has the final decision on all matters at UCSD and even his powers are delegated to him by the University of California Board of Regents, a group comprised of the most powerful business and political interests in the state. Thus, McGill, at the Academic Senate meeting March 25, can tell faculty members worried about losing government contracts if military recruiting is suspended, that the student referendum is purely informational. A week later he can tell a student newspaper, the Triton Times (April 4) that he "would consider the vote on the use of student fees as binding upon him" which "would effectively close the (Placement) center." (Note that the vote here is on student fees not on whether military recruitment should be allowed. It would not stop military recruitment even if binding but only military recruitment financed by students. But the financing of their recruitment is not the issue!) Such double dealing indecisiveness should come as no surprise to those who watched McGill's handling of the Marcuse re-hiring. The present situation at UCSD is clearly analogous to the present decision making processes in the U.S. itself where the two political parties control led by business and military interests were able to put up two non-choices for President simply because only they had the necessary money.

In sum the referendum must be boycotted first because it would, in fact, allow people to vote for imperialism and second because it obscures the nature of who has the power in this university and this country. The only decision which students can justifiably make is to reject the referendum as a fraud. By itself, however, that decision can only be a passive one. It will only become meaningful if students make it positive. Action must be taken April 17 when the Navy recruiter comes on campus.

# Marines Marcuse McGill

Tuesday, March 25th, Chancellor McGill spoke before the Academic Senate. In his speech, Chancellor McGill voiced his concern over the "possible degenerative transformations in the life of this campus" as a result of the events around the appearance of a Marine recruiter on February 21. "Our pride is now tinged with concern because within the campus and for the first time, members of our community have passed beyond reason and debate into the sphere of physical coercion."

Perhaps Chancellor McGill has forgotten that two years ago the San Diego Police surrounded the campus and the campus police were used on the campus to prevent the invited guests of the students, namely the San Diego community, from coming on campus to attend a rally on the war in Vietnam. Also the Chancellor has forgotten an incident of last year when twenty-five Marines came on campus, ready to beat-up those who had raised the NLF flag. What had threatened to be a violent confrontation turned into one of the most productive discussions to occur on this campus, as both Marines and students each realized that the other group was really human beings.

At that point, the administration and campus police escorted the Marines off campus, thus using coercion to prevent necessary debate about the war in Vietnam with those involved. Chancellor McGill thus meant by his previous statement that physical coercion on the part of university officials is alright (remember that grades are even a form of physical coercion, as a low grade point average can lead to a person being drafted), while action taken by students from a much weaker position of power is "degenerative". This is much like those in power who praise the 'non-violent' Civil Rights movement, while at the same time deploring the 'violent' Black Power groups. The difference, of course, was that the 'non-violent' Civil Rights workers did not fight police and vigilante violence, while groups like the Panthers believe in self-defense.

Over the spring break the following letter was sent to many male students concerning the appearance of a Marine recruiter on campus, March 31:

TO: College men and recent graduates  
FROM: The United States Marine Corps  
SUBJECT: Service as an Officer of Marines (Ground or Aviation)

PURPOSE: To discuss briefly fulfilling your military obligation as a leader of men in an elite Corps with proud traditions...and to advise you that an applicant accepted for any one of these programs is immediately draft deferred.

As a Marine ground officer, you'll be trained in management and leadership skills which you will find valuable personal assets throughout your life. Qualified undergraduates can enroll in the Platoon Leader's Class (PLC); graduates take the Officer Candidate Course (OCC) for pre-commission training. Neither the PLC nor the OCC programs conflict with the completion of your chosen academic schedule. If you like challenges, you will find plenty as a United States Marine officer because the duties which you as a Marine officer will be assigned, are as varied as the turn of events demand.

As a Marine Aviation Officer, you may pilot the hottest, most modern jets, fly helicopters or the huge multi-engine troop and cargo transports. The two paths leading to a commission and the coveted wings of gold are the Platoon Leader's Class-Aviation (PLC-A) and the Aviation Officer Candidate (POC) Programs. Pilot training is tough, but if you have determination, chances are excellent you'll make it.

