

# THE PAPER

knows

Vol. I No. 13

East Lansing, Michigan, April 28, 1966

10 cents

## The University In The Wake

### While You're Up Get Me A Land-Grant

By MICHAEL KINDMAN

President Hannah staged a news conference last Friday that would have been worthy of any President of the United States of lesser stature than Lyndon I. He gathered round him the representatives of the many news media which had taken an interest in the furor raised by the MSU-CIA article in Ramparts, and proceeded to reason together at them. He hoped to clarify the issues (explaining how everyone had misinterpreted what the university had done) and thus to settle some of the dust that threatened

to cloud the university's annual budget campaign.

All he managed to clarify was what everyone knew all along, and what had already been made abundantly clear by the media ("The Paper" included, it sould seem). To repeat, in light of the new but unsurprising evidence, the university was clearly in the wrong in its Vietnam project: it apparently participated in violations of the Geneva agreements, by aiding in the supply of illegal weapons to the Diem regime; it supported a dictatorship; it failed in its academic duties;

it acted as an agent of American foreign policy rather than as an independent critic. But everyone knows that.

What was new about President Hannah's statement last Friday was a clarification and rededication of his concept of the "land-grant philosophy," specifically as it applies to overseas aid projects.

This is the particularly disturbing thing about Hannah's and the university's position--the position that sees nothing inherently wrong with doing what was done in Vietnam. It's almost as if it would have been all right if it hadn't been found out. Since it WAS found out, the moral problem becomes more complex, but the fact remains that the university's official position countenances no criticism of the idea behind government - sponsored, university - run foreign aid programs. Hannah said:

When our faculty members are engaged in providing service, either within Michigan, elsewhere in our country, or overseas, we do not consider their activities as a "diversion of the University," but instead a recognition of a significant and defensible function of the University. International service in this day and age is a recognition by this University and a great many others that our country is a part of the larger world community.

To say that a University should never undertake to serve the national policy is to deny the right of the public university to exist.

Let that one sink in a while:

To say that a University should never undertake to serve the national policy is to deny the right of the public university to exist.

There's something more to what this man is saying than that the Vietnam project was okay. Hannah goes on to explain the police advisory program, to deny knowledge of CIA participation, to defend weapons advisement, to rebut criticisms of "high living," to question Ramparts' motivations, to excuse procrastination in eliminating suspected CIA men. But the essence of his thinking is right there--"is to deny the right of the public university to exist." The only possible conclusion is that Hannah IS on the make, and doesn't even understand what's wrong with it.

The "land-grant philosophy of education" (it becomes a philosophy of "service" when that word serves better) let me remind you, is the idea that state agricultural colleges like MSU, founded with money provided by sale of land donated to states by the federal government, have as their primary function the technical and social advancement of the state's common people, farmers and workers, through scientific and occasional cultural innovation. The land-grant campus, the philosophy says, is a kind of year-round trade and service fair, intended to educate the sons and daughters of the state to use their God-given potential and the state's God-given resources, and to use its (the college's) own resources to make life better for the people of the state.

In the post-poultry science era, when Farmer's Week on the MAC campus is automated, the land-grant philosophy has been enabled to branch out into many other areas. For the



HANNAH elliot borin



THE NEWS MEDIA elliot borin

## The University On The Run--Part II

### To Buy Or Not To Buy

Question: What is the origin of the arms "inventory" published by Ramparts? ("Where this sheet came from is best known to the editors of Ramparts."--John Hannah).

Answer: MSU library, second floor, rear stacks; JQ/83/.M5; volume of MSU Vietnam project reports called Nos. 24-27, 29-30--Ser. 2; report dated August 29, 1955.

Question: Was MSU involved in the ordering, purchase, distribution of arms in Vietnam?

Answer: Yes. The MSU project report dated May 1, 1957, appendix entitled "Project Implementation Order Commodities" sets forth the outlines of a corporation, to be known as PIO/C, which purchased, shipped and distributed weapons and other "commodities" to the Government of Vietnam. (See illustration)

Question: What was MSU's role in PIO/C?

Answer: MSUG Police division did the following:

1) Gathered a complete inventory of current weapons of the Civil Guard (50,000-strong) and other police agen-

cies. (See "Report on the Police of Vietman" by members of the police team and Ralph H. Smuckler, research coordinator, Dec. 1, 1955.)

2) Evaluated their unmet needs.

3) Submitted "specifications to suit requirements" for additional weapons. (See aforementioned "inventory," May 1, 1955, and also "Civil Police Administration Program" report dated May 1, 1957, appendix "Recommended Weapons Distribution.")

4) Upon arrival of weapons, saw that they were distributed to the relevant Vietnamese agencies.

Question: How extensive was this program?

Answer: Complete data is not provided, but a selected quote may give a good idea. From the last report cited, page 12, comes this paragraph, written in 1957:

"The day after FY-1956 project funds were approved in Washington on December 5, 1955, orders were placed for emergency-type police equipment designed to help the police

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good of the state (or, with better transportation and communication, the good of the nation and the world), the land-grant university can provide for many thousands the minimum education of the well-bred middle-class citizen. It can provide industrial exhibitions; nurture successful and popular athletic teams and entertainment series; offer curricula in police administration, hotel management, agricultural engineering--even, in a moment of bad judgment, mobile homes. It can sponsor extension courses around the state, offer advice to state and local governments, participate in federal research projects to better American life or American weaponry and, oh yes, it can send missions to help overseas universities or to strengthen the governments of overseas allies. All serving the people in the good old land-grant way.

There is something fundamentally different about land-grant universities and other kinds of private or formerly private universities. Hannah knows this:

Michigan State University, and most other universities in this country, PARTICULARLY THE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, do indeed believe in extending service to the public. Also, we believe in providing high quality instruction on our campuses, and in conducting research programs which are both basic and ORIENTED TO THE NEEDS OF SOCIETY. (emphases mine)

In fact, this is the reason he gives for having bothered with a press conference at all:

Other universities holding to the same educational philosophy as Michigan State University consider that they,

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EDITORIALS



Jaffe, Adrian, Smuckler, Fishel elliot borin

Land-Grant

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too, have been attacked indirectly. A decent sense of responsibility to the whole educational community appears to demand a formal response from this University in an effort to set the record straight.

How does one define the difference between institutions with "the same educational philosophy" as MSU and other institutions? Well, there are land-grant universities and colleges, and non-land-grant universities and colleges. Stanford is a non-land-grant university; Berkeley is a land-grant university. Columbia is non-land-grant; Cornell is land-grant. Michigan is non-land-grant; Michigan State is land-grant.

But what else are Stanford, Columbia, Michigan, that the others are not? They are institutions founded PRIMARILY to further liberal education. They are universities in the Americanized version of the old, European sense of the word: institutions whose PRIMARY function is the practice of academic freedom, the freedom of academicians to explore the world of ideas without external pressures and with no compulsion to earn rewards outside the academic community.

They have been corrupted some-

what today, and, as Hannah would be quick to point out, are no longer so detached that they can afford not to teach metallurgy and animal husbandry and not to hunt up defense contracts and research grants. But the land-grant institutions were FOUNDED to do such non-academic things, and were frequently placed out in the country where that was ALL they could do. (Without a metropolis nearby to learn from, and, in the early days, without humanistic thinkers on the campus to interact with, what ELSE was there to do except study poultry science and devise theories of police administration?)

The distinction is less clear today, with mixing and blending obscuring the basic functional differences between the two kinds of institutions. But the dichotomy remains clear where there is a Clark Kerr or a John Hannah to carry on the defense of the tradition of service. It is this tradition of "service" in a world run according to an academic version of the white man's burden, which was at stake in Vietnam and which was criticized in the Ramparts article.

President Hannah last Friday defended a misguided concept in the best way he knew how. He surprised no one.

The Debate That Failed

It had been more than a week since The Ramparts Article hit campus and whirled University officials into an academic panic, contradicting (alternately) themselves and each other in an attempt to answer-but-not-answer the authors' charges. And it was about TIME that someone try to untangle the confusion and give us some point-to-point rebuttals.

Judging from the announcement in the State News (An open forum on the current controversy over MSU's technical assistance project in Vietnam and the broader implications of American university involvement overseas will be held . . . ) and the choice of panel members (Ralph H. Smuckler and Wesley Fishel, former chiefs of the MSU project, and Adrian Jaffe, faculty participant and long time critic of it) the discussion last Wednesday should have provided an opportunity to clear up our misconceptions about some of the article's alleged mistakes and "gross distortions of fact."

The 700 to 1,000 persons who packed the Union Ballroom were hoping for a debate along these lines.

So when moderator Charles Adrian ruled out any intent to 1) evaluate MSU's Vietnam project, 2) evoke reactions to Ramparts, 3) question whether the CIA should attempt to penetrate American university projects abroad, and 4) discuss our past, present or should-be policies in Vietnam, he was evading the discussions we had hoped to hear. The atmosphere was as full of potential as an already-been-fizzed Alka-Seltzer.

The audience clearly wanted an explanation, not only of the charges in Ramparts, but also of the maze of confusion and contradiction, of denials and half-denials and counter denials which engulfed the campus. And why not? The Ramparts charges were pretty strong, and possibly founded in fact. Officials told us of out and out lies and exaggerations and asked how, if these were used as literary devices, this reflects on the credibility or accuracy of the rest of the article. But the mistakes which James H. Dennison, assistant to the president, cited were, at best, trivial.

