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# Radicals in the Professions

Newsletter

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IN A

CRISIS

THE

CENTER

FALLS

OUT:



THE ROLE

OF THE

FACULTY

IN THE

COLUMBIA

STRIKE

by Richard Greeman

(Dick Greeman is a long-time member of SDS and presently an assistant professor of French at Columbia. He describes himself as a Marxist-Humanist.)

Most of us who teach English, Philosophy, or History of Foreign Languages to Columbia College undergraduates have our offices and classrooms in Hamilton Hall. When we arrived there on Wednesday morning, April 24, it was already barricaded and occupied by the Black students, and an increasingly unruly crowd of hostile whites was gathering outside, threatening to break in and hurling racial epithets. (I had participated in the original occupation of Hamilton the day before, but had gone home before the pre-dawn split between SDS and the Student Afro-American Society and the subsequent barricading of the building.) Spontaneously, without any discussion or organization, a few dozen Hamilton teachers took up . . . . (continued on page 2)

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places standing along the steps in front of the door and formed a non-violent line between the Black students inside and the mob (or prospective police attackers) outside. The teachers were soon joined by colleagues, both male and female, and a second line of non-violent white students formed in front of them. We stood there, despite a teeming rainstorm (which had the fortunate side-effect of thinning the ranks of the mob outside) for two solid days and nights: talking, joking, sending out for coffee, umbrellas, and dry clothes, occasionally breaking up fights or expressing our sympathy with the Hamilton sit-ins over bull-horns provided by students. Some of us had previous Civil Rights or anti-war experience; others were simply anguished over the possibility of a racial clash on campus; all felt deeply that now, if ever, the time had come to stand up for our students.

The origin of the so-called "faculty cordon" at Columbia was thus a spontaneous act of solidarity with the blockaded Black students. It is important to emphasize this origin because of later transformations.

That same afternoon, a hastily-assembled meeting of the College Voting Faculty (including everyone of professorial rank, but not instructors) responded to the sit-ins by calling for the suspension of the gym construction and expressing its "trust that police action will not be used," although it did condemn the demonstrators' use of "coercion." Implicit in this resolution was the basically contradictory attitude of most of the senior faculty: tacit support for the demonstrators' goals but unwillingness to break openly with the administration by sanctioning their actions. The unconscious hypocrisy of this attitude is clear: the faculty would never even have dared to consider taking a position on the gym, of which they all disapproved, had it not been for the mass student pressure from below expressed through direct action.

By Thursday morning, the occupation of Avery and Fayerwether had created a totally new situation. Although the mob pressure directed against the Blacks in front of Hamilton had decreased, a large and hostile crowd was gathering in front of Fayerwether and threatening to attack the sit-ins. Professor Etzioni and I managed to get between the two groups, to get them to sit down, and to begin an impromptu debate. Although Etzioni was long a vocal opponent of the war and of secret weapons research, he opposed the strike on the ground that "nothing should interfere with education." Somewhat shocked, I replied that as far as I was concerned, the process of education at Columbia was just beginning and that the loss of a few hours of routine sociology classes was more than compensated for by this political experience. Opposed were the conception of learning as something divorced from life, handed down from above, and that of a unity of theory and practice. At that point even the conservative students gathered in front of the building agreed that it was more important to debate the issues of the gym, IDA, and the right of rebellion than to listen to another hour of boring

sociology. Although they still did not support the demonstrators, they were beginning to think. The slow evolution of the campus majority from initial shock and anger over the "disruption" to eventual support of the strike had begun. (Nonetheless, this debate was often to be repeated, and most of the professors, like Etzioni and later Melman, Kuhns, and Morganbesser, could find no better argument to discourage vigilante counter-demonstrators than that of "two wrongs don't make a right" or "don't use coercion like SDS." There was a total failure to distinguish between the two groups in terms of politics, morality, or goals. This deliberate "apolitical" attitude of the liberals made it possible for the faculty "cordon" to be turned into an anti-SDS blockade later on.)