The Officer of Marines on ground and his counterpart in the air overhead are key men in the world's finest and most superbly trained air/ground team. If you would like to know more on how you can fulfill your military obligation as part of this team...and as a leader of men.... mail the enclosed reply card for more information on Marine officer programs.

Do it today.

The purpose of the recruiter, of course, is not to talk about why the United States Marines should have gone into Vietnam, China, Panama, Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic, but to get officers. Remember also Capt. Stout's statement: "What I'm doing is not coming to address a social issue...it is not my purpose on campus." (Indicator, Feb. 26, p. 8) The inticement to become a Marine Corps officer is that every male must fulfill his military obligation, so why not fulfill the obligation as an officer, which will help you to succeed in the business world. The note does not mention what the Marines do--that they kill peasants in foreign countries--because of course, that is not something that one need discuss. The Marines go to college campuses not to discuss the rationale behind their armed intervention in foreign countries, but to fill their contingent of officers to continue the war in Vietnam, and wherever else American pride or business interests may be threatened by democratic revolt.

## indicator

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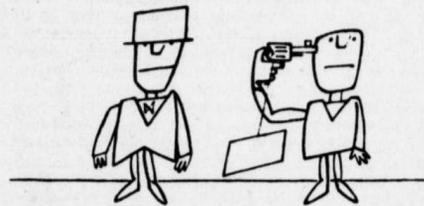
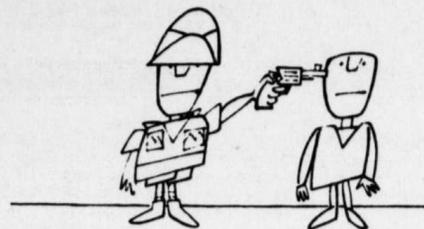
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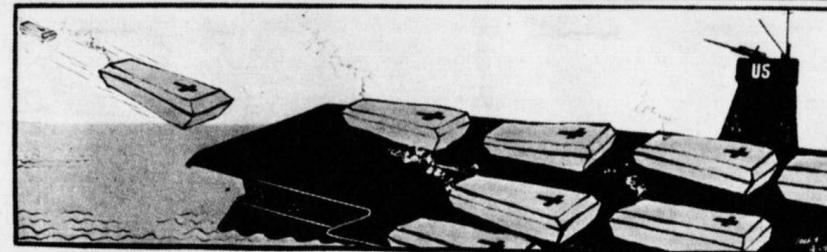
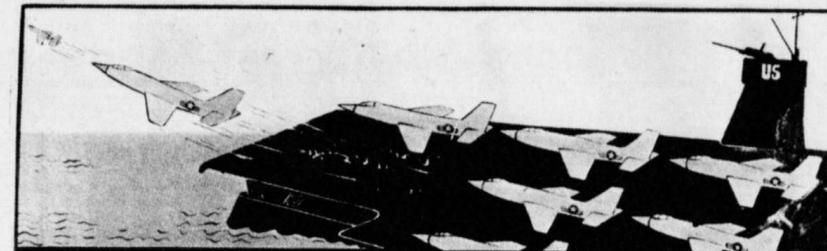
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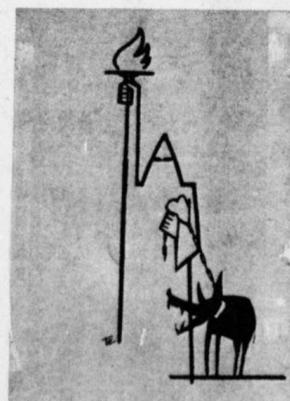
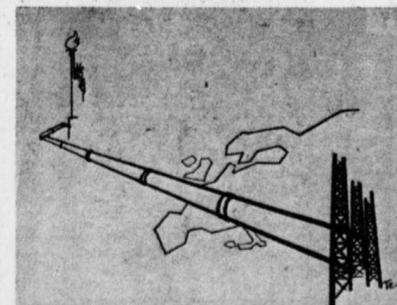
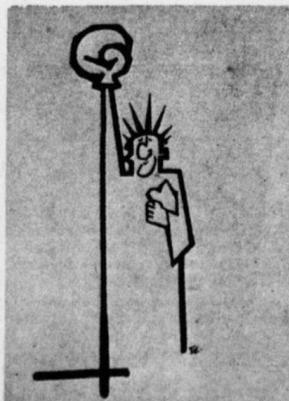


