

FREE STUDENT

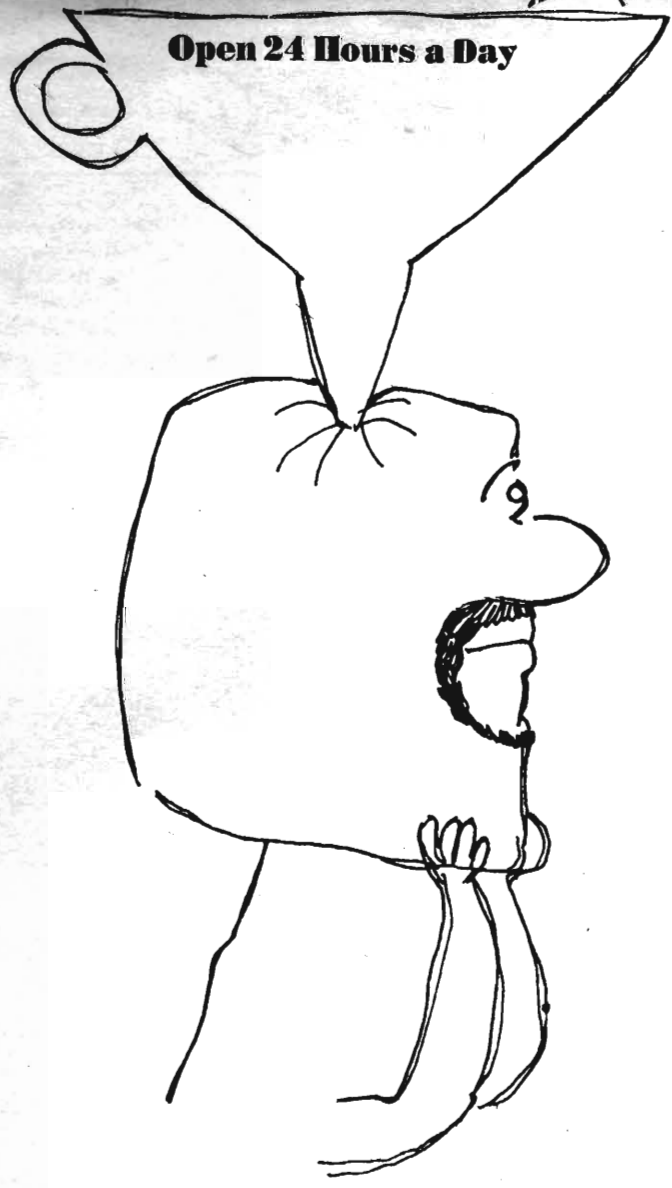
ETC.
Democracy
JAZZ
 Strong Economy
 Think, reflect, ponder
 "unconditional discussions"
Dominican Crisis
WHY COMPLICATE YOUR LIFE?
 Use your head...
 Brazil 'wants your business.
Vareotics
GOLDFINGER
 Bit the fairest vision on which these eyes ever looked was the flag of my country in a foreign land

FREEDOM OF INQUIRY AND EXPRESSION
 Castro-Communist conspiracy
 I regret the necessities of war have compelled us to bomb North Vietnam
 ... if you are worried & sleepless
 "We are not interveners in the Dominican Republic."
Ph.D

GREAT PARTY
VIETNAM
Play it Cool
 Pussy Galore
OFFICE JOBS
NEW DIRECTIONS IN GROUP THERAPY
EQUALITY BEFORE THE LAW

help

\$
The erotic revolution



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FREE STUDENT NEWS

'Behind the Lines'

Cal. HS Film Suppression

Rick Manderfeld, West Coast regional coordinator for the May 2nd Movement first visited Tamalpais High School in Mill Valley March 26 to show the National Liberation Front film, **Heroic South Vietnam**. He showed it to history classes at the invitation of a teacher, Mr. Grant. When many other teachers expressed interest in the film, Manderfeld returned to Tamalpais on March 30th for a similar showing.

The regular teacher, Mr. Tuck, was ill that day and a substitute teacher had taken his place. After the first presentation was made, the substitute suggested that the film be shown in the next class, since there was not "anything important anyway."

The film had been introduced and the projector just started when a teacher from a neighboring room, Mr. Pohlman, came running in and shouted, "Stop that film! Stop that film! That can't be shown here! You (indicating Manderfeld) don't belong here!"

Manderfeld responded that he had been invited to show the movie by

Mr. Tuck, the teacher for the class.

Pohlman retorted, "Well, we don't need your kind here." He turned to the class and shouted, "All of you go to the library. Right now." No one left.

Manderfeld then said to the class, "This man is, of course, trying to restrict your first amendment rights of free speech. But the real question for us is why he is trying..."

Pohlman interrupted with "YOU (pointing at Manderfeld) shut up. I am going to get the authorities—the principal. All of you students come with me to the library or face disciplinary action." This time all but three or four students left.

As the film was being taken off the projector, Pohlman and the vice-principal, Mr. Bell came in. Pohlman said, "We have free speech on this campus. We've even had a John Bircher and a Catholic Anarchist here."

Manderfeld responded, "Tell me then why Mickey Lima (Communist Party Northern California chairman) and Mort Scheer (Progressive Labor Move-

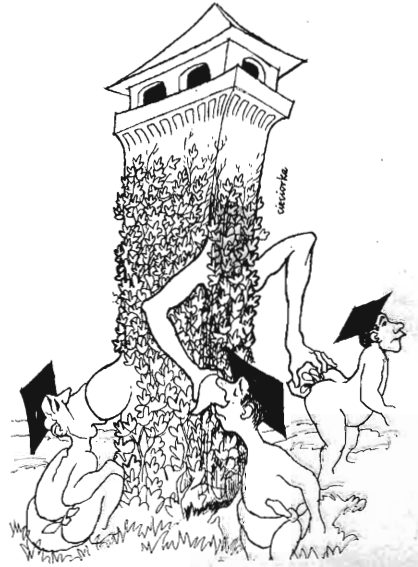
ment West Coast organizer) have been denied the right to speak here?"

"You're the kind we don't need around here. You're not interested in free speech. You snuck (sic) in here today to try to take over this school. I know about your kind."

Manderfeld and his two friends, fearing that the film might be confiscated by "the authorities," then left the school. As they were driving away, six police cars converged on the school.

Afterwards, Manderfeld was quoted as saying, "No amount of pressure will stop us from exposing the despicable attempt of the U.S. government to dominate the people of South Vietnam and all of S.E. Asia." On April 1st, the same film was shown by Manderfeld at Redwood High School, about five miles from Tamalpais. Several other showings are scheduled for the near future in other San Francisco area high schools.

IN LOCO PARENTIS



Berkeley FSM Dissolves:

FREE STUDENT UNION

This semester, the Regents of University of California have conducted a successful counter-revolution.

Their success in part was inevitable—they are the power structure. However, the Berkeley Free Speech Movement (FSM) made serious mistakes. Since December of last year, FSM has been trying to disband, although only a gentlemen's agreement was won in the fall struggle. In December, plans for attacks on the Board of Regents and proposals to expand the FSM into a national organization were rejected. Nobody at that time had the foresight to suggest that FSM restructure itself as a permanent mass-based organization.

The following semester, Chancellor Meyerson handed down by fiat a set

of rules governing political activity, barring the graduate students from entering the student government, for a time suppressing the sale of Spider magazine, and permanently stopping the sale of a play titled "For Unlawful Carnal Knowledge." It was obvious to all that Meyerson was carrying out the orders of the Regents. At the same time a bill was passed in the State Legislature that makes it easy for a "non-student" to be arrested for "trespassing" if he enters the campus.

In a curious way, the recent "obscenity cases" revived political activity on campus (See "The Battle of Berkeley," FREE STUDENT no. 2). FSM was divided on the question of giving support to the arrested defenders of John Thompson, the "non-student"

who was arrested for sitting down on the Union steps with a sign that said "fuck"; these four students included FSM leaders Art Goldberg and Mike Klein. Goldberg was expelled and Klein, David Bills and Ed Zvegintzov were suspended by a Disciplinary Committee, before they were tried in court (they were arrested for raising bail for Thompson). The FSM decided to defend the students on the issue of due process: there was none.

But the FSM failed to give clear direction to the Berkeley student body on this issue, and the campus was confused. This confusion persisted while the regents whittled away student rights in subsequent incidents. FSM tried to reorganize several times, but became increasingly isolated from the campus. Nonetheless, when the four students were kicked out by the star chamber committee, 2000 students gathered in the Union Plaza to protest. Again FSM was unable to channel

the protest, and instead, four of its leaders, Mario Savio, Suzanne Goldberg, Larry Knip and Mike Klein signed a telegram sent to the Regents demanding that the four students be reinstated pending a hearing AFTER their trial.

The telegram was taken to be an FSM ultimatum. The Regents were given five days to reply, until Wednesday, April 28. On Monday, April 26, Mario Savio suddenly resigned from FSM.

Events had illustrated that the Regents were attempting to destroy the student movement at Berkeley. Given the probability that a major confrontation with the Regents on April 26 would lead to defeat, Savio chose not to lead a vanguard into a situation in which they could not be protected by the FSM.

On April 29, Berkeley student leaders

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I.D.s Taken Away

CCNY Vigil Protests Vietnam War

The relationship between the stifling of student expression, opinion and thought and the war in Vietnam has been bared at City College of New York (CCNY).

One hundred-fifty students held an on-campus vigil to end the war in Vietnam Thursday, April 15. The CCNY Administration countered by confiscating their ID cards, on the grounds that they "may" have been violating the college's "general faculty regulations." According to several of the demonstrators, when the men confiscating the cards, Drs. Bahn and Hicke at the Department of Student Life, were asked, "Which regulation?" they replied, "We don't know yet."

The fight is reflected in the student community. Those on the vigil were purposely violating a decision of the Student Council. The night before, the Council had voted 14-5 to prohibit demonstrations in front of the Cohen Library. This effectively revoked permission for the vigil, which had already been routinely granted by an executive of the Council, Student Government President John Zippert, '66. Zippert participated in the vigil then resigned from Student Government, unable to carry out its ruling in good conscience. He is running in re-election at the head of a slate dedicated to student involvement in urgent off-campus issues, e.g. Vietnam, civil rights. The opposing

slate defines "students as students," meaning they should not mess up the academic community with calls for action on "outside" issues.

The Council's decision against the vigil was based on the assertion that it would interfere with the normal functioning of the university, by making noise and by preventing free access to buildings. The vigil was silent. It stretched in a single line from the main gate of the campus down a broad walk in front of the library. The Council also feared that permitting the on-campus demonstrations would "set a precedent."

Precedents had already been set on Friday of the week before. The May 2 Movement at City College held an on-campus march that day involving 30 chanting students, some wearing gas-masks. This was done without requesting permission. The Administration called the police, who drove onto campus and watched the march continue in spite of the presence of their riot-control wagon.

Some M-2-M members on the recent vigil refused to surrender their ID cards, discontent with the choice offered by the vigil's leadership: leave the line or surrender your card. The vigil was composed almost entirely of students who had signed up for the SDS March on Washington, and was not officially an activity of any campus group, al-

though CCNY DuBois Club was the group which had both asked for permission for the vigil and had done most of the work in signing up the 400 students who went on the march to Washington from CCNY.

The "Student Committee for University Reform" came out of this confrontation with the Administration. Its steering committee issued a document with demands that would open up

channels of student expression, at present highly rigid and bureaucratized at CCNY. Among the most important: 10 large tables easily available to clubs, to be set up on the South Campus Lawn, a free speech area on the lawn, where any student can speak at any time without permission.

Vietnam is forcing students to be aware that they are stifled.





"This campus is a mess!"—Professor Robert Sitton at the first (illegal) Brooklyn College outdoor meeting.

In the past two months the combined grievances of hundreds of Brooklyn College students culminated in the formation of the Student Protest Movement. The immediate issues were the firing of a popular teacher and infantile dress regulations; but behind these was the frustration of years of an administrative denial of student political life, a particularly severe interpretation of *in loco parentis*, and an educational system over which students have little control and in which they have little interest.

In a letter to school President, Harry T. Gideonse, Professor Robert M. Sitton, instructor in philosophy, rescinded the oath of loyalty he took in order to become employed by BC. That oath is required by the New York State Feinberg Law, whose other victims this year have been Professor Paul Sporn and poet Gregory Corso, both at the State University at Buffalo. The day after he abjured the oath, Sitton was fired. Within a week, stu-

dents from his class, along with others, arranged for a protest rally at which Prof. Sitton spoke. Prof. Sitton spoke to nearly a thousand students in the center of the BC campus, despite the fact that it is illegal to hold public meetings, rallies or protests on the BC campus.

Prof. Sitton's remarks were directed primarily at the nature of the BC administration and of student and faculty life at BC. He related how he had helped in the civil rights movement in the south and now returned north to find that his college administration was equally unjust in denying democracy to students. He said students do not have to look elsewhere for causes, but should struggle for democracy and a better educational system right on their own campuses. He advocated an end to loyalty oaths for teachers because they limit a teacher's ideas, are ineffective against those bent on subversion, and because students, for their own education, should get to hear the communist point of view from a communist.

He enumerated the restrictions on political freedom at BC: incredible red tape to obtain group recognition; the

refusal of recognition to other groups on spurious grounds; rules prohibiting sale of literature on campus, public meetings on campus, and student groups talking to the press on their own; a limitation on the activities and speakers which groups may have. He described the selection of teachers and courses to be given as a process in which students have no say and proposed that the only remedy was to give students "a concrete vote" in such matters.

When he described the campus as "a mess," the applause was the loudest and longest of the afternoon. He described the faculty as being on a "treadmill that can't be stopped, unless students force the administration to do something." Prof. Sitton characterized himself as a "Kennedy Democrat" and said it was in the democratic tradition not to cooperate with unjust laws, such as the Feinberg Law or the student regulations at BC.

That same afternoon President Gideonse was the guest at a tea sponsored by the Social Affairs Board and those present at the rally decided to go to the tea and present him with their grievances on the issue of academic freedom, especially the Sitton case.

However, upon arriving at their student lounge, for which they pay a fee of \$2.00 a semester, about 50 students were denied entry to the room in which Dr. Gideonse was speaking because they were not properly dressed (proper dress for the occasion was ties and

jackets for boys, skirts and stockings—socks not allowed—for the girls.) Several girls were not admitted into the building because they wore slacks. The students gathered at the door of the tea-room and began chanting, "We want to hear our President." They would not go away, nor be quiet. Suddenly, from out of the elevator appeared a half dozen city policemen.

The meeting was then adjourned and the President of Brooklyn College, Harry T. Gideonse, was escorted through a university building between two rows of city police ("for the first time," gasped a shocked administration matron) who supposedly held back what was by now a crowd of about 75. The students, who had purposely remained deathly quiet, gave "their" President a collective icy stare as he filed between them.

Two days later Pres. Gideonse spoke at a previously scheduled discussion of "Berkeley — Its Educational and Moral Meaning." After half an hour the students at the meeting felt he was not grappling with the issues at stake in Berkeley or their meaning for Brooklyn, and, as they had suspected as much and had planned for it, 250 of the 500 present got up and left the hall in the midst of the President's talk.

By the time the Student Protest Movement (SPM) was formally organized, its leaders elected, and further demon-

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"Illegal" BC demonstration for academic freedom.



Another U.S. War of 'Intervention': The Dominican Revolution

(On Sunday, May 2, while attending the Fourth Annual Conference of the Juventud del Movimiento Pro-Independencia (Youth of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence) in San Juan, I had the opportunity to speak to two other guests of the conference. They were young men from the Dominican Republic, one a member of the 14 of June Movement, the other a member of the Federation of Dominican Students. Their names will not appear here because they intend to leave Puerto Rico to join their brothers in fighting the U.S. Marines in Santo Domingo. They gave me the following declaration. We are proud to print it in FREE STUDENT. On behalf of the May 2nd Movement, and all the student anti-imperialist front that made itself felt on April 17 in Washington, I wished them all solidarity, and good luck in their fight. — Roger Taus)

In reaction against the Trujillo tyranny, on June 14, 1959, a group of Dominican patriots invaded the Dominican Republic, landing at Estero Hondo, Constanza, and Maimon, bringing a program of national liberation for the Dominican people, the heroic guerrillas were badly beaten. The few survivors organized a clandestine movement that adopted the national liberation program of the guerrilla force, and took for its immediate objective the defeat of the Trujillo dictatorship.