That afternoon, about 50 of the faculty who had remained active on campus managed to arrange a meeting with Vice-President Truman in Philosophy Lounge. This was the first direct contact we had had with the administration since the crisis began. Truman appeared haggard and ashen and actually broke down during the meeting. He reported the administration's attitude that it would be immoral to negotiate with the SDS students whose behavior was "illegal," that their leaders would be expelled, and that police would likely be called. At the same time, however, he announced that he had offered virtual amnesty to the Blacks in Hamilton, although their demands were identical to those of SDS. It was an obvious attempt to split the students along racial lines, and when I asked him how he reconciled this with his high "principles," he pleaded pressing business and left the room. Thus ended a typical one-sided administration "dialogue" with the faculty. (In fact, we were lucky to have administration views "shared" with us; usually the New York Times is our source for administration thinking.)

This time, however, we did not just pick up and go home, as usual. In an unprecedented move, Professor Allen Westin, a long-time associate of Truman, took the floor and declared that "our great love and respect for David Truman" should not prevent us from seeing that he was in the wrong or from taking independent action "to save him from himself." Within the hour, an Ad Hoc Faculty Committee was formed, pledged "to stand before the occupied buildings to prevent forcible entry by police and others" until "this crisis is settled" to its satisfaction. By evening, the group had grown to nearly 200, opened negotiations with the students, elected a steering committee, and resolved to remain in permanent session. Speakers like Sam Coleman, Marvin Harris, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Jeff Kaplow reflected the sense of urgency we felt over the issues of university racism and complicity in the war and noted that the demonstrating students had in fact "liberated" us to take a political stand for the first time in history -- something we should have done long before. They were applauded. There was a tremendous sense of exhilaration and release as the professors began to realize how long they had been infantilized by the administration and prepared to assert themselves at last.

Again, it is essential to note that the origin of the Ad Hoc Faculty Committee was a spontaneous and essentially anti-administration act made possible by the power-vacuum created by the students' rebellion. In consequence, both its founders and the demonstrating students expected that it would result in a fundamental shift in the balance of power. Events were to show that this was an illusion.

The Ad Hoc Group faced its first test that night, and it passed with flying colors. Although we had been told that the administration recognized our efforts and respected our views, at 1:05 a.m. David Truman entered Philosophy Hall and announced that the police were being called to arrest the strikers, ostensibly to "prevent violent clashes between opposing student groups." He was hooted out of the room under cries of "shame!" and "liar!" (It should be noted that where the faculty, merely through its moral authority, had successfully prevented such clashes, the administration had done nothing to contain the right-wing student vigilante groups who were openly threatening violence and had in fact actually encouraged them through members of the Dean's staff. Where the sit-ins were non-violent from the beginning, the administration created violence first by sponsoring the student right and then by invoking police violence to resolve the crisis it had created.)

The faculty responded immediately by taking up positions in front of the occupied buildings while simultaneously appealing to the Mayor's office to call off the cops. The strategy worked, at least for the moment. I was stationed with a group of about 30 in front of Low Library. We had carefully cleared the area of students so that it would be clear to the press, the administration, and the cops that we were faculty. Contrary to the Cox Commission and other accounts, we had been passing through police officers and Mayor's aides, since we were aware that our own representatives were inside Low trying to convince them to forestall the police action. At about 2:00 a.m., a group of about 25 burly men in raincoats charged us across the open area in front of the line. We challenged them to identify themselves and state their business, announcing that we were Columbia Faculty. They neither spoke nor showed police badges, but beat their way through the line. I was grabbed from behind, held, and clubbed on the head. Several of my colleagues, including two women, were punched or kicked. A few minutes later, David Truman came to the door and saw me bleeding profusely. "How did this happen, Mr. Greeman?" he asked. "What did you expect when you called the cops?" I replied. Dr. Truman was kind enough to lead me inside for medical attention, and I noticed my assailants drinking coffee at the police canteen in the corridor outside his office. The later reports (1) that the attack was not deliberate and (2) that I injured myself by slipping on the steps were deliberate lies spread by a member of the Dean's staff and accepted by the Cox Commission.