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# Civil Liberties Shallow Position

Dr. Frank Halpern

I want to explain my objections to the proposed resolution. On the surface it appears to be a straight forward defence of academic freedom or freedom of speech and since these are notions which are accorded considerable respect in academic communities, a reasonable explanation of one's opposition is required. For sometime I suffered an inability to make a decent argument against the position advocated by this resolution. I have been steeped in the civil liberties tradition. However, this resolution arranges things in a way which I do not find congenial, so I have had to resolve a conflict between my principles and my desires. In doing that I think that to some extent the shallowness of the civil libertarian position is revealed.

Let me first illustrate a peculiar phenomenon that has occurred here if one really takes this position seriously and then tries to understand why this happens. On our campus the civil liberties are being invoked to protect the Marine Corps from a small group of students and faculty. Although I suppose abstractly every group is entitled to protection it seems somehow a reversal of the roles of oppressor and oppressed here. The Marine Corps is an organization that President Truman attacked while president as a group that had the most effective public relations in the United States. This organization is now requesting protection of the campus community against a group of students who want to block them. An attempt to stifle free speech is an attempt to stifle free speech from a strict civil libertarian point of view. The speech of a powerful organization like the Marines against an insignificant group of students that Constitutional guarantees of free speech are made.

Many, probably most, of the faculty on this campus are opposed to the war in Vietnam. A poll based on bumper stickers last year surely overwhelming revealed that result. The opposition to the war is based in part on the illegal-immoral aspect of the war. The Marines as an organization are a part of those illegal-immoral acts. Yet faculty members put themselves in the position of defending the Marines' free speech. Despite some extreme civil libertarian viewpoints, the courts in general have found limits to free speech. People opposed to the war--Benjamin Spock for example--have been arrested, tried, and convicted for talking. Their free speech was denied because they were allegedly engaging in a conspiracy. Surely a Marine who comes on this campus to recruit is engaged in a conspiracy to commit

illegal-immoral acts in Vietnam and we have a right, even a duty, to prevent him from carrying out his conspiracy. It is not a violation of free speech to judge that the Marines and the military in general are unfit to recruit on college campuses.

Recently Prof. Marcuse was reappointed despite popular and Regental disapproval. My guess is that this reappointment only received the grudging approval that the Regents gave it, not because of the mountain of evidence testifying to Prof. Marcuse's competence but because at a time when San Francisco State and Berkeley were both in an uproar the governor was not eager to provoke a new crisis. We are asked by this resolution to excise the militants from our community because they apparently violate civil liberties. Yet the world we live in is really not based on our view of civil liberties--it is based on political struggle in which the fear of new campus outbursts is probably more instrumental in securing Prof. Marcuse's reappointment than his qualifications. Civil liberties do not exist in conflict. They do not exist in Vietnam today. Civil liberties can exist in a homogenous group of people with not dissimilar goals. We exist in a state of conflict with our governing board, and to expel our militants from our midst under these circumstances is to weaken ourselves in our next encounter. History is full of examples of this type of surrender or appeasement. I know of no incidents in which the party that weakened itself in this way was treated more kindly by the other party of the conflict.

I think that the civil liberties argument is being used to attempt to control and arrange very serious conflicts on many levels. The trouble is that the civil liberties position cannot really cover all these conflicts. It just will not stretch far enough. What are these conflicts? There is a conflict between those who will oppose the Marines recruiting on campus and those who do not want the Marine recruiting on the campus. Be-

hind this conflict lies several other conflicts. There is the conflict in attitude about the war in Vietnam and there is the conflict between those who wish to maintain workable, if not cordial, relationships between this campus and the Regents, legislators, governor, and citizens and those who do not care at all about these relationships. Behind all this is the real murderous conflict in Vietnam itself.

