

NEW LEFT NOTES

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SNCC Position on Racism, Apartheid & Colonialism

(Following are excerpts from the position paper submitted by SNCC to a UN conference on Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Zambia this summer. This paper emphasizes the movement's need to attack the suppression of African liberation struggles by the US. As a beginning we suggest intensive study of US involvement in Africa and recommend that you order the papers presented at this summer's conference for study groups. They can be obtained by writing: Mr. E. S. Reddy, African Affairs Division, United Nations, New York, N.Y.)

Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course

and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods—the American equivalent of the sjambok. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the USA. The cells of Robben Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of Southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in human rights in the United States, but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Social Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear

by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference, that: "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism, and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates the original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its programme and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization technically composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American Government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Viet Nam militates against any possible constructive action by the USA in other areas of Latin America, Asia and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy makers of the US Government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance—without strings—to developing areas, including the ghettos of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of any American nationals, laying the pull of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Viet Nam war in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

"The Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any

issue; and states its opposition to the United States involvement in the war in Viet Nam on these grounds:

"We believe the United States Government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the Government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of the coloured people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

"We of the Student Non-Violent Co-ordinating Committee have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that the United States Government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders...."

The problem of Viet Nam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplores the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system—a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The United States opposes such sanctions—and not only because of its involvement in the East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African phase of the struggle against racism. Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans—and their allies—are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, continued on 2

Notes on a Student Strike

by Paul Schacter
M.I.T. SDS

and Donna Lieberman
Harvard-Radcliffe SDS

For the last few years there has been much talk of a National Student Strike. This is not a new idea for the movement. From 1936 to 1941 successful strikes against war and fascism involving up to one half million people were held annually. The tactic was developed so that the student movement would identify with the labor struggles and would serve as a militant expression of political dissent. A coalition of over 15 peace groups, ranging from pacifist groups to the American Youth Congress to the Young Communist League, sponsored the strikes and issued the demands for "demilitarization of the campuses, elimination of compulsory military training, opposition to the war budget, and defense of civil rights and academic freedoms." Rather than closing down the schools until the demands were met, the strikes were a show of force—the force of student opposition to government and university policy.

In light of the current mass student opposition to the war, the student strike again becomes an effective political tactic. The issues raised should be war and fascism. A student strike must be directed against American imperialism in Vietnam, against university complicity with the war, against the university as a racist institution (take for example Brooklyn College, which has a significantly lower

percentage of Black students than the population of Brooklyn), and against the draft.

SNCC should fight against sectarianism. A broad sector of the student left—black groups, peace groups, pacifist groups, etc.—must work together to pull off a strike. The success of this action is contingent on the cooperation of a large number of groups around radical unifying demands.

A student strike is appropriate because students are being trained by the universities to fit into the military-industrial complex in society. The strike would not only imply opposition to this role, but would set a context for this type of action when these people enter "the new working class". The strike, however, has much broader implications. We are not bound to a denunciation of our role in retaliation to the university, but we can go much further in attacking the basic goals of the government. Since the strike is of a political nature, success depends not on the number of schools shut down, but on the number and quality of participants. The strike, therefore, is relevant to schools where large numbers of students can be turned out and to campuses where only a few would participate. This is extremely important to the less active schools where the direct linkage to a strong national action would help to strengthen the movement locally. In general, the strike would have the effect of strengthening the solidarity of the movement, involving greater

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A Christmas song from the NO to you! Its sung to the tune of "The 12 days of Christmas"...but ours is....

"THE TEN DAYS OF RESISTANCE" sound familiar?

On the 1st day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
The head of the ROTC!
On the 2nd day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Two draft boards burning...and
On the 3rd day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Three dissident democrats...and
on the 4th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Four Bolivian consolants...and
On the 5th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Five running dogs...and
On the 6th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Six liberal senators...and
On the 7th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Seven systems analysts...and
On the 8th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Eight imperialist puppets...and
On the 9th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Nine corporate mergers...and
On the 10th day of resistance, my comrades gave to me..
Ten paper tigers...and

On the last verse, in place of "the head of the ROTC", put The death of the bourgeoisie!!!! MERRY RESISTANCE!!

LETTERS

Editor

Carl Davidson's account of anti-CIA tactics on campus ("We Read the News Today", NLN, Dec. 11, 12/11/67) has sent my wheels a-spinning. Mobbing the scene with people wearing trench coats and dark glasses is beautiful! But this can be carried farther: instead of attempting to block CIA recruiters from campus, SDS people and their friends could advertise the spies to death. Think of the possibilities! People carrying signs and passing out leaflets reading: "YOU TOO CAN BE JAMES BOND: JOIN THE CIA", "MAKE YOUR WET DREAMS COME TRUE: JOIN THE CIA", "COMPULSIVE LIER? JOIN THE CIA", "GET A PIECE—OF THE ACTION: RAPE DEMOCRACY WITH CIA", "DOUBT YOUR MANHOOD? JOIN THE CIA", "TIRED OF TRIPS ON POT AND LSD? THE CIA MAKES IT COME TRUE", "BE AN ORGANIZATION MAN AND GET YOUR KICKS TOO: JOIN THE CIA", "LIFE IS SIMPLE: ASK THE CIA", etc.

Forcing campus administrations to include CIA recruiters on their lists of banned business activities (every administration makes occasional distinctions between free speech on campus and efforts to sell products on campus) should include a variety of tactics: obstruction and guerrilla theatre, EDUCATIONAL DEMONSTRATIONS.

In these times, true education is liberating, revolutionary, and one of the strengths of the new left at its best is that it understands both injustice and absurdity, both Marx and Genet.

Evan Seymour

Philadelphia

People:

I am a high school senior in New York, full of hope and ambition and just starting out in the quagmire which is called a movement. In my naivete I thought SDS would back its stated principles with its actions. I thought its theories would be carried out in practice. I find, however, that this definitely is not the case. In this letter I wish to explore the reasons for my disappointment.

I first consider internal organization. Living here in New York, I find I have no say in the policies of the organization I gave my five bucks to. This is not too bad, though, since the policies of the organization I gave my five bucks to in no way influence what is happening in New York. The "vision of democracy" is completely lost on me. The lack of democratic control is not limited only to the national level but it occurs on the Regional levels as well. Of course, since we realize that we all are radicals and radicalism is good we can forget the principles we are fighting for without it making too much difference.

Second, I find the number of radicals around me who are dedicated merely to the demonstration rather than principles and ideals, appalling. As I listened politely to the conversations at the regional organization workshop, one of many workshops held recently at Princeton, I could easily divide the speakers into four groups; those

who lose sight of everything in their quest for armed revolution in the United States, those who have even lost sight of revolution and want frequent demonstrations to "screw the government" as it was put, those with a limited view of practicality, wishing to use demonstrations to feed local organizing, and myself.

I find now that this letter is getting out of hand so I will leave off expounding the woes of SDS and make what I feel are concrete suggestions.

I feel a massive reorganization on all levels should occur, with the view of tightening the bonds between national, regional, and chapter levels. While autonomy could be kept, closer relations between levels could mean relief from the money problems we are constantly hearing about.

I feel the movement might gain a good deal of ground on political lines. At least it should be explored.

Finally, I humbly hope that I may be amply criticized for my views, and be convinced that socialism will not be achieved along the lines I have suggested. I merely hope my quite verbose letter will stimulate thinking on the principles and goals of our movement.

John Krester
New York

Editors,

We received a print of THE TROUBLE-MAKERS from the NO last week just in time for showing at our regional conference. Much to our dismay, we discovered that it was impossible to run the film due to the incredible number of rips, makeshift splices, fingerprints and dirt on the film. Apparently, chapter people have had the film for their use and have treated it destructively and neglectfully.

Films, good films of and by the Movement, are few and far between. Here are 2 rules for the use of films by movement people:

1) If the film rips or breaks, NEVER make a glue splice, never use scotch or adhesive tape. Get a splicer and make sure several chapter people know how to splice. Or get a roll of Scotch Film Splicing Tape.

Be sure to get the kind that corresponds to the millimeter of the film. If you are careful you can save most of the sound. Be sure your hands are clean and the surface you unroll the section on is clean and not greasy.

2) Really know how to use the projector. Don't try to fake it. People fuck up more films by not threading right, using too hot a light and melting the film, etc. A whole mess of people in the chapter should be hip to projectors as a matter of guerrilla preparedness. (No media should be beyond our understanding.)

Francis Berweger
L.A. Regional Staff

Don Olson was in an auto accident two weeks ago, and has been unconscious since. Money is needed to cover his hospital expenses. If any chapter or individual owes him money for any printing he may have done, please send it to Box 201, Lawrence, Kansas as soon as possible.

SNCC'S Positions

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has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices....

The parallels between the African Liberation Movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked—without their consent—to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their own effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations—some of them represented at this conference—as well as all levels of government have tried to undermine, contain, or simply destroy the organization....

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the United States. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the USA....

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the American front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We welcome their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts....

We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SNCC statement condemning the US war in Viet Nam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The Legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern—an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegations resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the United Nations. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) has set up a Liberation Committee to

give aid to freedom fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African Member States will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms—guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the future. There are also those—among them, we of SNCC—who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation States, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labour Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Viet Nam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the United Nations and of its associated organizations? Will certain Powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casualties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness"? Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting the aims, aspirations, and techniques—including armed struggle—of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in Southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press, as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

new left notes

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Congress on Latin America

INTRODUCTION TO NACLA

Michael Holcomb
Lois Reivich

What the movement is about is transforming the nature of our lives, negating our own negation through the miracle of struggle. Our thought and action spring from what we know to be our potential and society's attempt to deny that vision. The phrase "learn by doing" has lost its triteness. We have redefined education to be experience that is tested within an analytical framework.