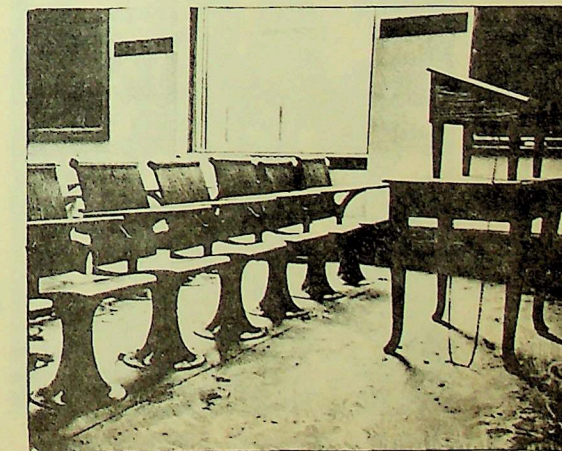
The sight of blood must have convinced the administration

that the faculty was serious. As a result, at 3:30 a.m., the police action was called off, construction on the gym was suspended, and the school was declared closed until Monday. The result of this action was that the occupation could be prolonged for another four days, during which time the justice of the strikers' demands became more and more evident to the majority of the students, who began to rally in their support. Paradoxically, however, the possibility of a student-faculty alliance against the administration began to decline from that moment on.

During the next four days, the Ad Hoc group's activities were two-fold: attempts at mediation and attempts at keeping order through faculty cordons in front of the buildings. Both aspects were aimed at "preventing violence" or "resolving the crisis." Attempts to get the Group to take a consistent political stand of its own were constantly sidetracked by the Steering Committee, and the vital question of amnesty for the students never even came to a vote. As a result, the group slowly lost whatever influence, prestige, and chance of power it ever had and was effectively transformed into its opposite. Having no political position of its own, and faced with an unyielding administration, the professors' "possibilist" outlook turned them into their own and the students' worst enemy. Thus the faculty lines, originally organized to protect the students in the buildings, got turned into a kind of blockade of the buildings. The mediation efforts, originally undertaken out of sympathy for the students' goals, ended up as efforts to get them out of the buildings at any cost. Finally, the urge to assert faculty independence and take an independent stand got transformed, through the self-imposed role of mediator, into pressure to "resolve the crisis" -- a goal that implied siding with the stronger party, the administration.

The faculty mediation attempts went through several stages. The first was direct negotiations with the students: what it meant in fact was that liberal professors attempted to get the strikers to "soften" their line, especially on amnesty, in exchange for vague promises which the "negoti-

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ators" had no power to deliver. The logic of this situation led to such unseemly scenes as the one in Fayerwether Hall, the "softest" of the Communes, where two "socialist" professors, Seymour Melman and Sidney Morganbesser, harranged an already divided and discouraged student assembly for over an hour, arguing that their revolt was dangerous and absurd because it was "unrealistic." The two ex-student-radicals were attempting to influence the internal politics of the strikers, apparently oblivious of the facts that (1) as non-strikers they would not have to live by the result of the decision and (2) that they were now professors with a vested interest in the stability of Columbia. One wonders where the students found the patience to listen to them.

Soon, however, these pseudo-negotiations were totally undercut by a statement from the President of the Board of Trustees, who declared that the decision to halt construction on the gym was only "temporary" and that the President had the sole power to discipline students. This was a direct slap in the face to the faculty and a reminder that they were mere employees with no real power. If anything, this should have convinced the faculty that their only chance for any real dignity or power then or in the future was to ally with the students. It did convince some, but the Steering Committee was so convinced of the need for compromise and consensus and so incapable of conceiving its role in terms of any fundamental change in power relationships that it ran in the opposite direction.

The result was a turn toward "public mediation" embodied in a series of compromise solutions presented to both the administration and striking students as a "bitter pill" for both sides to swallow but the only fair resolution to the



crisis. This attempt to bolster up the center in a situation where there was increasing polarization was futile from

the beginning. Meanwhile, the administration, backed by some conservative professors, had engineered an "official" faculty meeting in the hope of gaining a vote of confidence and undermining the legitimacy of the Ad Hoc group. From this meeting were excluded the younger faculty members and those from the more "liberal" faculties, while those from conservative Law and Business -- few, if any, of whose students were involved -- were invited. Despite the disadvantage of a packed assembly, the Ad Hoc Steering Committee could have presented its proposals at this meeting, as the Ad Hoc membership had directed it to. They might have carried on a close vote, and such a show of force would have undermined the legitimacy of Kirk and Truman. To their shame, the Westin group refused to pick up the challenge, apparently because they didn't want "to split the faculty".

