

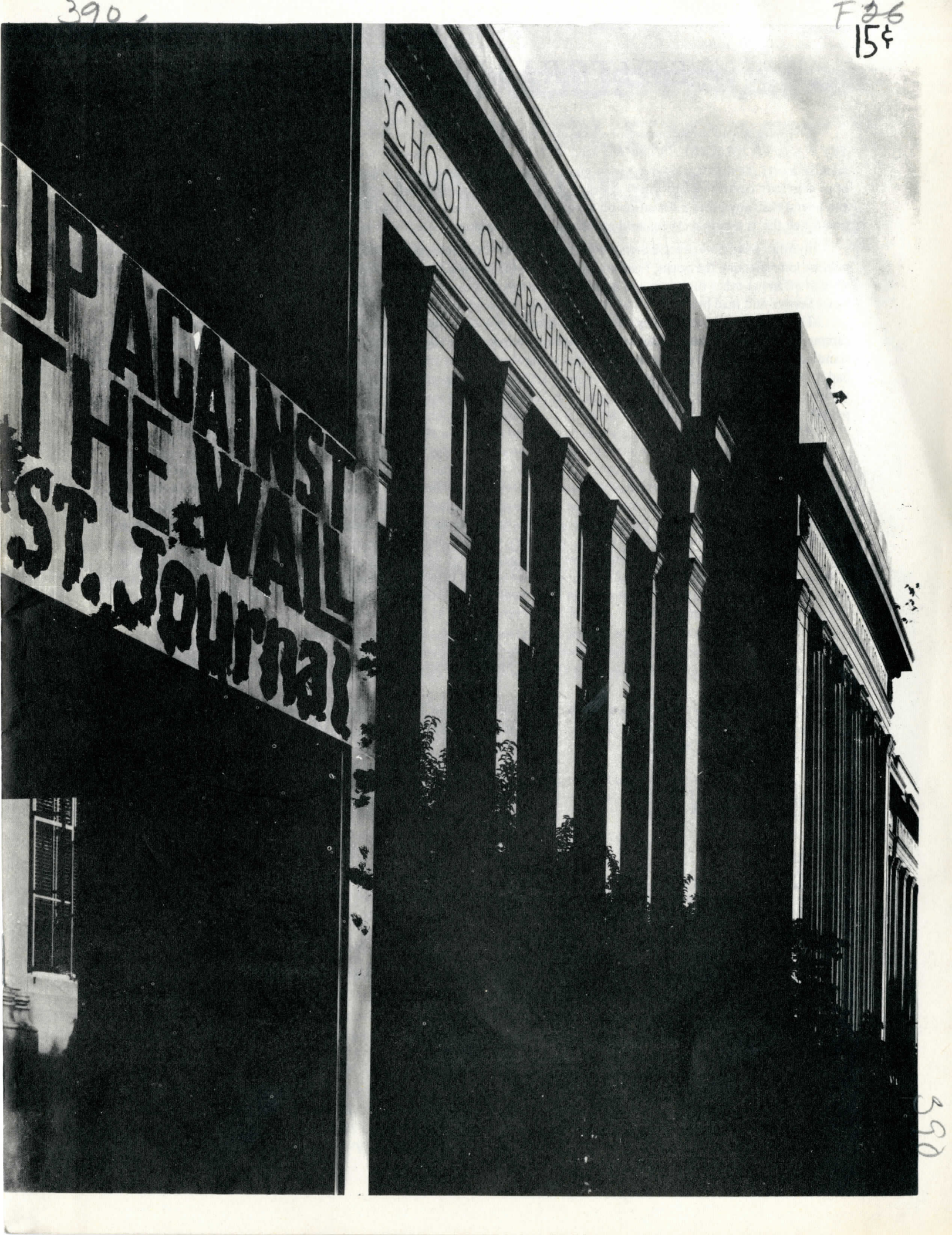
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UP AGAINST
THE WALL
ST. JOURNAL

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE

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EDITORIAL: a beginning

This issue marks the beginning of a new idea at MIT. For those of you who have not met us before, we are UP AGAINST THE WALL ST. JOURNAL. A long felt need for this type of publication coincided with an opportunity to begin with some material assets. *Innisfree* magazine was in serious financial trouble and the prospects for its survival were not improving. Most of us who have contributed to this first issue felt that the real problem with *Innisfree* was that while trying to be more loose and liberal than any other publication on campus (which we believe it succeeded in doing), it had no political content in a time when this is clearly a crying need especially on this campus.

In other words, we are a movement publication but not exactly in the traditional sense. We hope to be MIT's movement publication reflecting the hopes, fears and struggles of the movement at MIT while also providing needed information on the state of affairs at other campuses and around the country and the world. For this latter purpose, we subscribe to the Liberation News Service and read like crazy about what is going on elsewhere. This is traditional.

The local task is considerably more difficult but potentially more valuable. For a long time, many people on this campus have wanted to see a coherent statement of what we all are doing. It has been our fault that there is little understanding of our actions, our ideas and our beliefs. Furthermore, groups like SACC, Resistance, SDS and other left groups have had to use leaflets to notify people of their every activity, using up valuable time on strictly organizational activities. Many activities such as meetings, rallies and teach - ins have had poor attendance that is mainly due to a lack of publicity. Many people who cannot find exactly when activities are planned are frustrated, wanting to work but always being a step behind.

All of these needs are extremely important and no movement that does not or can not communicate will get very far.

In order to accomplish these aims, the primary principle of this publication is that articles about groups, activities, and people will be written by these people - if possible. No one can really know what SDS or any other group is trying to do better than that group itself. Second, those whose material is in a given issue take a large hand in planning the layout of the publication, including art, photos, etc. Finally, there is no permanent hierarchical structure of leadership. The people handling finances are the only semi - permanent group. "Editors" for each issue are chosen a few weeks in advance simply to help coordinate material coming in and to assume temporary responsibility for helping people and resources locate each other.

This type of publication represents a new opportunity for all of us at MIT, but also it requires a new responsibility. If we want to coordinate ourselves and our activities we must all help in the preparation. We believe that once this venture gets going, people are going to be very interested in both reading and writing it. It will be both fun and useful for our movement. The content should reflect the current state of the movement here at MIT and elsewhere. For example, note the recent (or latest) indictments, beatings, frame-ups and general repression that crop up in the articles.

We believe that in talking, thinking, writing and developing our ideas together, we cannot help maturing as agents for beneficial social change. The image of all of us here moving in this direction together as a real working community is an extremely appealing one for us.

All those interested in helping with ideas, art, photos, criticism, layout, typing, etc. are eagerly invited to the old *Innisfree* office, room W20-467 in the Student Center. We'll be open almost 24 hours a day.

GOOD LUCK TO US ALL!

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UP AGAINST THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL-UNIVERSITY COMPLEX: MIT AS THE PARADIGM

Senator J. W. Fulbright. "(the universities have failed to form) an effective counter - weight to the military - industrial complex by strengthening their emphasis on the traditional values of our democracy, (but have instead) joined the monolith, adding greatly to its power and influence." (Congressional Record).

"Something is wrong which disrupts the greatest universities in the country...After all this is the younger generation, and whatever one may think of them, the future of the country is about as dependent upon the young people...as it is on the Defense Department. It is a question of evaluating the relative importance.

"It would seem to me that these activities that are only remotely related to warfare and military affairs might better be carried on by an agency which does not cause or contribute to unrest in our major universities."

(Congressional Record)

Senator Mark Hatfield. "I respect those members of academia who wish to hale the university's contribution to such tragedies as Vietnam. The universities, by becoming inferior, contracted members of the defense establishment can only increase their participation as the intellectual advocates and architects of the war machine. It is my contention that efforts to examine the debilitating effects of the defense establishment, not only upon society as a whole, but also upon the university itself, are steps towards the reintroduction of human ideals into what is now policy formed mainly by economic considerations." (private communication to Noam Chomsky).

The history of student movements during the past five years has shown that students are the only force of conscience which can save American universities from their role as the apologists and implementers of America's tragic military - foreign policy.

Each issue which has stirred student protest in the past can be found in grotesque proportions at MIT: The involvement of MIT with the CIA; MIT's relation to lower middle class Cambridge; the low percentage of black students; and the autocratic depersonalized relationship that characterizes the attitude of faculty and administration to the students. But we at MIT are especially blessed with issues of extreme military involvement.

MIT is increasing its hold upon first place among university DOD (Department of Defense) contractors:

	1967	1968	1969
		(in millions)	
MIT (1st)	\$ 92	\$ 119	\$ 124
Johns Hopkins (2nd)	\$ 71	\$ 57	\$ 57

MIT has proclaimed its own importance in the military business:

"MIT is in the front rank of the forces of Science dedicated to the essential research which the government of the United States considers indispensable to the National Defense. It is a scientific arsenal of democracy. From its halls and laboratories come the knowledge and technique, the brain power and the resources which contribute to our national survival in an era where the laboratories and technicians of our enemies work sleep'essly to outdistance us in the race to harness the latent secrets of nature as tools of their supremacy." Atty. Edward B. Hanify, representing MIT at a Cambridge public hearing on the Inner Belt (The Boston Herald Traveler, Feb. 21, 1966).

Lincoln Laboratory and the Instrumentation Laboratory are two of America's most important centers of research on strategic weaponry. Lincoln has for the past 7 years pioneered work on the ABM while the I-Lab has excelled in MIRV (Poseidon) technology. The thoroughness of the I - Lab's involvement in its war projects can be seen from the following:

"Pioneering technology is the primary concern of the Instrumentation Laboratory which generally deals with all phases of significant systems from their beginnings in imagination, through theoretical design, engineering design, engineering testing, production documentation, production and finally operational use." 1968 Instrumentation Laboratory to Dr. Ruina One wonders about the mechanism by which MIT scientists will deal with the "operational use" of the helicopter guidance system which the I-Lab is developing for use in Vietnam.

(cont. on p. 4)

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THE MILITARY – INDUSTRIAL – UNIVERSITY COMPLEX: MIT AS THE PARADIGM (cont. from p. 3)

At a time when the uses of American military force abroad and the development of strategic weaponry such as MIRV and ABM have been questioned by Senators, generals and businessmen; when the “unwarranted influence” of large corporations has been decried both for their concern with weapons production and their interest in maintaining “stability” in underdeveloped countries, MIT remains undaunted, producing weapons and continuing close contacts with military and internationalist corporations. It is absolutely absurd that MIT should continue to develop the ABM, which has been discredited as nothing more than a ridiculous boondoggle.

Somewhat naively, SACC attempted to fill the role of conscience which American students find thrust upon them. First, we organized the March \$ Research Stoppage. This met with charges, by Provost Wiesner, that students had “coerced” some of the faculty into joining the activity. Dean Alberti called Cornell in an effort to get one Guest of the Institute sent home. The Administration threatened to mute the protest by calling a convocation on March 4; it pressured UCS (Union of Concerned Scientists) into calling off a canvass of the Faculty; it tried to influence the program. The reaction from Washington was also amusing: Science Advisor Dubridge called us “extremists” and questioned our responsibility and patriotism.

After March 4 we were invited into the Instrumentation Laboratory by two engineers to discuss the war and the US strategic position. The invitation was contravened by Dr. C. S. Drapez, head of the lab since 1939.

In order to find out why March 4 generated so much controversy among the faculty, we attempted to determine whether many MIT professors have financial interests in military-oriented corporations and the relation between their MIT research and the activities of these corporations. This information is a matter of public record, but it is hard to compile. We were told by Provost Wiesner that (1) it is his job to monitor the activities of the faculty, (2) he is not certain that abuses don't exist, (3) the faculty does not allow the information to be accumulated by the administration. In essence the faculty keeps watch on its own involvements. In what seems to be a uniform policy position we were told by Wiesner, Ruina and Smul.in, independently, that we were conducting a McCarthy-type purge.

It became clear that any attempt to divest MIT of its military affiliations (or even find out what they are) will meet with powerful opposition. So we began to look at the interests of top MIT decision makers to see why there was so much of a problem. What we have found is the following:

- (1) **Top DOD scientists graduate to MIT in the manner that generals move into executive jobs in defense industries.**

An example of this is Jack Ruina, Vice President for Special Laboratories. He has said that he has final say over what research Lincoln and the I-Lab shall undertake—this includes the proportion of military to non-military contracts. His employment record is: deputy for research to Assistant Secretary of Air Force in charge of Research and Engineering ('59-63), assistant director defense research and engineering, Office of Undersecretary of Defense ('60-61), director advanced research project agency, DOD ('61-63), president of the Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) ('64-66).