None of these conflicts has been fully and fairly discussed on this campus or in this society. Until they are it is useless to attempt to involve a civil libertarian argument in an attempt to suppress real conflict. The argument for civil liberties is in this case a very real repressor. A small group has the courage to flaunt the desires of the majority in an attempt to create a dialogue and the issue of free speech for the Marines is used to stifle this discussion. The most hideous part of this procedure is that the majority on campus really agrees with the militants but they have turned Voltaire's classic quote about free speech around. It now reads something like "I agree with everything you have to say, but I will defend to the death the Regents' right not to hear it."

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# Prof Resigns Committee

TO: PROFESSOR WALTER KOHN, Chairmen on Committees  
FROM: CARLOS BLANCO, Chairman Budget Committee

Some time ago, quite improperly, the Chancellor suggested to me that in view of what he assumed to be my minoritarian opinions I ought perhaps to resign from the Budget Committee. I thought then that 1) neither my opinions nor my serving in a non-administrative committee were any of his business and that 2) I could properly represent this Faculty on any Committee.

I still believe that, at the time, the Chancellor was applying pressure where he has no business applying it. But I now have come to the conclusion that I can no longer represent the Faculty of UCSD in any committee as delegated by our Senate and I am therefore resigning from the Budget Committee, effective today.

This decision, as you can probably imagine, is the result of my reaction to yesterday's Senate meeting. At that meeting, an overwhelming majority of my colleagues chose to show either their ignorance or their will to ignore the substantial moral issues involved and to surrender to outside pressures in the passing of a resolution which, in effect, is a law and order resolution to "protect" both the military establishment and their own contracts--the whole thing being disguised as a Civil Liberties resolution. It was sad, indeed, to witness the hypocrisy of a Senate's willingness to vote on an interpretation of a text rather than on the text itself, when it is quite clear that unless a text says what it means to say anyone can interpret it to suit his purposes. And it is sad to have come to the conclusion that the "struggle" against outside sources about which we have heard so much in this very Senate is now a struggle against ourselves, against the voice of morality in ourselves. In this new form of the struggle I can not possible act as a representative of the majority that has chosen the path of bad faith.

# Marcuse on Academic Freedom

The Resolution proposed by the Committee on Academic Freedom is bare of all content; it simply states that "existing University Regulations or Policies" should be applied "with determination". No academic committee should have spent time and energy to produce this tautology. However, the very bareness of content is of the greatest significance.

The resolution mentions neither academic freedom, nor free speech, nor does it refer to the event of 21 February which led to this resolution. Does the committee thereby demonstrate that the issue of 21 February was not at all its business? Indeed, it seems all but impossible to make the right to recruit for the Marines part of academic freedom, or to maintain (as does the Open Letter to the UCSD Community, dated 25 February) that the Marine Captain's speech was "stifled" since the very same letter states that he talked for "about 20 minutes." The committee shies away from the real issue by declaring that, what was interfered with, were just "legitimate activities," and "legitimate activities" are defined, "for the purposes of this resolution," as "any activities not in conflict with existing University Regulations or Policies". This definition is a self-validating proposition which would be unacceptable in a student term paper. Moreover, in making any activity in conflict with the existing regulations and policies (not laws!) illegitimate, and subject to "disciplinary measures," the resolution establishes existing administrative rules as absolute, their sole legitimation being the fact that they exist.

The emptiness of the resolution, and its silence on the issue which caused it, indicates the extent to which the academic community represented by the Committee on Academic Freedom surrenders to reactionary political pressure, and compromises the very values and goals which govern (or once governed) academic freedom and free speech. The resolution fights the symptoms of campus unrest instead of the causes. Calling for the protection of any activity not in conflict with existing regulations, it never even suggests that an existing regulation may itself be violating the principles of that education which is the great and civilizing business of the university.

The drafters of the resolution show no awareness of this possibility, nor of the possibility that the blocking of the recruitment office may have been the disturbed and disturbing reaction to an outrageous offense against the principles and promises of education for a free society. By virtue of these principles and promises, the university is also a moral institution, and its morality is defined--not by a clique of ultra-leftists but by the very tradition which, since the end of the Middle Ages, has constituted the rights and obligations of the university, namely, education for the protection, and for the improvement of life; preparing the young generations for work toward such improvement--no matter how radical a change of existing regulations and policies should be required for this improvement.