The younger and more radical members of the Ad Hoc group were naturally unhappy with the behavior of the Steering Committee. But they, too, were inhibited by a desire not to break up the Ad Hoc group, which they saw as the only place where they had a voice. Moreover, they still hoped that the Ad Hoc assembly could be brought to vote for Amnesty. Unfortunately, their opponents lacked such scruples. The conservatives sent scores of establishment-type professors to pack the Ad Hoc meetings, and the Steering Committee allowed them to vote, even though they had not signed the statement committing them to any action and were in fact opposed to the group's original principles. Moreover, the meetings were increasingly subject to manipulation. The Steering Committee, meeting in camera took over all decision making, only reporting its acts to the body after the fact. The assembly was thus turned into a talk-shop or an errand-boy. On the rare occasions when it was actually functioning and it looked as if the key question of Amnesty was about to come to a vote, the assembly was broken up. A member of the Dean's staff or some conservative professor would always run breathlessly into the room at the crucial moment and call everyone out to prevent some "disastrous" clash among students; by the time the group could be called back together, the tension would be broken and more conservatives would miraculously appear. On one notable occasion, Westin himself simply adjourned the meeting just before the vote.

Although this manipulation became more and more blatant, more and more frustrating, the younger and more radical faculty members were unable to deal with it. They were lulled by a false sense of community with the liberals in the leadership and so flattered by their own participation in a "real" faculty, on a basis of equality, that they were eventually coopted. To have told the truth -- to denounce one's new-found "colleagues" as lying manipulators and the Deans as enemy agents sent in to disrupt

-- would have been a breach of academic decorum. Once again, the myth of the "academic community" proved an effective mask to hide the real power relationships.

The take-it-or-leave-it "bitter pill" proposal was predictably turned down by the Administration, which cleverly worded its rejection as if it were an acceptance. This was supposed to commit the group to support the strikers, but when they too rejected the proposal it was "discovered" that the wording was ambiguous: it did not provide either for half-way acceptances or for the case of a double rejection. This let the Steering Committee off the hook. Their last feeble efforts at mediation -- phoning Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Lindsay, and bringing in a professional mediator, Kheel -- only underlined their bankruptcy. At the 11th hour, Alex Erlich, a distinguished economics professor and a thoroughly principled socialist, finally got the floor and placed the reality of the situation before the body: Amnesty or the cops. There was no other choice. For a moment it looked like the faculty, faced with political reality at last, would commit itself. But the liberals would not have it so. Professor Shenton introduced a motion to table, and, after much debate, it carried. The abdication was complete.

With the cops on the way, each member was left to act on his individual conscience which, in most cases, turned out to be a more reliable guide than his political courage. Many professors did interpose themselves between the cops and the students on that dismal bloody night of the "Bust," and Shenton himself was among the most seriously injured. Paradoxically, many liberal intellectuals found it easier to face physical violence than to think about shaking up the power structure; easier to get hit on the head than to re-examine their own self-image. Self-sacrifice, "acting on principle" became a substitute for changing one's consciousness.

The epilogue was played out the next morning in McMillan Auditorium, which was packed with 750 faculty members -- a larger group than was ever assembled at any Ad Hoc or official meeting. By then the bloody-headed students and teachers had begun returning to the campus, and the moderate student leaders had called for a general strike against the administration. The mood was one of total revolution. Westin appeared on the rostrum and, to everyone's surprise, introduced a strong resolution condemning the administration and supporting the new student strike. He was greeted by thunderous applause and an immediate motion for approval by acclamation. For a moment it looked as if all would be vindicated. But the "liberal imagination" still had a few tricks left. Insisting that acclamation would be undemocratic, Westin proceeded to open the debate by calling on known conservatives in the faculty -- the very men who had boycotted the poor Ad Hoc group during its earlier struggles. When, one after another, Michael Sovern, Quentin Anderson, and Fritz Stern voiced their disapproval, Westin did an about-face, withdrew his proposals, and left the room taking half the Steering Committee with him and muttering something about being unable to decide anything without consulting

Daniel Bell (the "End of Ideology" man) who was evidently still in bed. The meeting was thus effectively broken up, and the vast majority, who were ready to vote for the resolution, turned into a confused mass of individuals. For Westin, the opinions of Daniel Bell were clearly more important than those of a majority of his colleagues (not surprisingly, both of them, along with Sovern, turned up on the administration-sponsored Faculty Executive Committee created later that day). The abdication was sealed by a sell-out.