And so, research has become another daily task we have integrated into our lives. We have had to research, to doggedly pursue projects exposing the individuals and institutions that dominate this country because power and domination are all pervasive and yet disguised.

We start with a hundred pieces—articles, books, rumors—pieces of the puzzle that the world has been 'til now that have started falling into place. The Institute of International Education was one such piece that we isolated before we understood where it fits in the structure of American domination.

We came across the name of the IIE while tracking down links between foundations and the CIA. Reading some of the IIE's promotional material, we were amazed at its audacity. With a sense of the extensiveness of IIE's activities came a confusion at the enormous amount of IIE-related material that began to accumulate.

The formation of a coherent view of the implications of the IIE began with a series of questions attacking our confusion: Who finances the IIE? Who are these people? Who are their activities directed at, and who benefits? What do they say about themselves? How does the IIE work with and relate to other institutions, government agencies, corporations, universities, foreign countries? With the tedium of the search for explanation came the excitement of defining more carefully the style and tools of our oppressors.

The 4th Face of U.S. Imperialism

by Lois Reivich

In the last twenty-five years, the American government has become deeply committed to cultural and educational exchanges. This general label embraces: (1) information (propaganda) co-ordinated by the USIA; (2) leadership exchanges and foreign student education co-ordinated by the State Department's Bureau of Cultural and Educational Affairs; and (3) technical assistance co-ordinated by the Agency for International Development. The USIA is a child of the Cold War which grew out of the Office of War Information. Recruited from the mass media experts, the staff of these operations are the image-makers and public relations engineers for the United States. The more sensitive liberals who react to this sometimes crude means of reaching the "peoples" of other countries find the leadership and foreign student exchanges sponsored by the Fulbright Amendment and Smith-Mundt Act after the Second World War more to their liking.

"Education is in reality one of the basic factors of international relations—quite as important as diplomacy and military power in its implications for war or peace." (Fulbright, foreword to Philip Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy*, Harper and Row, 1964) The exponents of this aspect of exchange wax sentimental in referring to international education as "the beacon of hope" in the world. To these advocates of "candle power" we must ask what kind of light this education sheds on whom? Last, but not least, we are all familiar with U.S. efforts of technical assistance to meet the "rising expectations and aspirations" of the third world in the hope of guiding their social revolutions. It is not difficult to extrapolate from the AID-sponsored "strategic hamlets" in Vietnam or military-sponsored civic action road-building projects in Bolivia to more overt military manipulation.

The creation of the Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State in July 1938 was the first step toward official U.S. government use of cultural relations in foreign policy. It was conceived as an adjunct to the Good Neighbor policy. The Latin American republics were seen as essential to U.S. security and welfare and it was necessary to combat Nazi influence in Latin America. The job of Inter-agency Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs created in 1940 was held by Nelson Rockefeller throughout the war years. The main purpose of the agency was to insure hemispheric defense and co-ordinate economic activities, but information flow and cultural relation were also included as crucial. While in this role Rockefeller was also

able to look after his family's oil interests in Latin America.

The Department of Cultural Relations was modeled after the British Council which was created in Great Britain in 1934 to counter the "ruthless propaganda machine of Dr. Goebbels designed to till fields of the minds and emotions in all parts of the world". (George Shuster in *Cultural Relations and Foreign Affairs* p. 11 American Assembly publication 1963) The Office of War Information and Rockefeller's agency carried on a world-wide campaign of psychological warfare.

In taking these initial steps the U.S. government was copying the efforts of those great powers like France, which, ever since Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, had realized the importance of cultural relations as a component of foreign policy. Napoleon had said "I have been forced to conquer Europe by the sword; he who comes after will conquer it by the spirit. For the spirit is always more powerful than the sword." (Coombs p. 79) The French leaders were explicit in designating cultural expansion aimed at the elites of other societies as the major means of building and assimilating the second French empire in the late nineteenth century.

For most of the first half of the 20th century, these -functions of cultural exchange were carried out by foundations, universities, and other private agencies. They pre-empted the government in understanding the importance of this kind of penetration in the third world. As a tribute to the foundations, it has been said:

"And finally there are the great foundations. The fame of some of them is worldwide. Primitive people who go to bed not quite certain where the U.S. is have the name of the Rockefeller Foundation on their lips. It has helped to remove the scourge of disease, has supported charitable establishments and has made blades of grass grow where none did previously. Of late, the Ford Foundation has taken its honored place beside its older sister institution." (Shuster p. 19)

One private agency established in 1917 which was designed to help foreign students in the U.S. was the Institute for International Education (IIE). It was created and financed by those upper class "internationalists" who saw the foreign student as the potential agent for the American way of life in their home countries. When the Department of State entered the realm of cultural activities, it sought, from the beginning, to make use of such private groups. In 1939

the IIE began to serve as the operational agency for government exchange grants. Financed by corporations and foundations in whose interest it is to see these programs succeed, the IIE is able to carry out functions for the government which would otherwise be awkward and burdensome for the federal bureaucracy. As educational exchange became increasingly important after the Second World War, this division of labor became increasingly explicit. As educational exchange developed into a sizeable government enterprise at the time of the Kennedy administration, the government sought increased co-operation in this field with the private sector (business, universities, foundations).

The creators of the Fulbright program of educational exchange have imbued Americans with a rhetoric designed to convince us of the altruistic motives of these efforts. They pigeonhole the activities of USIA as the "psychological approach" and "propaganda", while the educational and other exchanges are termed "co-operative" ventures for "mutual understanding" of a "reciprocal" nature. We are even told that educational programs must be "objective non-political" activities, implying a clean separation from the context of their wartime propaganda origins. The more sophisticated advocates of this program themselves acknowledge that educational exchange must blend in with our propaganda abroad and our "technical assistance" as part of a broader scope of U.S. foreign policy. We must understand that nothing that the biggest power on earth does is without political context.

Towards what foreign policy objectives do these exchange programs work? In bringing the foreign visitor to the U.S. they say we increase "mutual understanding" and try to dispel among foreign visitors misconceptions and ugly stereotypes. The foreign visitor is usually either a specialized person or a professional who comes to meet his counterpart in this country. He gets snowed by middle-class hospitality and cordiality and is inculcated with U.S. technical efficiency and achievement orientation. Sufficiently impressed, he returns to his native land—an American ally. We receive the foreign student as a potential recruit for the American way of life. What is the "valuable educational experience" we provide for these foreign students? The foreign student is shunted around from the academic vacuum of the university to the seminars of pre-packaged cross-cultural contact to travel to the impressive landmarks of our nation. Even the radical foreign

student is now seen as potentially co-optable. Our system has rich material rewards for those who see the light. The foreign student is now recruited in his own country, prepared, programed, helped to adjust in the U.S., and followed back to his own country because he is a valuable human resource, an American culture carrier who will perhaps someday work in a U.S. corporation in his own country or as minister in his government and will repay his American friends. Our investment in human resources today will have its payoff in years to come. That is the meaning of exchange. The American exchange program also focuses the other way. We export Americans to work abroad. Behind this other side of exchange lies the realization of the necessity of understanding the cultural and social environment that we have to influence in order to make our policies effective. The Office of Cultural and Educational Affairs administers the Fulbright program with the help of the Institute for International Education and other private agencies. AID, under the leadership of David Bell (now a vice president of the Ford Foundation) increased expenditures for educational projects overseas. This U.S. penetration of higher education in the third world is carried out through contracts with 71 American universities. The Peace Corps puts a high priority on educational projects abroad staffing foreign universities and secondary schools.

American education as a whole is being internationalized. It is training foreign area specialists, who along with social scientists will do U.S. government intelligence. It is incorporating the growing number of foreign students and helping them adjust to U.S. life. It is contracting to organize whole sectors of education programs in third world countries. The big three foundations—Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie—have traditionally led the way in cultural penetration through strategic demonstration projects. American business has adopted an image of educator and social reformer through its private aid programs in an effort to destroy that image of capitalists "exploiting the natives". It is not that they no longer exploit the natives, but that their investment in "human resources" pays off with good propaganda and trained personnel who will be the partners of American style progress. Clever rhetoricians tell us about the advantages of demonstrating our deeply democratic values—in essence, a window dressing for a U.S. foreign policy which says "NO" to revolution or any change which is not favorable to U.S. interests.

IIE: How it Services the Great Corporations

by Marge Piercy

The Institute of International Education offers a great variety of services to corporations, which in turn contribute generously to it. In a promotional pamphlet *Services for the International Corporation*, the IIE explains its usefulness to the corporate elite.

"In the last decade, U.S. corporations have expanded their direct foreign investments by 60 per cent—to \$40 billion at the end of 1963. They recognize—abroad as well as at home—that education offers the best means for stimulating purchasing power, encouraging political stability, and, most important of all, developing a reservoir of the trained manpower so necessary to their overseas operations. (emphasis provided)

However, the U.S. corporation faces difficult decisions and alternatives in undertaking sound and profitable ventures in international education. Unfamiliar cultures, complex situations, unskilled manpower, and frequently a thin layer of educational and technical resources present serious problems in foreign settings. In approaching such problems, many corporations have benefited from the Institute's wide experience and counsel."