The principles of education in and for a free society rigidly preclude the right to proselytize or recruit for organizations which prepare and train, not for the protection and improvement but for the annihilation of life, for killing and aggression. They also preclude the right to use the facilities of the university, and the time and intelligence of its members to work for the designing and perfection of the weapons for the destruction and suppression of life, and of the wherewithals of life (foodstuffs, water and air, etc.).

In order to put the University on record as reaffirming the threatened (and already undermined) principles of education, I propose to amend the resolution as follows:

- (1) At the end of the first sentence, omit "or disruptive tactics"
- (2) In the second sentence, substitute for "existing University Regulations or Policies": "the traditional principles of a liberal education," and add: "Proselytizing and/or recruiting for the armed forces and the war establishment are considered interference with these principles."

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# Senate Meeting Cont'd

supported by student fees he was willing to "consult" the student body by means of a referendum. He recommended that the senate denounce coercive force and "take no step that would undermine current policy on the use of our facilities for recruiting and interviewing." He then warned the Senate that changing the policy could affect research funds of some of the Senate members.

At this point Dr. Munk, Chairman of the Senate said that the got funds from the Office of Naval Research and belonged to Jason, a group of professors who consult for IDA, and did not plan to sever his connections.

Prof. Pierce now read a statement from Prof. Lettau who was not present. It said that he had participated in blocking the door on Feb. 21 and said that it was an act of non-violent resistance to prevent collaboration in an illegal war and to promote discussion.

Prof. Jameson then read a statement from Prof. Marcuse (see this page) and offered an amendment to the resolution of the Academic Freedom Committee which substituted "compatible with the university's function as an educational function" for the definition of "legitimate". Chancellor McGill said that the amendment changed the intent of the resolution of the committee and must be offered as a substitute resolution. Jameson said he would submit it as a substitute resolution.

A great deal of debate followed on this substitute motion. The graduate student representative called the committee resolution pernicious and supported Prof. Marcuse's resolution. He said it was simply a 'law and order resolution'. This resolution was defeated as was an

amendment to change the definition of "legitimate activities" to those "compatible with the universities function as an educational function." (from the student handbook)

Debate continued covering such items as the Cleaver issue and the definition of the academic community. When Prof. Halpern was recognized he said that he had some 'extensive' remarks to make. The auditorium was immediately filled with shouts of 'Question'. Prof. Halpern accused those yelling 'Question' of 'trampling on free speech and academic freedom. He was interrupted in the middle of his statement with a 'point of order' as to whether he was in order but was allowed to finish the statement in which he said discussion of civil liberties with regard to this issue was an attempt to stifle discussion (see statement in this issue).

The Committee resolution was passed 115-17. A mass exodus immediately followed this vote.

At this time a resolution, which had been brought up earlier as a possible amendment to the Committee resolution, that the Senate support the proposed referendum of military recruitment. An amendment to this resolution, that all military recruitment be suspended until after the referendum, was immediately offered. This led to a loud discussion on whether NASA and Defense Department funds would be cancelled if recruitment was cancelled. No one knew whether it would or not. Some of the scientists present said they would support the amendment if it specified that it applied only to the student-funded placement center. At this point Chancellor McGill said he would not close it down. He said that after he had heard of the blocking of the door he had apologized to the Marine and Navy recruiter and asked them to return. March 31 was the last day the Marine could come and thus he could not act on a resolution like this. He said that this was just what he had asked the Senate not to propose and that he only wanted an assessment of student support. The amendment failed; the resolution of support for the referendum passed unanimously.

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# Critical University Project: Sociology

This is the second of a series of articles on the "Critical University" projects being undertaken at UCSD by Students for a Democratic Society, and others. The first was the review in the last issue of *Population Bomb*, one of the required books for Biology 11. A look at the Critical University as it has taken form in one college department is attempted in the following article.