The 14th of June Movement was directed by Dr. Manuel Tavarez Gustos,



Among rebel troops, Col. Francisco Caamano raises clenched fist after he was named provisional president by the Dominican rebels.

and the sisters Teresa and Mirabel Minerva (killed November 25, 1960). The movement continued its work; its members were persecuted, jailed, brutally tortured, and finally a great number of its militants were killed.

Trujillo was killed on May 30, 1961. The people became more politically aware and the 14th of June emerged and formed a political movement.

Sections of the wealthy middle class moved for power, to distribute the riches of Trujillo, by forming a political party dominated by the National Civic Union. Popular forces and students joined with the 14th of June.

In 1963 the electoral process began. The 14th of June abstained from the election, because it was a trap planted by North American imperialism to put the National Civic Union in power. But the people were not deceived, they rejected the oligarchical trap and elected Juan Bosch by the smashing majority of 600,000 votes.

Nevertheless, with the beginning of the constitutional government of Juan Bosch, the reactionary forces of the country, defeated in the election, composed of the oligarchs, the military gorillas, and the bourgeoisie, began the plot to crush the new democracy in the Dominican Republic. On September 25, 1963, these forces smashed the incipient democracy and replaced it with a military junta led by Donald Reid Cabral and Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin.

The people repudiated this military coup and the 14th of June, understanding the people's needs, launched an armed guerrilla struggle in the mountains north of Santo Domingo, with the objective of restoring to the people their destroyed rights, by reestablishing the power of the Constitution of 1963.

After the coup, the country found itself submerged under a military dictatorship, found itself in anarchy. The persecutions, jailings, tortures, deportations, and killings began again. The anarchy was the result of corruption in the Reid Cabral administration and the economic chaos of a bourgeoisie 200 million dollars in debt to North American imperialism. Misery, hunger, unemployment, exploitation, all these raised the desperate need for liberation from a military dictatorship. These conditions and the power struggle among the military gorillas for the riches they made off them produced the war raging right now in the Dominican Republic.

The armed people of Santo Domingo have now taken to the streets, supported by honest sectors of the Dominican Army, in defense of the Constitution of 1963.

The North American imperialists, using the absurd mask of protecting their nationals, have ordered a huge military intervention, have launched a vicious attack in Santo Domingo, ignoring the self-determination of the Dominican people. For the second time, the marines stomp on our national dignity, and in a cowardly manner murder our people with their deadly modern weapons. Marines and GIs keep pouring in, to support the brutal gorilla, Wessin y Wessin.

The 14th of June now fights shoulder to shoulder with the armed people and the rebel army, to return to power the Constitution of 1963.

The Dominican people, under the sign drawn by the 14th of June of "Liberty or Death!" are now waging their last bitter fight against North American imperialism and its creole lackeys.

The will of a people must be respected.

In this hour that finds the Dominican people in a fight for their lives, the 14th of June Movement exhorts all movements who fight against the aggressions of Yankee imperialism to declare solidarity with the just cause of the Dominican people, and asks for protests and demonstrations against this new barbarity of the North American government.

Libertad o Muerte!

Liberty or Death!

Movimiento 14 de Junio — Federacion de Estudiantes Dominicanos

Venceremos!

We will win!

By Steve Newman

Because most American students know little about Indonesia and less about the regions which comprise Malaysia, the relevance of the following article may not be immediately apparent. In purely physical terms this is a key area of the world. Indonesia has a population of 100 million people and it is growing rapidly. It is considered to be one of the richest areas in the world in foods, and minerals, especially rare elements, ranking with the major world powers in terms of untapped resources. Malaysia is similarly endowed, but contains only 10 million people. It includes, however, the port of Singapore, one of the most important in the world.

Militarily, Malaysia occupies a key position in this region. It could be used as a base by the U.S. in an expanded ground war in Vietnam, and in fact, Singapore has been used already for a fueling and stopping off point in the present Vietnam war.

With some historical perspective, we can see that the traditional powers of domination are faced with defeat in South-East Asia. France has been completely removed from Vietnam, and the Dutch from Indonesia. Guerrillas operate with varying degrees of success in Burma, Thailand, Laos, Northern Borneo, and the Philippines. The Indonesians are now moving to erase the last remnants of Western control over their country. Separating the north and south of this area lies the British sphere of influence, which is militarily organized under a British Far East Unified Command based at Singapore, embracing exactly the same territories as covered by the "Malaysia" plan. This Far East Unified Command is linked up with S.E.A.T.O. and thus constitutes a threat to those Asian peoples who wish to work out a socialist form of government for themselves. It violates the United Nations Charter because this military alliance is used by one part of the world against another and is based on the colonial conception of strategic "Defense Perimeters" which stretch far beyond the actual frontiers of the Western powers. Dr. Lee Siew Choh of Singapore Barisan Sosialis has called Malaysia, "a Western battle-ship".

Finally there is a possibility of war between Malaysia and Indonesia, in which there is little doubt that the U.S. would back Malaysia. We should ask now, before the press barrage hits us: will we be backing a popular government which represents the will of the people or another South Vietnamese-style 'democracy', i.e. a small group of privileged men protecting Western military and economic interests?—Ed.

"THE CONFRONTATION"

Indonesia, the fifth largest country on earth, startled the world by withdrawing from UN as a protest over Malaysia's getting a seat on the Security Council. This unprecedented, dramatic action forces us to examine Malaysia, Indonesia, and the reason for the tremendous conflict.

American officials and opinion makers are uniformly hostile to Indonesia's position. A typical interpretation of the conflict is presented by Lennox Mills, a Malaya expert at the University of Minnesota, in his recent book on South East Asia. "Sukarno's motive might be the neo-imperialism which has been shown by other former dependencies which have achieved independence, such as India and Goa. Equally it could be for diverting the Indonesians from thinking about their worsening economic condition by rousing their anti-Western xenophobia."

A retutation of this interpretation appears in a surprising place. In a monthly journal of the British Royal Institute

of International Affairs, Apr. 64, J.A.C. Mackie, head of the Dept. of Indonesian Studies at the University of Melbourne, writes: "Why has President Sukarno committed Indonesia to such an uncompromising, and apparently disastrous, economic and military 'confrontation' with Malaysia? Is his motive expansionism? Is it just a diversionary tactic to distract attention at home? Oversimplified explanations must be brushed aside. It is not hunger for more territory that inspires the Indonesians—most of whom are blithely overconfident that their own nation is vast enough and potentially rich enough to support a much bigger population than the present 100 million.... The diversionist hypothesis has more plausibility but is still not an adequate explanation."

Mackie says that the true explanations must take into account the importance of ideology, (the doctrine of 'New Emerging Forces' is a potent force that must be taken seriously); pressure from the rising strength of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) (party membership rose from less than 8,000 in 1951 to an estimated 2,000,000 today where it is the largest party in Indonesia and the largest non-governing communist party in the world); the Indonesians' concept of their historic destiny—"British influence can quite easily be portrayed as evidence of continuing 'neo-colonialism' to the Indonesians."

GREATER INDONESIA

Indonesia feels that it is being cheated of its historic destiny by the permanent "freezing" of Malaya, Singapore, and Borneo into an Anglo-American dominated Federation of Malaysia rather than their being incorporated in some form of 'Greater Indonesia.'

The most serious difference between contemporary Malaya and Indonesia stems from the haphazardness and divisions of Dutch and British imperialism. The consolidation of colonial administrations gradually gave a certain reality to these divisions. The main divergences in the histories and cultures of the Malaphinido (Malay-Phillipine-Indonesian) countries are due to the different types of colonial rule to which they were subjected. Now Indonesia, with its relatively high political consciousness, with its idea of a great pre-colonial past and its ambitions for a great post-colonial fu-

ture, does not accept these divergences. For many Indonesians these divisions do not represent a 'natural' variegation through historical evolution, but a sign of violation and humiliation. It is these unacceptable divisions that are "permanitized" by the creation of the Federation of Malaysia.

On the other hand, some form of "Greater Indonesia" including Malaya and Indonesia would seem more natural in view of the unity of the area.

A glance at the map reveals the geographical proximity of the areas involved. The map shows even more clearly that Singapore, already an established and developed trading and industrial center in the midst of an underdeveloped region, is the natural major port for most of the Indonesian archipelago. In general, any economic or commercial separation between what is now Malaysia and Indonesia would be highly 'unnatural' to the economies of both states.

For centuries there have been constant and extensive migrations between Malaya and Sumatra, Sumatra and Java, Java and Malaya, Java and Borneo. In present day Malaya there are large communities of Javanese and Sumatran descent. Most of the important ethnic groups of the area belong to the Deutero-Malay racial group and have obvious physiological and cultural traits in common. Each ethnic group has its distinct language but all are more or less based on a Malayo-Polynesian foundation and for centuries a flexible, simple form of market Malay has served as the area's "lingua franca". Religion is also a unifying factor. Malaya and Indonesia are the only Islamic countries in the Far East.

During World War II, under the Japanese, market Malay was rapidly developed into an all purpose modern language with the Java version being dominant over the older 'Malayan' style. By the post war revolutionary period, the Malay language (Indonesian style) had become a NATIONAL language symbolizing the struggle against imperialism. This applied on the Malay peninsula as well as in Indonesia.

In addition, when the Japanese prepared to grant independence to the area in the last months of occupation, both Malayan (including Singapore) and Indonesian leaders who were consulted outlined a future Indonesia which included Malaya as a constituent unit.

After the war Indonesia began her armed struggle against the Dutch. Her success won her considerable prestige in South East Asia, particularly in Malaya. Indonesia and her leaders Hatta and Sukarno symbolized a growing Malayan ethnic and racial pride and an impatience with the subordination to Chinese and European power. The most important links between the two countries were educational and cultural. A steady expansion of Indonesian influence was observed. A considerable number of Malayan intellectuals made the pilgrimage to Djakarta. Through a flood of Indonesian books, magazines, broadcasts, personal communications and contacts, the modern Indonesian consciousness burst into the stagnant traditionalist Malayan world. For the first time, the modern world was mediated through the Malay language, not simply in textbooks, but through the whole apparatus of modern communications. Everything seeped through: the growing militancy of official Indonesian nationalism on the world scene; the widespread propaganda of a vast national drive for mass education; and the violent personal conflicts of the new Indonesian writers, working out in their writings the upheavals of the revolutionary years. It was less the quality of this Indonesian cultural invasion that was important than the fact that an alternative consciousness was being offered to alien British culture and an atrophied Islamic tradition.

"UNNATURAL OFFSPRING"

So we see that geography, pre-colonial history, ethnic and religious unity, the wartime breakdown of colonialist-inspired differences and post-war nationalism all pointed to a natural Malaya-Indonesia unity. That unity has been frustrated by the establishment of a British-American controlled Federation of Malaysia.

Let us review the history of Malaysia to see whether Indonesia is justified in considering it to be a sleight-of-hand trick; whether Sukarno is justified in calling it an "unnatural offspring spawned by neo-colonialism."

The Federation of Malaysia was

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INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA - "CONFRONTATION"

established in September, 1963. It incorporated the British colonial territories in North Borneo (Sarawak and Sabah which are referred to as North Kalimantan by the Indonesians), the island of Singapore, and the Federation of Malayan States (FMS).

MALAYA

The Federation of Malayan States (FMS) itself was a fairly new creation. Before World War II Malaya had consisted of 9 sultanates ruled by a 'benevolent despotism' controlled by British officials.

In a ten week campaign beginning in Dec. 1941, the Japanese, in a land assault from the rear through the jungles, conquered Malaya and Singapore with almost no resistance. The Japanese rounded up all the Communists (mostly of Chinese origin) they could lay their hands on and executed them without trial. Those who escaped took refuge in the jungles where they formed a guerrilla organization (Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army, MPAJA) to resist the Japanese and more importantly to fight for the establishment of a People's Republic of Malaya. By the end of the war, the MPAJA had emerged from the jungle and has assumed control of the countryside and the towns. When the British Military Authority arrived to take over, the MPAJA yielded to them with very ill grace. They had fought so well in the underground that for a time after the war they were recognized as a legal party. From 1945-1947, along with non-communist Chinese, they were very active in labor organizations which sought economic and political objectives. By 1948 they controlled 60 per cent of the labor unions.

In 1946, the British, in their efforts to keep control of the situation, brought the 9 sultanates of Malay together in the Malay Union and in 1948 this was modified into the Federation of Malayan States under a reactionary constitution and British control.

In 1948 the conflict between the Communists and the MPAJA on the one hand and the British on the other

broke into open warfare which the British called the Emergency.

THE EMERGENCY

The Emergency involved all Malaya and Singapore and lasted about 12 years. (It might not be quite dead yet since several hundred of the guerrillas are said to have survived in the deep jungle and over the Thailand border.) The Emergency was no small thing. Starting with a few thousand, the guerrilla strength never grew to more than about 10,000 plus about 20,000 sympathizers. By June 1957, 6,300 rebels had been killed but the expense in British suffering and money was high. The British estimate that it cost over \$200,000 to kill one guerrilla. In 1957 the Emergency was still costing \$120,000,000 a year and the total cost to Britain was over a billion dollars. To wipe out 6,000 guerrillas required 10 years and the use of over 40,000 regular troops (about 30,000 of them European British and the rest colonial British). In addition it required the services of 100,000 police and 200,000 armed 'home guards'. Nor did this overwhelming military force suffice. The guerrilla base had to be destroyed by forcibly settling about 600,000 squatters (85 per cent Chinese) who lived on the jungle fringes into some 550 barbed wire camps. These camps had armed guards and no one could enter or leave between sunset and sunrise. Some of them had amenities like electric lights, water and pedigreed pigs. (These camps were the prototypes for the "happiness villages" which the US is trying to use in South Viet Nam.) The entire Federation of Malaya and Singapore was under a harsh martial law—administered in an inhuman and racist manner.

VILLAGES PUNISHED

A morally dubious, but often used British instrument of policy was the collective punishment of whole villages if some inhabitants were suspected of aiding the rebels. It was abandoned as a failure in 1953 although the "operational rice ration", i.e. the par-



British police expel peasants from their land in Colonial Malaya. Tunku Rahman revealed at the opening ceremony of the U.S.'s Standard Vacuum Oil Company in March that foreign investments in the new Malayan industries had reached 620 million Malayandollars, with 11 U.S. Companies enjoying preferential treatment.

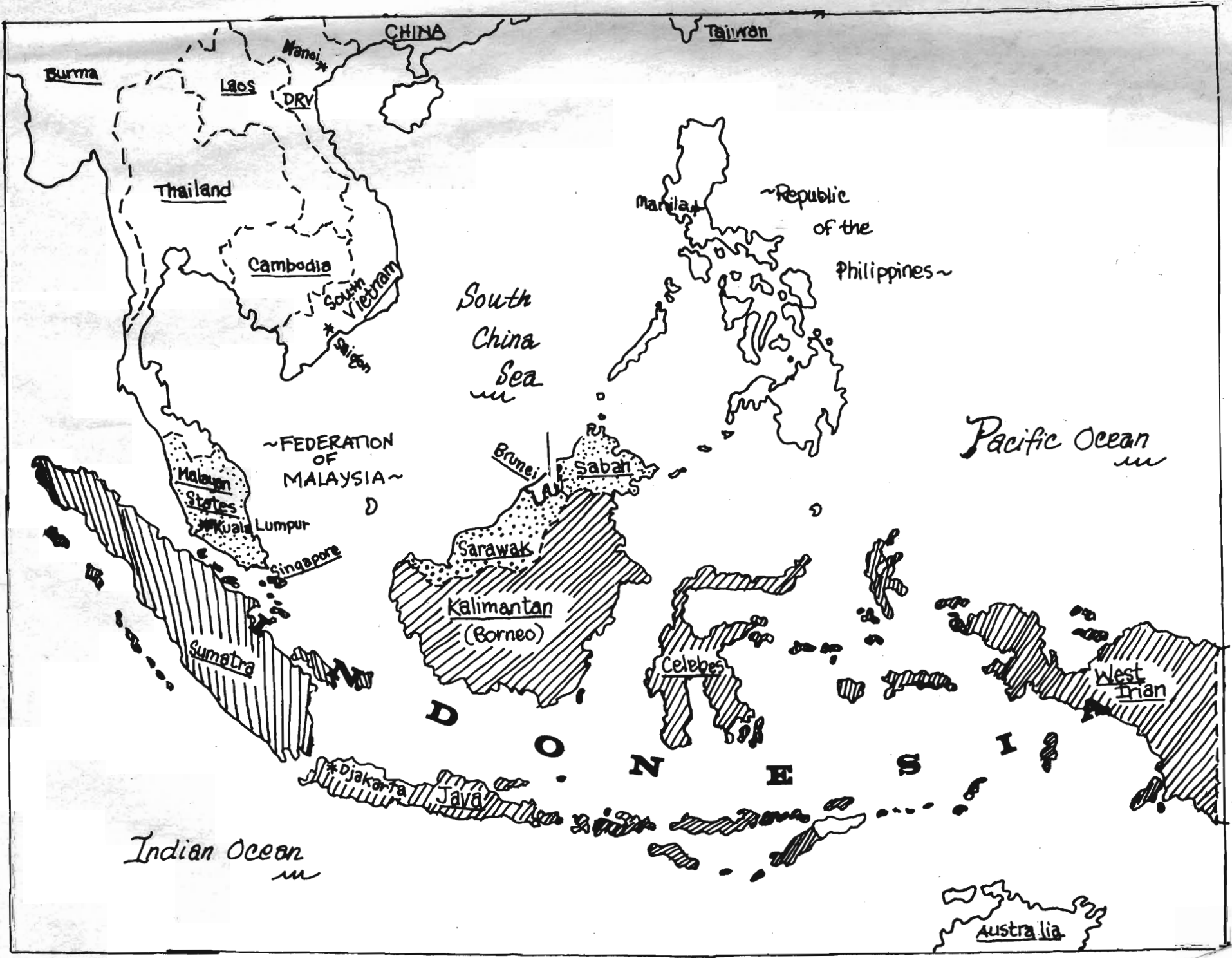
tial starvation of erring communities, was retained. General Templer, the British High Commissioner, conveyed his attitude toward the Communist guerrillas to Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas who described it in an article about his tour of Malaya in Look magazine Nov. 1951. Templer said: "We have to hunt them down like mad dogs in the jungle." According to Victor Purcell a British Malaya expert, "Many Malaysians blanch at the suggestion that the Communists are animals for...quite often they are sons and brothers." Another feature of the Templer regime was the policy of "divide and rule" which exaggerated and perpetuated inter-communal differences by discriminating against the Chinese.