- (2) **Many of MIT's decision makers are triple threat men. This means that they are (a) of influence at MIT, (b) have positions of influence within the DOD, (c) have major interests in military-oriented companies.**

Outstanding examples of this are: James R. Killian, Chairman of the MIT Corporation, former chairman, President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board ('61-63), director General Motors, Polaroid, Cabot Corporation, AT & T, trustee and member of the executive committee of IDA; Ithiel Pool, former chairman of Political Science Department at MIT, member of the Defense Science Board, large shareholder in Simulmatics Corp. which has done such DOD projects as interrogating Viet Cong prisoners. James Harold Doolittle, life member of the MIT Corporation, retired Lt. General, USAF, Vice Chairman, Aerospace Corp., Director of TRW and Shell Oil Co., Jerome B. Wiesner, Provost of MIT, former President's Scientific Advisor, director of Sprague Electric Corporation and Celanese Corporation.

- (3) **There is a marked correlation between the top DOD contractors and members of the MIT Corporation (MIT's ruling body).**

For example, let us look at the top ten defense contractors that have MIT connections:

Corporation	Rank	Amount of DOD (millions of dollars) in 1968-69	MIT Corporation members affiliated with company
Lockheed	2	\$ 1,858	H. McGurdy—director
AT & T	6	\$ 775	Vannevar Bush—director (honorary chairman, MIT Corp.)
			J. Killian—director (chairman of MIT)
			C. Brace—honorary director
			E. Hanley—director, Bell Tel. Co. of Pa.
			J. Fisk—President, Bell Tel. Labs
			W. Murphy—director
			H. Romnes—Chairman of Board (special term member of MIT Corp.)

(cont. on p. 7)

SMASH ROTC NO EXPANSION

In a year filled with the most militant and violent campus actions in the history of the American university, the events which have occurred at Harvard are certainly among the most significant. In many respects Harvard is reminiscent of Columbia last year. The two major issues as at Columbia are the University's role in the community around it and its contribution to the war in Vietnam. Again, there is an additional issue of discipline involved, with the original six demands including a demand for the restoration of scholarships to those students punished for participation in a disruptive demonstration earlier in the year. Again, after a brutal police action on campus witnessed by over a thousand students, much support was gained for SDS. Again there seems to be a real danger, being fought by SDS, that the original issues will be obscured as the so-called moderates play up the use of police and concentrate their efforts on reformist restructuring of the University to give students a bigger place in the decision-making hierarchy. In addition, the newspapers seem to be printing the same editorials they did during the Columbia rebellion, merely making the appropriate name changes.

What prevents the Harvard action from being merely a repeat of what happened at Columbia is first of all the context in which it was placed. The confrontations at other universities this year (S.F. State, Duke, Wisconsin, U. of Chicago) have centered almost entirely around either black student demands or student power demands. Among many SDS organizers in the east there has been a strong feeling that this spring is an important time for SDS to return to the war as a primary campus issue and that militant campus actions could help to bring about a quicker end to the war. (At an SDS convention in Princeton in early February, a resolution was passed supporting this.) The occupation of University Hall was the first major action taken as a result of this feeling and will perhaps inspire similar confrontations at many other schools.

In some respects, Harvard represents

a higher stage of development than Columbia. The building takeover was not spontaneous, but carefully planned, with a great deal of thought given to its consequences for quite a while before it happened. The issues involved, especially ROTC, were thoroughly aired for the entire year at Harvard—the student was well canvassed and 1500 signatures were collected on a petition asking for the abolition of ROTC. The support for the six demands was tremendous: At times during the first day there were perhaps 3000 people, the majority sympathetic, inside the building and in the Yard outside. This despite the fact that Harvard had already given in to a “compromise” proposal on ROTC which relegated it to an extra-curricular, non-credit activity, and despite the fact that there was little faculty support for the abolition of ROTC. Finally, the dropping of the

pled this year by a faction fight between the “worker-student alliance” people (consisting mostly of members of the Progressive Labor Party and their sympathizers) and the “new left” people. At an SDS general membership meeting the night of Tuesday, April 8, a motion to take University Hall (which houses the offices of several deans and the Committee for International Studies) that night was defeated. Although there was a general feeling that the building should be occupied at some time in the future, an exact time was not decided upon and a noon rally was planned for the following day. At the rally, the worker-student alliance people, who had been disappointed with the decision not to occupy the Hall, the previous night, took the matter into their own hands and took control of University Hall, trying to convince the others to join them after they had



trespassing charges by the administration, intended to appease the students, has removed the danger that amnesty, rather than ROTC and expansion, will become the main issues in people's minds.

Considering the manner in which the occupation of University Hall began, it is surprising that it has turned out as well as it has. Harvard-Radcliffe SDS has been largely crip-

already done it. This could easily have been the act which finally and permanently split and killed SDS at Harvard. But by mid-afternoon most of SDS had apparently decided to support the occupation, and both factions were inside the building working together. In fact, from that afternoon until the time of this writing, there has been virtually unprecedented cooperation between the two factions, the original hostilities only occasion-

(cont. on p. 6)

SMASH ROTC (cont. from p. 5)
ally being apparent in public.

The occupants presented the University with six non-negotiable demands:

1. Abolish ROTC
2. Restore scholarships to the Paine Hall demonstrators
2. Replace ROTC scholarships with the equivalent Harvard scholarships
4. Rent rises in university owned apartments be rolled back to the level of Jan. 1, 1968
5. University Road apartments not be torn down to make way for the Kennedy complex
6. That 182 black workers' homes in Roxbury not be torn down to make room for Harvard Medical School expansion

The university's response was to claim that the fifth and sixth demands were not based on fact (a claim later withdrawn) and to condemn the action, without really responding to the other demands. Judging from other campuses, it seemed likely that one of two courses of action would be followed by the Administration: either they would call in the police very soon (Kirk's mistake at Columbia was clearly that he gave the movement time to build and take over more buildings) or they would let the students stay inside until they left of their own free will (Brandeis and the U. of Chicago had successfully used this response).

Throughout the day the occupiers did not go unopposed by other segments of the Harvard student body. Counterdemonstrators carried signs outside the building saying "SDS Get Out" and "moderates" spoke from the steps condemning the SDS tactic, favoring amnesty for SDS, and being very unclear as to what their opinions were in the issues of ROTC and expansion. They complained that SDS was not exhausting all possible peaceful channels to have their demands met (an unfair complaint in the light of the urgency of the demands, the administration's well-known obstinance, and the fact that ROTC had been through most of the available channels earlier in the year).

At 4 in the afternoon, Dean Ford,

one of those ejected from University Hall, appeared on the steps of Widener Library and read an official announcement: after 4:30 only freshmen would be permitted to enter Harvard Yard, and in 15 minutes the University would file trespassing charges against all those inside the building. Although no mention was made of the police it was obvious to most people that the closing of the Yard meant that the Administration was planning to call for such action before classes the next day and was trying to isolate the radicals.

Thousands of students remained in the Yard after Ford's pronouncement. Only a couple of dozen went to a 4:30 meeting in Lowell Lecture

reports reached the Hall that police were massing outside the Yard, and students began gathering on the first floor in the hallways where they had earlier decided they would non-violently obstruct the police by standing and linking arms. By around 5, 400 state, local, and suburban police were in the Yard and had surrounded the building. Harvard Dean Glimp reportedly stood outside the Hall with a megaphone and gave the students five minutes to vacate the building, but he could not be heard inside and no one was aware of the warning. Hysterical voices from the south-east entrance of the Hall screamed that the police were there and that there was fighting outside. Those inside linked



Hall (outside the Yard) to "discuss the issues" with the faculty and administration. However, as it grew colder and dinner time approached the crowd in the Yard thinned out considerably, and by 6:30 there were perhaps 400 inside the building with another several hundred standing outside.

After a while, the size of the crowd remained fairly constant, with dozens who had left the Yard returning by various means. By the middle of the night there were still over 300 people inside, a few hundred outside, and many more in Memorial Church (near University Hall in the Yard) which had been offered for people to sleep in. Around 4 AM

arms and chanted "Smash ROTC-No Expansion," and cheered when told (mistakenly) that students were battling the police in the Yard.

Finally the police came into the building, apparently entering first through the south-east entrance, while the chains were being broken at the other three entrances. From my position inside the south-west entrance blue helmets and riot sticks coming down very hard could be seen down the Hall at the south-east entrance, while police struggled with the chains keeping the glass door in front of me closed. Shortly after they broke through, we were pushed out the southwest entrance and down the stairs (many, including myself, were

(cont. on back cover)

Contortions And Distress

A total fiasco, beyond anything we could have imagined. It displayed a lack of planning, a lack of brains, and the frustration that confrontation politics at MIT is not possible because the administration is too damn clever. We expect plodding ineptitude like there was at Columbia, instead we get Dean Wadleigh and Simonides. We wanted to move people, so we move them to the right. We wanted to open a closed CIS meeting and expose Rostow and the US "national interests" in his own words;

(cont. from p. 4)

Boeing	7	\$ 762
North American	9	\$ 668
Rockwell		
General Motors	10	\$ 629

we wound up shouting "bastard" at Rostow in Kresge Auditorium. When we first began planning for Rostow's visit, he was slated to speak at a closed CIS seminar which included Professors Pool and Pye. We thought we could expose the parts both Rostow and the CIS played in the war and the imperialist nature of the ideology they create to legitimate US policy. We distributed a leaflet about Rostow and planned to disrupt the CIS seminar in order to make clear our point. On Wednesday, the administration thwarted our plans by cancelling the closed seminar and substituting (cont. on p. 11)

- C. Greenewalt—director
- R. Lovett—director
- J. Killian—director
- L. Brace—member, finance committee
- S. Knudsen—group vice president in charge overseas and Canadian Group

Of the top 75 DOD contractors for fiscal 1968, 19 are represented on the MIT corporation. (This does not include MIT itself which is number 54 of all DOD contractors.) The number of crossovers in these 75 companies due to multiple directorships by an individual and more than one representative in the MIT corporation from a given company is 41.

If one looks at ABM contractors for the old Nike-Zeus—now the Safeguard—system, one notes again a heavy correlation among MIT corporation members. According to *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, October 23, 1967, the prime contractor is Western Electric (AT & T). MIT has seven corporation members associated with AT & T. Other contractors which are represented on the MIT corporation are: Teledyne, Westinghouse, TRW Systems, Philco-Ford, Honeywell, and Kaman Aircraft Corp. Kaman Aircraft Corp. is an interesting example of how everything fits together—there are two members of the MIT Corporation from Kaman—G. Gardner and W. Coolidge. Prof. R. Miller of the Dept. of Aeronautics and Astronautics was Vice-president in charge of engineering for Kaman in '52-54. Prof. Miller is now also on the Army Scientific Advisory Committee. The ABM will be under army control when built.

Much of the research for the ABM has been done at Lincoln Lab. ABM projects like PRESS' RDT and BMRS are the "Lab's largest program" (Report of the President, 1967).

(4) MIT decision makers play an important role in advising the military establishment.

Some examples are:

	MIT affiliation	Advisory affiliation
James R. Killian	Ch., MIT Corp.	IDA
Charles Allen Thomas	member, Corp.	Board of Trustees, Rand Corp.
William Webster	member, Corp.	Board of Trustees, Rand Corp.
Richard S. Morse	Sloan School of Management	Board of Trustees, RAC Corp.
Douglas M. Knight	member, Corp.	Research Triangle Institute
Holt Ashley	Prof., Aer. Eng.	Air Force Science Advisory Board
Rene H. Miller	Head, Dept. of Aer. and Astro.	Army Science Advisory Committee
Ithiel Pool	Political Sci. Dept.	Defense Science Board
F. E. Heart	Lincoln Lab.	Air Force Sci. Adv. Board
W. R. Markey	Director, Exper. Aston. Lab.	Air Force Sci. Adv. Board
C. S. Draper	Director, Instrumentation Lab.	Air Force Sci. Adv. Board

Note that MIT personnel represent 10% of the Air Force Science Advisory Board. The Vice Chairman of the Board is Edward Teller.

Conclusion:

Most of the important decision makers at MIT are also important in the Government military establishment and/or in military-oriented industry. In Fulbright's terms, MIT has "joined the monolith, adding greatly to its power and influence." In Hatfield's analysis, MIT has become "a contracted member of the defense establishment." MIT personnel do participate "as the intellectual advocates and architects of the war machine" both in government and industry.

It must be remembered that the military-industrial affiliations of MIT professors have not been considered as yet.

The question is not whether MIT decision makers are bad individuals. The questions are: (1) is the effect of these military involvements "debilitating" to MIT's role as an educational institution, and as a free and independent critic of American society, (2) is MIT locked into a role of implementing policy for a military-industrial establishment that has gone wild?

from SACC

Ream job in Buffalo

Bill Berry

We often make the disastrous mistake of identifying national interest with the interests of the people who live in a nation; of equating decisions of government with the will of the people. My interests are not those of the United States government and those interests it serves; neither are those of the Vietnam veteran. (But I must substantiate that claim, mustn't I?) He carries his head around in a paper sack; I have other proof.