## SOCIOLOGY

Only for the last two quarters has a major in Sociology been offered on this campus, and there are only two regular faculty members in the department: Professors Joseph Gusfield and Jack Douglas. Yet this department has been the target of extensive criticism by the Critical University, especially Professor Douglas's upper-division courses, Soc. 100 and Soc. 120. SDS's specific emphasis on Douglas's classes is explained as due to the fact that:

"Professor Douglas is the epitome of the liberal instructor who hides a conservative bias under his liberalism, and who clouds issues that should be laid out more clearly to students. Sociology 100 and Soc. 120 have had probably the most "liberal" sort of structure that there has ever been on this campus; Douglas accepts any sort of questions and criticisms at any time. Many times during the quarter we spent almost the whole class period debating points back and forth. He even encourages people to leaflet his classes, though he wanted a few more conservative leaflets than he got. In the middle of all this liberalism, however, Douglas still pushes a philosophy, sociological theories, and so forth that are politically conservative, and tried constantly to throw cold water on radicals and radical activity. So SDS replied to this, and still is doing so."

One of the theoretical stances that the Critical University attacked concerns the presence of racism in the U.S. It seems that Professor Douglas rejects the judgment of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders that "white racism" is the major factor in the growth of racial hostility in the U.S. He proposed, instead, that black people are treated as badly as they are because of their economic status; they are essentially poor people, and thus get lousy jobs, inferior schools, and the social stigma accorded anyone (white or nonwhite) who is in a similarly inferior economic position.

The Critical University, though it acknowledges the importance of economic relations, could not agree with the implications reportedly made in lectures, that the U.S. was almost free of racial bigotry. "Supplementary Paper" in Soc. 100 attempted to demonstrate that in his everyday life the black man is judged first on the basis of his skin color, THEN on other criteria. The same paper defended the Black Power movement in its more violent aspects as necessary to counteract violent oppression.

The notion that economic position is what creates the basic divisions between people in a capitalist society is, of course, a product of a class analysis of society. The thing wrong with the way it was presented in Soc. 100 is that it didn't come out of a class analysis at all—Douglas believes that the U.S. is one great big "middle mass", and so when he starts theorizing that black people are oppressed as part of the working class, you know he's just scraping up his own arguments to counteract radical arguments about racism and black liberation. Now, I know a sociology graduate who argues a line similar to Douglas; he points out that working-class people, both black and white, who migrate up from the Black Belt to L.A. get about the

same sort of jobs, in the same factories, have to live in houses that are almost uniformly crummy, etc. In essence, they're poor working class, so they get pretty much the same bad deal whatever their skin color. But this graduate student would also admit that the white workers are probably as racist as hell, and the supervisors too, and that because of this the blacks would get the lowest jobs in each factory, and the two groups of workers would be divided by this racism so they couldn't fight the important struggles against the bosses. In Soc. 100, if any of this sort of thing is going to be presented clearly, it will be by US.

Some four "supplementary papers" were prepared by the Critical University for Soc. 120 (Urban Social Problems), in addition to the in-class "debates". The first, "Fat Cat Sociology", discusses the various ways in which sociology as an applied discipline is used by the ruling class/corporate power for its own advantages and authority (this being the group that finances the results of most contemporary sociological studies). The paper was taken from the text of a speech given by Martin Nicolaus, a radical member of the American Sociological Association.

The second paper, headed "Fellow Sociology Students:", commented upon some aspects of the effects of urban environment brought up in preceding lectures. An untitled leaflet followed several weeks later. Decorated with a Ron Cobb cartoon and a poem, it was an analysis of "existential sociology". "Existential Sociology", it claimed, was Professor Douglas's "ideology", and it attacked this philosophical perspective along the lines of Sartre's "Anti-Semite and Jew": if you are loath to take any absolute political stand as a sociologist, or make any absolute statements about the existence of social problems, then you are going to be ineffectual in the face of such forces as anti-semitism or racism, or capitalism, which dare to make absolute statements about society, and to accept absolute values.