Why did Britain fight this very costly, very brutal ten year war? Just to create a peaceful republic out of her one-time possession? Let's look at what the guerrillas were fighting for. Along with the Communist objectives of land reform, free education, racial equality,

etc., was the declaration that when the revolution had finally succeeded, all British capital was to be confiscated; what would this mean to Britain?

IMPERIALISM

Malaya produces about 1/3 of the world's natural rubber (1/5 of the total natural and synthetic production). The large estates produce 56 per cent of this and their share is increasing. Estate acreage is about 3/4 European, mainly British owned. Tin is second only to rubber in value of exports. The Federation is the world's largest tin producer accounting for about 40 per cent of world production. About 2/3 comes from European owned mines. Singapore's excellent harbor and location at a focal point of world trade routes made it into one of the greatest Asiatic ports. Its entrepot trade dominates the commercial sector of Malaysia's economy. European firms control about 50 per cent or more of import-export operations and



they control 70 per cent of the import-export trade of all of Malaya. They are especially strong in shipping, banking, insurance, and heavy machinery. In 1956 Singapore handled 17½ million tons of cargo valued at 2½ billion dollars.

What does this mean to Britain? In 1950 and 1951 (boom years), 2/3 of Britain's colonial dollar earnings came from Malaya's exports (mainly rubber, then tin). The British Survey, June 1952, says: "Without Malaya, the sterling system as we know it could not exist. Britain would have to halve her imports from the USA". An Asian wrote in the New Statesman, May 1953: "It is Britain who buys machinery to modernize her plants, buys food for her population, materials for her factories and medicine for her hospitals from the cheapest markets with Malayan dollars—the Malaysians can take what is offered by the inefficient British Industry or nothing at all."

Purcell has stated: "The only things that Malaya seemed to mean to anyone in Britain were 'dollar earnings' and 'the containment of communism.'"

By 1957 the Emergency was largely over and the British gave independence to the Federation of Malayan States, handing over the government to a political alliance headed by Tunku Abdul Rahman, whose leaders were conservatives, men of affluence and of British education. At the same time an Anglo-Malayan Defense treaty perpetuating the British military influence in Malaya was signed. The treaty has no time limit on it. By the terms of this treaty Britain could move troops anywhere within the country and could use the troops for S.E.A.T.O. purposes without necessarily consulting the Malayan Government. Further, the right to defend the bases was guaranteed. This meant that if the opposition Socialist Front, which is pledged to remove these bases, were constitutionally elected, this Socialist Government would be a threat to the security of the bases and, under the treaty, Britain could legally use military force to overthrow that government.

MALAYAN-INDONESIAN CONFLICT

After the establishment of FMS in 1957, conflicts appeared between Indonesia and the Malayan political elite. Each of the incidents then between the two governments are factors now in Indonesia's implacable hostility towards the present-day Malaysian Federation.

First of all, those elements most congenial to Malaya's Alliance Party Government under Tunku Abdul Rahman—for religious, economic, ideological and familial reasons—were gradually being removed from their once dominating positions. To further polarize this situation, in Malaya the local Communist party was being hunted down in the jungles, and in Indonesia it was steadily rising in power and influence.

Two other incidents are still sources



British police break a strike and arrest workers in Colonial Singapore. David Rockefeller said that U.S. investment in Malaysia could spiral when his Chase Manhattan Bank opens a branch in Singapore next month. First National Bank of New York noted the pivotal position of Singapore as an ideal base for regional business.

of friction. In the first the Malayan government (along with Taiwan and the American CIA) gave physical sanctuary and financial and military aid to rebellious Indonesian Army generals. Indonesia quelled the rebellion in March-April 1958, but the affair left ill feelings.

The other conflict arose when Tunku Abdul Rahman, on his own initiative offered to mediate the Indonesian-Dutch dispute over Irian Barat (West New Guinea) in 1961-1963. Rahman, a fellow Malay and Asian proposed lengthy UN control for the disputed area, while the Indonesians consider that Irian should have been surrendered with the rest of the Netherlands East Indies at the time of the transfer of sovereignty. The resulting bad feelings added to the long-held Indonesian suspicions of Malaya that had been aroused by the British-Malaya military agreements which permitted broad powers of intervention to the British. This then is the story of Malaya (or FMS), the major element in the formation of the Federation of Malaysia. The second ingredient in forming Malaysia, and

perhaps the economic key, was Singapore.

SINGAPORE

For racial reasons, Singapore, became a separate Crown Colony in 1946 and was excluded from the newly independent Federation of Malayan States. If its predominantly Chinese population were added to the FMS, the Malays would be outnumbered. Figures for 1959 are

	FMS	Singapore	FMS-Sing.
Chinese	2.5 mil.	1.23 mil.	3.8 mil.
Malay	3.4 mil.	0.23 mil.	3.6 mil.
Total	6.8 mil.	1.6 mil.	8.4 mil.

(Malayans are all Muslims)

Two other factors motivated Britain at this time. One was the need for a stable and reliable base from which she could oversee her interests in the area. The other was that Singapore was the largest British military, naval, and air base outside Europe.

Hence Singapore was kept as a colony. By 1961 it was obvious that the British-approved People's Action

Party (PAP)—moderately socialist—could not retain power if it did not meet the anti-colonial demands of the left-wing leaders. The legally constituted communist party was making great gains in the elections, and PAP had lost ground in the last two elections. PAP had a majority of just one seat in the Assembly and seemed likely to be defeated in the 1963 elections if not before. Once Singapore joined the Federation, Tunku Abdul Rahman, head of FMS, could control its "internal security", i.e. arrest and deport communists and fellow travelers. Simply then, the incorporation of Singapore into a new federation plan was for the purpose of disenfranchising its million and a half citizens, for keeping them from determining their preferred type of government. Only about 60 per cent of the Singapore citizens meet the qualifications for Federal citizenship, knowledge of Malay being a requirement for aliens. The people of Singapore were given no choice about whether they wanted to join the Federation or not.

Since it was "necessary" to take in Singapore to forcibly prevent it from becoming a "South East Asian Cuba", one had to do something to allay the racial fears of Tunku Abdul Rahman and to re-establish the Malay numerical majority in the country. The British proposed adding Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah (Northern Borneo or Kalimantan Utara) to the new federation. The indigenous groups there could then provide a counter-weight to the Singapore "Chinese". (However, more than half of the 1,250,000 inhabitants are neither Malay nor Chinese but Dayaks and other races, so that the problem wasn't ideally solved.)

This Malaysia plan was first announced on May 27, 1961. In Singapore, the opposition to the plan took shape in the formation of the Barisan Socialist Party (Socialist Front Party) which was a coalition of left-wing and trade union leaders. One of Tunku Abdul Rahman's insurances against this left opposition has been that in November 1961 he signed an agreement with the British Government under which terms the old Anglo-Malayan Defense Treaty of 1957 would be extended to cover the whole of the Malaysia territories, whatever they might be.

NORTHERN BORNEO

The incorporation of North Borneo into the proposed Federation of Malaysia forced the active opposition of Indonesia. As long as North Borneo remained a British colony, its future was in question. Since direct colonial rule was everywhere becoming a thing of the past, the status of North Borneo was neither permanent nor strong. The accession of North Borneo to Malaysia implied the permanent settlement of this question along neo-colonial lines.

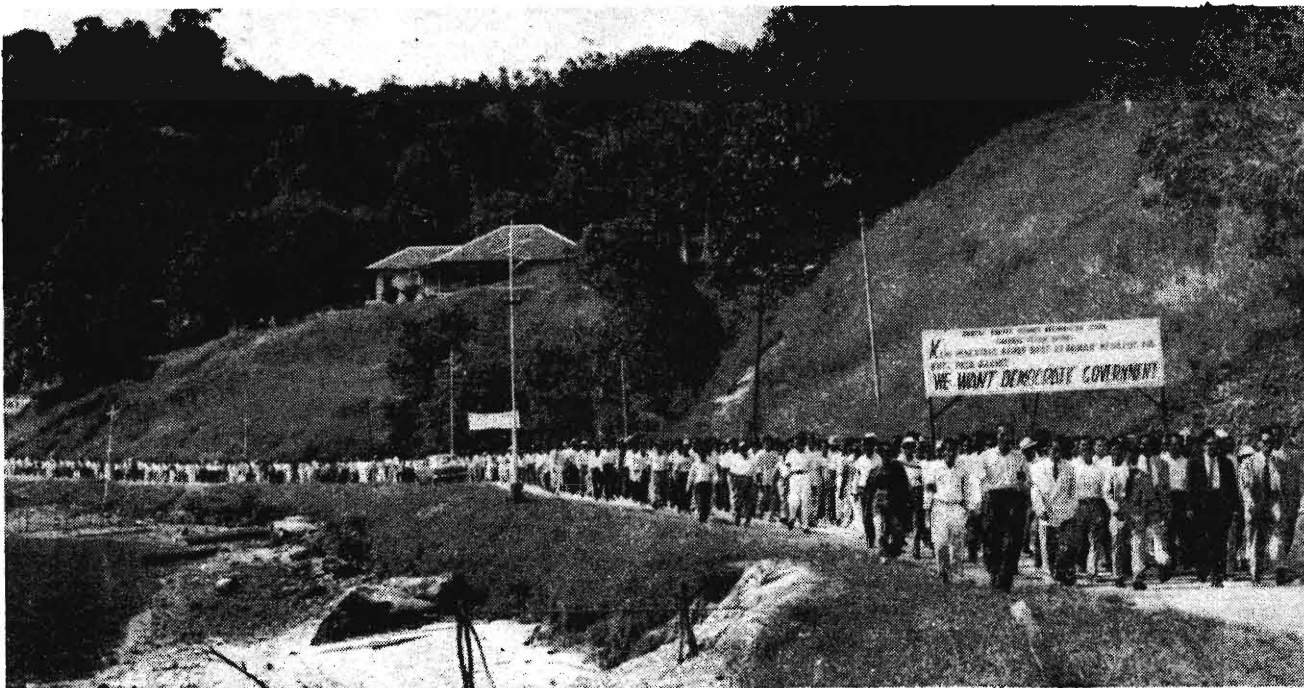
In Brunei, the British Shell Petroleum Company produces 4 1/2 million tons of oil earning a net annual profit of L26 million. In Sarawak, 80 per cent of the exports from oil, gold, and timber belong to British firms whereas in Sabah, about 85 per cent of the rubber, timber, and copra products are owned by British companies. In addition, there are banking, insurance, and other commercial enterprises belonging to West German, American, French and Japanese firms.

The anti-colonial parties in the three colonies had two objectives. First, political independence, and second to be joined in a Federation of Kalimantan Utara. On the basis of these demands the independence movement grew in strength.

The "Malaysia" plan would have the great advantage of enabling Tunku Abdul Rahman to protect British interests in North Borneo and at the same time he could help to stifle the left-wing movements there.

'KALIMANTAN UTARA' REBELS

In Brunei, the Partai Rakyat Brunei had a 100 per cent victory at the August 1962 General Elections—16 elected on an anti-Malaysia platform. When the British Resident Commissioner disallowed three anti-Malaysia proposals in a row the people, through the secretly organized Na-



S. M. Azahari, leader of the Partai Rakyat of Brunei, leads an anti-Malaysia demonstration, before the people of Brunei revolted. The Brunei revolt soon spread to all of Northern Borneo, but only Brunei has won its independence.

tional Army of Kalimantan Utara, rebelled. S. M. Azahari, Partai Rakyat leader, proclaimed the independence of Kalimantan Utara from Manila. British troops were rushed in to suppress this popular revolt which quickly spread to areas in Sarawak and Sabah. The National Army of Kalimantan Utara was forced into the jungle and guerrilla warfare has been going on since.

The immediate effect of this uprising was the suppression of all opponents of Malaysia. In Singapore, over one hundred members of the Barisan Sosialis were arrested; in the Federation of Malaya 80 were arrested, including the leader of the Parliamentary Opposition. And in Kalimantan Utara the arrests ran into thousands until even schools had to be used as jails.

At this point, with those who most threatened nationalization of their installations safely in jail, Shell Oil put pressure on the British government to let Brunei remain outside the federation. This was because Tunku Abdul Rahman was going to ask for a larger payment to the central government than Shell now pays to the Sultan of Brunei. So in the end, only Sarawak and Sabah were included, because they were judged to favor incorporation.

"FREE" ELECTIONS

The elections in Sarawak and Sabah were held amidst such actions as detentions without trial and the refusal of electioneering permits to the Sarawak United People's Party. The judging on the elections was done by a UN team headed by an American. The commission investigation started on 26 Aug. 1963. On 29 Aug., the Malayan government announced that Malaysia would be formed on 16 Sept. regardless of the outcome of the investigation. The investigation began a week before the Indonesian and Philippine members arrived. Both the Indonesian and the Philippine governments refused to accept the final finding that the peoples of the two territories favored incorporation. They claimed that the facilities granted to observers had been inadequate and that the mission had conducted the inquiry in an unsatisfactory way. Indonesia and the Philippines withheld recognition of the Federation and withdrew their ambassadors from Malaya.

ANOTHER VIETNAM

Now a large scale guerrilla war is being fought for the independence of Sarawak. The British are resisting with a force of about 16,000 British troops and the war is developing on the Viet Nam pattern. The jungle war is openly and actively supported by Sukarno of Indonesia, but it is predominantly an indigenous movement of the Chinese population who fear desinification and disenfranchisement under the Malaysian Federation. In case the 50,000 man British force in Malaysia doesn't suffice, the US in Nov. 1964 sent a defense team of Army, Navy and Air Force officers to Malaysia to implement a US military aid program as we once did for the French in Indo-China. Included will be military equipment, helicopters and aircraft developed for jungle warfare. Battleships of the Seventh Fleet pay courtesy calls to Malaysia to emphasize our support.

This then is the background of the Federation of Malaysia: Malaya, a prize colony, subdued in the ten year anti-communist war known as the Emergency, before being turned over to a pro-British government; Singapore, induced at the eleventh hour to disenfranchise its people; and North Borneo, incorporated by fiat (and a contested UN investigation), where guerrillas are now fighting a war for independence from the Federation.

"CRUSH MALAYSIA"

We see that Indonesia's hostility to the Federation of Malaysia stems partially from:

1. A strong feeling that the present boundaries of Indonesia are colonialily determined and that the Malaysia deal reinforces this. 2. The historical memory of a Java based Greater Malay Empire in South East Asia.

3. An image of the Malaysian government as a cynical alliance of feudal aristocracy, Chinese bourgeoisie and Anglo-American imperialism. 4. Resentment towards the Malayan government which on at least two occasions conspired against Indonesia's interests. 5. The determination to remove Western power and influence in its neo-colonialist form from South East Asia.