It doesn't much matter to me whether President Hannah's parents owned a hatchery in Iowa or Michigan or Alaska or Alabama. And it's not really worth the energy to count police cars and parking spaces to see if one can find a free spot on campus to rest one's weary auto.

What is important is DID MSU indeed act as a front for the CIA, and if not, why were the Ramparts editors so certain of their facts? DID the University purchase guns and ammunition for Viet security forces?

It is not to "dignify" charges that have received nation-wide circulation that one answers them. It is to refute them, if indeed such a refutation is possible, and defend oneself, or in this case the reputation of one's university.

That a discussion of Adrian's proposed question--Are overseas projects compatible with the unfettered pursuit of knowledge which is supposed to be the purpose of a university?--would take place during a debate on MSU involvement in Vietnam is more than obvious. It is impossible to discuss the merits and non-merits of an action without also putting the theory behind the action under fire.

There is no doubt that the question of the evening is valid and worthy of much debate. (And, thanks to Jaffe, who stuck loyally to illuminating the question as presented, the discussion did in part achieve its purpose, and therefore pleased those of us who were willing to accept laboring over this specific theory at that time.) Is the purpose of a land-grant university public service first, possibly at the expense of education? Can a university perform this public service without compromising its academic integrity? Does a land-grant institution have to engage in overseas projects as a means of advancing scholarship and improving the quality of the faculty and the academic capability of its students?

Wednesday evening neither the panel nor the moderator nor the audience knew that President Hannah would reveal the TRUTH about MSU involvement in the Vietnam project in a statement Friday. From news reports, an official statement didn't seem to be on its way.

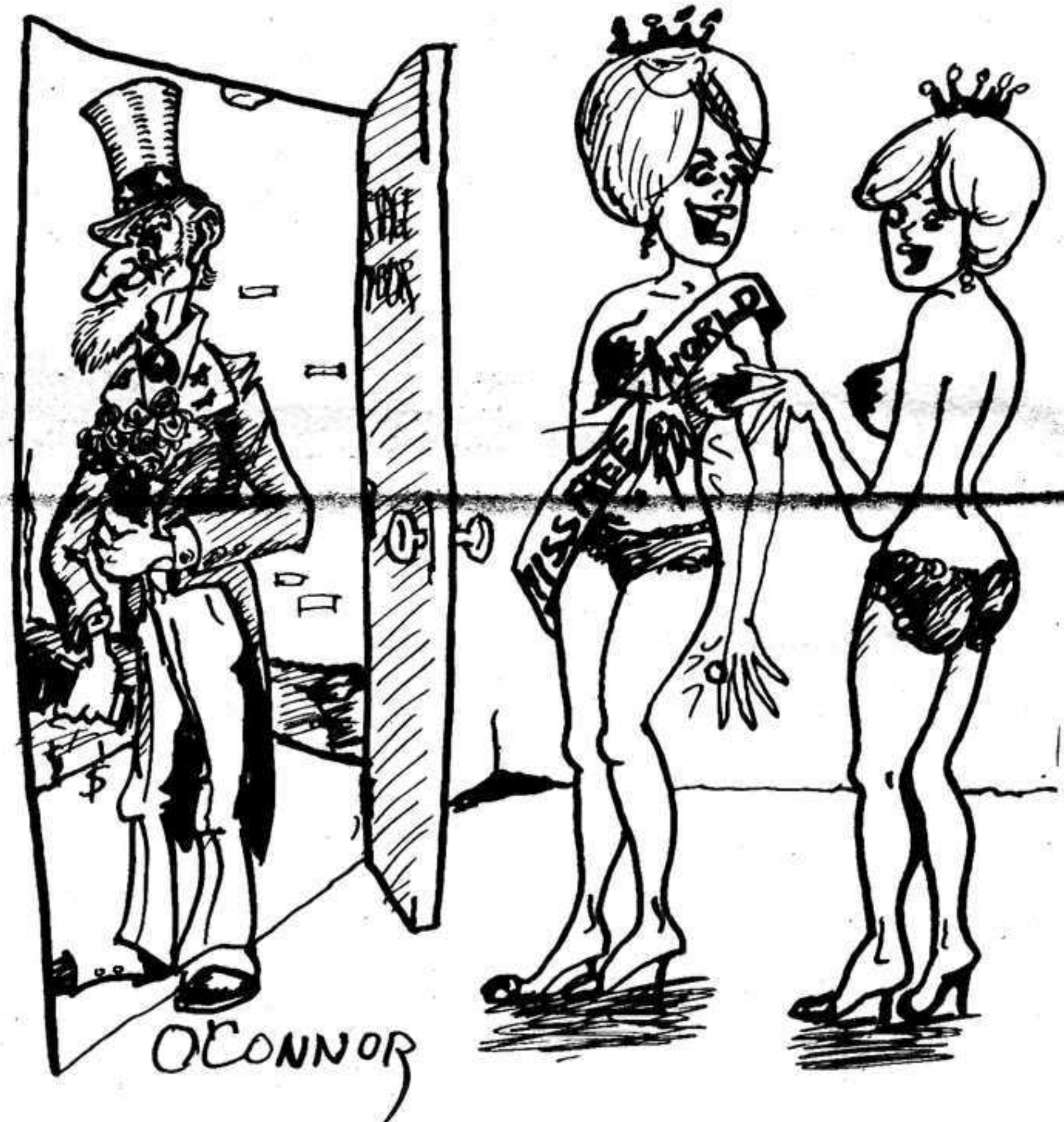
It is apparent, however, even after Hannah's hour-plus news conference, that there is much confusion surrounding the question of MSU's role in the project. A face-to-face confrontation of those most directly involved, or those best informed about one or more sides of the issue is necessary. And the personnel gathered to discuss theory last week seemed an appropriate crowd from which to expect such a debate. Obviously, we didn't get it.

CAROL SCHNEIDER

WOLF!

Last week was encouraging, from the standpoint of sales and general reception of "The Paper." We had probably our biggest sales volume ever, and that, combined with conspicuously lucrative (though still mostly unpaid) advertising, helped us make a profit directly from an issue for the first time in twelve and a half tries. We made so much of a profit that we pulled ourselves within a week of meeting all our debts.

But don't be fooled. We're still a week (i.e. \$300) behind, and still need all the friends we can get.



"I can't stand him personally, but God! does he throw money around. . ."

Rugged-Is-As-Rugged-Does Department (from the New York World-Telegram and Sun):

"Robert Horton, whose pulled ligament will keep him from opening at the Persian Room tonight, is expected to be in shape for his singing act

by Thursday, a spokesman for the room said. His replacement till then is June Valli.

"The rugged star of TV Westerns reportedly injured himself Friday when he reached up to a shelf for a box of breakfast cereal."

THE PAPER

"The Paper" is published weekly during school terms by students of Michigan State University. Its purpose is to provide a channel for expression and communication of those ideas, events and creative impulses which make of the university community a fertile ground for the growth of human learning. It is toward fulfillment of the highest ideals of learning and free inquiry that "The Paper" hopes to help the university strive, by reporting and commenting on the university experience and encouraging others to do so.

"The Paper" is authorized to operate on the Michigan State University campus by the Board of Student Publications of Michigan State University. Please address all correspondence to:

"THE PAPER" 1730 Haslett Road East Lansing, Michigan 48823 (Office: 130 Linden Street, East Lansing) Tel.: 351-5679, 351-6516

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# U.S. Policy in Vietnam: A Plea For Greater Opposition

Ray Pratt, who holds a B.A. and M.A. degree from MSU, is a doctoral candidate in political science at the University of Oregon. While at MSU, he served as editorial page editor of the State News in 1961.—The Editors.

By RAY PRATT

Government policies are the creations of men. They can be changed if enough people will it. Simply because a policy exists, it is not by definition right. And certainly we must never cease criticism and blindly acquiesce in ANY policy.

These are obvious points, even truisms. But they have been forgotten. Our government's policy in Vietnam, as well as its possible consequences and the effects of the execution of that policy on the American people and the members of the U.S. military forces, is a case in point.

In radio and television news, newspapers, letters to editors, and conversation I have noted, along with SOME intense criticism of the war, what seems to me to be an increase in the frequency of attitudes that betray a weariness with, but an acquiescence in, the fact of massive U.S. intervention in Vietnam as a permanent part of the political landscape of our time.

Yet this policy and the continually increasing "width" of the war that President Johnson said he wanted to get no wider (and Secretary McNamara said would be over long ago) are the product of a series of decisions. They are responses to events by human beings in positions of power. The direction and ultimate implications of those decisions could have been far different from what they are. That they were not seems directly related to three factors.

One of these seems inherent in the way U.S. foreign policy toward the developing areas is made; the other two influence the former. They are: the use of the "intelligence," or information upon which those decisions are based (or on which the govern-

ment SAYS they are based); and the ideology which informs the assessment of that information and the decisions supposedly based upon it--assuming the intelligence is not merely created for public consumption as justification for actions already decided upon.

## THE VOICE OF REACTION

The present process implied here of U.S. foreign policy-making toward the developing nations is by its very nature reactionary. I say this because of what appears to be an emphasis on responses in opposition to all policies of change by force initiated by revolutionary and anti-colonial movements. Different standards apparently apply in cases of military coups and counter-revolutionary acts of violence.