Federal indictments are powerful pieces of paper; they frighten; they intimidate. "The United States of America vs. you, me, a lonely individual," they read. They mean you go to court when you don't want to. For some they are signs that the U.S. government, much like IBM with its promise to brand-new engineers, has begun treating them as professionals right from the start. Take my case. I am burdened with one of those papers. It tells me the United States of America is my enemy because I took the initiative to criticize, to hope to change, its insane, programmed and researched, murder of Vietnamese people and American soldiers; its deliberate murder of repressed American black people whose crime was stealing a T.V. set. I am now, through no wish of my own, deemed a "professional protester" subject to harassment, repression, limits on my activities and movements, imprisonment, and any other shit the asshole known in this country by the name of Federal government can squeeze out and dump on me. But I am not alone, even though they try their shittiest to make me feel that way. Nine people were arrested with me in Buffalo this summer; others have been indicted since. There are hundreds of thousands of American people in jails and mental institutions all over this free country. We join together and present a challenge to the American way of life: shove those indictments and those local pigs and those federal pigs and those brain psychiatrist pigs and those just courts and those ranks of professional sub-humans right up your fucking ass. Indict the liberal warmakers and the pigs and the judges and district attorneys who make opposing genocide and nuclear annihilation a deadly and subversive task. (Sounds a bit raging and insane, doesn't it? But remember what they say to me. Remember the tone of the American free press when they report on American perpetrated genocide. Remember that the very real "conflict" in Vietnam is still "a debatable issue" and that McGeorge Bundy says we should get out of Vietnam because it is degrading American political opinion). What happened to me and my friends at a sanctuary in a church in Buffalo this summer was a lesson you could never learn in a political science class at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I would like to tell you a little bit about it.

Bruce Beyer and Bruce Cline took sanctuary in the First Unitarian Church of Buffalo beginning last August 9, the day they were scheduled to report for induction into the Army. Beyer had turned in his draft card in Washington the previous October to make effective his horror at American atrocities in Vietnam and its own ghettos and had been the guiding hand of the Buffalo Draft Resistance Union ever since. His opposition to the war in Vietnam, and, in general, American control of the governments of underdeveloped countries and American military suppression of popular revolutions, had been vocal and visible. It had affected the people of Buffalo to the extent that they and the local newspapers blamed many of the city's

problems with urban redevelopment, ghetto riots, and general impersonality and physical ugliness on "scum like Bruce Beyer." They knew also, however, that he was putting his ass on the line.

Cline had been a high school drop-out and is pissed as hell about what this country is doing to him and his friends. Many of them had been killed or wounded in war; his brother Dave, who was on leave from Fort Hood and spoke at the church, had been shot three times in Vietnam.

The sanctuary lasted thirteen days. At least 300 supporters were around most of the time, and a real community developed. There were political talks, football games, local bands, poetry readings, and neighborhood kidmaking signs and having a good time. Cline played his dulcimer to a large audience every day. Judy Collins paid a visit. The church was seeing some life—and most of the time it wasn't Sunday.

BUT, WATCH IT!

Local fascists, who are in with the Buffalo pigs and own a war relics store, wearing swords, threw tear gas at the group of supporters on a warm summer night. A few days later a big 1968 green Buick pulled up on the street outside the church. A few people saw the driver raise a rifle and aim it toward the crowd of supporters on the steps. One shouted, "Everybody get down." Another ran toward the car, fist in the air, screaming "They're shooting at us, Bruce; what the fuck we gonna do?" The man fired three times toward the crowd. Everyone was on the ground and no one was hurt. The car sped away. Pigs came to investigate, squealed "oink-oink" and passed it off as firecrackers. The local newspapers called the incident a hoax, a lying attempt to gain sympathy where none was deserved.

Sixty federal pigs, none with badges or uniforms, one with a battery-operated megaphone, showed up August 21, about two in the afternoon. They made some sort of garbled announcement and a few seconds later charged into a group of about 80 supporters standing in the front doorway of the church. A side door stood wide open and free of supporters, but the pigs chose to ignore it. About eighty Buffalo pigs, swinging the biggest billy clubs I ever saw came out of nowhere and followed their big brothers. The Feds carried blackjacks and chains. The attack was effective. They arrested seven people in the doorway and beat I don't know how many more, then moved down the center aisle, toward the elevated pulpit where Beyer was speaking to those gathered inside, urging them not to resist the pigs.

Three Feds charged at Beyer from behind, knocking him from the pulpit, then kicked him down the steps of the elevated pulpit area. He lay on the stone floor at the front of the church. Federal marshal-pig Alvin Grossman of Rochester jumped on him and beat his head with a two foot long chain he had kept in his overcoat pocket. I had been in the doorway, but had not been arrested and now watched, horrified and beyond anger, as my friend's blood ran down his face and onto the stone. Grossman got up and two Buffalo pigs took over, clubbing him in the stomach and legs. Two Federal pigs picked him up and carried him toward the front door. His feet dragged; his eyes were closed, and his head hung so that his chin was on his chest.

Cline had meanwhile been dragged out the side door. Yelling, I followed the two pigs holding Beyer out the door and onto the front lawn. I heard somebody yell, "Get him",

LEAFLET OF THE WEEK

and before I knew what was happening, someone had shoved me from behind and twisted my arm behind my back. Beyer and I were put in the same pig car and I was informed that I was under arrest for assaulting, interfering with, obstructing, and intimidating a federal officer performing his duties.

At the FBI headquarters downtown, an office pig told me, and this about a minute after I had been brought in and about 5 seconds after I had told him my name, that I need not worry about my turning in my draft card on Boston Common April 3, 1968 prejudicing the possible handing down of an indictment and trial on the assault charge. I told him that I had not worried about that yet; wondered who it was who had recognized me and yelled "GET HIM!"

After the photographing and fingerprinting, after I was shoved into a tiny jail cell with the nine other people who had been arrested (including Bruce Cline, who wasn't charged with assault) after I saw who they were, I began to worry. Out of the hundreds of sympathizers at the church they had managed to arrest the most well-known and active people in Buffalo Youth Against War and Fascism, the Buffalo Peace and Freedom Party, the University of Buffalo SDS, and the Buffalo Draft Resistance Union.

Repression?

Last month Bruce Beyer was convicted and sentenced to three years in prison for assaulting a federal officer. (The *Buffalo Evening News* and the *Buffalo Courier-Express* had refused to print paid, signed pre-trial advertisements denouncing the trial as a political frame-up.) He is now out on appeal, and has yet to be tried for refusing induction. Three others who were tried with him, Jerry Gross of YAWF, Carl Kronberg of Peace and Freedom, and Ray Malack of SDS, had a hung jury and will be reindicted. At the large demonstrations around the court house during and after the sentencing, at which I was present, 9 people were arrested for malicious mischief, or resisting arrest (*arrested for resisting arrest*). One of them, Jerry Gross again, was actually pulled from the car from which he was watching the demonstration. He was later hit with another obviously ridiculous charge—possessing marijuana. (I know Jerry; he does not smoke.) His car has been impounded since.

I was indicted April 3, and along with me a 41 year old Professor of English at the University of Buffalo, Bill Yates, who hadn't even been arrested at the church. On April 7, we pleaded not guilty to charges of assaulting, interfering with, intimidating, and obstructing a federal officer in the performance of his duties, the same charge on which Beyer had been convicted. The law has been used only eight times in its 70 year history, and then only in cases where assault with a deadly weapon was involved. The judge in the Beyer trial, John T. Curtin, a real bastard, refused all defense motions to have the D.A. specify which of those things each of the defendants allegedly did. The trial date is tentatively set for May 23, three weeks before I am scheduled to graduate from M.I.T. We can get three years.

The handing down of eleven more indictments is imminent, according to an ACLU attorney who knows the district attorney. Three of these indictments will be against people who have already stood trial for those same charges.

Draw your own conclusions, but, as the Rolling Stones sing, WATCH It!

(cont. on p. 13)

Many people are now discussing the possibility of students gaining access to administrative decision making apparatus. This idea of transforming the University's structure as a meaningful social change generally does not look beyond the confines of Harvard Yard. Appearances to the contrary Harvard is not an institution isolated from the rest of society. Rather its purpose is determined generally by the servicing function of all educational institutions (the defence industry in California supports the state universities which train many of its skilled workers) and determines specifically by the Harvard Corporation, all of whose members are business members. They hold among them one chairmanship, three presidencies and thirty-three directorships in major U.S. Corporations. These men are quite clear as to how they want the University to function. The head of the Chase Manhattan Bank, David Rockefeller, former president of the Board of Overseers of Harvard, has notified the administration of the great importance he attaches to keeping ROTC at Harvard.

When viewed within this context, the University's functions take on primary importance. It is not so much the form of our education, but its purpose with which we must be concerned. For example, no matter how enjoyable was an English major's four years at Harvard, no matter how much say he had on administrative committees of the department and the college, if he wants to teach in the public school system he will find that the content of his teaching will be strictly determined for him and that he will become more and more of a disciplinarian ("Cop") and less and less of a teacher. In other fields this is even clearer. For physicists, engineers, architects and lawyers, there is little choice as to whose interests their educations will serve. Demands for students working with administrations, for student privilege, aim only at making our lives at Harvard more pleasant, ignoring the lives we must lead when we leave here and the lives of other people (the Vietnamese, the Cambridge workers, residents of Roxbury, etc.) who are affected by the daily activities of Harvard going about its normal business—the normal business of training officers for Vietnam, of expanding, of inculcating students with its own ideology. So long as it is the business of Harvard to serve a society that doesn't serve the people's interests we are fooling ourselves to think that we can train students here to serve the people in a future society when they must take jobs in the present one.

To really change the University, therefore, we must change the society in which the University functions. We must build a movement at Harvard that deals with the Univ-

(cont. on p. 11)

MOVEMENT: REAL and IMAGINED

Yes, the great event of the twentieth century was the forsaking of the values of freedom by the revolutionary movement, the progressive retreat of Socialism based on freedom before the attacks of Caesarism and military Socialism. Since that movement a certain hope has disappeared from the world and a solitude has begun for each and every man.

albert camus

In almost every encounter between young unaligned students and "hardened" movement activists there is a kind of tension: the students exhibit a real and justified fear. Those whose views are far from certain, who have yet to demonstrate or to oppose demonstrations, are frequently caught in a malaise stemming not from 'political' but rather very personal contradictions. They wonder how it is that the left, whose views they basically share, could be caught up in what seems like the same old ego - trip. Though they cannot help but identify with those who oppose the obscenity of war and poverty, they delay in joining us. While, even in 'apathy' they abhor the criminal insanity of a society focused around the pursuit of profit to the exclusion of pleasure, they delay in fighting it. While these new faces all feel assured of the right path when they find that it is the sanctity of man, and not **property**, that the new left worships, they remain non - active 'neutralists.'

Why then this delay? Why do we not strip away all that is bad, rededicate ourselves and 'get together one more time?' Why must the left wear the faces of anger, why must we say 'pig' and why do we look so bureaucratic? The answers I fear are 'blowing in the wind' and they are not all pretty.

Camus speaks of 'the forsaking of the values of freedom' but it is certainly not the rhetoric of the left to which he is addressing

himself. It cannot be the militancy - for Camus has never been an advocate of pacificism or non - violence. No, what is at the heart of Camus' distress is the emergence of 'AUTHORITY' in the left. Though he speaks of the past his words have an even greater consequence for the present. For in our time there is a great struggle in the U. S. and Europe between two unnamed protagonists. Just as the 'mainstream' of political thought has its inner conflicts, Nixon versus Humphrey, etc., the left, while in basic agreement over most goals, has its own lines of division revolving, on the surface at least, around life styles and tactics. To my mind this conflict, which is of infinitely more importance than that between Democrats and Republicans, is between the authoritarian and the non - authoritarian elements in the movement. Roughly, it is between those who speak with longing of elitist vanguards, and those who prefer the sounds of 'spontaneity,' finding unbounded leadership and authority infinitely more dangerous than pleasure and fun.

While both elements of the movement have an intuitive or even well-formulated abhorrence for private property and the evils of capital, the latter group prefers not to stop there in its analysis. To them the evils of bureaucracy, as well as of capitalism, of leadership and authority, as well as of property are all deserving of study, analysis and opposition. While somewhat defensive about the dictatorial trends in all revolutionary movements the non-authoritarian element recognizes such trends, and is committed to confronting and overcoming them. Within Cambridge and many other locales a large part of the conflict is between Progressive Labor and the rest of SDS. In

each of us the conflict is between the tendencies a competitive society imposes and the ideals and feelings that grow naturally with freedom. Within us all there is a Yippee. If he is nourished correctly, then even in militancy we can remain sensitive—even while confronting the 'pigs' we can remember that is the uniforms and the system that we abhor—for the cops are just like us, only the system killed the yippee, while creating an authoritarian.