The Critical University in Soc. 120 spent considerable time refuting "existential sociology" and showing its conservative affects; a thirteen-page condensation of Anti-Semite and Jew was even passed out in the final class period. There is not room here, however, to cover the arguments, which may be discussed in an article in this column at a later time.

Finally, a "Questionnaire" was prepared for the students of Soc. 120 concerning the value of the regular lectures, the value of the Critical University leaflets, and possible changes in course structure. About half of the 24 students who returned the questionnaire (class total, 74) saw change needed in the lectures, including less abstract theory, more emphasis on reality, and more planning of lectures. 21 of the 24 liked the critical University leaflets, though criticism was extensive, including "too doctrinaire", "simplistic Marxism", "interesting but not very useful", "need more facts, less words". Of six suggestions listed for improving course content, the two most favorably received were (a) "search out lecturers who would discuss (e.g., concretely) the development of urban problems", and (b) "concentrate on the underlying institutions or forces which might be held responsible for such problems."

After the questionnaire, the class was changed to allow lectures by outside speakers, including several sociology T.A.'s, Professor Herbert Marcuse, Professor Keith Lowe, and the head of the San Diego Welfare Department.

## SOCIOLOGY 11

Professor Gusfield's course on "social institutions" has been less subject to organized criticism. The reasons seem to be that, if you manage to break through presents, the course has a lot of content, and much of it is radical for the average consciousness. It was educational, mainly because Gusfield tries to be truly objective, and he succeeds about as well as any professor can expect to, given the constant pressures of existing political and social institutions. The Critical University has thus attempted to "break through the sociological jargon" and reveal the radical nature of sociological reality. "Good Grief, Charlie Brown", the first leaflet in Soc. 11, showed how lectures were piling up evidence in support of a 'class analysis' of U.S. society. (e.g., the perpetuation of economic status structures between generations.) This particular paper elicited an interesting response from another student in the course—a leaflet entitled "In Gratitude to Charlie Brown and Friends". The counterleaflet was satirically in agreement with points made by the Critical University, pointed out a large error in arithmetic made in "Good Grief, Charlie Brown", and (tongue in cheek?) raised such points as "...Why do Gusfield and Douglas merely explain 'with nonchalance' to us about the poor, the underprivi-

leged, etc.? Why don't they lead us out... out...out...of the classroom, into the streets?..."

The second and last Critical University paper in Soc. 11 was passed out at the final examination. It concerned the series of lectures on the social institution known as "Religion", commenting favorably on the way in which religious doctrines and institutions were tied to political and economic institutions by Dr. Gusfield. The absence of such a comprehensive treatment in the other lectures of the quarter was lamented. More precisely, the leaflet took the argument made by Dr. Gusfield about Norman Vincent Peale and directed it against sociology. Peale, who advocates the transcendence of the individual spirit over the problems of his environment, the striving for "serenity" in the midst of problems, is the embodiment of religion's reputation as the "opiate of the people". Both Norman Vincent and, far too often, sociology, fail to consider the alternate approach which sees social systems themselves as deviant rather than the individual; thus both contemporary religion and sociology (implies the Critical University) fail to suggest basic changes which could be made in the system, and betray their potential as necessary and progressive social forces.

### TODAY'S



TOSHIKO MARUYAMA  
YASUSHI AKUTAGAWA

### MUSIC

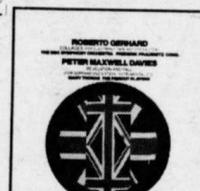
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## VISUALS BY MIRKWOOD

# Mailer: Political Analysis not Campaign History

Tremendous amounts of campaign materials are produced every election year. The 1968 conventions were extensively covered by all the media--over-covered, some were to say later. The televised manipulation by the ruling powerful and the unresponsiveness to the expressed wishes of voters across the country demonstrated to the delegates and to the populace that something was amiss in the American democratic process. An arena had been unwittingly prepared for Chicago's bloody riots.

If Norman Mailer's Miami and the Siege of Chicago were no more than a reporting of the events of these conventions or an effort to propagandize for one of the candidates, it could have been discarded when the election results were complete. While Mr. Mailer does sketch graphic images of the men who influenced these conventions (or did not influence them), this book could have been subtitled "portrait of the writer confronting the debacle". More than its pragmatic, current value as an objective, journalistic history, it is one man's involvement in his times, focusing and condensing the attitudes of a nation.