Keyed as it is to "responding" to what are perceived as threats to "stability," the very process of American policy-making is, I re-emphasize, profoundly conservative. Beyond this, the whole vocabulary with which the subject is thought about biases policy toward status and the status quo. Shouldn't we really ask, stability for what? and for whom?

In regard to the matter of intelligence, Theodore Draper's recent articles in the December, 1965, Commentary and the February 19 and 26 issues of New Republic on the U.S. intervention in the 1965 Dominican civil war reveal some frightening things.

The most significant of these is that our government's charge that a communist take-over of the revolt was about to occur, or already had, was wholly false and absolutely without factual foundation. Yet, it was presented by our government as fact and as the final justification for ordering military intervention on a grand scale and suppression of the constitutional forces who were on the verge of victory. The charge was apparently an apportionment of some fearful minds in our embassy there. In its application to Juan Bosch and his party, it constitutes an instance of the most absurd sort of shotgun paranoia.

From the evidence Draper presents, the smearing by our government of Juan Bosch, his party and the revolutionaries who acted in his name, was a case of the increasingly common phenomena of the tailoring of "intelligence" to fit the policy--a grotesque, Strangelovian inversion of logical order.

If this could happen in the Dominican situation, why should it also not happen, and to an even greater degree, in relation to Vietnam?

## THE TRUTH WILLED OUT?

If the information released to the public by our government about Vietnam is only distorted to a fraction of the degree it was in the Dominican civil war, the American people

are being grossly misled as to the actual reasons for the large-scale involvement there of American fighting men. On the basis of reports by such distinguished reporters as Bernard Fall, it can be demonstrated that in important areas--such as the degree of popular support for the Viet Cong, the composition of their forces (only a small proportion are "invaders" from the North), and the basis of body counts (women and children and old people are included, and the totals are exaggerated) -- there are good reasons to believe we ARE being misled.

Looking at the problem another way, that our government may actually be making decisions on the basis of such incomprehensibly inaccurate intelligence is deeply disturbing, even terrifying--for miscalculations could involve us all in a world war. That our government probably is intentionally presenting us with false or incomplete information about Vietnam as it did about the Dominican Republic is in itself even more terrifying. For what have the United States and the American people become to have allowed such abuse of power to occur?

The decisions by our government to intervene to an ever greater degree in the Vietnam civil war, to suppress the constitutional forces in the Dominican civil war of 1965, and to set up counter-insurgency forces within the military establishments of Latin America and other nations, reflect an ideology or view of the world that is extremely inflexible, even reactionary.

It seems to require a world in which the totality of governments of non-communist nations be absolutely anti-communist and anti-revolutionary, regardless of what the people of those nations want. This operating rule-of-thumb has elevated insuring "stability" to the status of the highest national ideal. It is apparently even more important than people.

## IDEALS, IDEAS AND PEOPLE

From the character of our government's attempt at the total destruction in Vietnam of NLF forces and the people and land supporting them, one must conclude that the men who make up our government have totally lost sight of our past and the ideals that this nation was, ostensibly, founded upon. In the past the American tradition has usually been one of concern for people.

But our government's participation in 1965 in the suppression of the attempt of Dominicans to restore the government the majority of them elected two years before; and, in Vietnam, the indiscriminate slaughter of men and women and children in NLF-controlled areas by explosive and fragmentation bombs, napalm, nausea gas and defoliating chemicals reveals the perversion of ideals that has taken place in the minds of the men making policy. People who don't agree with them aren't entitled to consideration as humans.

Apparently no people now have the right to choose or acquiesce in governments that espouse ideologies "alien" to what Washington regards as in accord with U.S. interests. Neither revolutionary development after any of the variety of communist models nor, if the Dominican experience means anything, a moderate degree of planning guided by wholly Western ideals is acceptable, if ANY force is used on the part of those advocating it--even if their opponents refuse to let the people decide the question by election, as (and most Americans don't know this) Diem and the U.S. did in South Vietnam.

The thrust of U.S. policy since Lyndon B. Johnson became President (forget his rhetoric about a "Great Society" for the world) has been to

ally this nation with what our government judges to be the most effective reactionary forces in every nation of the world; to elevate counter-revolution, "stability" and anti-communism to the status of national ideals--in short, to place this nation, in relation to every country of the underdeveloped world, in league with military dictators, colonial (or what amount to colonial) governments, and conservative oligarchies. And by such actions, the sanctimonious mouthings of democratic rhetoric our leaders engage in are revealed as twisted caricatures of the ideals they supposedly espouse.

## VIETNAM--THE TRAP

I say these things as an American who is ashamed of what we have allowed ourselves to become when we can accept the impersonal, inhuman slaughter of people who want nothing more than a better life for themselves and control of their own country. I fear this nation may be building a trap in Vietnam and anywhere else our government espouses the cause of counter-revolution. We may be cutting ourselves off from the future.

In the civil war in Vietnam the Viet Cong may be defeated, totally eliminated, by the application of massive U.S. bomber firepower and hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops that is now going on.

But in doing so our government and all of us should remember that the Saigon government would not be winning, and the U.S. actions would go down in history (as they may already) as some of the most inhuman butchery of civilian populations in a civil conflict since the Nazis and Italians joined Franco in the brutal, almost mechanical crushing of the valiant, but tragically ill-equipped and poorly-trained Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War of 1936-1939. We would also be destroying the already too small reservoir of decency and humanity we have within us, as well as the already faint memory among other peoples of our own revolutionary past and the ideals on which the United States was founded as the first "new" nation.

Yet, all this need not be. Policies are the creations of men. They can be changed as they were made if enough people will it. That should be our task at this moment, before we are totally brutalized by the counter-revolutionary slaughter we are immersed in in Vietnam.

Camus once wrote at a similar point in the Algerian war:

I know that the great tragedies of history often fascinate men with approaching horror. Paralyzed, they cannot make up their minds to do anything but wait. So they wait, and one day the Gorgon devours them. But I should like to convince you that the spell can be broken, that there is only an illusion of impotence, that strength of heart, intelligence and courage are enough to stop fate and sometimes reverse it. One has merely to will this, not blindly, but with a firm and reasoned will."

This is our task. Responsibility for the horrors of what is being done in Vietnam by both sides, but especially by the U.S., and what those actions are doing to the people of THIS nation--and for what even more serious events may ensue, which may do violence to our nation and all humanity, rests with us. Even with those who already speak out and act against the war; especially those, who though opposed, still remain silent.

For, whatever the ultimate results, we shall all be responsible together, and each will have to stand and declare what he has done and what he has said. Isn't there more each of us can do, so that at that time we need add nothing as explanation for our actions?



The Educator of the Month is Max Rafferty, now California State Superintendent of Education, who in 1961 as superintendent of schools in La Canada, Calif., gave a speech entitled "The Passing of the Patriot": "We had better not be caught withholding from the nation's children the wonderful, sharp-edged glittering sword of patriotism. In a word, this means indoctrination. An ugly word? I think not. But if it is ugly to teach children to revere the great Americans of the past--to cherish the traditions of our country as holy things --and to hate Communism and its creatures like Hell--then I say let's be ugly, and let's revel in it."

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# Jazz Today: Triumph Or Travesty

By GREGG HILL



Several years ago, jazz bandleader Stan Kenton stated that jazz was dead. One man who disagrees with Kenton is drummer Bud Spangler, producer at WKAR and staff advisor to the Jazz Society of West Circle Drive.

Interviewed at his studio during an afternoon program, Spangler showed optimism for the future of jazz here and across the country. The following is an account of that interview. (Note the absence of such terms as wild, groovy, man, cool, gig, wail, way out, bag, cat, and other neo-Beat middle-fifties terms usually ascribed to jazzmen.)

"What direction is modern jazz taking today?"

"Ten years from now we will look at John Coltrane and Ornette Coleman much in the same way we look at Lester Young today." Spangler mentioned a recent Getz-Gilberto album as an example of the effect of the "new thing" on more conventional group styles. Although Getz remains Getz on the album, the rhythm section and vibist Gary Burton are playing outside the accustomed rhythmic and melodic patterns of side men.

"How about 'new thing' musicians like Archie Shepp, who are accused of playing non-music, noise that is artistically worthless? One musician I know said he was kicked out of his junior high school marching band because he made noises like that."

"Hearing Shepp is like reading an anthology of all the histories of jazz trends in the past," Shepp utilizes the saxophone to its utmost potentiality, employing squeaks, growls, double-tones or whatever is necessary to convey his thought and emotion.

In Spangler's estimation, John Coltrane is "still the strongest voice" setting the pace for the new direction. Coltrane and possible Ornette Coleman. (At this point he plays a new record featuring Coleman, who is usually considered a saxophone player, playing violin left-handed. At first

hearing it sounds like a frustrated epileptic gypsy fiddling as he runs a radio jamming set.)

Spangler reminisced on his first contact with the "new thing," describing it as "a fight in a barnyard, complete with cows, dogs, cats, chicken and geese." Then he explains, "The 'new thing' can't be listened to superficially."

Our mistake is in "textural" listening appreciation. Texturally heard, Oscar Peterson may sound merely pleasing and enjoyable to the ear. Sometimes like background music. But going beyond this "textural" level there is a wealth of stylistic beauty and intricacy to be discovered. The "new thing" cannot be treated texturally.