The reader may now be asking what stance if any the non-authoritarian can take; where can such a movement go? If disruption and militancy breed bureaucracy and finally turn us all into our own enemies, what then is left. But the reader who asks thusly has misunderstood, or I have been unclear. While the germs of authoritarianism exist in any form of militancy there is no reason why they must take seed. One can militantly confront racism without becoming a racist; witness Cleaver.¹ One can fight against interventionism and imperialism without becoming dictatorial; witness Che,² and finally one can fight against cultural depravity without losing sensitivity; witness Mick Jagger, Dylan and the Beatles. Those who find the directed serious demeanor of the authoritarian left appealing, should realize that when one forgets how to smile, one may well have picked up a number of new and less appealing traits; it is then that revolutionary zeal is subverted by bureaucratic authority.

But the unaligned cringe. Surely the path is so strewn with danger that it is better to defer, to remain inactive, seeking change through 'responsible means' thereby avoiding all the dangerous possibilities. There is no need to dwell on a refutation of this stance. Suffice it to say that (in a society so sick that it considers nudity the obscenity in the of fully clad generals showing off imperialist medals) to defer is to welcome the insane and rationalized life of the immoral. One cannot just continue to vote, while wallowing in middle class depravity, or student luxury, expecting all the while to avoid the diseases of a dying society, or the anger of the new left. There is nothing more authoritarian than selfish stupidity. To be trapped into supporting a 'personally bearable' status quo, thereby consigning others to unbearable pain, and forfeiting one's own chance at real fulfillment and freedom is not only immoral it is self-defeating and stupid. The only way out of here, to paraphrase Dylan, is to assert one's own individuality while respecting the rights of others on the left, expecting them to do the same. Thus a militant non-authoritarian movement.

The above ideas may well be important or even fundamental, but what, asks the reader, have they to do with M.I.T. or student government? The answer is significant and simple. There is nothing political that cannot be confronted in a non-authoritarian manner and there is nothing in life that is a-political. For student government at M.I.T. to be movement oriented (and anything else would be sinful), it must confront not only the problems of society but

also those at MIT and it must develop in a non-authoritarian way. Students and therefore student government must confront and offer alternatives to their friends and 'enemies' alike. We must construct viable alternatives while attacking unviable realities — not because we would be unjustified otherwise, but because we would be doing less than we are capable of. When attacking imperialism, the war and related problems we must be working toward the creation of alternate social and economic structures. We must be studying the ways of systems as Socialism and Anarchism. In a more immediate context, when we fight against employment practices at MIT, our success is insured if, while attacking the old, we construct the new: viable job training programs. When we consider our own academic environment while we are struggling to implement change we must continue to outline alternatives even to the point of establishing our own progressive school within MIT. When undermining the illegitimate authority of the MIT Corporation we must insure that we establish a level of awareness that will enable us to decentralize and adopt the powers that we seek. It is difficult to be one's own master when one has for so long relied upon the decisions of others. In confronting the sexually repressive nature of our environment we must again offer alternatives, and, if necessary, for it is certainly our right, we must take the initiative here too, establishing new values and a new, freer environment.

The context of these struggles is all — important. The approach all too often taken is that a few individuals adopt a position of leadership. They make decisions; they do a great deal of the research, planning and coordination. And in the end, they generally bungle the whole show. Such leaders either succumb to tremendous pressures, becoming authoritarian and secretive, causing dissension and finally the downfall of their own movement, or they succeed beyond expectations, taking all relevant information into themselves and thereby crippling the capabilities of the movement at large. Indeed such a well led movement suffers to the point of extinction from its lack of awareness and experience. Structural change unaccompanied by a massive change in political awareness is frequently less than useless. In fact, most of us, through the intellectual manipulation of our awareness have already been led to forfeiting the greater part of our structurally guaranteed freedoms. If student government is to avoid the pitfalls of leadership it must avoid being led into accepting authority. It must insure that participation in all important decisions is as high as possible, while limiting its own participation to the same level as everyone else's. Student government must serve the students, not rule them. It must administer their decisions, not their lives.

Here at M.I.T. what is called for is a reawakening to the realization that we, the students, can affect change, and that in the long run it is in everyone's interest for us to do so. We must unite behind ideas and not leaders; we must unite in groups which share in the making of all decisions—in groups which in fact share in everything. It is toward this end that student government will work, not as an authoritarian or leading element, but as a thought provoking forum, and as a voice for those who seek to implement change. It is the task of the new left to put Camus' "values of freedom" back into the revolutionary movement for social change. There is no reason why we cannot do our part here.

Michael Albert

THE ROSTOW THING

(cont. from p. 7)

tuting an open forum in Kresge (to be followed by a private luncheon of Rostow and his cronies: the closed seminar transformed). Out of a long meeting Wednesday night emerged a basic format for the forum: Rostow would speak, the North Vietnamese film *Life Under the Bombs* would be shown, and someone would deliver a speech from the floor on the CIS and Rostow. There would also be a question and answer period. The sense of the meeting was that there would be no disruption. No plans were made for the luncheon. The next morning, people were very frustrated by the loss of opportunity for confrontation with the warmakers, and decided to heckle anyway. As some shouted and others cringed, the rest of the fortunately small audience was quite turned off.

Free speech might be a much misused liberal copout, but in this case and on this campus it is a real issue strictly on first amendment grounds as a matter of valid civil liberties. If Rostow had been talking to a closed CIS meeting or to the National Security Council, the free speech issue would be irrelevant; it would simply be a matter of obstructing war activity.

It may be insane to try to rationally convince Rostow that the war is wrong, but it shouldn't be the least bit difficult to rationally show people where his interests lie. If the audience could just have heard the man speak, that might have been sufficient by itself. The people on this campus still want to hear rational discourse on the issues, however clear they should be by now, and at this point certainly think we are incapable of it. There are still a lot of topics, like the CIS and imperialism, that we have barely begun to discuss with the community at large.

We should have done what we were going to do subtly and satirically. We should have caught him in his own quotations. A lot of signs and either a leaflet or the speech that was supposed to have been given would have helped. Maybe before the thing started, we could have gotten up and said, something like "This is a war crimes tribunal; we are charging Walter Whitman Rostow with conspiracy to commit murder, or genocide. First the defendant will speak." After Rostow spoke we could have shown the film and filled out the indictment.

If there were to be any interruptions at all in his speech they should have been very pointed, such as playing the "Star Spangled Banner" on the harmonica, or what happened when we stood and cheered for self — determination for the Vietnamese.

As for specific suggestions: Maybe the above scenario could be used against Humphrey. Also we should start doing canvassing about the CIS, war research, and imperialism now so that in the future we can legitimately take real militant action against the centers of militarism here at MIT, instead of bullshitting in Kresge auditorium. Peggy Hopper

Carolyn Hoffman

HARVARD LEAFLET

(cont. from p. 9)

ersity's role in the society and attempts to fight in the interests of all the people—of Vietnam, of Cambridge and Roxbury. For it is only through a greater movement of that of us alone that the whole society—the whole world—may be transformed.

BOSTON INTERLUDE:

a poem for but not about Francesca, written on hearing from a light-headed friend that he was not going into the army for reasons of conscience.

Commonwealth Avenue with the leaves changing in the spring
of '65
Was a pleasant walk to you, who could see no serious objections
To strolling with a few professorial 'types' and watching
The thugs in the trees yell "Give us joy! Bomb Hanoi!"

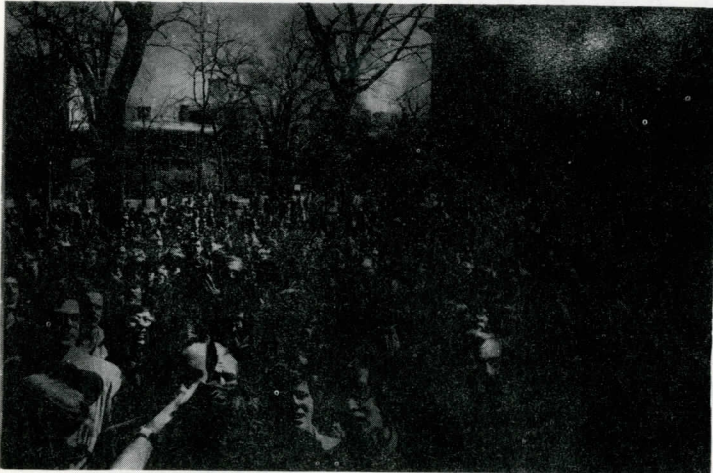
In the fall of '66 you took up with a Maoist girlfriend who tried
To teach you that one could make love and war on the ruling
class
("Pappy was an original Ford, and I still have an affection for him")
When you grew long hair she left you.

You graduated in 1967 and we caught sight of you: classified job,
SDS conferences and a few forays into the Resistance,
sanctuaries, etc.
An imperialist bayed at your door every night, of whom you took
Some notice. While Hanoi disappeared.

*You hate the ruling class, Francesca, but you don't love me
I, on the other hand, love you, Francesca: how may that be?*

That is, our lives went on without you, you were: away without
leave
The army called you back; we were astonished at the transformation,
When they sentenced you to five years, you were complete, a hard-
Core resistor, a soft-core slogan on our wall.

Ezekiel Nathans



I. The Prophets

They held market there, the cow-dealers
On the reeking block
A wooden block with hatchet in its cleft
To sell a bull and cut his chains after sale
Or cut his throat if the register should ring no sale.

But I have heard a rustle on the land
As of a million grass-clumps
Temples of the unseen earth
Devouring in unison the treaders
Who defile them.

Records in the holy places
Long with blood streak
Many records
Weaving, intermingling
No pure blood here
But filth and much of it
Streaming blind with chipped earth
Now wild with crest
Seeking out the land.

The lonely prophet urges on to tide-storm, land-wreck:
History's a black art. It does not pass.
Many men have said, it shall pass
Others have whispered in the dark, on silent backroads,
Who shall stay our hand once vengeance lies in it?

Ezekiel Nathans

The NINE Needs Your Support

(cont. from p. 9)

And you watch it because you have learned the lesson of the federal pigs: the United States government is willing to resort to any means to eliminate threats to the seats of its power; it has the "respectability power" to enlist tens of millions of stooges; it is willing to abrogate and/or use the Constitution to repress "its own" people who object to the killing of tens of thousands of Vietnamese who want only to take control of their own country away from the United States of America. You watch it because you know that the people of this country must gain control of their own lives by taking it away from the bastard professional politicians, big businessmen, liberal political scientists, economists, and sociologists and their fatal nationalistic ideology, and the runaway system they have constructed; from the forces which see those lives as expendable parts of a system which insures the perpetual inequality of the measure of an individual's control over his own life by insuring the right of a powerful minority to employ the great majority, which if left unchecked will lead civilization to nuclear disaster. You watch it because they're going to fight you with everything they've got to insure that you don't get such control, because you only work in it; they own it, and they can blow it up if they please.

**SUPPORT FOR THE BUFFALO NINE IS DESPERATELY NEEDED
MAIL TRINKETS, SYMPATHY LETTERS,
CONDOLENCES, AND BREAD TO:**

**BUFFALO NINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE
P.O. BOX 399
ELLICOTT STATION
BUFFALO, NEW YORK 14205**

Form DJ-195
(Ed. 2-7-66)
1055
No. _____

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
WESTERN District of NEW YORK
Division
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
vs.
WILLIAM BERRY

INDICTMENT

A true bill, *J. Reilly* Foreman.
Filed in open court this *25th* day
of *March*, A. D. 19 *60*
Clerk.

GPO 902-482

'...The press can make a criminal look like he is the victim
and make the victim look like he is the criminal...'

Malcolm X

SMASH THE EMPIRE:

a modest proposal

Abe Igelfeld
Bob Shapiro

PROGRAM FOR MIT:

(originally submitted to MIT Resistance in March, 1969)

It has been widely bandied about that the radical movement has to evolve its plans for action out of analyses of the society its members live in and connected as specifically as possible to its long and short range strategic aims. We believe that this is true for two very important reasons. First, and most obviously, if we are to understand what we are doing, if we are to have any long-range aims, if we are to avoid the despondency that follows an action, no matter how "successful," if the reasons for the action were not clear to begin with, our action must flow from analysis and goals. Second, it is both disastrous and dishonest to convince people to take part in an action which one realizes has no particular connection to eventual aims beyond putting those people into situations which will "radicalize" them. It is dishonest and manipulative because one cannot convince someone to come out and get radicalized just because his present views are false; therefore one has to invent spurious reasons for the action, an invention which may convince that person, planting false understanding. It can be disastrous afterwards when the person in question realizes he has been misled, and makes the appropriate conclusion about the radical who convinced him.