Subsequent to these events, various attempts to revive the Ad Hoc group all failed. The rump group which remained in McMillan was able to vote the original Westin proposal and continued for a few days under the leadership of Marvin Harris and Eric Bentley. Then the moderates created an Independent Faculty Group under Melman, Morganbesser and others, which again tried to take a centrist position and dissolved when its membership proved "too radical" for its leaders (against a background of general apathy). A Junior Faculty Group, formed when the younger faculty realized that they were excluded even from the phony decision-making bodies created by the administration, also folded. Today, six months later, most of the faculty -- if they think about it at all -- look back on the revolt as if it were some kind of strange dream. Most have fallen back into business-as-usual, including grumbling as usual, more than content to believe the new administration's promises about "restructuring" and to let management manage. A few have been radicalized, especially among the younger elements; more interestingly, many of the big intellectual radicals have been shown up as establishment liberals, tied by their comfort and prestige to the status quo.

Yet the issues at Columbia were always clear. The students' demands -- an end to IDA, to the construction of a Columbia gym in a Harlem public park, and to arbitrary discipline against student radicals -- were surprisingly moderate. Moreover, they symbolized the three burning issues of the day -- the imperialist war, institutionalized racism, and law 'n order versus the right to resist -- issues on which most Columbia professors are "liberals." Finally, the Kirk administration had already discredited itself, even in the faculty's eyes, through its consistent arrogance, remoteness, and incompetence (as witnessed by their mishandling of earlier student protests and the scandal of the Strickman cigarette filter deal). If ever the conditions

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#### A FACULTY UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPER

Faculty at the University of Illinois have begun publication of the Laputa Gazette, an underground newspaper for university faculty. For more information on what is probably the first (and only?) paper of its kind write: Laputa Gazette, 208 W. Pennsylvania, Urbana, Illinois 61801.

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were ripe for a faculty to take advantage of a student revolt and assert itself, it was at Columbia, where the faculty had plenty of grievances of its own: low salaries, poor housing, slow promotion, academic decline, and the absence of anything like a tradition (such as a faculty senate to ensure their participation in decision-making).

The fact that this faculty could not even split openly on principled positions, much less join with the students is a fact to be reckoned with. Now that the initial shock has worn off, this fact has enabled Columbia radicals to take a fresh look at the whole question of the role of the intellectual in bourgeois society and the nature of the university as part of the capitalist productive system, producing new ideas and hardware for the government-military-industrial complex and new technicians and administrators to replenish its ranks. Since the faculty's position in society depends on its relation to this productive system, it is clear that however much they may protest, verbally and as individuals, against racism and the war, they will always abdicate when it becomes a question of shaking the system or altering fundamental relationships because they are tied to the system. Significantly, many of the very professors who took the lead in the anti-war Teach-in movement two years ago turned up as our worst enemies in the Columbia revolt. The centrist role they played reveals the basic contradiction between their liberal ideals and their social position. Totally disoriented by the rupture in their secure existence and the revelation of their contamination by the forces of war and racism, they could only abdicate -- retreat before the abyss -- although as individuals they might bravely face the cops. . . . Professors are not the power structure, merely its unwitting tools. Neither are they potential revolutionaries, as a group. And in a crisis, the center falls out.

To student rebels, this means allies must be sought in the black ghettos and in the ranks of labor, not on campus. It means that "a free university" will only exist after we have won a "free society," through a total social revolution. To young faculty rebels, it means we must organize on the basis of our own constituency, not as part of a fictitious academic community which will either exclude or coopt us. Rather than fighting for positions within some sort of faculty senate, we must form unions to defend our position as one fundamentally opposed to the interests of the administration and of the senior faculty that is tied to it.