"The main thing required by the new music is an open mind. If one expects a whole new experience, he will not be disappointed." Even people with no jazz background who have an aesthetic openmindedness can appreciate the new music. Spangler predicts that "in ten years the 'new thing' will be background music."

Many misconceptions shroud the new music. The people who play it resent the term "new thing" because there is nothing new about it. It has existed unknown on the periphery of the mainstream since the late fifties. Another misconception concerns the confusion of musical ideas with political ideas. Shepp's apparent black nationalism should not imply the hatred of all white men.

Spangler recalled his experience at the University of Michigan with Shepp a few weeks ago. He spent the afternoon before the concert talking with Shepp and was greeted with friendliness rather than animosity. Just before the concert Shepp told Spangler, "The music has been happening all day long." Spangler said he could see the events of the day expressed in the music.

Although jazz is for the most part a product of the black man's experience, according to Spangler, "this does not mean Woody Herman doesn't have a good band."

However, there is an American myth which equates the white man's contribution to jazz with the Negro's. "The myth is just no so," states Spangler.

"What about the so-called commercialization of jazz, the synthesis of popular music with mainstream jazz? For example, Ramsey Lewis?"

"It's definitely aiming for the jukebox market." Its only advantage is that it opens the door to the public. Acquaints more people with jazz. However a few good men, like Quincy

Jones, Neal Hefti, and possibly Oliver Nelson, have been lost in the whirl of commercial success. Concerning artistic integrity, Spangler praises Miles Davis and John Coltrane for not sacrificing their talent and originality in the face of popular success. Because of this sacrifice of integrity Spangler refuses to play Dave Brubeck on his Thursday night jazz show. At best, commercial jazz "takes the kids one step past the Beatles."

"Is 'third stream' music such as that by John Lewis and Guenther Schuller having any effect on today's trends?"

"It's very pleasant music. Good background music. But it's artificial." It's merely an academic influence. Jazz in any form does not belong "under fluorescent lights and Celotex ceilings." In the classroom it can't be taught. "Jazz is in the soul."

"What's the future of jazz on this campus, if any?"

"Since MSU has never been an artsy - crafts campus," comments Spangler, "it has no tradition in jazz." In contrast, Ann Arbor has a tradition in jazz. Consequently, the musicians work harder and have more freedom to play what they want. There

is talent at MSU, but this talent must really want to play or they will be ignored. Another problem is "if jazz becomes an 'in' sort of thing, musicians will go underground to perform jazz as they like, as art."

"How about the Sunday sessions and other jazz events here?"

"The Sunday sessions have been successful both in turn-out and musical quality." The crowd seems to sense what is going on. Sunday May 1 is the eighth annual Session by the Cedar, which will take place in a picnic environment. Sunday, May 8, Spangler's quintet will appear in a folk-jazz program sponsored by Case Hall. Finally, on May 11, the Phi Mu Alpha Jazz Concert will take place in the Music Auditorium at 7:30.

On the local scene, Spangler calls for a non-alcoholic night spot which would cater to a jazz audience two or three nights a week. Also, there should be non-public sessions to teach "woodshed cases" (musicians just learning jazz).

In conclusion, Spangler said, "I don't think any jazz is invalid if sincerely conceived and executed."

The only question that remains is what will real jazz be like when Archie Shepp and the "new thing" become background music?

## String Quartet Almost Good

By MIKE DURPHY

Whoever it was that hit upon the idea of staging the Beaumont String Quartet's Sunday concert in the Kresge Art Gallery came up with an ambiguous failure. The informality and attractiveness of the surroundings and their capacity for drawing in a few more than the usual number of adherents were commendable.

Unfortunately, Kresge is not ideally suited acoustically. The low-ceilinged, partitioned character of the room broke the sharp, rich edge off the quartet's tone. In a way, however, Kresge was an appropriate place to hold the concert--it was about as much an inferior to a good chamber as was the quartet to its professional kin.

Romeo Tata and Theodore Johnson, violins, Lyman Bodman, viola, and Louis Potter Jr., cello, opened the concert with the Bela Bartok Sixth Quartet. Written in 1939 at the height of Bartok's resident dissatisfaction with an increasingly Nazi Hungary, it is not, even under the best circumstances, easily approachable. These were not the best circumstances.

Bartok experimented a great deal with this quartet, attempting to achieve new tonal and rhythmical effects. In the Beaumont Quartet's version the sounds were produced (indeed, there were a few intonation effects not traceable to Bartok's fondness for quarter tones), but the cohesive, integrated quality of the quartet was missing. It takes a truly great quartet to play this work well, and, while it didn't come off an

abomination, the results were certainly second best.

The second, and more or less featured, work was James Niblock's Quartet No. 1. Besides being chairman of the MSU Music Department, Niblock is evidently an accomplished composer. This quartet was very delightful on first hearing, possessing a strong kinship with the others of Niblock's works that I've heard, in its lunging, breathtaking rhythm and south-of-the-border harmonic influence. The quartet performed it with obvious verve in addition to an allowably small number of technical errors.

The final and most sparkling piece of the afternoon was the Paul Hindemith Quartet No. 3. Unlike his older contemporary, Bartok, Hindemith's fame was increasing from a very solid footing when he wrote this quartet in 1922. It is a work very typical of Hindemith's prolific hand, a fusion of many elements in a matrix of technical excellence. And the quartet was in this case up to the challenge. They did a fine job of welding their best technical and expressive performances of the afternoon into a glowing artistic unity.

The difficulties which plagued the quartet throughout the concert were insecure intonation and a spotty lack of precision. The tone of the ensemble would have been very pleasing had they performed in an acoustically better suited chamber. These difficulties, however, are generally completely overcome in the best of string quartets, and it is absurd to expect perfection from our own underpaid faculty.

## Red Cedar Report

LBJ zips down to Mexico and the throngs cheer wildly. It isn't everyday you see a negative-wetback.

I never believed that any monthly magazine could out-sell Playboy, but

Now that it's spring and warm again, the guys get quite a kick out of watching all the girls in the cute outfits they're almost wearing.

Our hats are off to those rare individuals, those shining examples of human initiative and endurance who are graduating in a mere twelve terms.

9¢ 9¢  
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**GIBSON'S**  
**9¢ AND UP**  
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 COMING MAY 12  
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"FROM LANSING, WITH LOVE"  
 ("Super-Fishel Man"), the latest hit song to come out of MSU's adventures in the world of the land grant. Get YOUR VERY OWN copy of the rabble-raising lyrics. Just send 25 cents, with a stamped, self-addressed envelope if you feel like it, to "The Paper", 1730 Haslett Rd., East Lansing. Sing the song that put MSU on the Huntley-Brinkley Report. Send today!!!



MOVIES

# Getting There Is All The Fun

By LARRY TATE

God willing, "The Group" opens this week at the Michigan Theater. The picture, based of course on Mary McCarthy's novel, follows the adventures of eight Vassar graduates in the Thirties, from the wedding to the funeral of one of them.

It is loosely structured, spending a while with one girl, dropping her for a hour or so as she occasionally appears in the background of someone else's story, then taking her up again. Much use is made of telephone conversations, a group newsletter, and whatever techniques seem convenient to keep track of the crowd.

There is something unsatisfying in a narrative that simply introduces a number of characters, follows them around for a while, and rather arbitrarily drops them. The whole seems to equal a good deal less than the sum of its parts.

In literature, someone like Dickens is usually defended on the ground that his books are rich in character and milieu even though their plots are silly and artistically negligible. I think films like "The Group" ought to be defended on the same basis.

You can't really say that "The Group" goes anywhere, and, compared to Sidney Lumet's two previous films ("The Pawnbroker" and "The Hill"), it seems pretty insubstantial; nonetheless, on its two-and-a-half-hour trip to nowhere in particular it offers convincing characters, generally crisp dialogue, a feeling for time and place, and a quickness and vitality comparable to that of "Darling" (which was no gem of coherence either).

It isn't so smooth as "Darling;" some things just don't work out. One girl, over-played to the proverbial fare-thee-well by Jessica Walter, is a stereotype of a catty, heartless gossip; all the male characters remain as one-dimensional as heroes and scoundrels in ladies'-magazine fiction; the whole thing just goes on too long, and it begins to seem as if the girls spend their entire waking lives on the phone to each other reporting the latest gossip. You wonder where anyone finds the time to do anything worth gossiping about.

Still, plenty of things work out very well. There is a masterly section near the beginning in which one of the girls goes to bed with a scruffy artist, more to show how emancipated she is than anything else, only to find that he is so much more emancipated that he won't even make the effort to see her again. Joan Hackett plays the girl beautifully.

Candice Bergen, playing a Lesbian, makes a strong impression in a few brief scenes. The ending, in which she figures, is very affecting.

Sidney Buchman's screenplay is to a large extent literate and witty. I would not call it subtle, except that in some cases terribly funny things seemed to bypass completely most of the large

audience with which I saw the film. (My general rule in these matters is to assume that, if nobody laughs but me, the humor is too subtle for the masses; on the other hand, it may just be that I have a very peculiar sense of humor.)

Shirley Knight, Kathleea Widdoes, and Carrie Nye are among the best in the remainder of the huge cast.