The author refines his perceptions until one feels that he has captured the essence of a situation, or a man. The feeling of "really being there", of knowing and touching the illustrious, whether candidate or protestor, is the basic emotional appeal of the book. It is a story of personalities and characters, not issues.

However, while the author's metaphors are vivid, concepts are often sacrificed for description. In situations where conflicting interpretations would be inevitable, such metaphors leave little ground for meaningful disagreement with the au-

thor's opinion. Does it seem worthwhile to argue that McCarthy is not like a matador? or that he is more like a college dean? The reader may feel that he is being seduced by the power of the author's words into accepting his interpretations. In all the description of Nixon nothing new is said, nothing which does not confirm previous opinions of Nixon as, at his best, mediocre and mechanical. ("SMILE said his brain. FLASH went the teeth.") And yet, Mailer, at least to some extent, believes in the New Nixon, and with his words creates a certain degree of sympathy for him. Nixon was the hope of the WASP, and... "It was possible, even likely, even necessary, that the Wasp must enter the center of our history again.... They were the most powerful force in America, and yet they were a psychic island. If they did not find a bridge, they could only grow more insane each year, like a rich nobleman in an empty castle chasing elves and ogres with his stick." Resentment shifts from Nixon, for his at-best mediocrity, to the author, for being able to impose his observations.

Mailer's commentary is unmincing where he chooses it to be. He discloses the ploys of the powerful in Chicago, where hostile delegations, such as California and New York, were seated at a safe distance from the podium. In case there was a need to load the galleries or the floor, Diners' Club cards could be substituted for the plastic passes to enter the amphitheater. Succinctly the motives, methods and results of Johnson's backing of Humphrey and of his role in the convention are summed up: "Conceive what he would have through of a candidate who could attract more votes than himself." Mailer's analysis leads him to the conclusion that "politics is

property." That is, the vote that each delegate holds is as tangible to him, as jealously guarded, as a piece of actual property like his house. It is as unlikely that he will give his vote to a candidate for moral or idealistic reasons as it is that he would donate his house. The candidate with the most tangible things to trade for votes will have the most delegates on his side.

Even as the author takes for granted the outcome of the conventions, he builds suspense and tension. Realizing "that there is no history without nuance," he searches out the details, the look in the eye of a Kennedy, the gesture of a hand, the mood of an elephant, as the keys to major events. The drama is in the struggle of men with social and historical forces. The outcome of the struggle is not yet known--the siege of Chicago is only one skirmish in it. There were those in the streets who were battling to overcome an established system and threw their bodies in the path of history to prevent the past from becoming the future. And there were the "forgotten Americans" whom Nixon both embodied and led, clinging to the past to escape being drowned in the flood of future events.

Norman Mailer faced the debacle of

the political conventions as a writer who was aware that his very comfortableness and success in this society were somehow intertwined with the ugly machinations of the powerful and reactionary in Miami and in Chicago. It seems he thought that if their power allowed them to frustrate a convention, manipulate delegates and stage an all-out attack on "the children" in the streets, then somehow it was they who decided whether or not he could write. He feels that he has probably influenced more young Black writers than any other white writer, and yet finds himself impatient with "the Black revolution", in the person of Rev. Abernathy. He seems to class all dissatisfied Black leaders together, failing to distinguish between the nature of the Poor Peoples' March and other actions which could be more accurately labeled revolutionary. The author's political beliefs seem confused, and his own position, which has been an integral part of his observations from the beginning, remains unclear. His decision to vote for Eldridge Cleaver is unexpectedly revealed in the last three paragraphs of his book--paragraphs which are more reflective than concluding:

"...Norman Mailer would probably not vote--not unless it was for Eldridge Cleaver.

"Eldridge at least was there to know that the barricades were building across the street from the camps of barbed wire where the conscience of the world might yet be canned. Poor all of us.... We may yet win, the others are so stupid. Heaven help us when we do."

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