One of the IIE's most important functions is providing intelligence on personnel for corporations operating abroad. As the IIE points out, "With few exceptions, American companies which operate in foreign countries find it necessary or desirable to employ nationals with U.S. academic training."

Every year the IIE takes and publishes a census of foreign students and scholars studying, teaching, or doing research at U.S. colleges. It does a similar study on U.S. students and scholars abroad. The survey includes fields of study, country of origin, and sources of support. This information, which is now being computerized for quicker and cheaper access, serves as the basis for the Roster.

Why do international corporations need this personnel intelligence? IIE answers that question for us. Their Roster, they explain, permits corporations to identify and locate (the Roster contains foreign addresses) possible employees (1) for current overseas operations, (2) for expansion of operations, (3) for establishment of new operations in foreign countries. The Roster covers over 120 countries and 150 fields of expertise.

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What The US Is Doing In and To Latin Am. Universities and Why

by Michael Holcomb

To identify with the label "liberal" is to lay claim to a long Western traditional of humanitarian rhetoric, often in a Christian context, that enables people to exist in a protected niche while, often unwittingly, carrying on a subtle righteous domination. The liberal (a word that carries bountiful, munificent connotations) IIE looks after a small organization, CHEAR, The Council on Higher Education in the American Republics.

According to their promotional material, CHEAR's basic income comes from the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation, and is supplemented by money from other agencies and foundations including the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of State. CHEAR refuses to make public the actual amount of its budget, however. When asked by phone if CHEAR had filed its form with the Internal Revenue Service (whose non-profit organization files are public), a representative replied that CHEAR had not because CHEAR's income is reported with that of its "parent organization", the IIE, which has provided "administrative support" since 1959 consisting of the hidden budgetary arrangement, office space in IIE's gleaming building, and IIE-supplied staff. (The President of IIE is Secretary General of CHEAR.)

CHEAR's activities are twofold: 1) it plans and convenes conferences and publishes resulting reports, and 2) in its words, "administers a few carefully chosen projects that relate to strengthening inter-American university relationships." While it is difficult to track down the projects that CHEAR specifically supports, some documentation of and the ideology behind US involvement in Latin American higher education are provided by CHEAR's recent series of reports: "National Development and the University" (50 pp.) taken from tapes made of discussions during a CHEAR conference in Lima, Peru on Feb. 28, 1964; "Agriculture and the University" (236 pp.) put together from presentations at seminars in Lincoln, Neb. and Terrytown, N.Y.; and a third, "The Arts and the University" (48 pp.), also taken from tapes of a Lima conference (Feb. 27, '64).

In the foreword to these reports, William C. Spencer, Asst. Sec. General of the IIE, clarifies the framework in which the contents are meant to be viewed:

"Ideas and opinions expressed by participants are personal ones; no one is expected to represent his country, his institution (and) no attempt is made in these meetings to draft resolutions or prepare statements of general policy" (p. 3)

Participants do not represent their country or institution—they represent their class, the American (North or South) power elite. The foreword to the '64 Lima report, "National Development and the University" continues:

"Led by Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, and supported by both Latin American and North American university executives who exercise direct influence in the education and national affairs of their countries, this dialogue raises issues and explores solutions of current vital interest to all concerned with hemispherical cooperation and unity as well as national and educational developments." (p. 4)

"The prototypical university executive is Clark Kerr of Berkeley, who opened and closed the '64 Lima conference on Nat'l Development and the Univ. He began with a standard statement of his views on colleges (which are best put forth in his '63 book, *The Uses of the University*) that the university is "an instrument of national purpose". Kerr sees around him the obvious: a society carefully organized and geared to acquisition and consumption, and observes "this machine we have created goes faster and faster." ("Nat'l Development & the Univ.", p. 19) And Kerr realizes that the insatiable passion for more! demands that the university not shirk its duties as an institution commanding many resources."

"The university's resources, symbolized by the slogan "Knowledge", are absolutely essential for the US to continue to grow at its present breakneck pace. As Kerr recognizes it, "The university as producer, wholesaler and retailer of knowledge cannot escape service" (*Uses of the U.*,

p. 114), and with its emphasis on research, the knowledge factory has become "the focal point for national growth" (*Uses*, p. 88). The most important product of the knowledge assembly line is socialized people—standardized and repressed; the university as a prime value—transmitting agency functions quite efficiently in molding conformers."

Because the US is economically dependent on its myriad corporate holdings throughout Latin Am. and committed to maintaining its economic and political hegemony, it must not fail to implant its ideology throughout the hemisphere; the CHEAR reports indicate one way the US is doing this is shaping Latin Am. education, molding Latin Am. universities into the factory pattern.

One question about US motives first: Isn't some US material assistance beneficial as the humanitarian rhetoric claims? Some programs obviously embody less manipulation than others, but ultimately, I suppose, the degree to which we condemn a particular US program depends on our personal rage. US grain shipments to India certainly benefit the people and are not directly imperialist, but without US material support, the Indian government would probably collapse. Too, the US is not particularly sneaky about its motives concerning "foreign aid" grain. It sends grain to maintain political stability so that India can remain an East-West buffer zone and to help relieve internal economic strain which can cause political upheavals.

But the US interest in Latin Am. higher education isn't so innocuous as the interest in India's ability to feed herself. Political stability is again the key concept, but one of the things the US is doing to insure stability is bending Latin Am. universities to a specific mold. The CHEAR liberals state they want to see the whole Latin Am. educational system tightened up, rushing people through faster under heavier work loads, training and socializing better. The aid programs documented below must be seen in this context; the following attempts to clarify the "stability" ideology of Kerr and the other university execs.

Their unshakable perspective, the basis from which they think and act, is one which sees Latin America, and all other countries the US now has access to, as a frontier to be Americanized, thus guaranteeing future access—access to raw materials, labor pools, and markets.

Recognizing the educational system as a powerful tool, Kerr stated at the Lima Nat'l Devel. Conference that one of the keys to the US' present vast productive capacity is that the US "got started very early using education largely, or at least philosophically, for political

reasons...." ("Nat'l D. and the U.", p. 10)

But because of the contradiction between their equalitarian facade and their actual position of corporate power, US ruling liberals veil their political goals with humanitarian language. Using the rhetoric of national development and hemispheric cooperation, liberals try to isolate the technical development of a country from its political system and conflicts. This view is perfectly compatible with the university as a service station, a neutral vendor of techniques, and as not relevant to the political conflicts in society.

Three statements by Kerr, spaced throughout his comments in "Nat'l Devel. & the Univ.", become a work of art when arranged in a logical sequence: "Every industrial society has been organized and run by one type of elite or another...." (p. 16) But the 1960s US is an exception. Instead of a ruling elite, Kerr sees as the rationale behind this society a tendency toward national development. Trying to make this into a coherent view, he suggests that society is developing "its own logic, not serving class interests, not serving ideology." (p. 19) Being more concrete about what he means, Kerr states, "The market pretty well determines how education will develop." (p. 17) This final comment, pointing to the dominant corporate mentality, is telling it like it is.

Documentation of how the US is molding Latin American higher education is plentiful in the CHEAR report on the "Agriculture and the University" conference:

MEXICO. "The Rockefeller Foundation has been privileged to play a role in (building a Mexican technician sector) since 1943, when it entered into a cooperative program of research and training with the Mexican Ministry of Agriculture" according to Lewis Roberts, Associate Director, Agricultural Sciences, Rockefeller Fdt. That is, the Rockefeller Fdt. helped pay for Mexicans to study in the US. It was not until two years ago that "the responsibility for its (the program's) direction and administration" was transferred to Mexicans at the National Institute of Agricultural Research.

Another facility being developed is the National Center of Agricultural Education, Research and Extension at Chapingo near Mexico City. It is sponsored by a whole slew of organizations: the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, The World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and the Special Fund of the U.N.

Two other US-supported Mexican agricultural schools are not on what Rafael Samper (a Colombian attending

the conference) called the "grand scale" of the Chapingo school, but they are still significant. They are The School of Agronomy and Animal Husbandry of the Institute of Technology at Monterey, another Rockefeller Fdt. project, and The School at Hermosilla, Sonora, which maintains "a close relationship" with the University of Arizona. ("Ag & the Univ.", pp. 34, 35)

COLOMBIA. Rockefeller Fdt. involvement in Colombia dates back to 1950 when it supported a cooperative research program to train agronomists and provide scholarships for study "abroad". Michigan State entered Colombia a few years ago with a program financed by a US AID contract and the Kellogg Foundation designed to strengthen Colombia's three higher schools of agriculture.

The Kellogg Fdt. helped Colombian education in a more direct manner in 1960 by partly financing "a joint American-Colombian committee headed by Dr. Paul Miller (formerly Provost of Michigan State and now President of West Virginia U.) to "study higher agricultural education in Colombia and to suggest an improved framework for teaching, extension and research."