In light of the above, we propose the following analysis and program for the left at MIT:

The United States has absolutely no right to interfere with the self-determination of the Vietnamese people. Since 1954, the American military has been engaged in increasingly intensive operations in Vietnam, ostensibly in the name of democracy and defense of a small people against external aggression. No serious observer of the situation can now maintain that this has been the outcome of American actions. We contend that it was not the purpose to begin with. The war in Vietnam is only the most blatant manifestation of a general policy of imperialism which has managed to remain concealed from the American population except in those cases where the policy was seriously threatened, such as, for example, in Guatemala, Iran, and the Dominican Republic.

What is the nature of this policy we have labelled imperialism? To understand it, we must first realize that the purpose of business is to produce profits for its owners. A businessman wants to invest his money where he can get the highest rate of profit for his investment and the assurance that his investment is safe, i.e. that it will not be destroyed or taken away from him. The rate of profits for American investments is often much higher in countries outside of the U.S. than it

is inside. This may be attributed, among other reasons, to the relative cheapness of labor in other countries, as well as to the lack of competition with the products of American-owned companies in these countries. Furthermore, the raw materials essential to production can be extracted more cheaply by American companies in underdeveloped countries than they can at home, not to mention the greater abundance of certain raw materials in some of the countries. (Oil is the clearest case.)

"Profit rates abroad are generally higher than those in similar activities in the U.S. Many firms abroad cite a percentage return 'twice as high abroad as in America'."

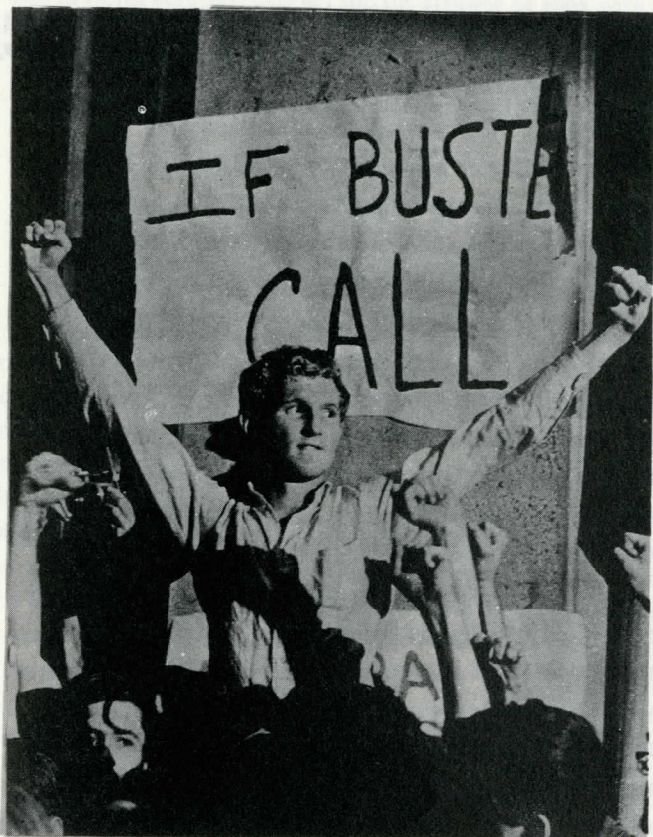
U.S. News and World Report, June 1, 1964

The policy of the U.S. government works objectively to maintain the security of American investments and to maintain easy access to the cheap extraction of raw materials. In 1954, the CIA helped overthrow the popularly elected president of Guatemala, Arbenz, whose modest agrarian reform program threatened unused United Fruit Company plantation land. (See Oglesby, *Containment and Change*.) In 1953, in Iran, the CIA and British Intelligence conspired to overthrow the government Premier Mohammed Mossadeq who advocated Cold War neutralism for Iran and threatened to nationalize foreign oil holdings. Subsequently, Iranian oil rights were reallocated in favor of the American oil companies, Standard and Gulf. The involvement of the CIA in both of these events has been widely admitted, for example in New York Times obituary for Alan Dulles, director of the CIA during the period in question. In the Dominican Republic, in 1965, American marines suppressed a popular revolution against a dictatorial government, thus averting any danger of interference with the investments of

"four fifths of all the foreign investing in the world is now done by Americans." "The most admired plans and policies...are no better than their demonstratable relation to the American interest."

McGeorge Bundy, Foreign Affairs, January, 1967

the National Sugar Refining Company which depends on the privileged access to Dominican sugar, and the South Puerto Rican Sugar Company which owns 275,000 acres of the best plantation land in the Dominican Republic and is the largest employer on the island. Access to raw materials was preserved



Larry White

Remember this face? For most of us, he has been out of our lives now for many months, but for Pvt. Mike O'Conner these months have been hard and very lonely. From spending nearly two weeks with a couple thousand people here in sanctuary, Mike's life has now become the monotonous existence of life in the Ft. Devens stockade. Pity is not needed. Mike knew what he had to do and what he would be going through when he entered sanctuary. He was not, however, expecting to be forgotten especially by us here at MIT. For Mike, the value of his ordeal is most directly measured by our activity here, especially against the inhuman was that Mike so much opposes.

Mike would also love to hear from all of us in letters. Send mail to our office and we will make sure he gets it.

Mike O 'Conner
 c/o UP AGAINST THE WALL ST. JOURNAL
 room W20-467 Student Center
 84 Mass. Ave.
 Cambridge, Mass. 02139

Mike was sentenced to four months hard labor plus a forfeiture of 2/3 pay. In addition, a suspended sentence of 4 months from Mike's previous AWOL was re-activated to be served. He has about two months left in his sentence. Then, back into active duty? There is some hope.

On April 10, Mike with the help of his lawyer, Ed Shermen, filed a suit for reversal of his last court-martial decision in the U.S. court of Military Appeals (a civil court).

The suit claims that Mike was denied several Constitutional rights in the procedures followed during and following the Court-martial.

1. He was denied an official transcript of the trial--i.e. there is no official verbatim record of the court proceedings which could be used for appeal purposes.
2. He was refused the right to have the court (judges) picked at random. Instead, they were hand-picked by the Commanding Officer. The C.O. refused to explain what criterion he used in his selection.
3. He was denied a military counsel after the trial (to assist him in) appeals. His military counsel at the court-martial has since been transferred to Vietnam.

All of the above are within legitimate military law, but the suit maintains that they violate and deny constitutional rights. Thus, this will be a test-case for these military procedures and favorable precedents concerning reform of military law could result from a favorable decision of this suit.

In addition, certain unique occurrences of this case are being challenged for depriving Mike of constitutional rights.

1. At the court-martial, one member of the court (a sergeant) is claimed to have lied by not admitting being prejudiced about the case when questioned about this by the defense. The sergeant was peremptorily challenged by the defense anyway, but they would have had grounds for a challenge for cause had the sergeant not lied. Instead they had to use their one peremptory challenge on him.

The evidence of the sergeant's prejudice is based on the following conversation between him and Captain Dugan, the defense counsel several days after the court-martial:

- Sgt. "Man when those hippies (the spectators in the court) started coming in with all that hair and stuff, it was all over. I don't like hippies and I don't like people who do like them."
- Capt. Dugan "Sergeant, you hadn't even heard the evidence yet..."
- Sgt. "I didn't need any evidence with all those hippies there. I knew what to do. He was guilty as hell. He got what was coming to him."

2. After a Special Court Martial, which is what Mike had, the defendant has only an army Review Officer to appeal to. This JAG (Judge Advocate General) Officer has come forward with new evidence about Mike since the court-martial. The evidence concerns a letter that was used as evidence by the defense which was sent to Mike during his "alleged" AWOL which effectively implied that he was really on leave. Also this same officer arranged

THE MOST Dangerous MAN IN AMERICA

the first of two articles on walt whitman rostow and mit's center for international studies

Ted Behr

A former associate of Walt Whitman Rostow in both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations called Rostow "the most dangerous man in America."¹ Indeed, Rostow and his cronies at the CIA—founded and —financed (until 1966) Center for International Studies are dangerous men. They are dangerous because they have been instrumental in the formulation and justification of American policy in Vietnam, where 34,000 American soldiers and countless Vietnamese have perished. They are dangerous because they are influential in designing U.S. policy in Latin America where right-wing military and non-military dictatorships allow American capital the freedom to invest and extract huge profits by exploitation of natural resources and cheap labor, but deny their citizens the basic freedoms of the "American ideal" and perpetuate the massive poverty and injustice existent in those countries. They are dangerous because they provide the rationale for open hostility and under-cover subversion of left-leaning, socialist and communist regimes that attempt to make social changes that threaten the supremacy of American capital. They are dangerous because they justify an arms race costing hundreds of billions of dollars while our cities crumble into ruin.

They are dangerous because their presence contaminates the Institute. They speak for freedom of inquiry, yet help deny a much felt need for a large-scale Program in Social Inquiry. They speak for freedom of speech and freedom of choice, yet can be held directly responsible for denying millions of people around the world these freedoms. They claim to be doing "academic" work, yet at the Center they have been doing intelligence work for the CIA since the founding of CIS. As a Center, and as individuals, these men do not belong on any university campus.

Walt Rostow is the "most dangerous" because he was the one chosen to go to Washington and given the power to carry his ideas out; he is a good example of the kind of man who works at the Center. Everyone should be familiar with Rostow's work as a special advisor to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson on foreign affairs. He is an acknowledged "architect" of U. S. policy ("and proud of it"), and had a hand in the U. S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and the assassination of Che Guevara by U. S. trained, supplied and assisted Bolivian counter-insurgency forces. He, of course, was an advisor on all other foreign policy matters, policy towards China, Cuba, the Soviet Union and the entire third world. But what is less known to most citizens is

that the work he was engaged in at the Center for International Studies before his sojourn in Washington laid out in detail the value system that led to and the justification for those policies he designed in the capitol. And the reason that Rostow was appointed to his high position was precisely because he held those values.

Rostow was one of the earliest members of the Center, where from 1951–54 he "undertook within the Center for International Studies at MIT to study the evolution of the Soviet Union and Communist China and to form views on what an appropriate American policy toward the Communist Bloc might be."²(emphasis added)

A document recently publicized by *The Old Mole*, entitled "The Nature and Objectives of the Center for International Studies," states, "In the summer of 1950 MIT... was asked by the civilian wing of the government to put together a team of the best research minds available to work intensively for three or four months on how to penetrate the Iron Curtain with ideas...As the original project drew to a close those who had participated in it became convinced that there was a real need for continuing effort by a more permanent organization." Thus, CIS was founded as a direct research agency of the U. S. government, and Rostow went there to "form views" on "appropriate American policy toward the Communist Bloc" with CIA funds. His first publication at the Center and the Center's first publication, was a pamphlet on China, urging a hard-line, anti-Communist policy, a policy that continues to this day.

In 1960, Rostow's book, *The United States in the World Arena: An Essay in Recent History* appeared, culminating his work since 1955 at the Center in "a study of American society in relation to world affairs."³ As with most books written in the United States about "recent history", the United States comes out as the "good guy" and the Russians and Chinese as the "bad guys", a gross distortion as has been shown by some excellent recent studies of the Cold War. Not only did this mythical apology justify past policy by the United States, but contained the following warning "to justify future policy:

...the problems we confront in a world caught up in a nuclear arms race and in violent revolutionary change require of us a better national performance than we have yet been able to achieve. That we have thus far survived is no guarantee that we shall continue to survive.

"And these words are not a conventional rhetoric. The United States, brought out of its own dynamics to a state of relatively bland comfort, stands, in the most literal meaning of the phrase, in mortal peril."⁴

One might also point out that the nuclear arms race and the violent revolutionary change to which Rostow refers as requiring of us better performance owe a great deal of their existence to past United States policy, a point which Rostow totally neglects.

Rostow makes very clear his view of the role of the U. S. in the "World Arena", a view which is quite illuminating of both Rostow's bias in writing his book (in which he has re-written history in many

places to fit his desired outcome) and the attitude he took with him to Washington.