A study of internal Indonesian politics reveals that there are additional factors that tend to make all major Indonesian power groups (Pres. Sukarno, the Communist party PKI, the Army) favor the policy of confrontation that is called for by Indonesia's grievances.

MALAYSIAN REALITIES

The future of the Confrontation is hard to predict. Eighteen months after its creation, the Federation of Malaysia is beset by very serious contradictions and disunities. One major problem is continued British economic exploitation. The Finance Minister of Singapore, Dr. Goh Keng Swee, in Dec. 64 discussed the British smothering of Singapore's new textile industry. He concluded, "In spite of the benign protestations of concern which the rich countries every so often express toward the poor countries, this is still a harsh and predatory world when one comes down to brass tacks. The rich countries say 'What is mine I keep, what is yours is negotiable.'"

Despite Malaysia's absolute economic growth, her per capita income is stagnant or even declining. Unemployment is rampant. Disease is not being fought, illiteracy and birth rates are high. Income differentials between peasants and urban middle class are staggering as are those between both of these on the one hand and a handful of feudal chieftans and very rich on the other; and between the local population and foreign capitalists. Thus, to the masses of workers, peasants, and even middle class, the struggle against Malaysia is an economic and political one. The Government of the Federation of Malaya has served to protect British vested interests from the growing threat of the rising and popular left-wing parties like Barisan Sosialis Singapore, Parei Rakyat Brunei, and Sarawak United Peoples Party.



This is one of many anti-Malaysian demonstrations held in Sarawak. In a special First National Bank of New York brochure, the bank urged economic expansion into Sarawak and Sabah. It noted that the present Malaysian market was more than half again as large as Malaya and four times as large as Singapore.

POLITICAL REFLECTIONS

Malaysia's political problems were reflected at her birth. All the Opposition parties in Malaya and Northern Borneo boycotted the 'Malaysia' celebrations. As soon as the Tunku Abdul Rahman Government had the power to rule, it started to suppress the trade union movement in Singapore and Sarawak. The Singapore General Elections were held in the midst of this suppression. In spite of this, the anti-Malaysian parties polled 43 per cent of the vote, Barisan Sosialis getting 35 per cent of the votes cast. Shortly after the announcement of these results, further arrests of the Barisan Sosialis members were conducted, including many elected representatives. It is curious that our press has been reporting the steady infiltration of 'Indonesian' guerrillas into Malaya, but neglects to point out the vast popular support in Malaysia for anti-Malaysia policies. Is

it possible that Malaysians themselves are rebelling against their government and we are being handed another 'Vietnam story'?

FINAL RESOLUTION

On Indonesia's side there are serious internal economic problems, and the precarious political power balance of the Communist party and the Army, kept in equilibrium by Sukarno, whose health is allegedly failing. They do not compare with Malaysia's problems, though.

Whatever happens in Indonesia-Malaysia, an understanding of it will not be furthered by U.S. establishment 'scholars' who reduce the Confrontation to a case of Indonesian aggressiveness or Sukarno power hunger. Instead of these corrupt analyses and pat formulas, we see that the conflict is not a new one but an extension of an old one whose resolution has been deferred. Since British imperialism was never forced out of the area, it is still there. The direct colonial administration has been shifted to the neo-colonial Malaysia structure and the British presence has been augmented by the American (both in direct American military presence plus the indirect leverage that America exerts on a dependent Britain). It is only when western economic, political and military domination is finally ended that the Confrontation will be finally resolvable, and resolved.

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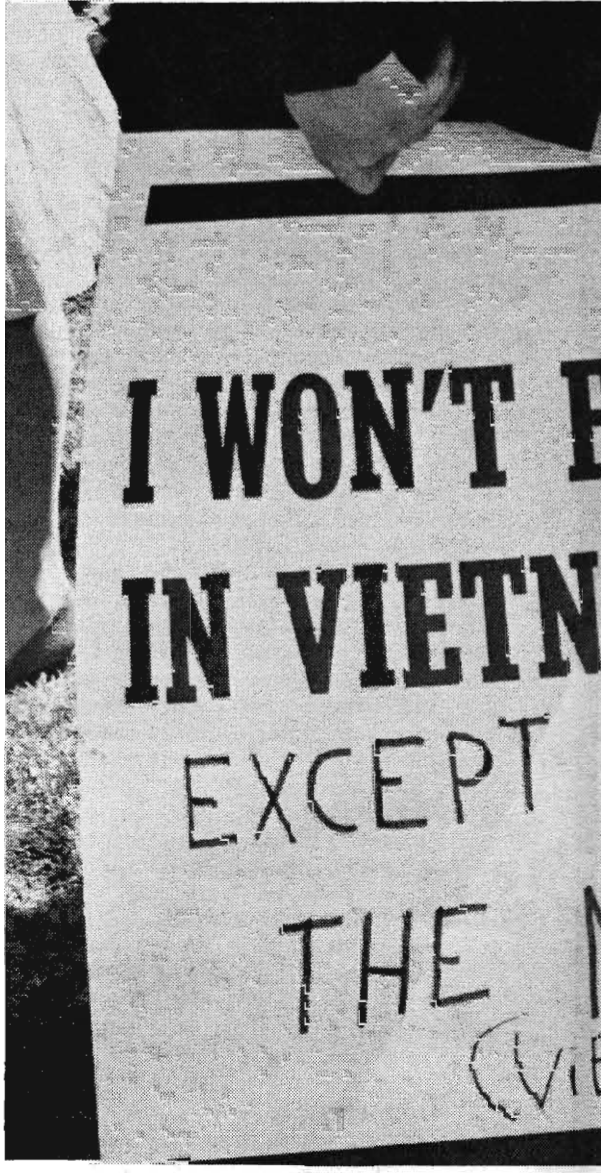
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Note: Parts of this article appeared in the Columbia Owl of 10 February 1965, as "The Malaysia Federation" by Steve Newman.

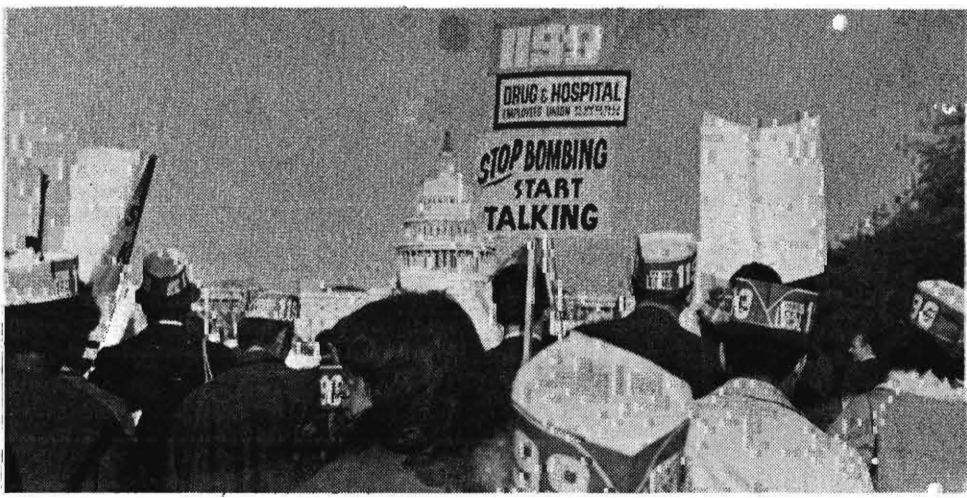


Indonesians have demonstrated against "Malaysia. The slogan above reads "Crush Malaysia. Britain's plan is to forge a chain of military bases in Malaya, Sarawak and Sabah, and along with SEATO bases in the Philippines and Australia, encircle Indonesia and Southeast Asia to suppress the national liberation movements there. Malaysia presently holds a seat in the U.N. Security Council.

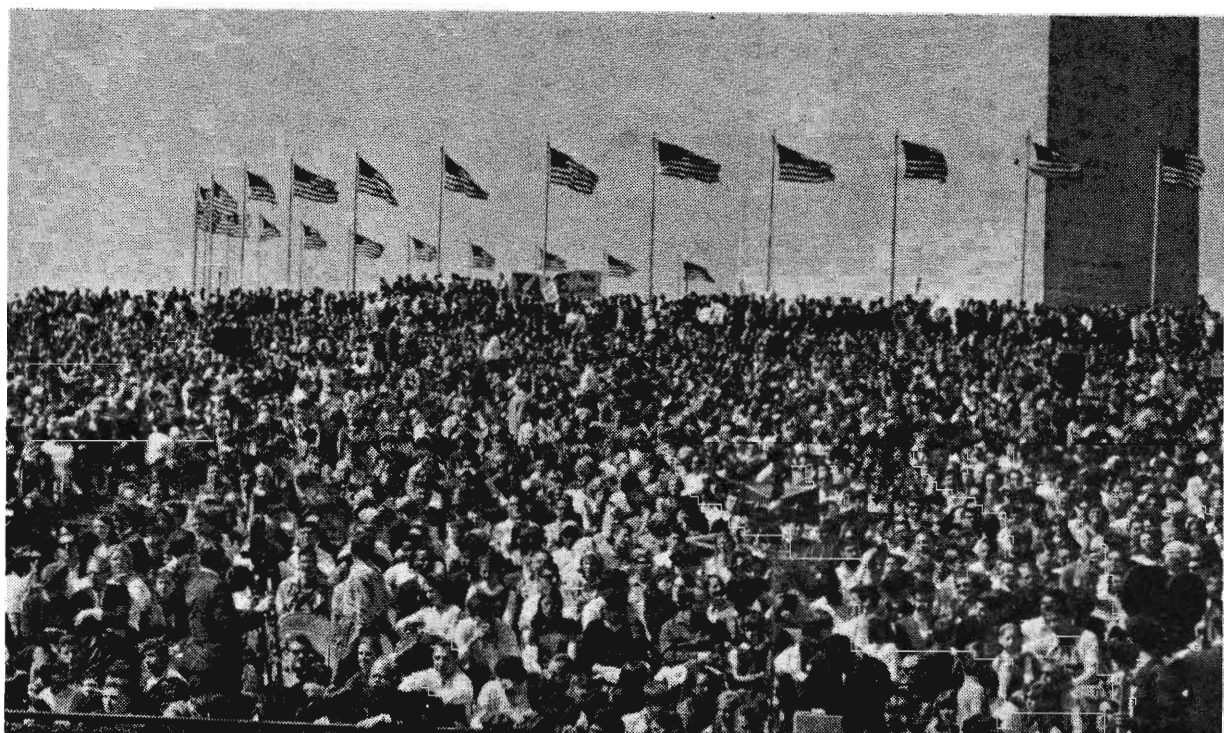
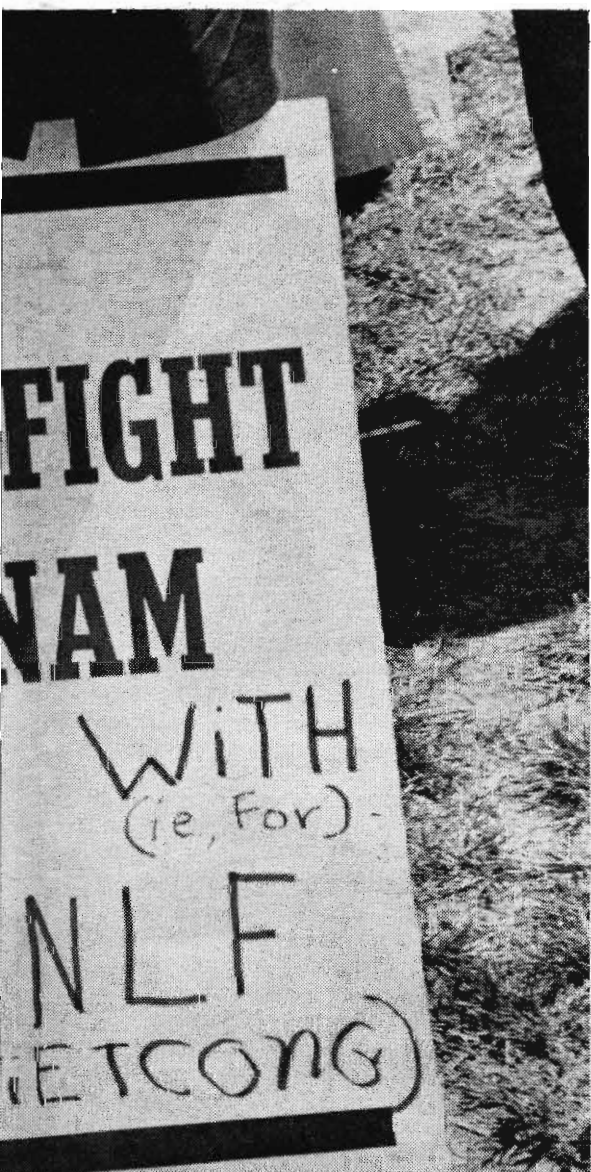
"We are here on behalf of brave men who have been fighting for their country's independence three times as long as we fought for ours, and with much less foreign assistance."
 —Staughton Lynd



"Thus, in our case, we have been told by the State Department that an internationally-agreed-to plan for nation-wide Vietnamese elections in 1956 was a Communist trap; we have had soldiers called advisers, lethal chemicals called weed-killers, lethal gases called benevolent incapacitators; we have had an attack by a small guerrilla contingent on a barracks whose guards were absent or sleeping transformed into a Hanoi-masterminded conspiracy demanding aerial retaliation until, a week later, it was explained that bombing North Vietnam was not retaliatory; we have had a belated and utterly inadequate explanation of an escalation policy, which offered to negotiate with everyone except the people we were fighting, which spoke of peace but said not one syllable about ending war...."
 —Staughton Lynd

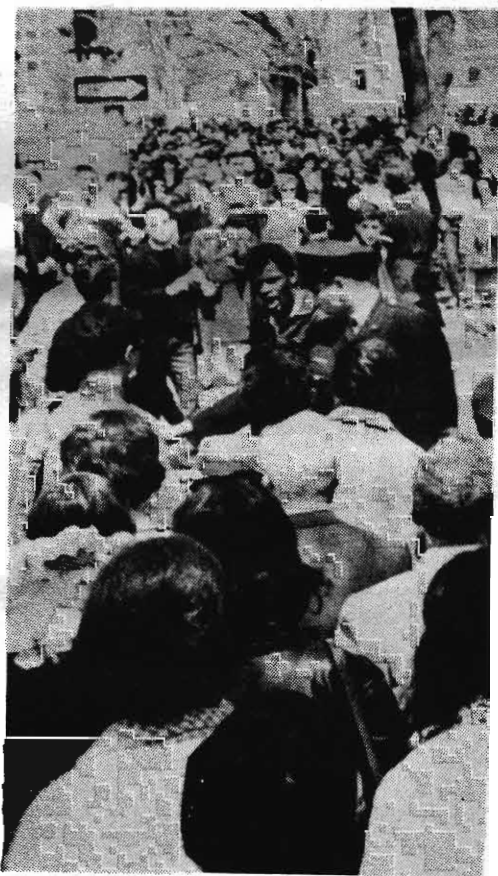


"...the people of in much more than tries there are people change their con same. All our li ability to overcom

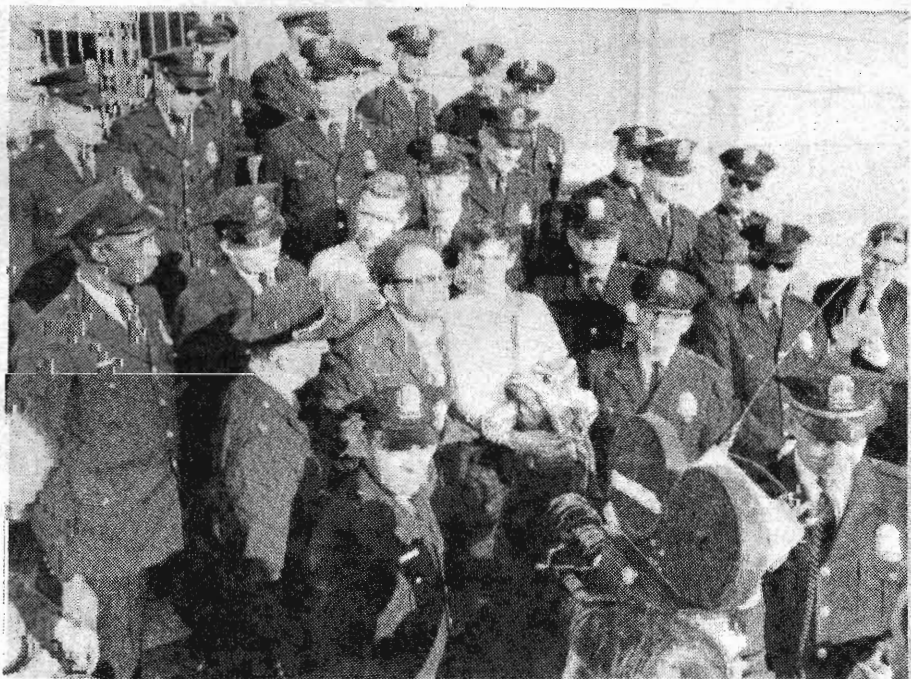


MILITANT photo by Felner

"Americans often ask: Why didn't the German people do something about it? Only in the last few weeks have I begun to wonder: What exactly did we expect them to do? Their situation was different from ours, but not that different. They too watched helplessly while their government incinerated men, women and children. They too were represented by a legislature which handed over its constitutional authority for war and peace to the executive. They like ourselves were lied to by their government, not once or twice, but over and over again in a sustained course of deception."
 —Staughton Lynd



"We must name that system. We must name it, describe it, analyze it, understand it and change it."
 —Paul Potter



of Vietnam and the people on this demonstration are united in a common concern that the war be ended. In both countries struggling to build a movement that has the power to addtion. The system that frustrates these movements is the lives, our destinies, our very hopes to live depend on our ne that system..."
 —Paul Potter

CHINA—A Canadian professor, just returned from Communist China, reports that the Chinese are de-emphasizing "getting a degree" and instead are emphasizing what a student knows. The New York Times of April 3, 1965 quotes Professor Casimir C. Lindsey of the University of British Columbia as saying, "They told me, 'You judge a man by what he does, not by his degrees.'"