On the basis of the Miller report, a national Agricultural Institute was established in 1963, and another school, Colombian Agricultural Institute (ICA) is now being launched. Comments the Rockefeller Foundation's Roberts on the ICA, "The Ford, Kellogg, and Rockefeller Foundations have already indicated interest in continuing to cooperate in this tremendously exciting new venture." (p. 36)

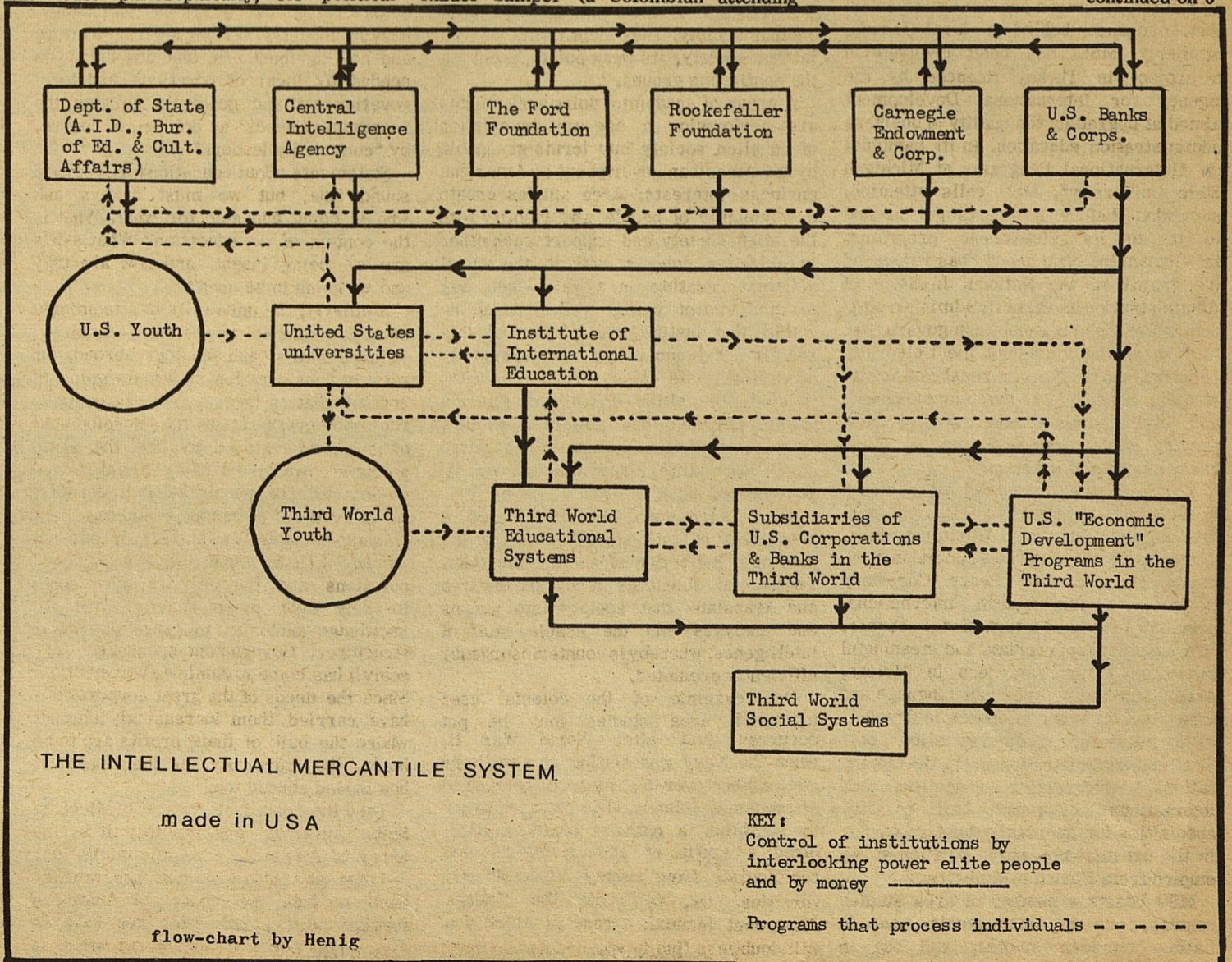
During the discussion Director Fernando Penaranda of the Instituto Colombiano Agropecuario, Bogota, described the ambitiousness of the US-supported projects. The ICA is to gradually mold the entire higher agriculture school system of Colombia along the following lines:

"ICA will have close contact with secondary and intermediate (junior college) education. We have thirteen rural normal schools... which are relatively wellendowed as to buildings and grounds (and) are a magnificent base for constructing a sort of junior college.... We are also in discussion with some departmental units... the means of orienting and unifying the curriculum of intermediate education and attaining uniformity...."

As far as agricultural education goes, students would pass from primary schools into vocational schools. These are only four-year institutions at the present time, but the Ministry of Education is considering extending them to six years in order to make available a more complete vocational education." (p. 36)

Yes, complete. The different routes that Colombian students are herded are somewhat confused in Penaranda's off-the-cuff remarks, but the ICA is

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MSU- EXPANSIONIST UNIVERSITY IN AN IMPERIALIST STATE

by Marge Piercy
and Peter Henig

Michigan State University prides itself on its service to the government in solving those international problems faced by the ever-broadening American empire.

A pamphlet selling to the prospective student exactly those aspects of MSU which we'll be looking at says:

"The challenge facing American higher education is an integral part of the widespread and important responsibilities which the American nation now faces abroad....Michigan State University is now taking some of the steps necessary to meet the challenge. It intends to move as rapidly as possible in the international field within the broad framework of its educational philosophy."

We will take a hard look at that philosophy in a bit. One of the boasts of the University propaganda is that all disciplines have an international dimension and no graduate should escape the multiversity without a sense of the impact of international affairs "on his professional career and personal life". If he is drafted, of course, the impact will come home to him in as immediate a sense as President John Hannah could desire.

"Just as the problems we face as a nation are broad and not tied to a limited number of fields or disciplines, the Michigan State University's approach to its technical assistance activities is broadly conceived...we are trying to create an environment and an international dimension which will permeate throughout all relevant segments of the University over the years ahead."

Since 1951 MSU has been involved in helping the Army develop an American styled university for the Ryukyu Islands of Okinawa, a property we took from the Japanese and hold under some amount of controversy. "...the emerging university has grown to become an important part of the educational structure of the Ryukyus."

MSU has a continuing co-operative program with the Sao Paulo School of Business Administration in Brazil, oriented partly toward executive management. Over one thousand businessmen in Latin America are graduates of this MSU-influenced Intensive Course for Administration.

One of the policies of most U.S. companies who do business in Latin America is staffing their operations with local executives who are properly trained in the corporate attitudes and virtues. Thus we create elites which are tied to the American presence and conceal that presence behind a local facade. Similarly MSU has been involved in a project in Turkey financed by the Agency for International Development aimed at upgrading the quality of business administration education. In its pamphlet on "International Programs at Michigan State University", MSU calls attention, somewhat before Ramparts got around to it, to its Vietnamese programs. In Vietnam the MSU group "has witnessed the growth of the National Institute of Administration into a public administration center for the new republican government" In another pamphlet the University remarks that "in Vietnam rural community studies, research on the 'montagnards', and civil administration studies...now provide highly valuable, and in some cases unique, information."

MSU has also carried out AID projects in Guatemala, India, Nigeria, Pakistan, Taiwan, and other Third World countries.

The University provides special inducements for returning Peace Corpsmen to prepare for "future international service" or an international career. "Particularly appropriate and meaningful to Peace Corps returnees in African, Asian, and Latin American language and area studies; work in economic development, international communications, politics and administration in the developing nations, comparative education, and international business"—all possible specialties for the man hoping for a career in the expansion or administration of any empire from Roman to American.

MSU boasts a number of area studies centers, one in Asian studies, one in Latin American studies, and one in

African studies. MSU is also putting into operation functional centers: area programs paralleled by functionally oriented centers, in (1) international communications involving the social sciences, (2) education and development, (3) economic development, (4) international agriculture and nutrition, (5) international management, to be developed by the College of Business based on extensive experience in Brazil and field work in other parts of the world, and (6) development politics and administration within the college of social sciences. These programs rely heavily on the Ford Foundation, the State Department, and AID for sizeable grants. We are told that:

"...the chief goal of the Asian Studies Center is to further knowledge and understanding of countries of South, South-East Asia and the Far East. It aims to relate the overseas operations of International Programs to the teaching and research program of the University... foster a research program utilizing the overseas projects of the Universities as centers where graduate students as well as members of the faculty may acquire field experience and basic data suitable for publication in academic journals."

We are all surely pleased to know that the members of MSU faculty who helped Diem set up his secret police were encouraged to achieve professional recognition and pursue their career paths successfully in spite of their labor overseas. The University is quite concerned that its faculty should not suffer professionally as a result of their times out of the country (missing conventions, getting behind in reading academic journals), and various of the deans who administer the international programs are given to writing papers on how their men can go to Nairobi or Bogota for two years without loss of academic status or without growing rusty in the tropics. They are very concerned to rationalize the careers of their exported faculty.

What are these area studies? They generally involved the social sciences—anthropology, economics, sociology—plus language studies. Just as the social sciences were used internally by the power elite, for instance as in the case of industrial or labor relations, to make workers believe there exists a unity of interest between corporations and workers' organizations, so the social sciences served the power elite abroad. Area studies tell the government how to gain control of the social processes of another society. They identify the sectors in that society, its weak points, point out the conflicting groups.

A group of academics doing area studies are performing a one-way translation of an alien society into terms graspable by the American government or American business interests. Area studies create a community of people who identify with the alien society and support each other in objective concern with it (the social scientist relating in a value-free way to his victim data), while remaining within the institutional context of this society and operating professionally according to its values. Thus it is okay to study the elites of Chile or Nigeria and to perceive how power is wielded in those societies, but not all right to study our elites and how power is manipulated here.