"Our Man Flint," which is at the Michigan as I write this, is just about the ultimate in the James Bond sort of thing. The character played by James Coburn is so endlessly resourceful, so well equipped with gadgets for every conceivable situation, so imperturbable, that there is never the slightest reason to fear for his safety. The film's entire interest resides in its lickety-split succession of gimmicks.

It is schoolboy fantasy carried as far as it can be without resorting to animated cartoons. I begrudge the fact that it held my interest fairly steadily, but will not try to deny it.

I inserted the parenthetical remark in my review of "Darling" that "La Dolce Vita" had not succeeded in establishing a credible figure of integrity. I have received an irate letter from a gentleman who assumes that I was comparing "La dolce Vita" as a whole unfavorably to "Darling." I was not; they have their separate faults and virtues. I happen to believe that a particular virtue in "Darling" matches a particular fault in "La Dolce Vita."

## Return Of The Alligator

The Alligator returned to the Case mixer Saturday night. Richard Box, East Lansing freshman, said he did the Alligator, a controversial popular dance, without incident. Box and a group of friends had been asked to leave after they refused to stop doing the Alligator the previous week. The fearless Alligator squad of the MSU campus police, much in evidence when the Alligator first appeared at Case presumably were occupied giving tickets to illegally-parked Alligators.

WARNING! Our agents have discovered an insidious plot to take over the University. Dates of attack--May 13 and 14. The invaders plan to sail down the Red Cedar in infernal machines disguised as Water Carnival floats. Their spies, disguised as ducks, are everywhere. Remember May 13 and 14. SDRBB

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**OTHER THINGS**  
at the  
*Questing Beast*  
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(next to State Theatre)  
Tues. - Sat: 10:30 - 5:30  
Wed.: 10:30 - 8:00

## RECEPTION

At the funeral my grandmother cried  
and Mother  
who isn't even related you know  
was afraid to take her last look  
at the dead.  
The old men carried an uncertain fear  
with them to the front of the chapel  
as they peered at their not quite as old  
friend . . .

After, everyone laughed and told stories in the  
living room  
before the meal was ready  
and Dad, Mother and I went to the corner bar  
that night  
drank our beers  
and talked about things  
which frightened us when we were kids.

ELAINE CAHILL

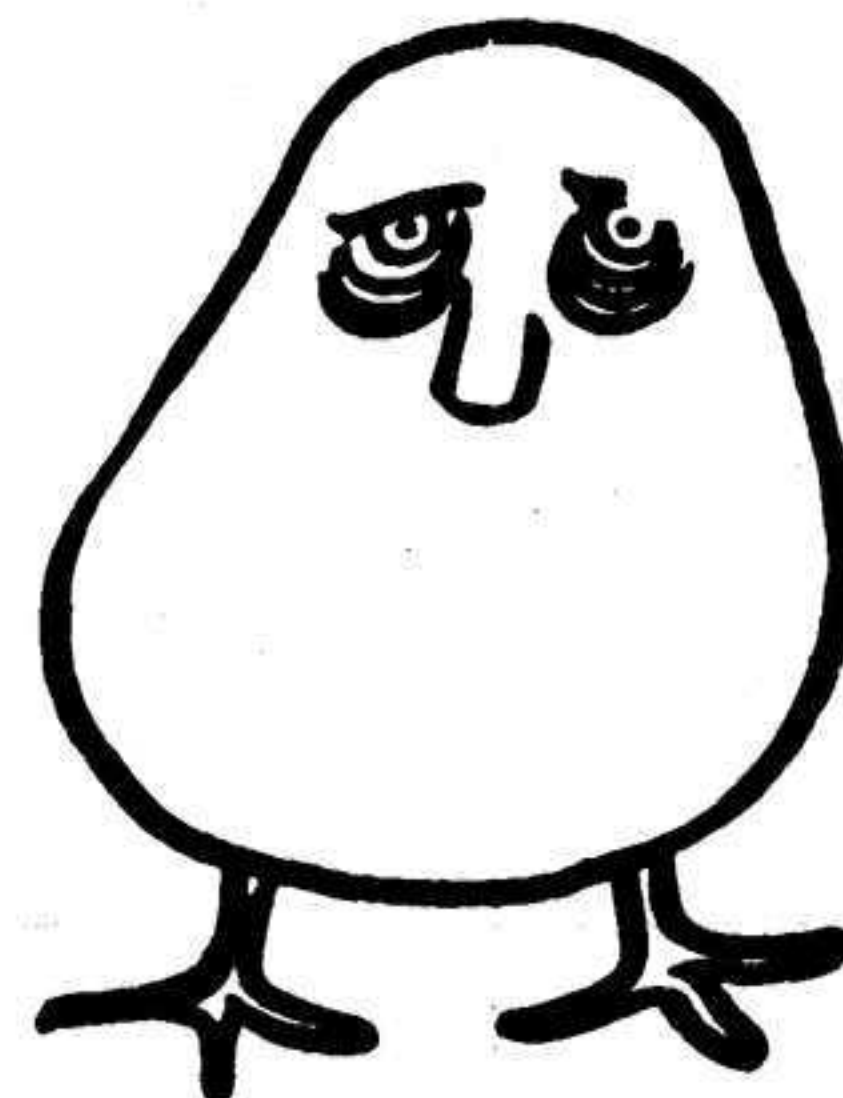


"Yes, we've been dumping chemicals into the Red Cedar for several years now. Why do you ask?"

an evening with a self-styled phony

**PAUL KRASSNER**

Editor And Ringleader Of  
**THE REALIST**



8 p.m. Sat. **MAY 7**  
Union Ballroom

contributions for THE PAPER accepted at the door



## To Buy Or Not To Buy

continued from page 1

forces cope with expected emergencies. As additional funds were available, other equipment was ordered, such as transportation, WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION, communications and training aids, totaling U.S. \$1, 192,757.00. About 16 per cent of the dollar value of these orders have arrived AND ARE DISTRIBUTED among the forces." (emphases added)

Note: Orders were thus submitted five days after the massive inventory of "current" weapons was published, on Dec. 1, 1955.

Question: Is President Hannah's statement that "MSU was not responsible in any respect for the distribution of any funds by any agency of the United States government" true?

Answer: It doesn't look like it! The PIO/C is headed "this document is the vehicle for implementing the dollar commodity section of the Pro Ag, for PURCHASE on a world-wide basis. Signatories are MSUG; USOM, Public Administration; USOM Comptroller; and USOM, Contract and Procurement."

Note: MSUG is the title (G-Group) of MSU's project in Vietnam. USOM is the American aid agency (OM-Operations Mission).

Question: But did MSU actually "BUY" guns?

Answer: Semantically, no.

Substantively, as a member of the PIO/C "corporation," yes. MSU doesn't have an arms purchase department to handle 1) .45 cal. "grease guns," 2) 60 mm mortars, 3) .30 cal. A-4 machine guns, in quantities like 1) 5,920, 2) 220, 3) 220. (See appendix to report of May 1, 1957, op. cit., for arms and quantities mentioned.) To set up such a department in the United States would be a wasteful duplication of effort, since the federal government, signatories with MSU of the PIO/C, already has such organizations, for instance the Defense Department, to organize such purchases in the U.S. The corporation did the work; MSU was only a participant in the corporation.

Question: The university's current contention is that it reduced the num-

ber of police specialists (once numbering 30, including the five CIA men in "VBI internal security") in the MSU Group to eight in 1959 because it desired to get rid of non-university personnel on the staff (they formed the majority) and make the project more legitimate academically. Is this true?

Answer: Probably not. It certainly isn't the motivation one discovers in the reports. The fact is that the major functions of the "police specialists" were completed by 1959. The arms had been purchased and distributed. The three major police and paramilitary organizations (Civil Guard, Vietnamese Bureau of Investigation, Municipal Police) had been reorganized. The four-year program for training police "leaders" had been completed and the National Police Academy had been established so the Vietnamese themselves could handle training for future needs.

This is how a 1957 report puts it: "It is believed that by July 1, 1959, the major job of training all presently untrained persons of the Municipal Police departments, Civil Guard, and the VBI will have been completed. (See report entitled "Civil Police Administration Program," May 1, 1957, page 12.)

Question: What about the CIA men?

Answer: As this report indicates, even the CIA men wouldn't have been needed for VBI "training. They were hired under their "cover" section the year this report was written, i.e. with the understanding, it would seem, that their "job" would be over in two years. Small wonder they sought other "cover" under USOM in 1959. A five-man "VBI training" section would have been rather prominent with a staff reduced to eight in the other fields.

Michigan State University was not responsible in any respect for funds that may have been expended by other agencies of the U. S. Government in Vietnam. Our people may have advised on the wise use of some of those funds, as I would maintain was their responsibility, but they did not control or expend the funds.

HANNAH

## CLASSIFIEDS

have more fun

### Housing

WANTED: Apartment for one person (female) for summer and/or next year. Efficiency or studio-type satisfactory. Would prefer within walking distance of campus and \$65 a month or less. Can supply references. \$5 reward for information leading to rental of apartment. (I'm desperate!) Call Dotti at 351-4513 or 353-0657.

### HEDRICK HOUSE

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economical,  
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academic, close to  
campus, for boys,  
a cooperative,  
\$172 per term,  
looking for mem-  
bers, located at  
140 Haslett St.,  
having an  
OPEN HOUSE  
April 27 and 28,  
7-9 p.m.,  
call 332-0844 for  
rides and info.  
See you there.