"My one major task has been to grapple directly with these central issues: ...what foreseeable problems on the world scene must the United States solve in order to protect its interests; what must the nation do to solve these problems while maintaining the quality of the domestic society?"⁵

"One aspect of this definition of the national interest should be particularly noted. It takes its start from the task of preserving an external environment for the nation which will permit the domestic society to preserve its chosen basic qualities. On this view the problem of power is linked to the problem of the good life as Americans have conceived it."⁶

Rostow sees the U. S. threatened by the spread of Communism and world revolution, and therefore the task of preserving our external environment becomes the focus of American policy, while at the same time 'maintaining the quality of domestic society' (a phrase which sounds rather strange these days). Thus, he can justify U. S. policy in Vietnam, "...if the Wars of Liberation fail where (they) had the maximum opportunity, it's not going to be very attractive to start elsewhere,"⁷ as preserving the external environment. And what Rostow again ignores (or does not care about anyway) is that the quality of domestic society, "the good life", to which he refers has in significant part been accomplished at the expense of those countries that now seem to him so threatening.

But Rostow goes beyond a policy of self-preservation in his view of the U.S.'s role. Under the heading "The Democratic Mission," he writes:

"From its origins the United States, having created out of its European heritage a concept of working democracy, felt within itself—and was felt by the world to have—a larger mission. And this fact gave to the nation's tasks and challenges a powerful constructive cast. In Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America are new nations passing through decisive transitions...The American interest requires that the nation seek actively to influence the outcome of these historical sequences."⁸

Again,

"...an outcome consonant with the hopes of the world's peoples cannot be brought about unless American public policy perceives its mission..., dedicates itself to that mission, and acts upon that dedication with the substantial proportion of its energies, talents, and resources."⁹

He begins to wax eloquent:

"The United States, child of the Enlightenment, favored adolescent of the nineteenth century, powerful but erratic youth of the first half of the twentieth, must now confirm its maturity by acting from the present forward to see the values of the Enlightenment—or their equivalents in non-Western cultures—survive and dominate in the twenty-first."¹⁰

The "white man's burden" has now shifted to the United States!!

Rostow's second major book written at the Center, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, is more insidious than *The United States in the World Arena* because it has much more the appearance of academic, professional work (Rostow passed himself off as an economic historian.) Soundly criticized for its lack of basis in fact, the book has nonetheless gained wide acceptance, with at least fifteen printings in English and translation into many languages attesting to its popularity. It is, ostensibly, a theory and description of how countries develop from the initial stage of "traditional" economy to the final stage of "mass consumption" society.

"Rostow discovers all of these stages in the history of developed nations. He is therefore optimistic about the future of today's undeveloped areas. Primitive technology and backward institutions, transitional upheavals, and stagnating econo-

mies are mere stages in the life history of every society. In the fullness of time, helpless children and traumatized adolescents will grow to maturity and move to the suburbs.

"The illusion that underdeveloped countries today are in general approaching such a joyous evolution within the framework of the American "Free World" is a central theme of Rostow's book."¹¹

The problem is that "this just ain't true!" Most so-called underdeveloped countries are not on their way to becoming developed and for a reason which Rostow totally leaves out of his account: most underdeveloped countries are underdeveloped because they have been consciously left that way by the developed countries, as they developed and as they continue to increase their riches. Thus, for Rostow, the Foreign Affairs Advisor, as well as Rostow, the Economic Historian, the problems of underdeveloped nations have nothing to do with their past and present relationship to the developed world, nor to the structural reality of their domestic situation. He can then justify support of right-wing military dictatorships in Latin America, for instance, as a necessary means of preserving our external environment, and have a theory that tells him that this will not impede economic development. Very convenient!

On the other hand, Rostow still sees Socialism and Communism as a great threat, and shows no understanding of what socialism in underdeveloped countries is all about. He describes Communism as a "disease of the transition to modernization,"¹² and communists are "scavengers of the modernization process."¹³ Thus, he can justify the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic on the grounds that the new government had Communist leanings and support, and therefore had to be deposed. For Rostow, the only free way to develop is the capitalistic way, and any attempt to do it any other way is subservient to the people's freedom. Even the ultimate, nuclear war, is not beyond Rostow: "I don't think the nation would sit by and see all of Asia pass to Communist control. This is a prediction...From the crises I've seen—Cuba in 1962 and Berlin—the only way that conviction can be conveyed is if the President of the United States is prepared to contemplate nuclear war, if in fact the President has started down this route."¹⁴ "Thus, Professor Rostow holds, ...any possible intellectual weakness and political shortcomings of his *Stages of Economic Growth*

Thus, Walt Rostow, academician, and Walt Rostow, architect of the Vietnam War, are one and the same. The work Rostow did at the Center for International Studies helped in setting America's interventionist and imperialist foreign policy in the 50's and was the cause of his calling

the cause of his call to Washington where he was given the power to carry them out. But not all members of the Center get the call to serve as Special Advisors to the President, yet they do the same kind of work. Soon, a discussion of work done at the Center by Professors Pool, Pye, and others.

FOOTNOTES

1. J. Robert Moskin (*Look* Foreign Editor), "The Dangerous World of Walt Rostow," *Look* (New York), December 12, 1967, pp. 27-21. As quoted in Andre Gunder Frank, *Rostow's Stages of Economic Growth through Escalation to Nuclear Destruction*, (Radical Education Project, Ann Arbor, Michigan)
2. W.W. Rostow, *The United States in the World Arena: An Essay in Recent History*, (Harper and Row; New York and Evanston, 1960), p. xvii
3. *Ibid*, p. xviii
4. *Ibid*, p. xxii
5. *Ibid*, p. xviii
6. *Ibid*, p. xx
7. *Look*, op. cit.
8. Rostow, *op. cit.*, p. 531
9. *Ibid*, p. 539
10. *Ibid*, p. 538
11. John H. Coatsworth, *Walt W. Rostow The Stages of Economic Stagnation*, (Radical Education Project, Ann Arbor, Michigan)
12. Quoted in *Look*, op. cit.
13. *Ibid*.
14. *Ibid*.
15. Frank. *op. cit.* p. 8

S S S S S S S S S S S
 ? UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ?
 -vs-
 S DAVID T. DELLINGER, S
 RENNARD C. DAVIS, S
 ? THOMAS E. HAYDEN, ?
 ABBOT H. HOFFMAN, ?
 ? JERRY C. RUBIN S
 LEE WEINER, S
 ? JOHN R. FROINES, and ?
 BOBBY G. SEALE ?
 S S S S S S S S S S S

LNS

The Oakland Seven are free, their conspiracy-to-commit-misdemeanor charges demolished by their lawyer and dismissed by the jury. Now we've got the Chicago Eight (or Sixteen, counting the eight policemen indicted to tie the score—the eight policemen used as scapegoats for the politics of Mayor Daley, the Democratic National Convention, and the \$\$\$interests behind them).

Each of the defendants was indicted on one count of conspiracy "to commit offenses against the United States" and one count of travelling "in interstate commerce from outside the State of Illinois to Chicago, Illinois, Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, with intent to incite, organize, promote and encourage a riot" (with the exception of Froines and Weiner who supposedly simply taught the rioters how to make and use incendiary devices).

It seemed odd at first glance that Bobby Seale, whom nobody associates with August's events in Chicago, should make the distinguished list. Seale is one of the leaders of the Black Panther Party and the only one of the Eight who comes from under the foot rather than inside the bowels of middle class white America. Having more leverage there, he is a likely target for the government whose reasons for stepping up their vicious attacks on the Panthers should be clear from their Ten Point Program. The Feds were even able to find a way of including him once in the heart of the indictment, reprinted below:

Overt Acts

At the times hereinafter mentioned the defendants committed, among others, the following overt acts in furtherance of the conspiracy and to effect the objects thereof:

1. The Grand Jury realleges and incorporates by reference the allegations contained in Counts II through VIII of this indictment, each of which count is alleged as a separate and distinct overt act.
2. On or about July 23, 1968, JERRY C. RUBIN spoke to an assemblage of persons at 48th Street and Park Avenue, New York, New York.
3. On or about July 25, 1968, THOMAS E. HAYDEN spoke to an assemblage of persons at the Diplomat Hotel, New York, New York.
4. On or about August 1, 1968, RENNARD C. DAVIS spoke to an assemblage of persons at 30 West Chicago Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
5. On or about August 15, 1968, RENNARD C.

- Davis, THOMAS E. HAYDEN and JOHN R. FROINES participated in a meeting at Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois.
6. On or about August 15, 1968, RENNARD C. DAVIS, LEE WEINER and JOHN R. FROINES participated in a meeting at 1012 North Noble Street, Chicago, Illinois.
7. On or about August 20, 1968, RENNARD C. DAVIS, ABBOTT H. HOFFMAN, LEE WEINER and JOHN R. FROINES participated in a meeting at the National Mobilization Committee office at 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

8. On or about August 24, 1968, DAVID T. DELLINGER, RENNARD C. DAVIS, THOMAS E. HAYDEN and ABBOTT H. HOFFMAN, LEE WEINER and JOHN R. FROINES attended a "marshal" training session at Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois.
9. On or about August 25, 1968, DAVID T. DELLINGER, RENNARD C. DAVIS, THOMAS E. HAYDEN and ABBOTT H. HOFFMAN met at the National Mobilization Committee office at 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.
10. On or about August 26, 1968, RENNARD C. DAVIS, JERRY C. RUBIN, LEE WEINER and JOHN R. FROINES met at Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois.
11. On or about August 27, 1968, JERRY C. RUBIN, BOBBY G. SEALE and others spoke to an assemblage of persons at Lincoln Park, Chicago, Illinois.
12. On or about August 28, 1968, DAVID T. DELLINGER, THOMAS E. HAYDEN, JERRY C. RUBIN and others spoke to an assemblage of persons at Grant Park, Chicago, Illinois.
13. On or about August 29, 1968, LEE WEINER and JOHN R. FROINES engaged in a conversation at Grant Park, Chicago, Illinois;
 all in violation of Section 371, of Title 18, United States Code.

Jerry Rubin's Response

This is the greatest honor of my life. It is with sincere humility that I accept this federal indictment. It is the fulfillment of childhood dreams, climaxing years of hard work and fun.

I wish to thank all those who made it possible: my mother, my father, my brother, wife Nancy, Stew and Gumbo, Spartacus, Tom Paine, the Boston Tea Party, Ho, Che, Fidel, Huey, Eldridge, Lenny Bruce, Walter Cronkite, and last but not least — Richard J. Daley.

I realize the competition was fierce, and I congratulate the thousands who came to Chicago. I hope that I am worthy of this great indictment, the Academy Award of Protest.

With my indictment, I join the list of outstanding world figures who have crossed state lines to create civil disturbance: the Beatles, Elvis Presley, the late Marilyn Monroe, rock bands, the President of the United States, and Joe Namath.

And you know who else is guilty? The hippies who dressed in psychedelic Indian clothes, boarded British ships, and threw tea overboard in 1773! They crossed state lines with intent to destroy property.



“Supernatural” is the only way to describe the anti-riot law.

Congress passed it as a warning to the game of football. Fans who cross state lines, and then tear down the goalposts, are subject to arrest.

The crime is not in the act, but your INTENT at the moment of crossing state lines. It is against the law to think bad thoughts while crossing a state line.

You can even break this law in your own home! A telephone call to someone in another state is enough. Or a letter. Or an interview on radio/TV which is broadcast from one state to another.

The yippies broke the anti-riot law when we mailed a postcard to Daley telling him we were going to put LSD in the water supply!

You do not even have to be at the scene of the riot itself. You can jet-plane into a town, give a speech, and then jet 10,000 miles away. If a riot takes place after your speech, no matter where you are, you are guilty of “causing” it.

You can break this law without violence or damage to property.

A riot is defined as a “threat of violence or a danger of damage to property.”

The yippies in Lincoln Park were a riot. So is a baseball crowd. A Beatles concert is a hell of a riot.

Where does one draw the line between “free speech” and “inciting to riot”? It’s fairly simple.

If your speech is ineffective, it is protected by the Constitution.

If your speech is effective, you are “inciting to riot”.

Effective speech — speech which moves people — is against the law.

All new laws give government increased power over the people. Since crime-prevention is an essential aspect of law-enforcement, the anti-riot law requires a husky Police State for its enforcement.

The FBI is forced to tap our phones and reas our

mail in search of violations before they happen.

How far off is the day when the FBI sets up checkpoints at state borders, examines “passports”, and prohibits entrance to potential “rioters”?

Congress was in a mood described best as “mob rule” when it passed this law in 1968. The fires of Detroit and Newark were still smoking. Racist Southern congressmen wrote and lobbied for the anti-black bill, screaming that riots were fomented by a national conspiracy, by agitators traveling from state to state, by International Communism.

The purpose was to jail Stokely Carmichael and Rap Brown. Congress hallucinated that there would be no riots if there were no agitators!

America thinks the “solution” to racial oppression is to pass laws against those who fight the oppressor.