Along with a rise in radical consciousness among students the self-organization of university workers into unions and neighborhood people into action groups have been the most significant and lasting effects of the Columbia revolt. Moreover, unions of junior faculty seem to be springing up on many campuses. These new movements seem to confirm the above conclusions.



**SPEAKERS' WHO'S WHO**

(LNS) WBAI, the listener-sponsored Pacifica radio station in New York, has formed a Speakers' Bureau in response to the growing demand for speakers connected with the station.

For a booklet listing the speakers or for information about hiring speakers, write to: Speakers' Bureau, WBAI, 30 East 39th St., New York, NY 10016. Or call the publicity department during business hours at (212) OX 7 - 2288.

## META INFORMATION APPLICATIONS: TECHNOLOGY IN A RADICAL CONTEXT

The computer industry had its origin in the Manhattan Project, which developed the first atomic weapons, and since then virtually all research and development in the computer field has occurred within the military sector of the American economy. This is in no sense accidental; the very structure of American Capitalism requires that the extensive resources necessary for the development of a new technology come from the military. As a result most technical people -- scientists, engineers, mathematicians, systems analysts, programmers -- are oppressed: they have no control over the content of their work or the use to which it is put. In fact, whether they work for private companies or for universities, the first applications of their work are apt to be for military purposes; and the more interesting the work is technically, the more certain it is that this will be the case.

Scientists who are opposed to the maintenance of the American empire abroad through armed or covert oppression are apt to adopt an ostrich attitude toward the consequences of their work.

They are apt to say that during work hours they develop and implement their own purely technical ideas, and that the uses to which that work is put once it is out of their hands neither is nor can be any concern of theirs. They are the draftsmen of knowledge and technique, and cannot know who will use the tools they fashion. As a matter of fact, everyone knows who pays for the research -- the Department of Defense -- and he who pays the piper calls the tune.

Of course, there may be an occasional surprise for the ostrich, as when an intelligence system for identifying NLF leaders in Vietnamese villages is applied to locating and identifying militants in the ghettos of Detroit or Cleveland. These surprises can make it more difficult for the scientist to preserve his artificial innocence.

People who write contract proposals know that the way to get money to pay for research is either to do work which the Department of Defense needs, or to appear to do so. Much basic research goes forward under the wretched guise of being useful to the military. But then most of it eventually is.

Scientists tend to be a fairly liberal group. The ideology of the university departments which train them still relies heavily on the myth of the scientist as a lonely (often persecuted) seeker after truth. The work reality is that of someone producing a product according to the requirements of a military machine, with no control over what happens to that product, and often no access to it after it is finished.

Consequently, there is an opportunity for organizing a large group of oppressed workers in critical areas of the American economy. This opportunity has been ignored by the new left -- largely because of a tendency to equate technology with the institutions and individuals who control it (in this society).

In any work situation an individual can be radicalized if he can be brought to a recognition not only of the oppressive way in which his work is used, but further of how it could and ought to be used, based on radical political assumptions about how society ought to be constituted.

People in the computer field can be radicalized when they begin to understand what could be made of their work, as well as what is presently made of it. A new left computer software company called Meta Information Applications has been formed to begin the task of radical organizing in the computer field.

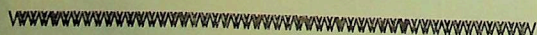
M.I.A. is structured as follows. There will be two basic categories of work: (1) Good work -- work that the people in the company judge to be worthwhile for radical political and technological purposes. In a good society this is the sort of science directed toward satisfying human needs and oriented toward human values; work that the scientist would be rewarded for pursuing, by the society. In our profit-oriented militaristic empire, we do not assume that good work will be paid for by anyone. (2) Bad work which will be as limited and as harmless as possible -- work done simply in order to support the individuals who constitute M.I.A. and to provide whatever resources M.I.A. requires.

American society traps people in a consumption cycle in which the only aim of work is the accumulation of money for the aimless consumption of goods. As they are caught up in this system, people lose sight of their original work goals. M.I.A. confronts this situation directly by creating for people a genuine opportunity to decide that the primary purpose of their work should have radical political and technological ends. The continual choice between the two types of work will provide the participants in M.I.A. with a real chance to break the consumption cycle, thus deepening the process of their own radicalization.