\$1

THE AD the State News refused to print--twice; A light bulb isn't pure information+it's reptakin+discover electrobuddhism+write box Animus Howland House 323 Ann St., East Lansing.

\$1

### For Sale

PETRIFLEX V single lens reflex camera. Interchangeable 55mm+2 and 100mm+4 lenses. Focal plane shutter has speeds 1/2 to 1/500th of a second. Self-timer. Automatic diaphragm. Rapid-return mirror. Pentaprism focusing. Like new! \$80. (Sells for over \$150 new.) Call Bill, 353-7479.

\$1

### Personal

NEED TIME to think things over? Quaker workshop is based on silence. Visitors welcome. East Lansing Friends Meeting, Meeting for Workshop at 11 a.m. Sundays, corner of Trowbridge Road and Arbor Drive. (Capitol Grange Hall.) For information call 332-1998.

\$1

### Sound-Off

ZEITGEIST is staging another culture-fest Friday, April 29 at 8:30 p.m. in Spiro's back room. The last one, the Feeblepensers learned, was an outlandish success. For merely \$1, people listened to POETRY, FOLKSINGERS, JAZZ for four hours in the stimulating atmosphere of Kewpie's. The Feeblepenser Society applauds ZEITGEIST and urges all members to attend CULTURE-FEST III.

\$1

Willis Havisham  
President  
Feeblepenser Society

### Coming Events

excuse us but we think it worth your time to learn more about the world you live in. like rhodesia. rhodesia is a source of contention. why? find out. DR. JAMES HOOKER, associate professor, history, african studies center, "rhodesia." DELTA PHIEP-SILON, 7:30 p.m., thursday, april 28, union art room.

\$1

\$1

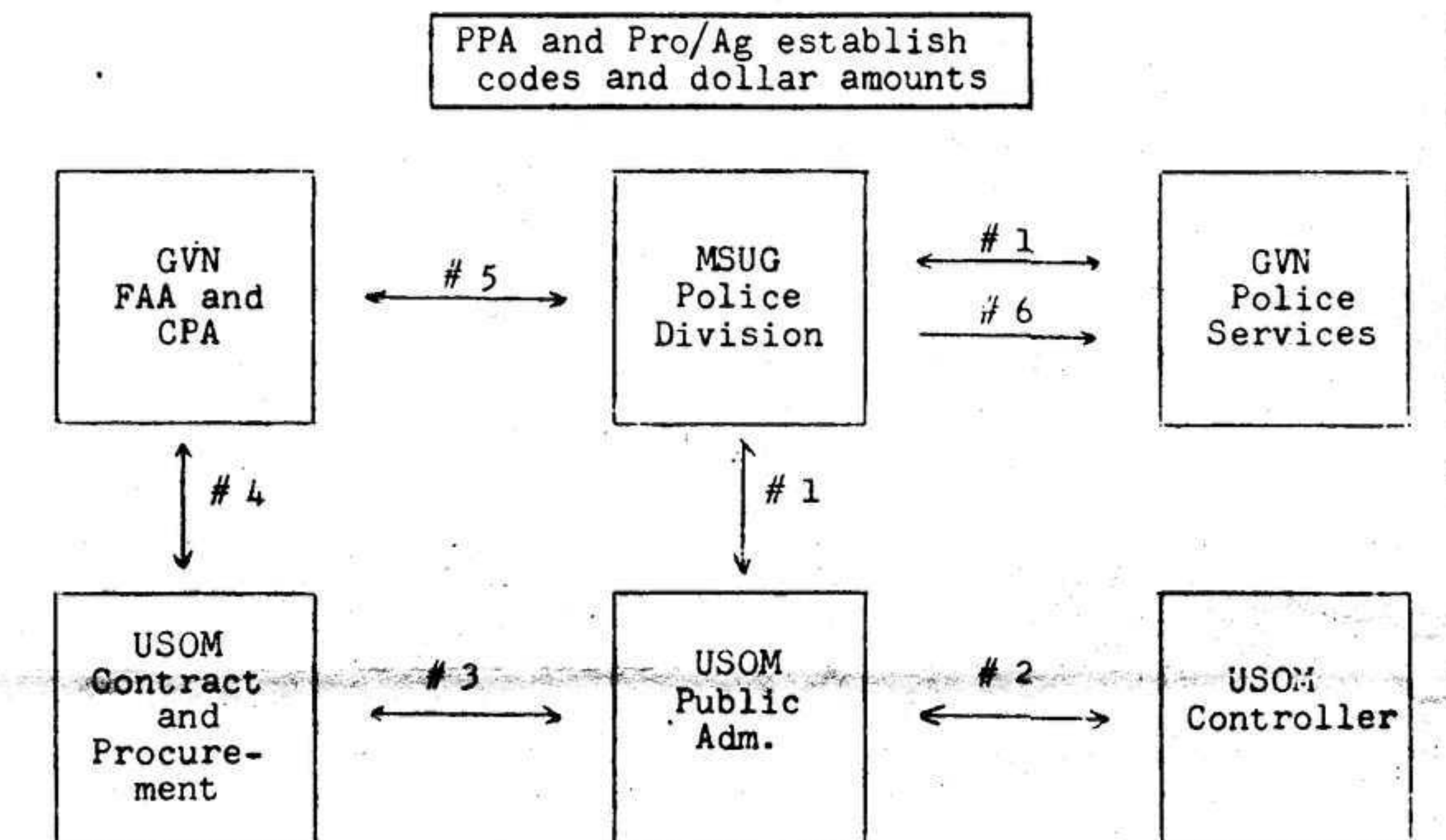
CULTURE - FEST III, sponsored by ZEITGEIST. Friday, April 29, 8:30 p.m. Back room at Spiro's. A HAPPENING. Poetry, fiction, art, satire, folk songs, jazz, 1950's radicals, Spontaneous poetry readings, activists, anarchists, haruspicators, and other unique things welcome. State News and "The Paper" reviewers, photographers, and reporters admitted for the general admission price. COME as you've always wanted to. \$1.

\$1

GROOVY THINGS: 1) benefit dance for "The Paper," with the historically novel sound of the James K. Polk Rock Band, 8-12 Friday, April 29, Union Ballroom, "stag" \$1, "drag" \$1.50 -- 2) first annual Shiawassee Memorial Cycle Rally, noon, Sunday, May Day, meet behind Kewpie's (all welcome), destination to be announced, entertainment by the J.K.P.M. Rock B. and the Woolies -- 3) Paul Krassner, self-styled phony and Realist, also editor, 8 p.m. Friday, May 7, Union Ballroom, no admission, just contributions for "The Paper" and a warm heart requested.

\$1

EISENSTEIN'S "Ten Days That Shook the World." 8 p.m. Friday, April 29, Conrad Auditorium. 50 cents.



1. Draws up specifications to suit requirements after mutual agreement on types of equipment and distribution within the Police Services.
2. Submission for the auditing and recording of obligations in accordance with the provisions of PPA and Pro/Ag. and return.
3. Submission for issuance of PIO/C for purchase through General Service Administration or Department of Defense, Washington, by direct purchase by USOM Vietnam, or by Central Purchasing Authority, GVN (CPA).
4. Performs Contract and Procurement duties assigned to it by USOM/Contract and Procurement and provides for clearance and delivery from Port of Entry.
5. Notifies MSU of impending arrival, who in turn advises of location to be delivered with copy to Police Service.
6. Receives and stores commodity until distributed and acknowledges receipt of equipment.

## LETTERS

### The Real Trouble

The CIA I can live with. After all, they're supposed to be on our side. But I don't see how any self-respecting institution of higher learning can permit photographers to wander around during public musical performances. Time recently catalogued the disturbances which make it hard for the rest of the audiences to enjoy a performance, but of course photography was never mentioned.

I have written to the Music Department, but received no answer. This year the cameras don't seem to be as flashy and noisy, but the photographers seem determined to use up a roll of film before leaving. Some photographers seem to be "official," which makes it worse.

The whole thing is disgraceful. I believe in non-violence, but I get sorely tempted to knock photographers on their ass.

John Neufeld

### Madam, I'm Hannah

The issue you raised with your recent revelation of Hannah being a palindrome is more disquieting than you may think. Checking my Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, I notice that the two examples given of a palindrome are "madam" and "Hannah." Would a member of your staff be good enough to consult with Dr. Noon about any mystical or other significance here.

Robert Imbarazzo





# Invitation To An Ideology

By DOUGLAS LACKEY

Spokesmen for the New Left have often proclaimed that their movement has "cast aside" ideology, as if such a thing were possible. This anti-ideological bias has at least three sources. The first is the memory of the endless and sterile sectarian struggles brought on by differences in theory among factions of the Old Left. The second is a general repulsion from the mechanisms of the Cold War, which is, more than anything else, an ideological conflict.

The thesis here is that if the Cold War springs from an opposition of ideologies, the abolition of ideology will eliminate the grounds of this stupid and persisting conflict.

The last source is a distrust of large-scale organizations of any kind, whether they be institutions, such as the multiversity, or any institutionalized body of doctrine.

There is good cause, then, for suspension of ideology. But to cast it aside is another matter, amounting to putting one's head in the sand. For "ideology" is inextricably bound up with the concept of a "movement"; what is a movement if it has no overall goals toward which it moves, no general plan of development?