SCOTLAND—The student council the university in Glasgow, Scotland voted against granting an honorary degree to Clark Kerr, President of the University of California, because of his "illiberal actions" towards political activity at the University of California.

International Student News

SOUTH VIETNAM—The Second Congress of All South Vietnamese Youth, held at the end of March in the liberated zones of south Vietnam, called upon the young men and women of south Vietnam to take part in the revolutionary struggle. Four main tasks were put forward by the Congress. They are: "to kill more enemies, boost production, build a new life in the liberated countryside, and strengthen the unity among youths of all strata." The 200 delegates present at the meeting, held somewhere in the jungles of south Vietnam, were said to represent 500,000 southern youth.

The seriousness of the tasks chosen by these Vietnamese youth cannot easily be overlooked.

SOUTH KOREA—The students of south Korea, after being brutally suppressed by the army last summer, are once more demonstrating to oppose the south Korean-Japanese talks and the Park regime in general. Police and students have been clashing in Seoul and other leading south Korean cities, with the students exchanging blow for blow with the U.S. trained and equipped forces. The government has also closed the schools in a hope that the students will go home and forget the whole thing. But the students feel that their country is at stake that after generations of repeatedly fighting against the Japanese occupation they will not quietly give in to treaties that will once again open Korea up for Japanese economic control. The students say, and the U.S. press ignores, that the treaty would be a colonial one—with Korea the colony and Japan (along with the few Korean allies Japan has always been able to find in exploiting Korea) as the colonizer.

JAPAN—The protest against the U.S.'s invasion of south Vietnam is worldwide. Club-swinging police were used to protect U.S. State Department apologist Walt W. Rostow when he recently arrived in Tokyo. Rostow is to tour Japan to "explain" the U.S. "position" in Vietnam, just as the State Department is planning to send some other apologists to U.S. college campuses to similarly "explain" their "position." The thousand Japanese students who met Rostow at the airport shouted their answer: "Rostow—Go Home!"

VENEZUELA—300,000 High School and University Students in Caracas boycotted classes for two days in April to protest a government ban on political activity on their campuses.

NORTH VIETNAM—One million, seven hundred thousand young north Vietnamese (including 500,000 women!) have joined the "Three Ready Movement"—ready to fight, ready to join the army and ready to go wherever they are needed and defeat any enemy. This spirit of willingness to fight in defense of their homeland on the part of Vietnamese youth is a strong compliment to the unwillingness (recognized in Washington) of U.S. youth to continue the invasion of Vietnam.

In Ninh Binh province, according to the Hsinhua News Agency, 30,000 armed youth held an anti-U.S. demonstration. In one province the young people dug 90,000 trenches and 62 kilometres of communication trenches. Air raid shelters (several hundred thousand of them) were dug in another province by Vietnamese youth.



Chile - Mass funeral at El Cobre after the dam burst. Others were buried without ceremony. "Why" Chileans demanded, "had the French controlled copper company at El Cobre allowed a lake of chemical wastes to pile up behind a towering mud wall above the homes of the miners?"

CHILE—Demonstrations against an increase in bus fare and other commodities reached a high point in Santiago when hundreds of students (both University and High School) took over Congress' gardens. Workers in many occupations including railroad, health services, and copper mines have joined in support of the students. The Chilean government quickly

moved to squash this worker-student coalition by force. They placed the railroads under army control, attacked the students in the Congress' gardens with tear gas and water, and in Concepcion left 18 demonstrators wounded, arresting many. At last report, thousands of copper workers were marching through the mountain snows to the capital.

BROOKLYN COLLEGE

Continued from page 3

strations and rallies held, Gideonse had been on ABC-TV to tell the world that it was the Communist Party who were the "active members...at the center of it...and some of the outsiders they bring to the campus..." Leaders of the SPM denied the charges and challenged Gideonse to provide proof for his accusations. At the BC student government meeting where a motion was brought up censuring Gideonse

for his "dangerous" accusations, he proved his thesis by pointing to the DuBois Clubs (active in SPM) as a Communist - controlled organization instructed to start "fireworks" on the campus, and **FREESTUDENT**, which he said was given away free at the gates of BC (they were sold) and was designed to spread the Berkeley spirit on the campuses (true enough—ed.). The leaders of SPM stood up and demanded that he point out which of them was a Communist. Unable to do so, he instead accused them of being misled and duped.

However, repercussions of the red-baiting were more serious in the executive committee of SPM, especially after he published his "documentation" in the school newspaper. Each charge was completely refuted by the SPM leaders, but within SPM the baiting had a divisive affect. Thus divided against themselves, with the onset of Spring vacation in three days, and with exams to follow, activity tapered off at BC.

But SPM still exists and so does an incredible amount of student discontent which could be brought to the surface by any incident which infringes on student or faculty academic freedom or dignity. It is not surprising that Professor Sitton defied the Feinberg Law and at the same time was strongly condemning U.S. policy in Vietnam. Neither is it surprising that in the fresh air of a struggle for academic freedom and non-conformity, hundreds of what were thought to be apathetic BC students came to a position critical of, and rejecting U.S. policy in Vietnam, and sent 5 busloads to the April 17 student march.

FREE STUDENT UNION

Continued from page 2

announced the formation of a Free Student Union. It is designed to bring large numbers of students together, rather than just uniting political groups on short range issues. About 2000 students have already paid dues and joined. The following statement appears on the Free Student Union membership card:

"As students we have certain rights which no agency can legitimately grant or deny; among these the right

to govern our own internal affairs; to set our own standards of conduct; and jointly with the faculty to determine the form and nature of our education."

Students at Berkeley are planning to call for a National Student Conference this summer, to discuss organizing a federation of student unions throughout the country. The unions would, for example, organize student strikes against the war in Vietnam, as well as struggling for educational reform and student rights.



Prof. Robert Sitton



University of California girls jailed after occupying Sproul Hall at Berkeley last Fall.

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NATIONAL TEACH-IN - May 15

The National Teach-In will be held in Washington on May 15th. It will begin in the morning with three speeches by prominent academics. Bundy and other prominent administration spokesmen have been invited to come in the afternoon to speak, and answer questions from the audience and a reactor panel, where they stand a decent chance of being academically impeached. In the evening, the audience will divide into seminars; as well, congressional leaders will be questioned on their views.

The "Inter-University Committee for a public Hearing on Vietnam" is calling for simultaneous local teach-ins around the country. These can receive, via an AT&T hook-up, the four-hour confrontation between the administration spokesmen and the reactor panel. Radio stations should be persuaded to broadcast the speeches and debate.

The hook-up can be arranged for only \$60-80 for a hall seating up to 4000. Contact the committee at Box 1383, Ann Arbor 48106, or (313) NO3-4242 or 4243. You may call collect if necessary.

Columbia University: A Political Monograph

By Sharon Krebs and Ed Lemansky

"Having observed closely the inner life at Columbia for many years, I have been driven to the conclusion that the university is really under the control of a small and active group of trustees who have no standing in the world of education, who are reactionary and visionless in politics, narrow and medieval in religion. Their conduct betrays a profound misconception of the true function of a university in the advancement of learning."—Charles Beard upon his resignation from Columbia University in 1917.

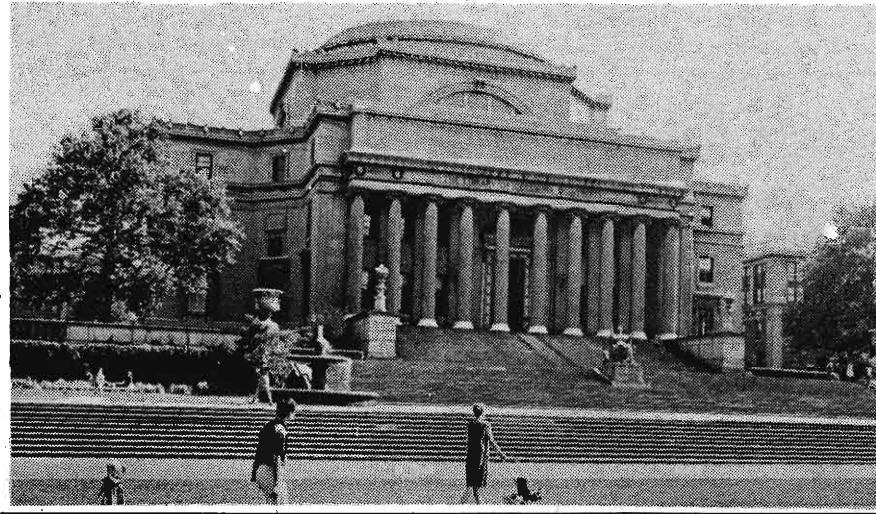
Columbia University is widely held to be one of the more "liberal" campuses in the United States. It is relatively free of the petty dress and living regulations which plague undergraduates at most colleges in the country. That women must sign out of their dorms after 6:30 p.m., that doors must be kept open one book-width when a member of the opposite sex is visiting (presumably for the benefit of some hallway patrol) and that dorm living is required for a minimum period of time, all serve to remind us that Columbia still thinks of its students as children to be watched over, molded, and protected from harmful influences. Still co-eds at Barnard are free to dress in slacks and Columbia College men can wear levis. And at least they are free to visit each other in their rooms—within certain hours.

The Contestants

Yet the history of this ivy league school of high academic standing is littered with the names of students and teachers who, while permitted the freedom of individual non-conformity, have been hounded from the university when they dared to publicize their radical views or when they tried to organize others around a common program of action.

Trustees have been quick to note any professor entering political life—

(We ask independent students to write monographs on their particular universities for FREE STUDENT. Let's continue to ask and find out who runs our schools, and for what purposes.)



also in 1917—and in 1932 Reed Harris, editor-in-chief of the Spectator was expelled for editorials attacking the management of the John Jay dining halls and exposing varsity football as a "semi-pro" racket. Harris, however, was supported by the ACLU, newspaper editors and his fellow students. 1500 students cut classes and rioted. Finally after twice upholding the expulsion, the university administration succumbed to pressure and reinstated Harris, who promptly resigned. In an interesting sidelight, his classmates then voted him "most likely to succeed."

Anti-fascist and anti-war movements had great support on the campus during the 1930's. In 1935 students demonstrated against the attendance of Italy's Consul General at a ceremony held by the Casa Italiana. The administration opposed the protest, which was publicly supported by 68 members of the faculty. By the time the smoke cleared, 6 technicians who supported

Opposition to the U.S. participation in the war was considered subversive and championship of the government policy was institutionalized. At Columbia, the notion of a university as a place where all views were debated and discussed, where a true forum for inquiry was established, had clearly become a shameless hypocrisy.

Not only students and faculty members, but other workers employed by Columbia are not permitted to develop a fight to protect their interests. In 1952, for example, the University smashed a two-week strike of all cafeteria and maintenance workers who were demanding union recognition. Despite considerable student support the university successfully divided most students from the striking workers, and was able to maintain operations by hiring student scabs. The striking workers were fired at the end of the strike.

This year, 13 years later, the Columbia CORE chapter attempted to draw attention to the cafeteria workers' demand for collective bargaining rights. They were met by total opposition from the University administration which invoked the university's "non-profit" status as justification for refusing to bargain with a union. This, despite the fact that Columbia University is a giant corporation—with assets of well over \$350 million.

In 1953, during the height of the McCarthy witch-hunts, Columbia fired 30 teachers for their "Communist ties," although the Columbia College faculty attacked the investigation and defended the teachers' right to invoke the 5th amendment.

In 1964 the administration dutifully carried out its functions by banning campus demonstrations against official guests. This was in response to a student protest against the visit of Greece's pro-Nazi Queen Frederika. Continued protests finally forced the administration to relax its edict somewhat—retaining a provision banning demonstrations which might "embarrass the University."

As one examines the history of faculty and student struggle for the right to put forward radical ideas, and to organize to implement them, the question of "who controls the university?" is constantly raised.

The Power Elite...

Part of the answer is found in an examination of the composition of the board of trustees of the University—the group which has final authority to set university policy.

In the early days of American higher education most colleges were established as institutions of religious training, and the clergy who then made up the boards of regents or trustees were there to insure religious orthodoxy and decorum. The universities became secularized, and in the usual pattern of this country, played the role of reflecting rather than guiding public policy. The boards became the property of huge corporations which continue to oversee the orthodoxy of the institution within the perimeters of their

interests.

In 1922, in *The Goose Step*, Upton Sinclair dubbed Columbia, "the university of the House of Morgan." He demonstrated the existence of interlocking directorates of universities, big corporations and philanthropic foundations. He documented the assertion that all are dominated by a relatively small group of men representing finance capital.

Columbia of 1965 is in no significant way different from the universities of 1922. The 23 men who sit on the board of trustees of Columbia University also sit on the boards of directors of corporations whose assets total well over \$150 billion. These include some of the world's largest corporations. For example, Grayson Kirk, who is also president of the university, is a member of the board of directors of the Consolidated Edison Co. of N.Y. (Assets \$3.6 billion), Socony Mobil Oil Co. (Assets \$4.7 billion), and IBM (Assets \$2.4 billion), as well as a number of banks and investment corporations. Members of Columbia's board of trustees sit on the boards of the three largest life insurance companies in the United States. Trustee Frederick R. Kappel spends his time away from the groves of academe as

(For these men's complete corporate interests, see box on the following page.)

Chairman of American Telephone and Telegraph (Assets \$28.3 billion). Kappel is also a director of the Chase Manhattan Bank (Assets \$12.1). Members of the university's board are directors of more than 20 corporations which each have assets of more than half-a-billion dollars.

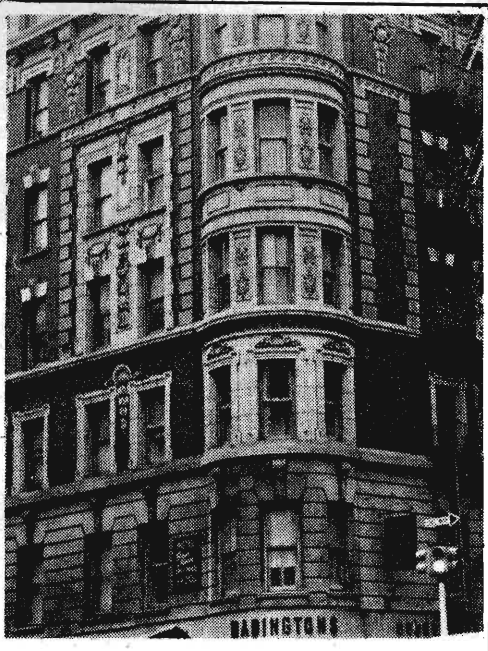
...Its Interests

A simple statement of the assets of some of the major corporations with which the University's trustees are connected is insufficient to give one a real feel for the kind of economic control these men have. The connections of these corporate giants with others can be observed by examining any one of the following. For example, The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States (of which Samuel Walker is a director) has almost all of its assets (\$11.3 billion) invested in other corporations. \$4.9 billion is invested in bonds of other corporations, and \$4.3 billion is invested in loans on real estate. Equitable is also a classic case of "interlocking directorates" (for all sceptics who claim that this sort of things went out with the robber barons of the 1880's). On Equitable's Board of Directors we find the Chairman of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, the President of the Detroit Edison Company, the President of the Southern Railway, the President of Bell Telephone Labs, the President of the Ford Foundation, the President of the Chemical Bank of New York, the Chairman of the Board of Texaco, the President of the Cleveland Electric Illuminating Company, the President of Lever Brothers, the President of the Chase Manhattan Bank, the V.P. of T. Mellon and Sons, the President of Princeton University, the Dean of the Harvard Business School (who is also a director of General Foods Corporation), and a few others.