The Army Area Handbooks are a production of this kind of work on the part of a collection of social scientists. The social scientists study the natives and translate that society into graphs and analyses and the usable stuff of intelligence, whereby is counterinsurgency efficiently promoted.

One example of the colonial uses to which area studies may be put occurred just after World War II, when the Navy was setting up a military government over the recently conquered Micronesian Islands. The Navy, in order to establish a colonial administration, hired a group of anthropologists and sociologists from twenty different universities. Or, to quote the College Placement Manual, a copy of which you will doubtless find in your local placement

SOME TYPICAL PROGRAMS OF UNIVERSITY EXPANSIONISM

African Legal Project: "Under this foundation grant, IIE (assisted by an advisory committee of deans and professors of various law schools) is recruiting and/or providing financial assistance to enable lawyers, primarily American, to serve on the faculties of 13 law schools in the African countries of Lesotho, The Congo, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Malawi, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, and Tanzania....A new grant was made in 1965 extending the project for an additional three years and expanding its activities to include fellowships for Africans to study in the U.S. and arranging conferences in Africa enabling professors serving there to meet....IIE also purchases books and equipment for the project."

Argentine Agricultural Economics Project: Assistance "in the development of a cadre of trained Argentine agricultural economists."

Chilean Ministry of Education Project: Assistance to the Chilean Ministry of Education for the development of curricula and teaching materials for teacher training, including the "employment of resident consultants and assistants, appointment of short-term consultants, purchasing, fellowships, and fiscal disbursements. The Graduate Institute of Education of Washington University is providing advisory services to the project...."

Columbia University/University of Delhi Chinese Studies Project: For the creation of a program of research and training in Chinese studies over a period of approximately two years beginning in September....

Federal University of Minas Gerais (Brazil) Project: Assistance to the Federal University of Minas Gerais for assistance in the development of teaching and research in political science. "The IIE administers funds allocated for visiting political scientists to the university, fellowships for Brazilians to study abroad, and expenses of North American coordination services."

Harvard/Ahmedabad Project: The foundation made a two-year grant to the Indian Institute of Management at Ahmedabad in support of a program of training and research in business management. Harvard University's Graduate School of Business is responsible for the execution of this program.

MIT-Calcutta Project: For assistance to graduate training and research in business and industrial management. This program is under the direction of the Alfred P. Sloan School of Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Yale-Pakistan Project: To assist in developing the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics in Karachi.

office:

"You...your training, your special talents...find satisfying expression in a vital career with CIA. Whether your major interest is in International Relations, Economics, Science, Law Research, whatever...the CIA offers you a chance to work with programs that are constantly changing."

Among the fields specifically mentioned as of interest to the CIA are business, economics, finance, foreign languages and area studies, geography, history, international relations, political science, psychology, sociology.

How comes MSU to be so omnipresent abroad, so hyperactive in the American Empire?

THE MANIFEST DESTINY OF MSU: A LOCAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE LAND GRANT COLLEGE

The land-grant college historically belongs in its inception to the period when we were developing our own frontier as we now develop other countries. It provided a vehicle through which a society relying heavily upon technology and characterized by being strongly interrelated can spread its techniques and ideology.

The land-grant college typically has a strong emphasis on developing practical skills, useful (to whom?) arts and sciences, of supporting research that helps raise the level of technology, serving industry, serving local agriculture and now agribusiness, teaching the skills needed by local corporations and local governments and generally serving the "community needs" as defined, of course, by "community leaders".

Statements about education for everyone sound fine, but we must always ask who is being educated for what. What is the context of the education? What skills are we being taught, and how are they and we going to be used?

Similarly, the university is a seemingly neutral means for spreading technology, science skills, and ideology abroad, but without consideration of who is going to control that technology, who is going to run and profit from the development of an underdeveloped country: the same colonial powers, the new colonial superpower, or the people of that country.

With the enormous increase of technology after World War II and the increased U.S. expansion abroad, corporations and the military have come to rely ever more heavily upon the knowledge factories to serve the power structure. Government-sponsored research has come to dominate universities. Since the needs of the great corporations have carried them increasingly abroad, where the bulk of their profits are to be made, the university, as their partner, has moved abroad too.

Take the "manifest destiny" of Michigan State University and multiply it by the array of American academic institutions—large and small—which are working hand in hand in support of American foreign policy, and what you have is a powerful political instrument which is

making itself felt in the most obscure corners of the world. Just to give some idea of how U.S. officials think about university imperialism, here is an excerpt from the U.S. Army Area Handbook for Ecuador (published 1966):

"With the financial support of AID, missions from the University of Pittsburgh, the University of Houston, and Saint Louis University have been assisting the Central University, the University of Guayaquil, and the Catholic University in Quito, respectively, in improvement programs. The principal areas of activity include the reform of central administration, the institution of basic studies programs for all students before further university work and the strengthening of the facultades dealing in disciplines directly related to fiscal and economic development. Plans also call for the promotion of greater stability and a clear, more exclusively academic atmosphere."

The Institute of International Education is the administrative co-ordinator for a huge array of other academic ventures into the heart of darkness. The following representative samples are funded either by the Agency for International Development or the Ford Foundation. In describing the projects, no distinction between Ford and AID sponsorship will be made because of the close links between the foundation and the government. Ford's resident, McGeorge Bundy, was formerly Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. David E. Bell, former Administrator of AID, is a vice president of the Foundation; Ford Trustee Stephen D. Bechtel of the Bechtel-McCone Corp. is the principal business partner of John McCone, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency. Ford Trustee Eugene Black is former head of the U.S.-controlled International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (the World Bank) and a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank.

ATTENTION CHAPTERS!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

The REC is trying to build an effective information service covering topics which are of importance to the movement. A lot of the information we need entails research which we simply don't have time to do in the office at this time. Besides, there have been lots of demonstrations against specific targets, such as Dow, the CIA for which different chapters have probably done their own research. It would be of enormous help if you would send us copies of the research you have done as well as copies of leaflets, posters etc. which you used to get the point across to your constituency. Please send anything which might help us next time someone writes in and asks, "We are planning a demonstration against----. Can you please send us information." Send your copy or material to the National Office c/o the Literature Secretary.

The World is Their Campus

by Alice Embree

The world of international education has brought together a most interesting subset of the American population. Extrapolate from the operational and political style of the liberal multiversity administration, broaden its domain to include not just a community of students and faculty numbering 30,000 but virtually the entire world, and you have the modus operandi of the IIE.

It is a style of sophistication and internationalism. A style which denies the existence of fundamental conflicts of interest, which says that the world can be run just like the college campus—a controlled environment where people can be channeled in subtle ways, where everyone can be made to believe that he is a participant in a community of free men, and where questions of control need never arise and raw uses of power need only be occasional. The men and women who are the trustees of the IIE are the wielders of power in America—but they are a special breed. They are not the more public and provincial of the powerful; they are well-schooled and socially prominent. Their style is the same whether in the offices of foundations and banks or at the meetings of the IIE.

A few of the more interesting members are:

Mrs. George A. Braga (described in IIE publications as a civic leader), whose sugar tycoon husband had many of his holdings confiscated in Cuba.

Mrs. Morris Hadley, another civic leader, whose husband was one-time head of the Carnegie Foundation and is now head of the CIA conduit Rubicon Foundation. Through his membership in the law firm of Milbank, Tweed, Hadley, and McCloy he has close association with John J. McCloy, once chairman of the board of Chase-Manhattan Bank, former chairman of the Ford Foundation, past president

of the World Bank, past U.S. High Commissioner to Germany and chairman of the board of the New York International House, a Rockefeller-backed institution dedicated to making the foreign student feel at home.

Mrs. Maurice T. Moore, chairman of the executive committee of the IIE and still another civic leader. (Do you see a pattern emerging?) Her husband is a past chairman of Time, Inc. and member of the law firm of Cravath, Swaine and Moore, attorneys for Time magazine. His brother, George S. Moore, just stepped down from the post of board chairman of the First National City Bank of New York, which Fortune magazine describes as the bank "with the boarding-house reach".

The ubiquitous Mrs. Charles N. Englehard, civic leader and wife of the Charles Englehard of South Africa fame—exploiter of black labor in his gold, platinum and diamond mines, financier of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, director of the Port of New York Authority, and model for Ian Fleming's Goldfinger.

Stephen P. Duggan Jr. of the law firm of Simpson, Thacher and Bartlett, of which two distinguished members are Edwin Wiesel, LBJ's contact in the Democratic Party of New York, and Cyrus P. Vance, U.S. crisis-manager in the Panama Canal Zone, Dominican Republic, Greece and Detroit.

Andrew Heiskell, married to the New York Times (Marian Sulzberger Dryfoos, daughter of the publisher) and Chairman of the Board of Time, Inc. Heiskell is also a member of the Urban Coalition, a domestic AID program: a voluntary organization, composed largely of business executives, founded in response to the summer ghetto rebellions to formulate a system of government incentives creating an environment in the slums conducive to profit-making.

Mrs. George D. Woods, civic leader, whose husband just stepped down from the presidency of the World Bank to

provide room for MacNamara. Ralph J. Bunche, vice-chairman of the IIE and the State Department emissary to it. As the Establishment's most trusted Negro, he is a little bit overworked as a foundation trustee: God Bless America Fund, Field Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Fund for the Advancement of Education, whose principal donor is the Ford Foundation.

C. Douglas Dillon, Vice-chairman of the IIE, former Secretary of the Treasury, former Under-Secretary of State, member of Dillon, Reed and Co., private investment bankers.