Now it might be objected that a genuinely radical movement has no need of positive goals. Thus it was that I was once taught that radicals seek change for change's sake, while liberals seek it for improvement's sake. But this is false; both seek improvement--the liberal seeks it within the system, the radical from

without. It might be further objected that a movement can exist with circumscribed aims ("Bring the troops home now"), and thus does not require a full-scale ideological commitment.

But anyone who has worked with any seriousness for any radical change has recognized that his end, however limited, cannot be satisfied independently of other changes--that bringing the troops home now, for example, requires a major shift in American foreign policy, which might entail a challenge to the military-industrial complex, etc. In fact, any genuinely radical proposal, no matter how piecemeal, constitutes an assault on the whole of society.

Any serious radical proposal, then, must implicitly contain some conception of society as a whole, and some vision of where it should be heading (that is, an ideology).

The New Left, however reluctantly, must begin developing an ideology. But of which kind? Present and justified prejudice precludes a resurrection of the old structures, with their clumsy metaphysics, obsolete economics, and disposition to perversion whenever put into practice.

On the other hand, the present few attempts to build an ideology from crude additive combination of political issues (Vietnam plus civil rights plus poverty etc.) show none of the visionary unity of a true ideology, and the results are usually ill-considered political analyses; the war in Vietnam, for example, has racist overtones but no racist origin--to argue that Mississippi and Vietnam

are both white men's persecutions is to parody the universality of relations, the rendering intelligible of disparate materials, that a well-formulated ideology can yield.

Metaphysics, economics and politics fail as candidates for the foundations of the new structure. I am by no means arguing that they be eliminated, but rather that some theorizing must be done prior to economic or political proposals. My own suggestions is that this prior theorizing be done in the field of ethics.

Indeed, most of the slogans of the New Left are ethical in nature; we want to make love more possible (Oglesby); we want a society in which people can live as human beings (Kittredge). Detached from a general program such statements are almost devoid of content, but they do indicate that the first concerns of the New Left are moral ones, and that moral issues will dominate programs elaborated in areas such as politics and economics. Such an approach does not represent a complete break with the Old Left. It is a pervasive and deep-seated moral indignation that provides the continued fascination of the works of Marx, and moral appeal has been a mainstay of socialism for both Marxist and non-Marxist left-wingers.

The first task of the new ideology, then, is to articulate some hierarchy of values. For example, the present society places a great weight of value upon the production of material objects, the properly named "gross" national product. Those who associate themselves with this product (notably the owners and managers of the means of production and exchange) receive the lion's share of social status and remuneration.

The New Left might challenge the view that the making of objects is as valuable as is now thought--after all, machines can make things, and are often better at it. A higher value should be placed, therefore, on jobs in which a person creates, rather than on those in which he produces (these are being phased out by automation anyway).

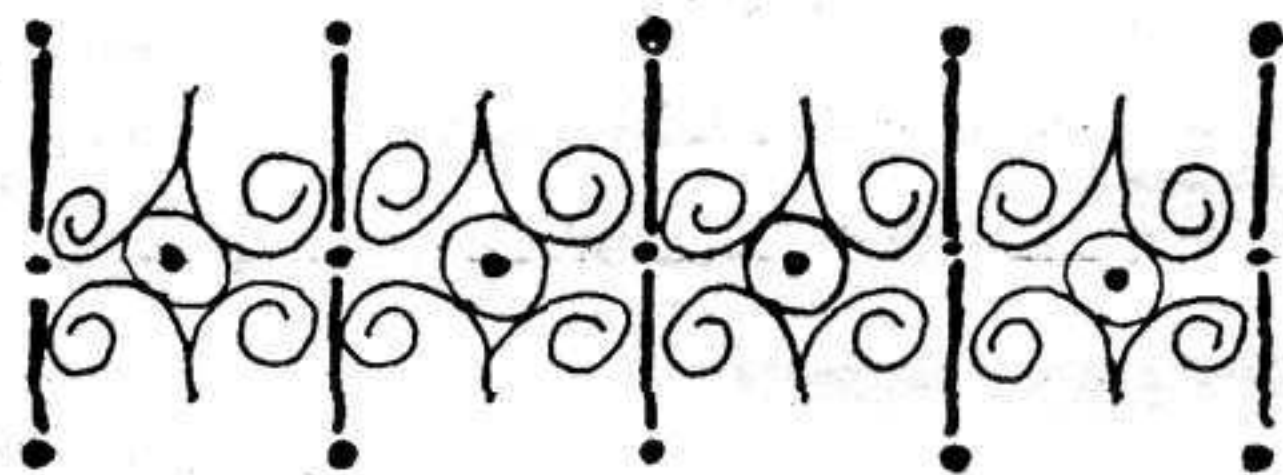
The New Left might argue that since machines will handle the productive

functions of society, higher value and status might be placed upon those who beautify, as opposed to those who produce; thus, the status and remuneration would be provided for a vast increase in occupations connected with landscaping, conservation, design, city planning, etc., all of which suffer today because people value them less than the ethic of production.

The New Left might argue that work associated with human service should receive equal or greater status than that associated with production; thus creating the need and providing the remuneration for work associated with hospitals, asylums, nursing homes, schools, slums, etc. The acceptance of the view that a man's worth is not a function of his productivity (or his service to the product economy) will be a crucial victory towards the goal of a guaranteed minimal income for all members of society.

Such reorientations of values are enormously difficult to initiate, but they are not impossible. Two points of strategy immediately suggest themselves. First, it is easier to make these changes across the whole face of society than attempting to make converts man by man. Thus the New Left should begin to use the mass media for promulgation of its views, as well as the presently emphasized method of personal contact. Second, it would be expedient to effect these changes by persuasive redefinitions of concepts presently thought to be valuable; e.g. to redefine "product" to include material objects, beautification, and service, rather than to attempt to get people to consider as valuable products, beautifications, AND services.

These proposals have come out, half-baked, and all in a jumble. I offer them not as concrete proposals, but as suggestions of the TYPE of thing that ought to be done. To ignore the ideological approach will leave the New Left subject to the rise and fall of random issues; to have this approach will enable us to oppose our vision constantly to the current picture, and to create the issues, rather than to wait upon them.



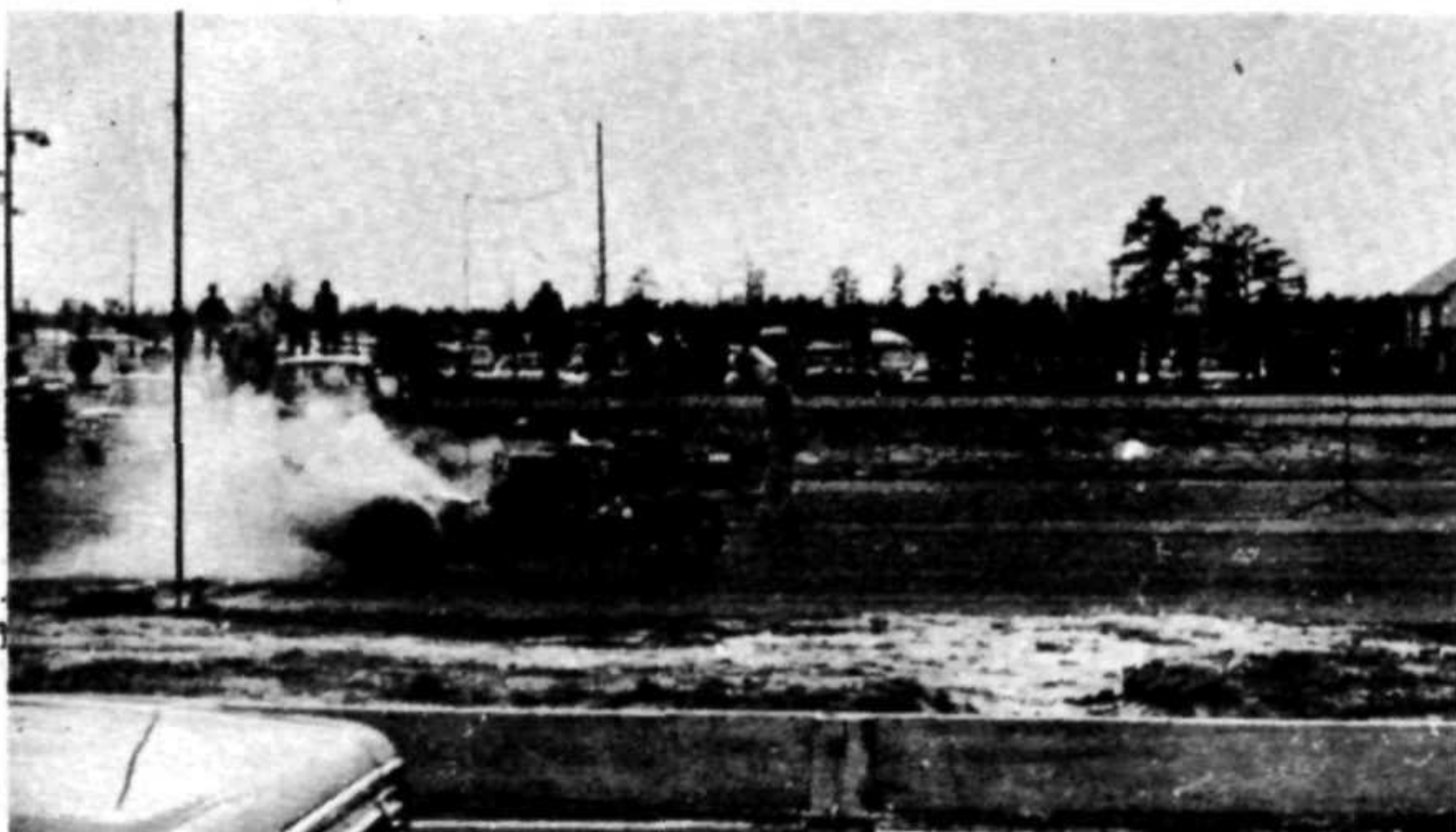
Coin

What is there in  
(words cold struggling fabricating a ceaselessly meaningless circular straight line off into)  
a void of shapes and  
(people screaming clambering laconically into an aperture without other side of)  
axioms wrapping a web of  
(laws fighting to pacify the pacifistic militant with)  
gelatin around our crawling fantastic  
(leaders tactful and suspiciously unaware working down the steep path up to)  
defeat that makes life invisible?