Members of the Columbia Board of Trustees are on the boards of a number of large investment corporations. Dividend Shares, Inc., one of whose directors is Columbia president Kirk, is a good example. Dividend Shares, Inc. had assets of 340 million dollars at the end of 1963. These assets were in the form of various corporate securities. 15 per cent of the corporation's assets are in the form of \$51 million of petroleum stocks (with \$24 million of this invested in the Standard Oil group). \$46 million are invested in stocks of utilities companies, \$230 mil-

continued

Bryn Mawr Apartments—more of Columbia's real estate. Columbia bought the building last July, specifically to move black and Puerto Rican New Yorkers back to the ghetto, to make for an all-white Morningside Heights. Columbia wants to replace this "blight on the neighborhood" with a new pharmacy school building. The University has used the courts to sue for dispossession and a reform tenants council organized by staff members of St. Luke's Hospital (controlled by Columbia) to weaken the protest and picketing by the tenants. Columbia has won its suit in court, the present landlord is appealing the decision, the tenants are still hanging on in the Bryn Mawr.



particularly if he espouses a serious radical opposition to the status quo. In 1917, for example, Professor J. McKeen Cattell was dismissed from the chair of psychology (which he had held since 1891) because he wrote to members of Congress opposing measures which sent conscripts to fight in Europe against their will. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, an instructor of English, who had made anti-war speeches before the People's Forum was fired at the same time. A week after Dana's dismissal, the historian Charles A. Beard resigned from the faculty of the University in protest.

Student editors of campus newspapers are particularly vulnerable to the scrutiny and prejudices of the trustees. The editor of the *Jester*, was expelled for attacking President Butler—

Sharon Krebs, a grad student in Slavic languages, is a member of Columbia M-2-M.

the students were dismissed from their positions at the Medical Schools.

Students came out in a general strike in 1936 supporting a fellow student, Burke, who had been expelled in the wake of a demonstration protesting President Butler's acceptance of an invitation to Nazi Germany. Burke was not as lucky as Reed Harris, and was not readmitted.

By 1940 President Butler stated that faculty members should resign if their opinions conflicted with the university's views on war and national defense.

In 1949, while General Eisenhower was president of the university, Provoost Jacobs stated that academic freedom was to be construed to bar "subversive teachers" from the staff. At the same time, the administration refused to renew the charter of the Labor Youth League, on the ground that the organization had "subversive ties."

During the Korean War, the university offered a non-credit course, "Why We Fight," as well as 6 military courses.

Cont. from page 11

lion in banks and financial corporations, and \$23 million in chemicals and drugs. Dividend Shares has investments in IBM of \$17.8 million, and General Motors of \$10 million. Is it any wonder that the university, like the government, is run on the basis of "what's good for General Motors...."

Adrian Massie sits on the board of directors of the Cerro Corp., which will serve as an example of the kind of imperialist activities in which our "educational leaders" are involved. We have chosen Cerro because it is "small" (it has assets of "only" \$288 million) and typical of the activities of U.S. owned corporations in Asia, Africa and Latin America. According to Moody's Industrial Manual, 1964 edition, Cerro has huge mining and smelting operations in Peru. It is involved in the extraction of copper, lead, zinc, silver, gold, bismuth, cadmium, selenium, tellurium and antimony. The corporation also owns coal mines in Peru, as well as its own hydroelectric power system and railway. Furthermore, in the words of the manual, the "company owns large tracts in the vicinity of La Oroya, used for the production of agricultural products and the grazing of about 200,000 sheep and 6,000 cattle. These provide food for the company's workers....(the) company also owns housing, hotels, hospitals, schools, stores and other facilities needed for support of its workers and supervisory staff." It also owns storage and shipping yards at Callao, an office building in Lima, as well as other administrative buildings.

One of Cerro's subsidiaries, the Cerro de Pasco Petroleum Company has petroleum exploration concessions covering 2½ million acres. It is important to remember that this is by no means the largest American operation in Latin America. Its presence, as that of Rockefeller oil interests in Venezuela, explains the guerrilla warfare now raging in those two countries; the followers of Hugo Blanco in Peru, and the National Liberation Front in Venezuela.

Given the connection of most of the University's board of trustees with such operations, it would seem to require a minor miracle to have fair, reasonable and honest teaching at the university. Such miracles have not yet occurred—nor do they seem likely to occur as long as the universities re-

main firmly in the grasp of these men, and the corporations they represent.

An interesting aspect of the problem of corporate control of the university is revealed when one examines Columbia's own financial position. It is itself a major corporation, having assets totaling more than \$350 million. Of this, \$126 million is invested in common stocks of corporations (\$25.5 million in petroleum, \$21 million in public utilities, \$11 million in chemicals and \$6.7 million in metals). In addition, the university owns \$56 million worth of real estate (including

Rockefeller Center—valued at \$33 million). A Columbia student, wishing to obtain more detailed information, visited the office of the University Treasurer. He was told that he could not be given such information, that it was "too inconvenient." We ask, "Too inconvenient for whom?"

...Its Politics

In addition to their activities as directors of giant corporations, a number of Columbia's board of trustees have served and are serving in important governmental positions. Trus-

tee Frank Hogan, for example, is New York County District Attorney, and has been for more than 20 years. We also find a former assistant High Commissioner to Germany (Benjamin J. Bittenweiser), a Federal Judge (Frederick Van Pelt Bryan), and a former ambassador to Belgium (William A.M. Burden). Burden served in this capacity from 1959 to 1961—the period which saw the murder of Patrice Lumumba by Tshombe and his Belgian supporters (See "Congo," Free Student No.2).

That corporations are inextricably connected with the government itself and in fact determine its policies, has been pointed out by C. Wright Mills (whose career at Columbia was marked by continual harassment) in *The Power Elite*. "There is no longer, on the one hand, an economy, and on the other hand, a political order containing a military establishment unimportant to politics and to money-making. There is a political economy linked, in a thousand ways, with military institutions and decisions."

It is the eagerness of these large corporations to turn over huge profits—through the adoption of such military and political policies as "containment of communism"—that commits the government to the repression of self-determination abroad and radical dissent at home. Those who make up the "power elite" recognize that their ability to maintain support for their policies depends in large measure on their ability to isolate the coming generation of administrators and intellectuals from any serious radical or revolutionary criticism of the existing system. For it certainly is in the interest of the university's board of trustees to see that Columbia produces the materials with which to run their corporations and their government. It is in their interest to do everything in their power to see to it that the ideas, "facts," and opinions of the graduate who enters the business-military-government-educational world coincide with the outlook of the trustees and the trustees' corporations.

The idea of a free university, a free student, or even a free mind is as inimical to their interests as a liberated Vietnam in a liberated Southeast Asia.

Ed Lemansky, a graduate of Antioch College, is a member of Progressive Labor.

Who Runs Columbia...

NAME	CORPORATE INTERESTS
Grayson Kirk (President of Columbia Univ.)	Director: Consolidated Edison Co. of N.Y.—Assets \$3.6 billion; Socony Mobil Oil Co.—Assets \$4.7 billion; IBM—Assets \$2.4 billion. Trustee: Greenwich Savings Bank — Assets \$798 million.
Frederick R. Kappel	Chairman: American Telephone & Telegraph—Assets—\$28.3 billion. Director: Chase Manhattan Bank — Assets \$12.1 billion; Metropolitan Life—Assets \$20.6 billion; General Foods Corp.—Assets \$658 million.
Alan H. Temple	Director: Prudential Life Insurance Co.—Assets \$19.8 billion; The Monsanto Corp.—Assets \$1.4 billion; First National City Bank of N.Y.—Assets \$11.8 billion.
Maurice Moore (Chairman of the board of trustees)	Director: Chemical Bank N.Y. Trust Co.—Assets \$5.8 billion; General Dynamics—Assets \$626 million; Time, Inc.
William Peterson	Director: Irving Trust Co.—Assets \$2.7 billion.
William Burden	Director: Manufacturer's Hanover Trust Co. — Assets \$6.5 billion; Allied Chemical Corp.—Assets \$1.1 billion; Lockheed Aircraft — Assets \$545 million.
Harold F. McGuire	Director: Shell Oil Co.—Assets \$2.1 billion (a subsidiary of Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., the largest oil company in the world).
Walter Fletcher	Director: Union Pacific RR—Assets \$1.7 billion.
William T. Gossett	Vice President & Director: Ford Motor Co.—Assets \$5.9 billion.
Walter H. Sammis	President & Director: Ohio Edison Co. — Assets \$679 million.
Samuel Walker	Director: Equitable Life Assurance Society of the U.S.—Assets \$11.3 billion.
Adrian M. Massie	Trustee: Greenwich Savings Bank—Assets \$798 million.
William S. Paley	President: Columbia Broadcasting System.

Note: The sources of information regarding the corporate interests of these members of Columbia University's Board of Trustees are: a. *Poor's Directory of Corporations, Executives and Directors*, 1964 Ed. and b. *Who's Who in America*, 1964-65 Ed. The sources of information regarding the assets of the various corporations are the 1964 editions of *Moody's Manuals*. All figures are as of the end of 1963.

San Jose, California: The New Student

By Louis King
San Jose State

San Jose State College (SJS), San Jose, California, is an example of a small, but significant, movement. SJS has not distinguished itself as a center of student unrest or action. It is average in its percentage of apathy and conformism. But a close examination shows that the average American student is changing.

In the Spring of '63 the only active liberal element on campus was a small peace organization (SPU).

In the Fall of '63 a new organization was formed, called Toward an Active Student Community (TASC). TASC was to stimulate political discussion by bringing speakers on campus. But by mid semester something new was hatched. A closed-off street (7th St.) cuts straight through the center of campus. On the sidewalk of the street an unused bus stop bench still sits. On a Friday, at about noon, several TASC members got up on the bench, facing the street. They carried a sign reading 7th St. FORUM. From that day on, almost every Friday, there is a "Hyde Park" type forum on 7th St.

As the Forum flourished, a nighttime, indoor Friday Forum was nurtured and created by other students. In an "open-end" style, prescheduled topics were discussed by and between students and faculty. The Friday Forum took place once to twice monthly and still continues regularly.

Other changes occurred in the following semesters. CORE and SNCC came on campus. A Committee for Socialist Action and a Humanist (agnostics and atheists) group were formed. SPU's membership ranged around 300. A student newspaper (independent of the Journalism Dept.) was organized, mimeographed, and sold. Its name was the *Campus Voice* and is infamous all over California.

MASS MEETINGS

These are the changes that have taken place in the last two years. A closer look at SJS this semester shows the true nature of what the small, but significant student action is like.

At registration SNCC passed out information leaflets to almost every student registering (21,000). SPU passed out peace information and a form letter to be signed and mailed to the President in protest of U.S. action in Viet Nam.

Before school even started SNCC held two well-planned rallies on 7th St. Every afternoon of the first two weeks of school there was a spontaneous 7th St. Forum drawing large crowds. Topics varied from FSM to the Congo to HUAC. Several groups on campus co-sponsored a picket of the post office in protest of the U.S.'s Viet Nam policy. The usually conservative school newspaper came out with two columnists: one commenting that Barry Goldwater was to his left; the other a socialist. When the Selma brutality started there was a three-day,

round-the-clock, vigil and picket at the post office. The week after the beatings in Selma there was a rally every afternoon at 7th St. These rallies culminated in a march on Friday. About 600 faculty and students marched through the heart of town to the post office.

From the post office 200 of these people marched to San Francisco, 50 miles. On the way more and more people joined until, when they marched up to the federal building in S.F., there were 6,000 people.

Recently the California legislature has decreased the pay of State College Professors by 1.8 per cent due to a previous mistake in calculations and an overpayment. Teachers, already underpaid in comparison to other colleges, started complaining. Students picked up the cry. But students did not restrict their grievances to the pay cut. They also voiced objection to a proposed tuition, proposed health fees, large classes, poor library facilities, and the whole educational system.

STUDENT POWER

Three independent, non-related groups sprang up simultaneously. One group existed solely to collect money to make up the faculty pay cut (and, thus, made fools of the legislature).

The strongest and most dynamic of these groups (Students for Excellence in Education, SEE) held a Friday 7th St. rally. 4,000 student turned out. This number was matched

only once before in the history of SJS.

These groups are doing more than usual on-campus activity one would expect (such as a thorough investigation of the library). SEE, for instance, is doing something that students a year ago in America would have never dreamed of. SEE is organizing State University, College, and Junior College students to initiate a referendum for a constitutional amendment.

Students are trying, by themselves, to get enough signatures on petitions to have California call a special election for an amendment stating that California is obligated to provide FREE, high quality, higher education. This would mean no tuition or health fees, smaller classes and better instructors, and moreover, a change in the whole basis of California education.

Students in other countries have known their power for a long time. When a revolution takes place in other countries, it is the students that start, lead, and MAKE IT.

In Japan, thousands of students turned out on a moment's notice to protest an American war ship docking.

In Brazil, when a revolution took place that students did not aid, the advancing army marched around campuses. Armies skirted university communities, rather than incur the wrath of students.

In America, until recently, nothing. But students of America are now challenging the most basic assumption: that they have no right to act. America is witnessing a new student.

Teacher-Firings, Teach-ins...

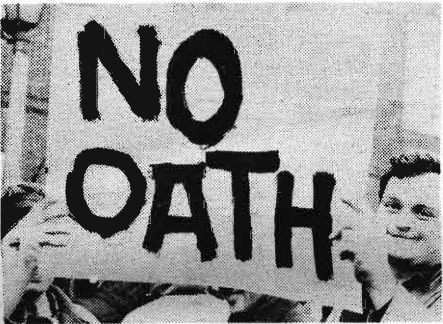
The Long Sleep Ends

Through the long years of the Cold War America's colleges and universities slept the sleep of the dead. During the early and mid fifties their faculties were purged of their obstreperous members. Most of those that survived were subjected to humiliating oaths, sworn and solemn, certifying that they were not about to overturn the state.

Each professor, in full appreciation of his rank and entitlements, filled in a slip of paper attesting that he never taught, conspired, nor advocated bloody revolution. That he would never do so. Administrators of the Federal Government, of the State Government, of "the political subdivisions thereof" could sleep peacefully without fearing the wrath of the professor.

Roving committees of the House and Senate and their confreres within the several states travelled from this campus to that upon the advice of paid informers to flush out perjurers, men whose fanatical commitment to dangerous dogmas might subvert the malleable minds of youth.

Some teachers complained and were duly sent packing. Some got teaching jobs at other institutions. Some sued or put their case into the hands of the sloth-paced American Association of University Professors. Some put their



PhDs in nuclear physics to work repairing television sets. Some went to jail.

McCarthy passed out of the limelight. McCarthy died. The oaths continued, the roadshow - committees traveled. Professors clucked to each other in the privacy of their living rooms about "evil times," and "academic self-destruction." A professor's wife at Brandeis stood up at a public meeting in 1962 and condemned the government's policy during the Cuban missile crisis. She and her husband were removed from the staff. The colleagues clucked that the bitch was an anchor to her husband's career.

Most teachers quickly took note of the "realities." The road to promotion and tenure was paved by knuckling under to the Administration. Students counted for next to nothing: "Keep 'em happy, give 'em texts, and publish like crazy." It wasn't only that they had to publish that bothered them—it was that what they had to publish was emasculated trash in dusty journals, seldom read and hardly ever appreciated.

Solons and magnates wondered publicly why so few people with ideas and talent went into teaching. They required more oaths, sent out more committees, and wondered publicly some more. Administrations devoted thousands of hours to selective hiring practices: one unseemly incident could be worth tens of thousands from giant corporations of the government. The mature, bland professor was in special demand. The Administrators complained bitterly about the lack of trained personnel for classrooms and turned to restricted admissions policies, classroom TV, and the Monster Lecture to compensate for the lack of staff. They too wondered about ideas and talent.