More specifically, M.I.A. proposes the following kinds of work:

### RADICAL POLITICAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL WORK

(1) Theoretical or practical technical work that can contribute to an advancement of the field and raise the level of technical sophistication of the people in the



company; for example, the development of better computer techniques to help rationalize economic organizations, or basic theoretical research.

(2) Production of educational material on the nature and purpose of the computer industry and affiliated fields; the ultimate aim of such work would be political organizing.

(3) Studies of potential theoretical and political uses of technology, for example, in proposing a radical alternative to contemporary urban life.

(4) Use of information technology for movement groups engaged in research and analysis like NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) or research projects of Students for a Democratic Society or Movement for a Democratic Society, the off-campus branch of SDS.

(5) The construction of a technical system that replaces the notion of value based on profit with the notion of value based on human potential.

(6) Simplification of bureaucratic work of movement organizations like the Guardian or REP (Radical Education Project).

(7) And many more.

#### MONEY WORK

(1) Commercial programming and consulting work for relatively harmless institutions like museums and hospitals (remembering, however, that all sources of money are elements of the capitalist structure).

(2) The development and leasing of proprietary programs such as small-scale information retrieval systems.

(3) Consulting and research projects for bad customers where the nature of the work permits the incorporation of self-limiting features which void the potential (bad) uses by the customer.

Meta Information Applications needs people who identify strongly with the movement or need a way to do so, and who are computer people, especially programmers and software types. If you are interested in computers because they represent an easy way to make money, forget M.I.A. it's not for you. M.I.A. will be staffed by people who express their creativity working with computers, but do not want to be creative at the expense of their brothers, in the service of the corporations and corporate armies.

M.I.A. is incorporated in the state of New York. It is capitalized in such a way that putting in money or buying stock gives no control over the company. After a probationary period, every person who works for M.I.A. becomes part of the decision-making apparatus: one man, one vote. People will hassle out with each other what

work to do and what to get paid.

The military and the corporate giants have had a monopoly on technology long enough. Now is the time for us to develop and utilize technology for the people. Now is the time to humanize computer technology. Join the struggle!

M.I.A. is one of the projects of Movement for a Democratic Society in New York. If you are interested in M.I.A. or know of any work for M.I.A. (either area of work) please contact:

Robert Shapiro 240 West 98th Street apt 14H  
New York, N.Y. 10025 (212) UN 4-1771

Please describe your background and interests.

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#### VIETNAM CURRICULUM

Members of the Boston Area Teaching Project (6 University Road, Cambridge, Mass. 02138) have prepared an extensive curriculum for high school use on the subject of Vietnam. The Vietnam Curriculum is 350 pages and consists of four volumes: (1) Introductory units (2) History and Issues of the War (3) Impact of the War and (4) American Attitudes and Values. Each volume includes a teacher's guide to the use of the material provided and sets of original documents which students may examine and use as the basis for their own conclusions. There are references to longer and more complex sources and a set of case studies of fictitious individuals, ranging from prospective draftees to government officials, caught in various dilemmas about responses to the demands of the war.

The Vietnam Curriculum is being published by the New York Review of Books; the present edition has been updated to include sections on the Paris peace talks and the 1968 campaign and election. Copies are available @\$10 each from: Vietnam Curriculum, The New York Review of Books, 250 West 57th St., New York, NY 10019.

#### CORRECTION

The proposed newsletter for sociology students, which was described in the last issue of this newsletter, will be published in Madison, Wisconsin (rather than in Michigan). The address is:

Rhubarb  
c/o Paul Borrmann  
1127 Drake Street  
Madison, Wisconsin

# REMARKS AT THE ASA CONVENTION

by MARTIN NICOLAUS

(Ed. note: The following article is the text of a speech given by Martin Nicolaus at the American Sociological Association's annual convention in Boston this past August. A radical caucus was active at the convention -- see September issue of Radicals in the Professions -- and was invited to present a rebuttal to the keynote speaker, Sec. of Health, Education & Welfare Wilbur Cohen. Nicolaus' comments were given to the assembled sociologists following Cohen's keynote speech. For further information about the sociologists radical caucus write: Richard Flacks c/o New University Conference, 5810 S. Woodlawn, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