Grayson Kirk, president of Columbia University, director of Socony-Mobil Oil Co., IBM Corp., Consolidated Edison of New York and a trustee of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and of the CIA-financed Asia Foundation.

Mrs. Arthur A. Houghton Jr., another civic leader, whose husband is president of the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA) which was the principal conduit for CIA funds to the NSA. He is also president of Steuben Glass, Inc. and a director of Corning Glass Works and U.S. Steel, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and a trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Mrs. Ronald A. Tree, the only woman listed as anything other than a civic leader, former U.S. representative on the U.N. Trusteeship Council, and the former Marietta Endicott Peabody of the Massachusetts Peabody Family. She was once married to Desmond Fitzgerald, successor to Richard Helms as Deputy Director of Plans for the CIA. Her second marriage was to Ronald Tree, British multimillionaire and Conservative MP. An intimate of Adlai Stevenson's, she was walking with him in London when he died.

Sol M. Linowitz, who turned down an offer to become director of the CIA in order to succeed Ellsworth Bunker as U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States. His motivation, as expressed in Newsweek, was the belief that, "If we don't make it work in Latin America, it won't work anywhere." He is the former chairman of the board of Xerox Corp., which is rapidly expanding its operations in Latin America.

Kenneth Holland, president of the IIE since 1958. He was a member of the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs (FYSA), a CIA conduit, and was vice-president of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a hybrid organization directed and financed by corporation, labor, and government (including CIA) leaders whose purpose is to develop company unions in Latin America. He is a sponsor of the World University Service, a body partially financed and staffed by the CIA, set up to co-ordinate voluntary assistance programs between the U.S. and European university community and the Third World.

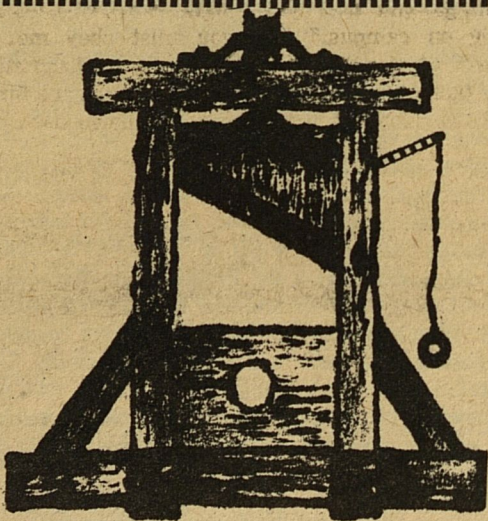
He worked for five years in the Office of Inter-American Affairs under Nelson Rockefeller, was an official in the State Department where he helped set up the Fulbright Scholarship program, was Associate Director of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education and in 1960 became secretary general of the Council on Higher Education in the American Republics (CHEAR). As secretary of the International Student Service, he made studies of the youth labor camps of Europe and favored modeling the CCC after the pre-Nazi German Voluntary Service Camps which he had seen. When he was appointed education adviser to the CCC in the New England area, he was able to put into operation many of his ideas. He is also a trustee of the Corning Museum.

Many pages could be written delineating the cross-connections between the IIE, the Rockefeller, Ford, and Carnegie Foundations, the CIA and the Corning Glass nexus. And there are even more specific examples of the flow of personnel and money between the CIA and IIE: known CIA conduits which have contributed to the IIE are FYSA, the Dodge Foundation, the Hobby Foundation, the McGregor Fund, the Aaron E. Norman Fund, and the Rubicon Foundation. But the story is more one of shifting money from one pocket to the other. The most blatant examples are the Houghtons and the Hadleys—Mrs. Houghton sits on the IIE while her husband presides as president of FYSA which gives money to the IIE; Mrs. Hadley, another trustee, is married to the head of the Rubicon Foundation.

Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby of the Hobby Foundation was a member of the Southwest advisory board of the IIE. But to pretend that Mrs. Hobby's only interest is her CIA conduit foundation is to sell her short. She was Eisenhower's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, president of the Houston Post, member of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund for special Studies Project and member of the National Advisory Commission on the selective Service.

A similar example is Robert D. Murphy, who was on the 1965 Board of Trustees of the IIE. He is also President of Corning Glass International, Director of Corning Glass Works, and was, in 1959, Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs. But his major distinction is that of membership on the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, which oversees the operations of the CIA.

The people of the IIE cannot be explained in terms of the CIA. They must be understood as members of the sophisticated, internationalist elite of the United States. The political assumptions and style of operation of this elite are basically the same, whether in the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Ford Foundations, in the IIE or in the CIA.



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 No more issues of NLN will be sent to you unless we receive your dues, (\$500) immediately.
 YOU KNOW WHO YOU ARE!!!!!!!!!!!!!!
 (those infamous white cards!)
 CRUSH INTERNAL PARASITISM!!!!!!!!!!!!!!

Liberal Enemy

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dead-serious about manpower channeling.

PERU. Roberts (of Rockefeller Fdt.) offered the following comments about Peruvian education. Two "key institutions" are involved in transforming Peruvian education: the "autonomous" Agrarian University at La Molina and a dependency of the Ministry of Agriculture called the Service of Investigations and Promotion of Agriculture—SIPA (which has "the primary responsibility for national programs of research and extension". SIPA is directly linked to: North Carolina State College under a US AID contract; The UN Special Fund, which made a substantial grant to assist in the development of the new Faculty of Agricultural Engineering; The Rockefeller Fdt., which has also given to the "autonomous" university; and the Ford Fdt., which is considering, with the Rockefeller Fdt., a grant to SIPA's Faculty of Social Sciences. The University has applied for a long-term loan of \$6 million from the

Alliance for Progress. (p. 37)

Although we're not able to exactly measure the impact these projects are having on Latin Americans, it's clear from the examples that the US is significantly molding Latin American higher education to the factory model. And by breaking down the benevolent-sounding rhetoric, we see that the corporate liberals who put up money for these various overseas helping-hand programs are operating in a very sharp, logical fashion to Americanize the countries in whose economies they now participate. To closely examine CHEAR and discover that it is very much our enemy is to go on the offensive. We are defining the enemy better and better, and as we uncover more parts of the beast, the more naked and vulnerable it looks.

Institute of International Education

continued from 3

The reports are tailored to a corporation's needs and the cost is about a dollar per name supplied. Among the companies who use the Roster are Anaconda Copper, Esso, First National City Bank (New York), W. R. Grace, Gulf Oil, IBM, IT&T, Mobil of Latin America, Morgan Guaranty Trust, Shell Oil, Union Carbide, U.S. Steel, and Xerox. Companies can specify field of study, country, sex, age, degree, and where the person studied in the U.S. The reasons for educating foreign students in American universities are explained in an article published in IBM's Think magazine. For example, the article states:

"...foreign students will ultimately be helpful to U.S. business. The man who wants to start a cotton gin in the Congo will find it easier if he has a Congolese buddy from college, especially as the Congolese will probably be a high official. And then, American corporations, gradually turning their operations in foreign countries over to the people who live there, will need trained personnel."

It later adds: "If we don't educate them, Russia or China will." Other ways in which IIE works to aid corporate expansion abroad include "aid in setting up educational projects overseas to support specific corporate objectives". IIE's services include "recruitment of professional staff members, contractual

salary negotiations, purchase of equipment and material, fiscal management, and other services hand-tailored to each particular undertaking." The IIE tries to maintain close contact with foreign students who've studied in the U.S. and American students who've studied abroad through its Alumni Relations Division.

The IIE helps corporations set up international fellowships either for public relations or for real training of its management. The IIE will secure publicity for the corporation (get the announcement into leading newspapers in the foreign country and issue press releases here). They will also screen candidates abroad through their connection with selection committees—composed, they say, of educators, people from local ministries of education, and U.S. businessmen abroad. U.S. embassies also assist. Resident managers of the companies can participate in choosing candidates.

The IIE also places the students in institutions, runs the program financially, and issues reports on student progress. Among the companies taking advantage of this service are Chrysler, General Electric, Procter & Gamble, Oasis Oil, Ford Motor Company, Anaconda Copper, Xerox, Esso, International Nickel, and International Petroleum. Funds transferred to the Institute to pay for a fellowship program are tax-deductible.

continued from 1

numbers of people than have previously been involved, moving the political spectrum to the left, and expressing our political force.

We cannot view the student strike in isolation. The activities centering around and stemming from the action have real significance. Campus activities during the strike can include counter courses, radical theater, teach-ins, rallies, movies, concerts, picketing, and other related activities. There has been much research already done into university ties with the military, the CIA, the Selective Service System, defense corporations, and the corporate establishment. War crimes tribunals, commissions, or hearings can be held during the time of the strike, where this research can be released to expose the relations and to present demands opposing complicity. Off campus activity can be centered around the draft—such as demonstrations at induction centers—and the war. This again is an advantage for the less active schools, where activities can be held on a regional basis. There can also be a wide range of activities in high school—

on campus issues as well as on the war and the draft. We should try to avoid the type of action that strikes at everything and hits nothing. Actions hitting at all aspects of capitalism in America, while desirable, are clearly beyond our scope right now. A national action showing political force should be directed toward expressing unifying goals.

The student strike should be the center of activities planned for the spring. For greatest national and international impact (we should remember that with the cooperation of the student groups in other countries, especially the socialist countries, we can have an effective international strike) the strike should last one day, although local activities should begin before or continue after that day. In the period prior to the strike it is essential that we reach the students with our analysis on the issues, and it is important that we continue this while pursuing the demands put forth during the strike. Both in immediate political effect and in laying the groundwork for a long range movement, the strike has the potential of being one of the most effective actions of the student movement.

we made the news today oh boy..