Finally, after twenty years of the Cold War, after a stepped up ten-year campaign of systematic butchery in Vietnam, in the face of the thrashing and writhing of the black population of America, after a successful revolution in Cuba, Algeria and Tanzania and revolutionary war in Colombia, Venezuela, Congo, Portugese Guinea, and a dozen other countries, America's colleges have begun to waken.

The students, the people who will

have to live within an American nightmare are the prime movers of the wakening. It is their demand to understand Vietnam, to understand Black Liberation, to understand national liberation, to understand not only Marx but Lenin and Stalin and Mao and Che Guevara, in short, to understand the events of the world, that have galvanized their professors into action.

Thus "teach-ins:" teach-ins at Michigan and Drew, (C.C.N.Y) and Columbia. Peculiar enterprises in which the ideas that should have been discussed all year in the classrooms are taught during one-night, all-night vigils. True, when this is pointed out, as it was by a fired professor at a teach-in at City College in New York, the students respond with blistering applause. But the auditoriums are filled and there has been no lack of faculty members to publicly proclaim their denunciation of the war in South-east Asia.

Thus when faculty members are fired because they refuse to sign loyalty oaths, as was Dr. Robert Sitton at Brooklyn College, students no longer stand idly by and watch the professor pack his books. They protest—loudly and vociferously, and when the brave professor himself returns to meet his class (from which he is barred by the Administration), the students come out of the classroom and the class is held in the corridor, or on the grounds, or in the cafeteria.

Or when Dr. Richard Bernstein at Yale is turned out "for failure to publish" enough dry and dusty tracts for the academic journals, and when students have noted that he was, in the classroom, concerned with their intellectual development, their ability to analyse a real world (not semantics), hundreds pour out in protest. Picketing: "Teaching or Tenure?" they ask, or "Yale vs. Knowledge?"

Or when Professor Allen Krebs is summarily fired at Adelphi University, a small, suburban school entirely without a history of protest, for "teaching inadequacies," meaning, in the perverse language of the academic community, "teaching too well," or "teaching dangerous, devilish things," there is no silence. Fifty, sixty students come from nowhere and sit-in on a large rug before the Dean's Office. "And the Truth Shall Make You Free," proclaims the rug. "And why was Professor Krebs fired?" demand the students. And Krebs, like Sitton, is spurred on by the students to continue teaching week after week in a



Dr. Allen Krebs

remote apartment in a remote corner of Queens. But the students continue to attend.

In Buffalo, after a massive student protest against HUAC the previous year, after the paid informers have cashed in on the reputation of Paul Sporn, an English Instructor, after Sporn is summarily dismissed before Thanksgiving vacation for "misrepresentation in signing the Feinberg Certificate," students turn out in protest again. They will not sit idly by while the Administration and the jackals oversee a purge of their own minds.

And thus, finally, page after page of advertising space taken in the New York Times: faculty members listing



AFTER THE FIRING: Dr. Robert Sitton talks to a thousand students at Brooklyn College.

their names, their university affiliations, saying, in effect, "I might have signed the damned oath, but I damned well haven't sold out my mind. Here, look! I put my name down in *The Times*, against our atrocities in Vietnam. Perhaps not bravery in terms of a Vietnamese guerrilla fighter, but brave for these men, in this context.

So finally the campus has begun to move again—to quicken to ideas—to

demand explanation. In short to be a place in which you learn about a real world. And when Mario Savio shouts at Berkeley, "...the faculty are a bunch of employees and we're the raw material! But we're raw material that doesn't mean to be processed, that doesn't mean to be bought or sold to some client! We're human beings!", the faculty itself begins to stir restlessly in response.

FS in the Field...

FREE STUDENT has been received enthusiastically by students interested in reforming their campuses and in opposing the war in Vietnam and who see the connection between the two, i.e., their universities are training them to fight and conduct such wars at home and abroad. Sales have been high and persons of many political persuasions regard the newspaper highly. In some quarters, however, individuals and groups whose interests, status, pride, ego, or psychological security are seriously challenged by FREE STUDENT's content or maybe even its appearance, have reacted strongly in the negative and have taken what are sometimes humorous, sometimes dangerous actions. Here are three such examples:

At Eastern Kentucky State College, where from 50 to 100 copies have been distributed, a teacher spotted a student reading a copy of FS. She approached him after class, took him to her office and made a brief perusal of FS. She handed the paper back to the student, and told him to tear it up into "small pieces" right in front of her or be taken to the President for disciplinary action. The student, obviously not used to such a political confrontation, alone, and not sure of his grounds, did as he was told.

The story of Harry T. Gideonse of Brooklyn College has been told in some detail in both the present issue of FS and in FS no. 1. Suffice it to say that in his accusations against the Student Protest Movement at BC (See Page 3), he accused M-2-M members of giving away "large numbers of FS gratuitously at the gates" of the school. He also accused the FS no. 1 article, "Repression and Rebellion at Brooklyn College" of raising all the old issues of "the Stalinists" at BC in the 30s and 40s, and that FS's editor is a "professional organizer of the Committee for Student Travel to Cuba."

The leaders of SPM retorted that FS was not given away free and that "very far from large numbers" were sold. The fact is that over 700 copies

of the two issues were sold at the usual dime apiece outside the gates of BC, though at first city police and campus officials tried to prevent those who were selling from doing so. The issues raised in FS no. 1 were those of students of BC in the '30s and '40s because the article was a history of BC. The issues raised by the present SPM are the problems that beset present-day BC students. Another problem that has remained is Gideonse. As for the FS editor, Roger Taus traveled to Cuba in 1963 and, as a volunteer on the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, helped organize a second trip in 1964. Both trips were in defiance of a State Department "travel ban" which a 6-3 decision of the Supreme Court has just ruled is constitutional in the case of Louis Zemel vs. Dean Rusk. Taus is under indictment and faces 5 years in jail for organizing the 1964 trip (See FS no.2 "This Passport Not Valid for Travel to...").

The final incident took place at a teach-in at Fairleigh Dickinson University in Teaneck, N.J. Two members of M-2-M from New York, Sharon Krebs and Bob Armstrong, were selling FS outside the hall where the teachers spoke. Adelphi professor Allen Krebs who was fired for the Marxist content of his teaching (See FS no. 1 "Free Student News") was one of the teachers invited to speak. Mrs. Krebs and Armstrong were asked to leave the building because it was "illegal to sell" inside same. They complied with this request, but 15 minutes later 4 police officers apprehended them (and a member of Columbia University's Spartanist group who was only passing out a leaflet) for "selling literature in Teaneck without a permit." They were taken to headquarters and questioned for hours, then released in the middle of the city. Meanwhile, at the FDU teach-in, Dr. Krebs was prevented from speaking. Needless to say, very few FSs were sold that night. This is as much of an infringement on the political rights of the students at FDU as it is on those of M-2-M.

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FREE STUDENT

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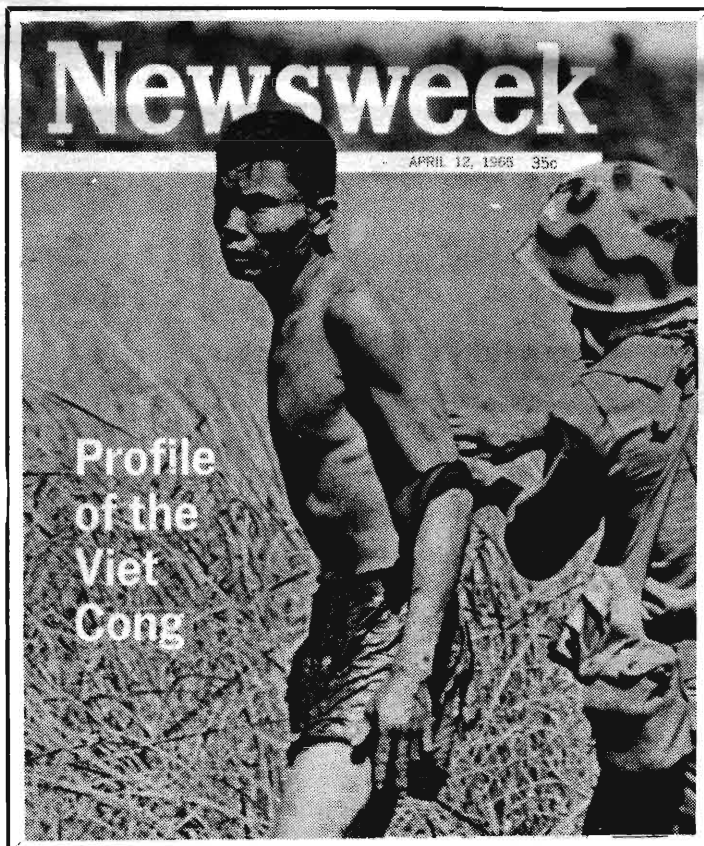
'Stop the War!'

"Stop the War in Vietnam! Bring the troops home!" A good part of the 25,000 people who came to Washington, Saturday, April 17, to protest the U.S. war in Vietnam, shouted that chant as they marched toward the capitol building after hearing hours of speeches, and after a massive picketing of the White House. "Let's all go, let's all go!" chanted the hundreds at the head of the march as they approached the capitol. But there was no civil disobedience. There was talk of a petition being handed over to the Capitol Police. About 300 students staged a brief sit-in behind the Capitol at that point, but were dispersed by the police within half an hour.

The day was warm and the response to SDS' (Students for a Democratic Society) call for mass protest in Washington against the war was a success. The key speeches, given by SDS president Paul Potter and Yale Professor Staughton Lynd, both expressed the moral and the greater organizational anger that spurred 25,000 people to come in the first place, that spurred 6,000 to march in San Francisco and 500 more students from the University of Texas to picket Lyndon Johnson at his own ranch.

The day was a success because for many thousands it was more than "a moment of psychological solace in a sick society" (see editorial, **FREE STUDENT 2**.) It was a success because thousands now see the inevitability of a continuing, massive war in Vietnam, and the vastly unequal, but necessary and organized resistance to that war. It was only one day, but it comes into a world charged with revolutionary change. "We, too, are prepared to escalate," said one representative of SDS. "Every time Johnson enlarges the war, we plan to enlarge our response."

It was only one day of mass protest against a war in which three imperialist powers (Japan, France, and the U.S.) have tried for 20 years to divide and smash a people determined to be free. For Americans, for students particularly,



it is the first step across a long bridge between the symbolic and the actual, between knowing what has to be done to stop the war, and doing it.

But soon the U.S. Government will be killing millions of people in Southeast Asia with a massive land, sea and air assault. The inner logic of American imperialism demands that, demands that its outpost in Saigon at least hold ground.

It is of no use to our struggle against the war to hear one lone journalist, I.F. Stone, urge us to pressure Congress into pressuring Johnson into negotiations, while he red-baits the emerging leadership of our own crude liberation front. Another journalist, James Reston of the New York Times, 21 April, gives us a much more frightening insight into the government's stand regarding our fight against the war in Vietnam. "There is plenty to protest about, but for professors to organize it in the name of 'teaching' is something else again, and for officials here not to take it seriously enough to counter the revolt could be irresponsible."

The May 2nd Movement, with SDS and other independent student groups around the country, calls for a continuing revolt against the war in Vietnam. We call for a week-long series of protests on campuses throughout the country, (May 3-8), purposive and relentless as the Government's bombing of north and south Vietnam. In New York we call for week-long demonstrations on campuses throughout the city, culminating in a major rally at Columbia University, Friday, May 7. Into the summer, we call for organized civil disobedience on campuses, at draft boards, at military installations. For revolt, yes.

It is not enough to be for peace, and never has been. Our work in America is finding its way, its means of struggle. In the teeth of an immense and growing onslaught, the people of Vietnam are winning. We too must fight to win, for their war is our war also.

Imperialism & the University

Vietnam and the Congo are thousands of miles away. In our effort to inform and politicize students in America about these two colonial revolutions, the May 2nd Movement has presented historical monographs and editorial comment on them, in issues 1 and 2 of **FREE STUDENT**. In selling our newspaper to students throughout the country, and in discovering that the majority lack political perspective, are apathetic, afraid, desperately defensive in the face of radical ideas, unwilling or unable to think about the war in Vietnam, we are forced to take a hard look at the main domestic obstacle to learning about these and other liberation struggles, in short, about modern history. We mean an obstacle which not only blocks out the political movements that are changing the world, but which also uses those events to posit itself as Central Intelligence of Freedom House. We mean the American university.

It is no accident that the majority of American students are paralyzed. This is because the policies, the politics that most aspects of university teaching bring to bear on us, are still cold war, or "frozen" policies. Given the vague overall nuclear detente between the two world powers, and given the expansion, needs, and military might of the American empire, it is the university who must square the empire with its potential managers, technicians, and apologists—the students. The university has largely succeeded in that task, and has helped America to maintain and step up its oppression of millions.

The structure of the American university today implies the built-in necessity for robots, for non-critical technicians capable of thoughtless but efficient physical and social manipulation. As the Free Speech Movement students at Berkeley put it, "the university is a machine, we are the raw material, we are being processed into cogs for the larger machine." The Berkeley students began to understand that they were not merely rebelling, but also defecting. From the seizure and arrest of the 800 who sat in and held Sproul Hall for part of a day and from the remarks of the cops who dragged them out ("We've been waiting years to come up here and get you commies.") to the veiled hysteria surrounding the 'resignation' of Clark Kerr (see **FREE STUDENT** no. 2, "The Battle of Berkeley"), these students have begun to see the investment placed in their skills and capabilities. They have begun to understand that the political rights they are demanding not only do not exist, but are also a rejection of the interests they are being trained to uphold. Thus the over-reaction of the California Administration, a reminder that they need us, and that they get desperate when we desert.

In order to maintain a standing army of technicians, managers and apologists for its practices, the leadership of the empire often doubles as the leadership of the university. The university plays a leading role in refining the lives of students to the needs of the country, to the 'national interests.' That is why many students feel an almost total divorce between their studies and their lives. That is why it is embarrassing when a real issue is brought up in class, when a student has a real experience to relate to the course, about which he had little or no say in the first place. The recent teach-ins about the war in Vietnam held at Columbia, University of Michigan, University of Wisconsin, etc., are good, but we have come to accept all political inquiry, discussion and action either after classes or off campus. The administrators can still afford that margin of free discussion which says, "Go to Selma, learn about the war in Vietnam between midnight and dawn, work for civil rights during the summer vacation if you like, but don't, don't ever zero in on the way we run the university." The business of the university cannot be subjected to interruption, because such interruption, implying a new and fundamental reexamination of its purposes, would be tantamount to an industrial strike.

This control is what President Johnson means when he talks about our national 'unity.' The university enforces and elaborates it in a number of ways. History and economics are taught from a static point of view. There is always a lot of talk about the rapidly changing world, but it is always equated to our own technological advancements rather than the needs, the struggles, and the achievements of the non-European, non-white countries of the world. The concentration on Western Civilization either excludes or patronizes non-western civilizations. This subtle racism is even more apparent in the glorified way American history is usually treated: you'd never know that Frederick Douglass or W.E.B. DuBois ever existed, nor that race war against whole nations of indigenous Americans was carried on to fulfill specific economic needs.

Among the other fields in the Humanities, the social sciences have become the leading sophists of American free enterprise at home and exploitation abroad. Rather than being used to seek truths and benefit men, sociology means manipulating men. Sociology teachers and grad students do "market research"—selling button-down shirts and the war in Vietnam. The department of Psychology sums up the university: we must change ourselves to fit society, never the opposite. As for literature, a whole badly beaten generation tried to express the anguish and crackup of America, in order to break through with the notion that poetry too reflects the ongoing nature of men's struggle in the real world. But in the academy, formalism still prevails.

As a scientist in a nation arming for war, the work a student will do almost cannot help but serve military interests. Napalm or non-lethal gas? Color photos in Life magazine showing the torture of young men who are Vietcong, isolate, injure, and push Americans even further into a painless existence, while providing a public rationale for evil work. They make that question neither embarrassing nor alarming.

An extra-curricular activity on any campus any afternoon or evening might be the film presentation of the Peace Corps; a film that ends with an advertisement by USIA and major corporations for Peace Corps graduates. Kennedy created the Peace Corps when it became apparent that other yearly charity drives were not enough to keep up with the social unrest in colonial countries. In doing so, he partially succeeded in draining off student awareness and will to act on those problems. The USIA and the CIA also actively recruit on campuses. But the showing of a film made by the National Liberation Front of south Vietnam about their struggle is likely to throw any campus administration into a funk. And rightly.

The showing of this film is not a test of free discussion, nor is it a political slap in the face to the university. It is potentially a threat. It is a threat because it shows a people fighting to seize the very land, their own, off which immense profits are reaped, profits which pay for the universities we go to, among other things.