There was a “conspiracy” in Chicago. It was a conspiracy of thousands to oppose an illegitimate and immoral political party.

We went to Chicago to oppose the Democratic-Death Party, to have our counter “festival of life” in Lincoln Park, to express our revolutionary politics of life-style.

As the Walker Report documented, the cops rioted. Our long hair incited cops to riot. We are indicted under the federal anti-riot law because our long hair incited cops to violence against us.

These indictments are the responsibility of Richard Nixon. They were delayed for weeks waiting specific and personal approval from the White House.

They represent a bald attempt by the government to try to use punishment to stop demonstrations. The United States government thus repeats a classic error of all dying empires: under-rating the bravery of her youth.

The major result of these indictments will be to excite every young kid across the country to want to cross state lines and become a “rioter” by the time he is a teenager.

Yippie!

Smash the Empire...

(cont. from p. 14)

for the Sucrest Company, which imports black-strap molasses from the Dominican Republic.

WHO MAKES FOREIGN POLICY

The extent to which government policy helps business is not a coincidence. The policy is determined for that very purpose and by the people whom we should be surprised to see act in any other fashion. The politicians who reach offices high enough to be involved in decision-making about external affairs need a lot of money to get elected. They must be either rich enough themselves or have rich people supporting them to finance their campaigns. Such support is not given without expecting something in return and external policy is one area where the return in many instances is made.

The control of foreign policy by major American corporations is also much more direct. In the case of Guatemala we know that the law office of John Foster Dulles (Secretary of State in 1954) had written the United Fruit Company's 1930 and 1936 agreements with Guatemala; that then-Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs John Moors Cabot was a major United Fruit Company shareholder; that then-CIA director Alan Dulles had president of the United Fruit Company that General Walter Beddell Smith, who preceded Dulles as director of the CIA, was to become a United Fruit Company Vice-President in 1955. In the case of Iran we know Kermit Roosevelt of the Iran branch of the CIA became the government-relations man of the Gulf Oil Company in 1958, and a Vice-President in 1960. In the case of the Dominican Republic we know that one of the chief architects of the American intervention, Organization of American States Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, Jr. is a board member of the National Sugar Refining Company; that the famous roving ambassador Averell Harriman's private investment house (Brown Brothers, Harriman) owns 10% of National Sugar; that Joseph Farland, former ambassador to the Dominican Republic is on the board of the South Puerto Rican Sugar Company; that Abe Fortas, Johnson's close friend, had sat on the board of Sucrest Company since 1946. (Figures, facts, and phrasing are taken from Oglesby, where references to the original sources may be found.)

"...in the long run good profits and good citizenship go together."

Walt Rostow—Department of State Bulletin,
September 16, 1963

VIETNAM

In the case of Vietnam we have no reason to believe that the policy is being made for any different reasons. The same sort of people are involved in making the decisions. We need only know how the policy was originally conceived to be favorable to imperialism in order to show that it is precisely the same sort of decision. Spokesman for the U.S. government often talk in terms of the "domino theory" in order to justify American involvement in Vietnam. In fact, such a domino theory does have some relation to reality, although it has nothing "international communism." Nationalist and socialist

revolutionary movements are forming throughout the third world in countries where American corporations have large investments or obtain raw materials. A successful revolution in Vietnam would serve as a tremendous boost to these other revolutionary movements by showing that America is not invincible and that it is possible for them to succeed as well. When America became heavily involved in Vietnam, the government probably was acting not so much because of the intrinsic value of Vietnam for American imperialism but in order to demonstrate their resolve to crush revolutions throughout the empire and their ability to do so. This is not to ignore the fact that Vietnam is one of the world's richest sources of tungsten and many other crucial raw materials and would also be a place where American capital could be profitably invested, but merely to say this cannot in itself account for such deep involvement. Of course, in the light of the difficulty the U.S. forces are

"There is no substitute for American military power in the protection of freedom now or in sight".

Walt Rostow

having in Vietnam, this involvement was a terrible mistake for the government, and that is why even more many powerful capitalists are now opposed to the war as evidence by the Wall St. Journal.

WHO IMPERIALISM BENEFITS

Admitting that profit is the determining motive of American foreign policy, some people nevertheless maintain that American economic domination benefits both of the countries involved. The falseness of this statement can be made clear by the examination of the effects of imperialism on both countries. In the Third World, American imperialism has meant the prevention of political self-determination through the support of oppressive dictators and military cliques and American government aid in the suppression of popular revolts. Both of these have been seen as necessary to protect American interests in these countries. In addition, American corporations have drained these countries of natural resources (which they get very cheaply: either for the price of labor and lease, or for a certain cut of their profits which goes to the local ruling group rather than the population as a whole) and money (for example, between 1950 and 1958 American investments in Cuba increased by \$344 million, while American firms returned \$378 million to the U.S. in the same period, according to W.A. Williams in *The Great Evasion*.) Finally, it is not necessary to show that imperialism has not benefited that country.

The domestic effects of imperialism and the government foreign policy that supports it have also been hardly "beneficial." The war in Vietnam has resulted in over 237,000 American casualties, a serious problem of inflation, and a rapid increase in taxes (e.g. the 10% "temporary" surcharge.) It has resulted in the militarization of the society through the draft, and increased repression (as evidenced by the Spock trial and the indictment of the 8 for "conspiracy" regarding the Chicago convention demonstrations.) The war is a major area in which resources (production, man hours) that could be put into socially useful work are used up. For example, a large portion of scientists and engineers are now

doing war research rather than research into solving our pressing social and environmental problems (such as depollution, cheap mass transportation, increasing the world food supply.) The last two effects, although they have only come to attention through the Vietnam war, are actually effects of imperialism in general. They become especially severe problems for

interested in making profit rather than advancing the general welfare in this country can be demonstrated by pointing to the following conditions:

"I have learned that the United States is the engine and mankind is the train."

McGeorge Bundy as quoted in Ramparts,
April 1969

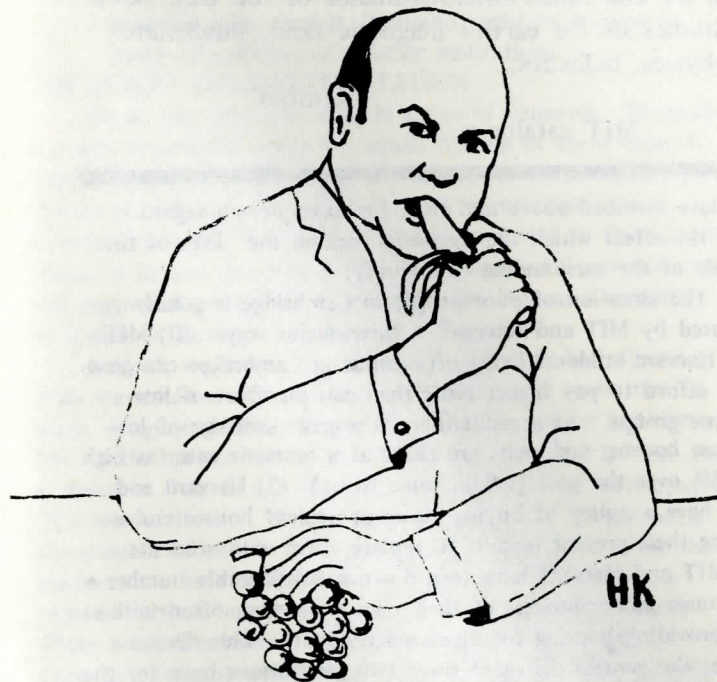
the society when the U.S. is fighting wars such as the one in Vietnam, and a continued policy of supporting imperialism will mean more wars in the future.

INSIDE THE UNITED STATES

Thus we see that the interests of the people of the world and even the U.S. are not taken into account, and if necessary are sacrificed to the profit of American business in foreign countries. The same interests are served inside the country. 135 companies own 45% of all industrial assets inside the U.S. The control of the economy naturally weilded by these companies puts the Amer can population in many respects at the mercy of the fairly small number of people who own these companies. (In 1963, 1.6% of American adults owned 82.4% of all publicly owned stock shares, according to Michael Harrington in *The Accidental Century*.) That these people are

1. Despite America's relative abundance there are over 40 million people living in conditions of poverty, some of them starving. According to the 1960 census, one-sixth of American housing units were without private toilet or bath or running water. (We should remember that the ratio of people to housing units becomes greater as we move down the economic scale.)
2. There is a large amount of waste-production in the form of planned obsolescence and products satisfying created false needs. Corporations actually invest large sums of money in order to make their products (such as cars, radios, and light bulbs) break down sooner or to convince people that they want useless products (such as chrome on automobiles) or new styles of products they already have.
3. Our cities are faced with a serious problem of air pollution due to industry, which by and large refuses to spend the money necessary to dispose of their waste in a less harmful manner.
4. Automation and cybernation are introduced into industry at a rate which is much slower than that which is technically possible. Thus it postpones the freedom of men from stultifying physical labor. Automation is only feasible for a corporation (from a profit standpoint) when they can expect to sell much larger quantities of their product. If this is not the cast, then automation means either increasing unemployment (which lowers profit of other businesses through decreased consumption) or lowering profit by keeping total wages the same while doing something like shortening the working day.
5. Most jobs are socially useless and some are directly harmful (such as producing cars to fall apart on the road.
6. Billions are poured into the attempt to develop a first-strike capability (what other reason is there for the ABM?) which is dangerous to the continued existence of everyone. This money, which comes out of taxes paid by the general population, enriches certain sectors of industry which produce arms and have interlocking directorships with the various government departments which purchase arms.

Why then has there been no rebellion against this state of affairs? Probably the most important reason is the economic well-being, relative to other countries and other times in America, of the majority of the American population. Secondly, racism serves to divide members of the lower income groups from one another and helps prevent them from taking any form of united action against their real enemies. Thirdly, there exists in America institutions such as the police and the courts which can be used to protect those in power if their power is threatened. Fourthly, there is an indoctrination in the U.S. which starts in early childhood and never ends, that convinces almost everyone that there are no basic alternatives to the present economic and political institutions. The mass media define a large part of the norms and desires of the population and promulgate the American Way of Life. The unions help to foster this attitude by trying to limit themselves to



**MELVIN LAIRD EATS
CHIQUITA BANANAS
AND SCAB GRAPES!**

bread and butter demands. Most people do not conceive of the possibility that political activity can take place outside the frameworks of traditional politics.

THE UNIVERSITY'S ROLE

What is the role of the university in such a system? It is clear that imperialism, in order to maintain itself, requires research in the fields of engineering, science, and social science in such areas as weapons, chemical and biological warfare, and counter-insurgency. It is also clear that in order to make profit domestically, corporations need research done on new methods and new products, which are often useless (such as the 134th brand of toothpaste, or the ABM), and planned obsolescence. Corporations also need people who can be good and efficient managers. Finally, in order to help maintain the status quo, social scientists are needed to provide the ideology, apologies, and lies for the existing order and the policies of the government; to "study" the lower classes in society in order to enable the upper classes to control and manipulate them; to advise corporations on how to make more profits.

Universities like MIT fulfill these needs in three ways. First and most important, universities train people who will do the kind of work desired and who will manage the corporations when they leave the universities (and help to place people in these jobs by allowing recruiters to use campus facilities.) Second, many universities actually do some of the research required on campus, especially the type required by imperialism. For example, in 1967, MIT received \$94.9 million for research contracts from the Defense Department. Thus at MIT, research is presently being conducted into military uses for the laser, and the MIT Center for International Studies has recently published a research paper entitled *The Control of Local Conflict: A Design Study*, the description of which (given in *US Government Research and Development Reports*) includes "psychological warfare" and "counterinsurgency." In addition, MIT does very large amounts of work on missiles and nuclear warfare: it has developed the inertial guidance system for the Polaris missile, and is now working on the ABM and the Poseidon missile, as well as the effects of nuclear weapons (published in such secret reports as the one put out by Lincoln Laboratories last year entitled *Terminal Defense*.) Third, universities engage in "pure" research which is a prerequisite for this other type of research. For example, one can see by examining the references in any paper on CBW work that a considerable amount of pure research unrelated to CBW preceded it.