What is there in  
(water crystallized rushing slowly through firmly bending noiseless reeds to)  
lives of people living in  
(grass in crushed perfection supporting two people timelessly in)  
vibrant time pulsating with stilled breath of  
(wind playing tinglingly in light hairs of an arm whose hand touches)  
life in awe of  
(sun flashing red gold depths of her warm smelling hair to)  
alive that makes joy real?

MIKE DURPHY

## The American Mind, Continued



elliott borin

## The Shop Jockey





Rita Phipps is the mother of four children and the wife of a philosophy graduate student. She is active in Students for a Democratic Society and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Gil Peach is a senior in sociology and Michigan president of the Methodist Student Movement. These are some of the remarks they made at the SDS demonstration last Friday protesting MSU's involvement with the CIA in Vietnam and its failure to discuss fully the implications of that involvement.--The Editors.



In everything it does, the public university carries out the national policy that education shall be fostered and encouraged for the benefit of all citizens in all of their legitimate undertakings. We are not about to abandon that mission after more than a century of spectacular success.

HANNAH

## The Need For Conscience In Politics

By GIL PEACH

First I want to hold the churchmen and the New Left up to the fact that a revolutionary commitment must be maintained for life. We have a job to do and that TASK, the task of the church (that strange group of people throughout all time who have as their TASK the shaping of the context of the future in order to increase the dimensions of humanness and the possibilities for life in the world) demands lifetime commitment.

To the churchmen, let me say that all that is required of you is your life. Commitment means disaffiliation from many norms. It means disaffiliation from the central value system of this consumptive society. It means disaffiliation from the idea of luxury as a necessity and poverty as inevitable. It means seeing the middle class life style as one alternative among many possible lifestyles. It means facing up to your freedom to decide. And it means disciplined study and work. Discipline of life, study, time, goods, polity and mission. Discipline and cooperation are necessary in order to gain leverage with which to uproot inhuman social structures.

I am participating in this demonstration as an act of conscience and in behalf of the 5,000 Methodist students on this campus and across the

state of whom I am the elected leader. There is a deep moral issue involved in the use of an historic institution, the university, devoted to the pursuit of truth and knowledge and the education of scholars, as a front for a secret spy unit, no matter which nation-state pays the spies.

This incident must be remembered whenever one reads of another government requesting the United States to remove its employes from their soil. It should be remembered when a country forces its churches to dissolve their international contacts. For a government which would use the second most sacred of mankind's institutions for a front might well infiltrate and use its most sacred. This incident should be remembered every time we look at the national flag or hear the national anthem. This government uses this type of tactic.

While the New Left people participating in this demonstration might see this nation in a political context and use political language to describe it and the series of similar actions by this government, and while all in the university community who take seriously the role and heritage of the university in the scholarly and scientific advancement of humanity see that heritage and role seriously threatened by the misuse of a university as a front, I see this action

in the context of a lack of faith.

For too many of our policy-makers and national leaders God is dead. Which means that they understand God to be a myth which comes in handy to keep the masses under control both in the suburbs and in the inner city. Which is to say that we have forgotten our Creator, the nature and purpose of man, our duty to God and thus to humanity; we have forgotten the revolutionary insight of our founding fathers and prostituted their goals; we have forgotten that we are sinners and that sin is bound up in inhuman social structures. We have made gods of our nation, of our careers, of a middle class life style, of the "American Way of Life." These surrogates for ultimate reality are false gods. And to those whose God is the nation state I bring this warning:

That the God which calls nations into being and yanks them out of history is a living God. That a nation which ceases to understand itself in a context larger than the aims of its economic interests and power structure will be judged.

And the judgment of God is real. It works itself out in history. Which is to say that by its present actions the United States is indeed shaping its future.

## Whose Country Right Or Wrong?

By RITA PHIPPS

When Americans say "our country right or wrong" they really mean "my country whether YOU say it is right or wrong. Because I KNOW it is really always right."

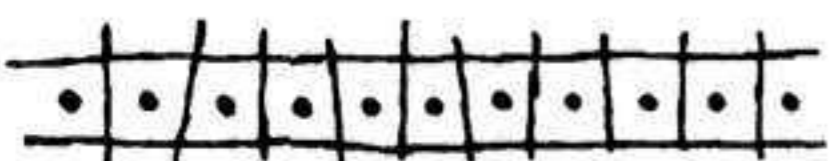
If Americans realized or saw that the U.S. was REALLY wrong, they would try to correct it. But the trouble is that Americans really do not think that there is enough wrong in our country to worry about. If you had asked an ancient Roman how long Rome was going to last, he would have said "forever."

Rome lasted about 1,000 years, and then it fell. It fell because it had got on a wrong track and there was no real or big attempt by most of the Romans to get Rome back on the right track.

Every empire and culture in western civilization has so far been like Rome in lasting only a limited time and then changing or falling. And this happened because the people did not criticize themselves to see whether they were on a wrong track that would lead them to disaster. Now it is America's turn. Now WE must check ourselves to see whether WE have gotten on the wrong track that will lead to our downfall.

ARE we on the wrong track? Let me talk about just one aspect of our government and let YOU decide whether it is the wrong track or the right track.

In the Ramparts article and in the news, we hear about the CIA and its counter-espionage and counter-intelligence work. Do you know what counter-espionage and counter-intelligence mean in the world today?



The Henry David Thoreau Creative Civil Disobedience Award goes this week to Barry Bondhus of Elk River, Minn., who, upon refusing to take his pre-induction physical February 15, dumped "two buckets of human excrement" in a filing cabinet at his local draft board office. The Court Reporter of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors reports that he was arrested and released on \$10,000 bond for the two offenses.

When Secretary McNamara was testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the other day he said that of all the thirty or so recent overthrows of government, by force, the great majority were overthrows NOT by the left, to the left, but by the right, by military juntas, TO the right, to military dictatorships. And that more than half of this majority of rightist coups were equipped with U.S. arms.

In other words, in most of the violent overthrows of governments in the world today, our government's CIA infiltrates a country, arms and trains and advises guerillas or juntas to help them overthrow their government. It is AMERICA, then, NOT the Communists, which does the MOST infiltrating and the most subversion and the most violent overthrowing of governments.

Some may still be patriotic enough to say, "If our CIA overthrows a government, then that was a good overthrow." In other words, they are saying that if America does something bad, it is a good bad thing. And if the communists do the same thing, it is a bad bad thing. But, is it possible in the real world that there can be a bad thing that is good?

Let me be specific. What was and still is the job of the CIA in Vietnam? They were there to help support and uphold the hated dictatorship of Diem and his family. They did it by countering any Vietnamese people who wanted to get rid of Diem. Espionage or plots against Diem by the Vietnamese people were stopped--by our CIA.

As Wesley Fishel said, Diem's policy was "to squash the opposition." And it is happening today under Johnson's ally and friend, the hated dictator Ky. And what is our government's part in it?

Our CIA are the very well-trained and experienced people who tipoff the police, who are the spies tipping off the dictator so that he knows who to squash and when and where to squash him. The CIA is hired to spy and snoop out everything against the hated dictator, whom we want in power; and the CIA is hired to find a way to put

a stop to the opposition when it discovers it.

This is the infamous and ugly counter-espionage and counter-intelligence that our CIA performs and which we read about in the newspaper with pride. We put on our hit parade a song, the "Green Beret," which glorifies the Special Forces in Vietnam, an arm of the CIA! Without knowing what we are doing, we give our ignorant support to horrible deeds done in our name! Is this being on the right track?



Great Thoughts of Western Man (Road to Damascus Division): Sen. Richard B. Russell:

"If we have to be caught up there in tides of religious controversy and political controversy and philosophical disagreements to the point that the lives of American boys are endangered when they walk down the streets of a city they have come to

save from the Communists... then it's time we re-examine our entire position, however painful that re-examination might be," he said.

## A Friend Writes

Comrades:

I am interested in your idea of a Free University but I think it would only work under pure communism. In our present tribal society, or under capitalism or even White Russian socialism, the idea would be considered a joke, perhaps on MSU.

A Civic-Minded Citizen  
(237 West Street  
Lansing 48915)