HERE'S CHAPTER NEWS!!!!

This column was compiled from letters from chapter contacts, local members, regional travelers, sds newsletters, and liberation news service. in order to continue this column on a weekly basis, one person from every chapter should be given the responsibility of sending news to the no....

by karen gellen....!

TUCSON, ARIZONA—students are planning a suit against the UNIV. OF ARIZONA to make ROTC voluntary for undergraduates. the ACLU will handle the case...draft resistance leaflets are being torn down by administration secretaries almost immediately upon being posted on campus, on the grounds that they are "political", and thus forbidden. ROTC displays are not disturbed—evidently war is not a political issue!

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA—while the CIA was recruiting at TULANE, sds members passed out 2,000 leaflets on the true nature of CIA operations. many people were anxious to talk to the leafleters, and several very valuable new people became sds members...students at LOUISIANA STATE UNIV. welcomed the air force to campus with appropriate signs, among which were "the Business of the air force is murdering peop e.

members...students at LOUISIANA STATE UNIV. welcomed the air force to campus with appropriate signs, among which were "the Business of the air force is murdering peop e. the air force has no business on this campus", and "how come u.s. rice growers sell rice to the vietnamese gov't while the air force burns vietnamese rice fields?", and "hey u.s. air force! kiss my draft card." several hundred onlookers, many openly sympathetic to the demonstration turned out, including the FBI and local red squad.

URBANA, ILLINOIS—state superintendent of public instruction has called on the board of trustees of the UNIV. OF ILLINOIS to expel all students who violate draft laws. as the superintendent read a resolution to this effect, 10 students entered the meeting in order to express their opinion as to the legitimacy and authority of the board to make that decision. they burned a draft card, dropped the scraps into an ashtray, and walked out.

PLAINFIELD, VERMONT—the first demonstration in the history of GODDARD COLLEGE took place when 60 students sat-in to prevent a representative of the International Voluntary Service (a private version of the peace corps, which is involved in the pacification program in Vietnam) from recruiting on campus. the recruiter was trapped on a stairwell for 3 1/2 hours and wouldn't agree not to recruit on campus, but people stayed with him all day and prevented him from holding any interviews. he was supposed to recruit on goddard's second campus the next day, but the community voted the night before that he would not be welcome on campus and would not be allowed to recruit—he didn't try, and left quickly. one of the really good things that happened was that a college administrator blew her cool when she was not allowed to get the IVS recruiter or the students to follow her orders. "but you must obey me. this is a college building." "this is our home and we don't want this guy recruiting in our home." "this is not your home. this is college property. you just rent space here. when you come to college you lose your rights." "well we're making it our right. this guy ain't recruiting on campus." "but you must obey me. i am in charge." "no you're not. we are." at that point she got really mad and started pulling people off the stairs and kicking them, etc. it was a revealing experience for the great majority of kids who participated, as they had still believed in the goddard myth of progressive education.

COLLEGE PARK, MARYLAND—administrators at the UNIV. OF MARYLAND have made an unsuccessful attempt to ban the sds newsletter, spark, as a "...generally offensive, profane, and/or lewd" publication. the official publications committee refused to take the responsibility of banning spark, in spite of the efforts of the committee chairman, a prominent right-winger who teaches seminars at the pentagon. spark was then summoned before the "student court" which also refused to rule on the obscenity charge—but did come up with a minor univ. rule infraction with which to charge sds. the court then found sds guilty of violating the rule, but refused to penalize them! the guilty decision was to satisfy the administration that the court was following its directive, while the "no punishment" decision was to satisfy the requirements of constitutional law. the student court members feel "responsible" to the administration, and a straight not guilty decision would have been a direct slap in their face.

ROCHESTER, NEW YORK—the UNIV. OF ROCHESTER was closed down for 3 days by a student strike to demand that suspensions of 23 graduate students who sat in against Dow be rescinded. the strike has been interrupted by semester break, but will be in effect when school re-opens until the demands are met.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—all military recruiting on the campus of GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIV. was banned last week by order of the president of the univ. the action was explicitly in response to general hershey's letter to draft boards urging punitive drafting for protestors. (THE UNIV. OF NEBRASKA student senate has passed a resolution to this effect, and will present it to the board of regents next week. such policy has already been adopted by AMHERST and COLUMBIA.)

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA—MILES COLLEGE was closed down for a day by about 600 students who blocked the entrances and demanded that they be given real power to determine school policies and curriculum. students had been trying unsuccessfully to get the college to offer a program in african studies.

NEWARK, DELAWARE—a campaign by sds to abolish compulsory ROTC at the UNIV. OF DELAWARE appears to be close to victory despite intensive redbaiting and the suspensions of 38 students. a main event in sds' fight against ROTC was a walk-off, in which 30 uniformed cadets left their ranks and walked off the drill field. to show support for the walk-off, 35 observers staged a walk-on, in which they paraded on the grounds, faking an inspection, chanting "kill!" and goosestepping to shouts of "seig heil!"

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE—students at VANDERBILT UNIV. picketed campus Dow interviews dressed in lab coats stained a rusty-red with Dow printed on the back, and carried a big gray coffin with silver handles. the demonstrators were prevented from disrupting the actual interviews by a counter-demonstration which was led by the chairman of the chemistry department. (this professor "confronted" the picketers with questions such as why did they not picket gasoline-manufacturers, and if they were not being inconsistent in driving cars!)

IOWA CITY, IOWA—in the wake of a wave of police repression on the UNIV. OF IOWA campus, sds members from the great plains region gathered for a conference from dec. 8-10th. throughout the conference a recurrent demand for more organizational seriousness was raised by participants...sdsers at the u. of i. had been involved on dec. 4 in an attempt to obstruct Dow recruitment. police action had been swift, brutal and effective. several demonstrators were gassed with chemical mace. 18 arrests were made, with two charges of "conspiracy to foment a riot". the iowa conference raised serious questions about the relationship between the new militancy and the long-range survival of the movement. workshop discussions centered around the need for reaching a larger base both on and off the campus.

Bigtime Murder in Your Home Town

LIBERATION News Service

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 (LNS)—The latest defense contracts from the Pentagon crisscross the nation to small and large firms engaged in producing armaments, blueprints for weaponry, and subsidiary aids to the military. Almost no section of the country has been overlooked in the proliferation of monies for 'defense' purposes, although only a few firms (like Dow) have felt public pressure because of their involvement. Here, then, are some of the latest contracts with details:

—EAU CLAIRE, Wis., \$20,967,140 to National Presto Industries, Inc., as "definitization of a previously awarded contract for metal parts for 105 mm projectiles". (DA-AA09-68-C-0065)

—YORK, Pa., \$4,983,954 to Bowen McLaughlin-York Co., a division of HARSCO, for "modification of an existing contract" to remodel M4SA3 tanks. (DA-AF023-67-C-0076). Also \$2,267,352

to American Machine and Foundry Co. for 4.2 inch mortar projectiles. (DA-AA09-68-C0028)

—BLOOMINGTON, Ill., \$5,291,500 to Eureka-Williams Corp. for "metal parts for bomb fuses". (fixed-price contract DA-AA09-68-C-0256)

—LEXINGTON, Mass., \$3,880,207 to Raytheon Company for "modification to a contract for Sparrow III guided missiles". (NOW66-0149) Also \$1,976,250 for metal parts for bomb fuses (DA-AA-09-68-C0243)

—PASOGOULA, Miss., \$4,000,000 to Ingalls Shipbuilding Co., for a "Nuclear-powered attach submarine". (N00024-68-C-0282)

—PHILADELPHIA, Pa., \$3,477,676 added to a fixed \$7,185,000 contract to Philco-Ford Corp., for "fabrication, repair, and modification of air-to-air missiles". Air Force contract.

—REXDALE, Ontario, Canada, \$1,809,308 added to a fixed \$3,197,805 contract for "weapons release system (AN/ASQ-91). Aeronautical Systems Division contract.

—KINGSPORT, Tenn., \$54,412,050 for "explosives" (DA-W-11-173-AMC-35(a)), all to Eastman Kodak Co. See also Rochester plant.

—NEW YORK, N. Y., \$12,480,340 to Uniroyal, Inc. for "various explosives and Operations and Maintenance activities" increment to existing contract. (DA-11-173-AMC-00062)

—CAMBRIDGE, Mass., \$1,800,000 to Mass. Institute of Technology for "guidance tactical engineering support for the Polaris missile". (N00030-68-C-0154)

Anti-riot Resolution

Leonard Siegel
Stanford SDS and ADU

Over the past few months a dangerous new pattern has emerged across the nation both on the streets and on the College campus. A small minority, often well organized and always violent, is dominating the battle between the people and the establishment. While this is no new problem, recent events in Oakland, Wisconsin, San Jose, Washington, and New York, as well as this summer in Milwaukee, Detroit, and Newark, point to the growing seriousness of the problem.

It has been reported that these irresponsible elements have been using advanced technology and sociology to further their violent goals.

SDS should therefore dedicate itself to counter-research. Only if we and our friends use our technical training can the people once again control the police and bring peace to our streets and campuses.

As part of this program SDS will prepare an anti-riot handbook, instructing the people in methods which may help in quelling police riots. The basis for this handbook will be Jeff Segal's article in the November issue of the Movement. Furthermore, individuals within SDS who have technical backgrounds in fields such as data processing, electronics, and chemistry should coordinate themselves in an effort to counter developments in police riot technology.