In order to manage the finances of universities (which may be considerable: Harvard has an endowment of over a billion dollars which is invested in American corporations) and to oversee the schools to make certain that they continue to fulfill their present function in society, there are Boards of Trustees. These Boards of Trustees are invariably made up of men who have an interest in keeping the university the way it is, and who themselves could profit by having a hand in deciding where the universities invest their endowment funds. This is made very clear in the case of MIT by examining the composition of MIT's Board of Trustees (called the MIT Corporation.) The Chairman of the Corporation, James R. Killian, Jr., was a chairman of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board from 1961 to 1963, and is now a director of General Motors, Polaroid, the Cabot Corporation, A.T.&T., chairman of the

Board of Trustees of the Mitre Corporation, and a trustee and member of the executive committee of IDA. Among the members of the Corporation's Executive Committee are 4 men with high positions in A.T.&T., 2 trustees and the chairman of the Rand Corporation, 2 trustees of the Mitre Corporation, and 2 directors of Arthur D. Little, Inc. (which does CBW work,) the last three of which are large defense contractors. Also on the MIT Corporation are the President of the Boeing Company, 2 directors of Texas Instruments, Inc., the chairman of the executive committee and director of the United Fruit Company, a director of Lockheed Aircraft, the president of Standard Oil of Indiana, the chairman of the board of Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company, the president of Standard Oil of New Jersey, a director of Coca-Cola, the president and director of Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Company, etc. These men have an interest in the maintenance of American imperialism and continuing high profits domestically. In their positions of power within the university, they are able to further these interests.

We are told that the universities are being run for the benefit of the general public (on this basis they pay no taxes,) yet we find that they are in fact being run for the purposes

6.981-6.983 Research and Development at the Naval Ordnance (explosives) Laboratory.

year: U(1,2,S) 0-9-0

Work at the Naval Ordnance Laboratory in Silver Spring, Maryland. Assignments in physics and electrical engineering as applied to development of air and underwater Ordnance of the U.S. Navy. Studies of the earth's magnetic field, solid state physics, ballistics...

Reintjes"

MIT catalog p.281

we have outlined above and that, for example, no regard is paid the effect which the university has on the lives of the people of the surrounding community.

The situation of poor people in Cambridge is greatly aggravated by MIT and Harvard in three major ways: (1) MIT and Harvard students living off-campus in Cambridge can generally afford to pay higher rents than can members of low-income groups. As a result there is a great shortage of low-income housing and rents are rising at a fantastic rate (as high as 115% over the past year in some cases.) (2) Harvard and MIT have a policy of buying cheap apartment houses and evicting their present tenants to replace them with students. (3) MIT and Harvard have torn down a considerable number of houses in the process of their own expansion, often without providing housing for displaced residents. This demonstrates the general disregard these two institutions have for the people of Cambridge. Harvard, as one of Cambridge's major landlords, makes a considerable amount of profit off the existing situation. MIT would rather spend its money to build new laboratories than to build on-campus housing for those students (over half of the graduate students) who would prefer to live on-campus, but cannot (so they are driving up rents in Cambridge.)

(Editor's Note: To many people it probably seems as if

MIT's recently announced housing program in Cambridge (which came a month after this proposal was written) invalidates much of the preceding paragraph's charges against MIT. For an analysis of why this is not the case, see future issues of this magazine.)

Clearly, the present situation in the United States is not desirable. We must change it and in order to do so we must consider at what points this system can be attacked by the people at the university, and specifically at MIT. The success of (and even the fight for) the following program can make America less dangerous to its own inhabitants and those of the rest of the world. We hope it will also help to build a movement which will someday be in the position to eradicate the underlying ill of our society—the organization of the economy for the production of profit for the upper class.

Specifically then, we propose the following program at

MIT:

Goals

1. We want the U.S. government to withdraw all American troops from Vietnam immediately.
2. We want all war-related research (including all research on warfare, weazp on warfare, weapons, and counter-insurgency) to stop. Research of this nature which is now going on should be replaced with socially useful research.
3. We want MIT to cease buying housing in Cambridge, to build sufficient on-campus housing so that all students who wish to do so may live on campus, and to build low-cost non-student housing in Cambridge to make up for the people it has displace in the past.
4. We want the university to begin to fulfill one of its potential roles, that it, it should begin to become a center of criticism of existing institutions.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLEMENTATION

We do not state our aims in terms of demands. Demands are only meaningful when the actual making of them helps to implement them. It is worse than useless to present goals 2,4, and parts of 3 as demands on the MIT administration and Corporation whose interests are directly opposed to these goals. Worse, it fosters the illusion that MIT (or the US government) will respond favorable on any bases other than as a response to action or the threat of future developments.

Instead, we have stated them as goals and shall discuss what we think must be done in order for them to be realized. In general, the goals we hav in mind will be implemented by the various authorities in question only out of fear and a desire to "nip in the bud" any potential for the development of a serious threat. We can pose such a threat by increasing the number of people who are conscious of being use for the purposes we have outlined above, and who will collectively organize against being used for such purposes in the future. There is another avenue of action which tries to frighten those in power by attempting to hinder logistically their ability to carry out their policies. Such action, except for individual acts of sabotage, is not feasible at this time (though clearly one of the aims of increasing the number of those organized against being used is to make it feasible.) We do not include among our goals the removal of war-related research, ROTC, classified research or closed courses from MIT because the removal of these undoubted evils does not pose any threat at all to the policies we are trying to change. Research can be slowly transferred from the university to independent

government labs (perhaps with the same researchers.) The military can get its officers by setting up off-campus ROTC or by sending more men to Officers Candidate School; and the material of closed courses can be presented at a later time to those people who want to do the sort of work for which the material is required. Inconveniences to be sure, but not threats.

1. & 2. Contrary to the picture painted for us by the government, the war in Vietnam is still on (casualty figures are high, the draft calls are as high as ever,) and there is no immediate prospect that American troops will withdraw as a result of the negotiations. In fact, at the time of this writing, the immediate prospect is that the war will be escalated (including a resumption of bombing of the north.) It is extremely important that a movement against the war come into being, sufficiently strong to frighten our rulers at the possible consequences of a continuation of their policies, and based on the sort of understanding of the war we have outlined, for if no such movement appears, we may be sure that such wars will continue to be visited on us by the American government as the nations of the Third World revolt against American domination.

At MIT, the most effective way to fight for Goal 1 is by fighting for Goal 2. If sufficient numbers of scientists and engineers were organized against doing work that is harmful to the general social welfare, that would pose a serious threat to the policies for which their present activity is important. It would result in an increasing difficulty of implementing a policy of imperialism and perhaps curtail future extreme instances of it. Such a movement of scientists and engineers must also deal with internal manifestations of the economy. For example, showing that there exist techniques which are not being used for improving the situation (depollution, creation of goods which don't fall apart, etc.) could frighten the corporations at the prospect of public reaction to their disregard for the physical quality of life (e.g., the corporations buy up inventions to prevent them from reaching the market and cutting into their profits.)

3. We have already indicated some of the effects of MIT on the housing situation in Cambridge. It is clear how the implementation of our goal is important for the residents of Cambridge, and important in a way which affects their entire lives. It is also true that if our goals were achieved, those students who wanted to live on-campus but for who there is no room could do so; those who preferred to live off-campus anyhow would have lower rents? and the relations of students and faculty of MIT with residents of Cambridge would be much improved. Further, if we are ever to have a movement which tries to get at the basic ill of our society, we must begin to ally with people like the residents of Cambridge on issues of common interest.

4. The departments of political science and economics at MIT, like other such departments at other universities, are engaged in keeping inquisitive minds off the true functioning of American society. Investigations of the nature and motivations of the economy and government could help to upset the prevailing ideological cover-ups. In this direction, the projected department of social inquiry is an important beginning. Further, by providing a place for those inquisitive about the functioning of society, the university could help to impair the administration of imperialism and make it more difficult for the government and the corporations to continue their outrageous internal policies.

CALENDAR

Rallies and open mikes and music on Kresge lawn at noon every day from now till the end of the term. Call Sue at 547-8437 for information or if you want to schedule a speech.

- Wed. Apr. 16 - Humphrey, Mike Albert, T.D. Pawley - 8 P.M. in Kresge
Radical Caucus-Computer Professionals for Peace are meeting during the Joint Computer Conference at the Pru Center
Hiroshima Mon Amour-7&9:30 in 54-100
SACC rally and rock bank-noon by Kresge
San Francisco Mime Troupe-*The Farce of the Patelin*, The Ark, 15 Landsdowne St. Bost. 536-0915, 8P.M., \$3.50
- Thu. Apr. 17 - Humphrey - 2:30 P.M. in Kresge Little Theatre
5 P.M. - Deadline for articles and ads for *Up Against the Wall Street Journal*, Rm. 485 Student Center MIT
7 P.M. - *UAWSJ* production meeting
- Fri. Apr. 18 - Joni Mitchell in Kresge
Sat. Apr. 19 -
Mon. Apr. 21- SACC meeting - 8 P.M. Mit Student Center
Rallies and open mikes in front of the student center at noon everyday this week-Call Sue at 547-8437 for info
WEEK AGAINST MILITARISM
- Tue. Apr. 22 - Teach-in on militarism - evening
Open mike at noon - Student Center
- Thu. Apr. 24 - 5 P.M. - *UAWSJ* deadline
Anti-militarism LIVE-OUT
- Fri. Apr. 25 - discovery of lsd - 1943
Sat. Apr. 26 - ANTI - WAR MARCH from MIT and other campuses to Boston Common

CONTINUING EVENTS

- Boston Draft Resistance Group-draft counselling-12 to 6-Monday to Saturday, to 9 on Thurs. 102 Columbia St Cambridge, 547-8260
- Draft Counselling, Friends, 5 Longfellow Park, Cambridge Mon-Fri 2-9, Sat 11-2 — 876-7939
- Cambridge Rent Control Campaign, Meetings Thur 7:30 P.M. Sat 1 P.M. —595 Mass Ave.—868-1580
- Draft Trials: call Carol Neville at 227-8337 for information

(cont. from p. 6)

pushed so that they fell down the stairs), where we were placed in pad-wagons and buses to be taken to jail. From my position, I witnessed no police brutality and was not aware that many people had been injured until I heard reports from other people at the jail, and saw some of the victims still later in the day: broken arms, black eyes, facial cuts, and stitched gashes on the head.

In my jail cell we listened to radio reports on what was happening back at Harvard. There were again mistaken stories of extensive fighting, and reports of 1000 students in the Yard chanting "On Strike-Shut it Down" and "Pusey Must Go." The latter chant upset most of us in the cell because it seemed to us that Pusey's

responsibility was irrelevant and that his replacement would accomplish nothing. We were further upset by the emphasis on the issue of the use of police at the moderates' convocation later in the morning. One student expressed the general feeling well by pointing out that our few injuries were nothing compared with what the nothing compared with what community people in Cambridge and Rox-

bury were suffering because of the Harvard expansion we were fighting and what the Vietnamese were suffering because of the officers Harvard ROTC was training.

By the late afternoon, all of the almost 200 people arrested had been arraigned and were released either on personal recognizance (for Harvard students with bursar's cards) or on

bail, the amount depending on the charge. (Although most were charged with trespassing, some were charged with assault and assorted other charges, including personal larceny for someone who reached across police lines to retrieve his glasses.)

For at least the first few days after the clearing of University Hall by the police, SDS appears to be refraining from further militant action and attempting to win support for a strike on its demands concerning ROTC and university expansion by concentrating on leafletting, small group discussions, and rallies. The test of their success will come on Monday night, April 14, when a campus-wide meeting is held to decide what to do, and the following day, when the three-day "moderate" strike ends, and it is likely that only those supporting the SDS demands will continue to strike.

MIKE O'CONNOR

(cont. from p. 15)

for a second psychiatric interview for Mike with Major Marin (the army psychiatrist) whose prosecution testimony about Mike's mental condition was severely criticized because he only saw Mike for about 30 minutes and apparently under very adverse conditions. (Note: part of Mike's defense was supported by three psychiatrists who testified for the defense --Prof. Lettvin, Dr. Brenner and Dr. Cserr who is the ex-chief psychiatrist at Ft. Devons. They all contended that Mike acted under "irresistible impulse", a legal concept, when he was alleged to have gone AWOL. Mike was in confinement for 78 straight days, including 11 days straight in the "box" (solitary). This plus being beaten by 5 guards were felt by Drs. Brenner, Lettvin and Cserr to have contributed to this irresistible impulse to go AWOL. Major Marin said Mike was not acting under such impulse.) The claim of Mike's suit is that he is not being given a fair review because this new evidence is being considered with no chance for a defense rebuttal.

Much of this is very technical but the basic fact is that Mike's court-martial provided no exception to the general rule of military injustice.

Besides letters, Mike could use cigarettes, books, and probably many other things that you can think of.

- Dinner: Prisoners Information and Support Service (PISS)
Fri nights-35 Hawthorne St. apt 2. fort hill-call "HI-LO-Y, J-L for directions and information
How to Make a Woman, original play about women, Caravan Theater, Cambridge
Weusi Koomba, Creative Blackness, Black Arts Festival, Thu-Sun, Apr 10-13, Northeastern Univ.
Mother Courage, Brecht, Loeb Drama Center, Apr 10-13,16-19