The money which runs the university comes from the government and huge

Continued



Playboy Goes to War

Come then, a step further down the alley of the American Nightmare and wear the uniform, if only for a few hours, of the new Ultimate American—in tune with his world gone mad as much as a man can be. We are all of us James Bond by now to at least some extent. We have all of us been shaped and molded by life in a garrison state long enough so that sooner or later his image must strike a responsive chord. True, *Goldfinger* can be considered a spoof, a tongue in cheek commentary on spies and saboteurs—but that only promotes the ease of identification.

What *Goldfinger* does is to define who we are and what we do in the world we inhabit. It suggests our monumental weakness and throws us some pap in lieu of any strength. Accurately enough, the film says that we are appendages of large organizations (with numbers instead of names), lackeys of machines without which we cease to exist, prey to forces beyond our comprehension which castrate, explode or decapitate. *Goldfinger* suggests that we are capable only of transient sexual adventures without warmth—for new assignments, new roles require new sleeping partners more propitious to the task at hand; in any case our immediate playgirl might well be killed, bought out, or probably bought out before the affair began.

Bond (007 if you prefer) has the talents of neither Mickey Spillane nor Sherlock Holmes, heroes of a more benevolent age. He operates only as the efficient employee of an organization, moreover one constantly reminded that he can be replaced (008 will take his place). None of the instruments of destruction and protection belong to him—they must be checked out and returned. 007 is thus merely the servant of an anonymous higher sphere, a corporate establishment employing the individual for its own purposes on its own terms. In return he receives the technical equipment necessary for survival, a modest wage, and the opportunity to exist transiently as a Playboy Anglo-Saxon, complete with quasi-British accent. Spillane and Holmes were entrepreneurs and the worlds they inhabited were worlds they largely made (either

with overwhelming brutality or incredible intellectual vigor). To Americans, to Westerners, this world is now forever closed. Bond is in step with his times.

Our identity as human beings need, in the meanwhile, necessarily be submerged. 007 is provided as a useful prototype in making the adjustment: what he does he does through machinery but he can still keep a smug on his face: his killings are brought about through Western devices including no less than two electrocutions, but the perceiving human being is still there—he can smile, he can be shocked, like Richard Nixon he can say, "shocking, positively shocking."

The fiendish evil forces, the blue-jacketed Orientals, the Korean butler—all of them could be brushed off like flies were it not for the fact that a malevolent fellow Whiteman (one who not only can use the golf course but actually owns it) had taken it in his head to make technology available to them. Although he's an understandable Whiteman (and not a niggerlover, a kaffirboetie), he has gone and provided them with nerve gas and lasers—and even if done for the perfectly above-board grounds of increasing his own net worth it is not acceptable. It is not permissible to put one's own wealth against the interests of the race and of the West. How much like Western businessmen, really: selling out, dealing with the Soviet Union, even with China to fill their purses.

But even after all the structural elements are granted, even after the Organization, the Machine, the Yellow Peril, *Goldfinger* allows us to be men in the end. What is it that saves the day? Is it the last minute intervention of federal troops at Fort Knox? Is it the good conscience of Pussy Galore's Team of Toothed-Vagina Women, is it the patriotism of Pussy Galore herself? No. Neither conscience nor will, machines nor patriotism really save the day. A few tumbles in the hayloft, some squirming and snuggling, finally the comic-book coupling of Bond and Pussy—awoke in the Pussy the devotion sufficient to put in that secret telephone call to Washington from *Goldfinger's* stud farm. We might not be much, but with what little we got—we'll struggle through and lick them in the end.

Imperialism and the University (cont.)

corporate interests. The trusts Teddy Roosevelt never busted are now international cartels which have set up foundations to further the research and teaching in our universities. The University gets its endowment, and pays for itself on the dividends and interest rates of the corporations, banks, and insurance companies it invests in and upon whose well-being it depends. Its trustees are just that: bank presidents, corporation executives, retired military officers, a doctor or judge here and there.

Faculty may teach within these implicit bounds, or, like Bertrand Russell, may not. Russell was told by the Board of Higher Education in New York City in 1949 that he could not teach mathematics at CCNY because he was a moral subversive. In 1963, the *New York Times* called him politically "subverted" for charging the U.S. with napalm and chemical warfare in Vietnam. Throughout the country, many teachers are being fired for breaching their key role in the derangement of communication, for trying to communicate real issues to their students in the only way they can.

It is not enough to be for peace. While Johnson is invited by President Milton Eisenhower to use Johns Hopkins University as a national forum, and 80 students picket outside the auditorium, American bombs continue to invalidate talk of negotiations and economic bribery. While Johnson talks of a peace the U.S. Government does not intend, and has never intended for a minute, the Lie begins to shine with the brilliance of a truth. Just as the war against the Vietnamese people, north and south, grows more crucial and vicious, so will the domestic war on student protest, the war on the poor, the war on black people grow worse.

We too are oppressed. We too have a fight on our hands. It is a fight for our lives as students, the fight for a free university. We must continue to organize ourselves and our fellow students, as we have done for this march, with a keener eye than we have shown so far. An eye that sees beyond today or May 2 or the jailing of our best people. We must begin to organize, as the French students did against their country's colonial war in Algeria, a resistance based on a refusal to fight against the people of Vietnam. We must begin to organize a resistance against the smothering of our political will on our campuses. We will not be ciphers implicated in evil. Our ranks will grow, and we will not tolerate being told to go elsewhere. We want a university. We want our schools.

'I Quit the Presidency'

(Students' Council President Joe Eyer rocked the Haverford College, Pennsylvania, campus recently when he quit the job before the whole student body in assembly. **FREE STUDENT**, believing Eyer speaks for an emerging movement of student self-determination and responsibility, here reprints parts of his speech.—Ed.)

This day presents new, interesting exciting things to the world. Firebombing and devastation continue in Vietnam, ravaging the country and decimating its population. Our United States military establishment keeps on sending its young officeriate into the war, keeps training them up in the killer instinct, and imbues them with a secure dose of the anticommunist ideology. While the roots of a French-type secret army organization thus begin to undermine American society, the official establishment drags its feet in resolving the domestic problems of equality and rights. A recent sociological survey reveals that during the most intense periods of demonstration and action for civil rights, the crime rate in the Negro community is lowest. It becomes increasingly clear that the hope for American society lies in democratic action, in struggle for rights, in a renewal of ideals and aspirations for brotherhood among the great numbers of the American people.

Yet continually, relentlessly, day by day, our society becomes more impersonal, more nihilistic, self-centered, addicted to violence, worshipful of force and so called "realism." A man is stabbed four times through the head by a gang on a subway in New York; in response, the City hires more police. Meanwhile, the Hammermill paper company, pleading competition and investor's interests, moves into Selma to support racism with its economic power.

Your President has used up great amounts of his time in activities to expedite changes, and in activities that are useless and depressing. Your president is a tool in the hands of the administration; an informal campus policeman; and



Joe Eyer

the spokesman for adult morals to the "immature" students. Your president has been asked to enforce the drinking rules; your president has had to put the arm on visitors that the administration suspects; your president has protected student interests even when it is plain that the students involved despise him and what he is trying to do. Your president has been required to settle all kinds of petty campus disputes; your president has suffered the harassment of raucous students shouting and beating on his door late at night. Your president has suffered the contempt and indifference of great numbers of the students.

Further, your council has run up against stone walls in its attempts to achieve any real changes in the operation of the College. The suggestion to eliminate grading has raised up a storm of righteous protestation

and defense of things as they are, from the faculty and from numbers of students. The combination of departments between Haverford and Bryn Mawr has been put off until the indefinite future.

All of this resistance to change is but symbolic of disagreement on the basic issues of ideals. Haverford College is an integral part of a corrupt society, and as such, stands for the status quo and not for what might be better.

What is all this about? It's about the fact that while we live comfortably and tactfully here, with everything smoothed over by propriety and tradition, out there, just outside our own selves, is the world. And the world is full of people starving, people being bombed and strafed out of existence, people being brutalized by violence and the sight of violence, people being trained up to be technicians for a society devoted to buttressing up the old regime. And this world is reflected even here, in the undercurrents of uneasiness that belie each act, each talking with others, each propriety, each accepted way of doing things, each nicety and pleasure. When your best friend starts carrying around a straight razor in order to protect himself from gangs in New York City, this turns a sudden harsh light on the whole scene. When your acquaintances go on supporting a government that stands by and passes bills while people get their heads beat in, that spends billions of dollars to create war and a climate of war—then your acquaintances cannot mean what they say when they talk about friendship, about moral things, and responsibility. That is what this is all about, that is the connection with the terror in Vietnam.

When people commend the council or the president, what do they praise? Our efficiency in work, our attempt to involve more students, our doing well what councils in the past have done unsystematically. It seems that this is the fate of all liberal and progressive-minded people who are elected to office; they start off with aspirations for big changes, and have to find satisfaction in praise for making the old order work more efficiently. Let me say this: that is not what I want to do. That costs an immense expenditure of energy and tension, a great degree of tolerance and diplomacy over really minuscule matters, that one can produce only so much of it. It grinds away at hope and idealism, and at the same time offers the attractions of the accepted ways of doing things. I have felt that tension before, and I do not like it.

In a nihilistic, careless, pragmatic society such as our own, ideals cannot survive being put in power, because all institutionalized power is the power of the old society, is power that in one way or another represents the concessions, failures, inadequacies, and exhaustions of past generations. The conditions, specifically the condition of real student concern, are not yet ready for the occupation of the lowest levels of old power in our society. The use of the presidency, a device which should be a tactic in the struggle between old and new, between an old power equipped with all of the strengths of legality and form, and a new power decked out with organization, democracy, and unity of will—the use of the presidency in conditions where that struggle is not going on has become a mechanism to destroy and cut down the beginnings of the new power.

I was elected on a certain definite program. I did not intend that it should be put off for years and years. Neither do I expect that the ultimate values behind the program will remain figments of the deranged imagination. If I am not misselected, I call for LEADERSHIP: not leave it to Joe, but do it YOURSELF. While I would like to map out the method for once, I might suggest that a mass occupation of Bryn Mawr to get the bus or the meal exchange, instead of our usual Mayday revels, might be an appropriate thing. I call for action, for organization, if I was elected rightly. If I was elected rightly, I call for you to lead, for you to work, for you to put your future and reputation on the line.

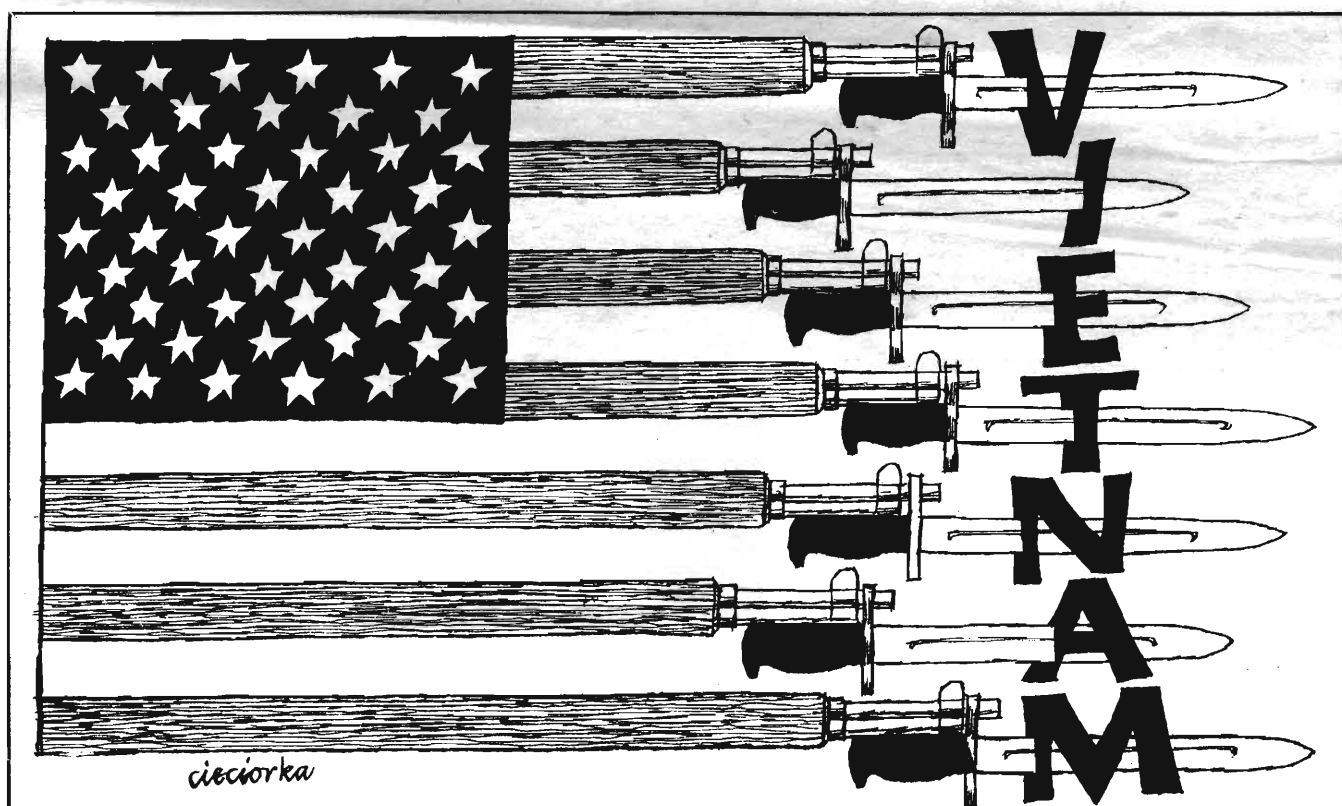
I appoint the Council to be President in the interim. I resign the presidency.

We, as students in the richest but most brutally confused country in the world, cannot understand that world and our part in it with the a-historical education we receive in our universities. In order to make ourselves into effective social beings, and in order to discover, sharpen, and use the power of our knowledge, we should organize ourselves in the broadest possible way to combat that lack of education. For it is a lack, a vacuum, that leads to political degeneration and default. The May 2nd Movement was formed to fight against a politics of default, specifically by organizing student protest and revolt against our government's savage war on the people of Vietnam.

May 2, 1964, saw the first major student demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. In New York City, 1000 students marched through Times Square to the United Nations to protest what was then called "U.S. intervention" on behalf of the legitimate government of south Vietnam. More than 700 students and young people marched through San Francisco. In Boston; Madison, Wisconsin; Seattle; there were simultaneous smaller demonstrations. A start, but nowhere near enough. Nowhere near enough because very few students even knew about the war, or if they did, knew what it means, or what they could do about it.

The May 2nd Movement responded to the initial public bombings of north Vietnam, in "retaliation" for an unprovoked north Vietnamese PT-boats attack on the Seventh Fleet, by again demonstrating in Times Square, New York, last August 8 and August 15. Sixty-three students were arrested in the demonstrations and many of the 350 who protested on August 15 were brutalized by New York City Tactical Police as they attempted to march out of Times Square to the United Nations.

Now, more than 25,000 know the nature of the war in Vietnam and its corollary deceit in the American press and in our universities, know enough about the war and its concomitant repression at home to march on Washington in protest. The May 2nd Movement calls that war and the resulting lies about it at home the products of an imperialist system.



FREE STUDENT, the national student newspaper of the May 2nd Movement was designed to reflect and help develop the growing student revolt against the mis-education we receive in our universities, as well as reflect and develop student protest against the war in Vietnam. If it is to continue and thrive as a student newspaper, you must participate by supporting it and contributing news and analysis to its pages.

Three regular issues of FREE STUDENT, plus a March on Washington Special, are already out. We have sold more than 35,000 copies through our chapters and friends all over the country. We invite you to join with us this summer and in the fall by regularly contributing to this newspaper, by selling it on your campus, by telling your friends about it. We also invite you to find out about the May 2nd Movement by writing or visiting us at our national headquarters, 640 Broadway, rm. 307, New York 3, New York, or at any of our regional offices: P.O. Box 583, San Francisco, California 94103; 39 Putnam St., Cambridge, Mass.; 315 Founders Hall, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

More than a thousand young men of draft age have already signed our declaration, a refusal to fight against the people of Vietnam. We here reprint it.

"We, the undersigned, are young Americans of draft age. We are opposed to United States intervention in the war in south Vietnam. United States participation in that war is for the suppression of the Vietnamese struggle for self-determination and national independence. We herewith state our refusal to fight against the people of Vietnam.

I authorize the publication of my name with the above statement.

Return to: May 2nd Movement 640 Broadway, New York City 10003