The National Office is in need of a car. If you have any information about any free or VERY cheap cars please contact the NO IMMEDIATELY!

1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill., 60612
c/o ANYBODY!!

imperialism eats.....
But an SDS campus traveler doesn't if all of his bread is wasted on the bus system. In short..I need a car!

Contact Joe Horton
1608 W. Madison
Chicago, Ill
or call 666-7257

The Development of the High School Movement in L. A.

by Jim Fite

2 High school students of Los Angeles may be some of the most potentially explosive elements in west coast society. In a period of three months, students who call themselves SDS have engaged in a dialectic of action and thought, both clearly defined within their concepts of a political structure needed to build a revolution.

In September of this year, with a list of five names, a meeting was called to get a sense of where high school students were and what could be done to build a strong movement within the high schools. The five students were skeptical about organizing because of previous attempts by the C.P., S.W.P. (and running dogs Y.S.A.) and PLP. All had failed for the most part. There was also skepticism because past organizers had attempted to dictate program. The students talked about entering into movement activity. The interest was there and meetings were set up for Sunday afternoons. By the end of the third week they were bringing in friends and the group had expanded to about one hundred students. The high school students felt that

it was necessary to do more than hold Sunday meetings. They wanted to begin planning action and education programs. It was decided that a conference should be held.

Although the conference lacked publicity and some organization, about eighty students showed up. The group divided up into a series of workshops, out of which grew some important programs:

- a program for political education
- a city-wide high school underground newspaper
- a strong group to be identified as High School SDS
- and plans for action around "Stop the Draft Week"

These programs offered alternative structures and were essential in the building of the L.A. High School Movement. The STDW action, a walk-out on the high schools and a rally, was militant even in the face of threats of expulsion and arrests of those students who protested the draft. The action also provided an excellent educational and propagandist focus: complicity of the schools with the military, limitation of free speech

and assembly, and the manipulative nature of manpower channeling.

The political education program was developed by the students themselves to 1) give them an understanding of the past history of the movement, 2) to define their own condition and enemy-power research, etc., and 3) determine where the enemy was weakest and to plan programs; i.e., desanctification and destruction, which would aim at these weak points.

The newspaper, Free Student, was begun and the students began full-scale work. They leafleted, passed out the newspaper, and held rallies encouraging people to leave school on Wednesday, during STDW, to attend one of three planned SDS rallies. Reaction to the organizing was swift. Students were photographed by the FBI when passing out the Free Student, others were suspended for unstated reasons and others found themselves transferred to other schools.

But the students continued organizing. The president of the student council at one high school seized the PA system and announced the STDW walk-out. He was expelled, but the administration was confronted with a near riot, so they reinstated him. Marshall High School held a sit-in. After it was broken, fire alarms were pulled and trash was set afire. Students distributed leaflets and the Free Student by putting them in people's lockers at night. The night before the walk-out, guerrilla teams forcibly closed two schools.

Even with threats of arrests and expulsions, nearly 700 students walked out of classes and attended one of three rallies. The rallies were militant. Students were divided about whether to sit in at the Board of Education or to organize for a more powerful action. The latter was chosen.

That was the middle of October. By the middle of November ten high schools had set up coordinating groups which met

regularly and began attempting to organize for specific school incidents. Some groups number as many as 30; others average 20. About 20 of the students have expressed a desire for more solid programs and political education groups are now real. Students are becoming aware of the oppression which is built into the whole society and into high schools particularly.

The problem of organizing high school students is a very difficult one. High school students need potential support because they are not yet economically independent and their parents are the only ones who can get them back into school after suspensions. The major problem is that high school students are some of the most oppressed. The educational, i.e., training system is closed: no speakers on campus, strict dress codes, dependency on the administrations and teachers to get them into college.

To meet these problems several programs have been organized. One is to tie in community projects with high school organizing; community control of the schools, adult support groups. The idea is not that the community can gain control of its schools but that the struggle created will produce a sufficiently anti-establishment atmosphere.

The prospects of high school organizing are good and are most important to our movement. Most of the students have reached their intellectual height in the midst of the war. The movement is real to them. Their alienation is much greater than ours was. They have less stake in society than the college student, who by his presence admits to trying to enter a managerial class.

The high school movement is aided by several things: the underground newspaper, each high school group should put out an underground newspaper gauged to the mood of that high school and aside from these individual papers there should be a citywide newspaper to serve the same kind of purpose NLN serves for us, communication; parent support groups; community projects, action to be used as "propaganda by deed"; and political education of high school organizers.

we read the news today oh boy..

A REVIEW OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST
by Carl Davidson

1) THE FIFTH ESTATE, (12/1/67, 1107 W. Warren, Detroit, Michigan, 48201; sub--\$300 for 1 year). Anyone with illusions about the Stokes victory in Cleveland should take a look at, "Negro Mayor Supports War" in this issue. Stokes is quoted as remarking on LBJ, "I support him on Vietnam. You must do that which must be done; namely, defend our security". He also concluded his acceptance speech with "God Bless America: The Detroit FIFTH ESTATE is a member of the Underground Press Syndicate (UPS) and Liberation News Service (LNS). The political quality of the paper, often excellent, varies from week to week.

2) LOS ANGELES FREE PRESS, UPS-LNS(12/8/67, 938 N. Fairfax, Los Angeles, Cal., 90046; Sub--\$500 per year). Marshall Windmiller's "LBJ's War Politics Corrupts Peace Corps" may interest campus organizers considering taking on the super-smooth recruiters from America's salvation army of imperialism. After a confessional, left-liberal, reappraisal of the Peace Corps, the author concludes. "The Peace Corps is not an instrument of change, but an instrument of the status quo. Not a revolutionary organization, but a counter-revolutionary organization. It is the advance guard of the Marines--Counter-insurgency in velvet gloves." Also quoted in the article are a few Orwellian passages from PC recruiting material, expounding on the premise, "Americans can be divided into two groups: the "loudmouths" and the "quietmouths". Guess which group the Peace Corps wants? The article lacks in concrete information and analysis of specific Peace Corps contributions to counter-insurgency operations. There is little to be found anywhere on the subject. SDSers and sympathizers interested in furthering the desanctification of the epitome of corporate liberal institutions should send whatever information they have to the MO, so we can spread it around.

3) THE NATION (12/2/67, 333 6th Ave, NYC, 10014, sub--\$10.00 a year). This issue, entitled THE WAR ON CAMPUS, directs all 5 of its feature articles to the issues of student power and resistance to university complicity with the Vietnam war. Gabriel Kolko's article, "Untangling the Alliances", is the most informative. As evidence of our knowledge factory's contributions to imperialism, he includes:

CORNELL--Cornell Aeronautics Laboratory's five-year, 1.5 million Thailand counterinsurgency (COIN) project.

MINNESOTA--Classified research on the use of drugs for the interrogation of prisoners.

COLUMBIA--Recently revealed CIA sponsorship of the Institute on East Central Europe (exposed by SDS).

PITTSBURGH--Diverse projects on ordinance systems and chemical warfare against Vietnamese tunnels.

PRINCETON--IDA project on dope making and breaking for the National Security Agency.

MICHIGAN--\$21.6 million (\$10 million classified) in Pentagon contracts, including Thailand COIN projects, missile research, and development of electronic and infrared weaponry systems of the Vietnam war.

WISCONSIN--\$1 million in Defense contracts, in addition to a \$1.4 million Army Mathematics Center (for calculating kill ratios?)

Marshall Windmiller's article, "Scholars and Soldiers... A Crisis of Values", adequately portrays the concerns of liberal academics with the presence and opposition to the military's on-campus operations. Likewise, he betrays the 'near-bankruptcy and irrelevant nature of that perspective and critique for the radical movement ("If these were normal times, and our government were not dominated by the military-industrial complex...I should welcome the opportunity to educate future officers of the military services, even though I believe that to them the values of the academy would always be secondary to those of their chosen profession"). However, his article does give us some useful information on Berkeley. "The university operates for the AEC two gigantic nuclear bomb factories, one at Livermore, Calif., the other at Los Alamos, NM." A recent report of I. F. Stone's answers that one. It seems that non-acclimatized Indian (and potentially US?) troupes had a rough time simply surviving in that region, let alone engaging Chinese border guards.

John Shover's article, reviewing the resistance to recruiters at San Francisco State ("Preparation for DOW Day"), written before the recent campus rebellion, reveals how inept the liberal analysis is. Ironically, his conclusion asserts, "A qualitatively better environment has been created for dealing with perplexing questions". A few weeks later, those perplexing questions resulted in violent insurrection.

George Ross' contribution to the issue ("Mr. Leavitt Comes to Harvard") is more significant.

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NAC Minutes

Submitted by Marilyn Buck

NAC Minutes

Here: Bob Pardun, Carl Davidson, Tim Mc Carthy, Mike Speigle.

Absent: U of C., JOIN.

1. It was decided that persons wanting to reprint from the Port Huron Statement can do so only if they insert the foot note which has been prepared for it.
2. The Ramparts ad question will be delt with in another meeting when we have more information
3. Its time to renew the lease on our office!!!!

If there is anyone who has lost his or her college scholarship for political reasons, and is therefore unable to continue, there is a possibility of receiving scholarship money by contacting the SDS National Office. We can put you in touch with the persons making the offer. Write: SDS N.O.

1608 W. Madison
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