These remarks are not addressed to the Sec. of Health, Education and Welfare. This man has agreed voluntarily to serve as a member of a government establishment which is presently fighting a war for survival on two fronts. Imperial wars such as the one against Vietnam are usually two-front wars, one against the foreign subject population, one against the domestic subject population. The Secretary of HEW is a military officer in the domestic front of the war against people. Experience in the Vietnam teach-ins has shown that dialogue between the subject population and its rulers is an exercise in repressive tolerance. It is, in Robert S. Lynd's words, dialogue between chickens and elephants. He holds some power over me; therefore, even if he is wrong in his arguments he is right; even if I'm right, I'm wrong. I do address myself to the Secretary's audience. There is some hope -- even though the hour is very late -- that among the members here there will be some whose life is not so sold and compromised as to be out of their own control to change or amend it.

While the officers of this convention and the previous speaker were having a big meal in this hotel, I was across the street in a cafeteria having a hot dog and two cups of coffee. This may be why my perspective is different.

The ruling elite within your profession is in charge of what is called Health, Education and Welfare. Those of you who listened passively to what he had to say presumably agreed that this definition, this description of what the man did, carried an accurate message. Yet among you are many, including the hard researchers, who do know better or should know better. The department of which the man is head is more accurately described as the agency which watches over the inequitable distribution of preventable disease, over the funding of domestic propa-

ganda and indoctrination, and over the preservation of a cheap and docile reserve labor force to keep everybody else's wages down. He is Secretary of disease, propaganda and scabbing.

This may be put too strongly for you, for you, but it all depends on where you look from, where you stand. If you stand inside the Sheraton Hotel these terms are offensive, but if you gentlemen and ladies would care to step across the street into Roxbury you might get a different perspective and a different vocabulary. If you will look at the social world through the eyes who are the bottom of it, through the eyes of your subject population -- and if you will endow those eyes with the same degree of clear-sightedness you profess to encourage among yourselves -- then you will get a different conception of the social science to which you are devoted. That is to say that this assembly here tonight is a kind of lie. It is not a coming-together of social reality. It is a conclave of high and low priests, scribes, intellectual valets, and their innocent victims, engaged in the mutual affirmation of a falsehood, in common consecration of a myth.

Sociology is not now and never has been any kind of objective seeking out of social truth or reality. Historically, the profession is an outgrowth of 19th century European traditionalism and conservatism, wedded to 20th century American corporation liberalism.

That is to say that the eyes of sociologists, with few but honorable (or: honorable but few) exceptions, have been turned downwards, and their palms upwards.

Eyes down, to study the activities of the lower classes, of the subject population -- those activities which created problems for the smooth exercise of governmental hegemony. Since the class of rulers in this society identifies itself as the society itself -- in the same way that Davis and Moore in their infamous 1945 propaganda article identified the society with those who run it -- therefore the problems of the ruling class get defined as social problems. The profession has moved beyond the tearjerking stage today. "Social problems" is no longer the preferred term, but sociologically "interesting" are the things that are interesting to those who stand at the top of the mountain and feel the tremors of an earthquake.

Sociologists stand guard in the garrison and report to its masters on the movements of the occupied populace. The more adventurous sociologists don the disguise of the peo-

ple and go out to mix with the peasants in the "field", returning with books and articles that break the protective secrecy in which a subjugated population wraps itself, and make it more accessible to manipulation and control.

The sociologist as researcher in the employ of his employers is precisely a kind of spy. The proper exercise of the profession is all too often different from the proper exercise of espionage only in the relatively greater electronic sophistication of the latter's techniques.

Is it an accident that industrial sociology -- to name only a few examples here -- arose in a context of rising "labor troubles", that political sociology grew when elections became less predictable, or that the sociology of race relations is now flourishing?

As sociologists you owe your jobs to the union organizers who got beat up, to the voters who got fed up, to the black people who got shot up. Sociology has risen to its present prosperity and eminence on the blood and bones of the poor and oppressed; it owes its prestige in this society to its putative ability to give information and advice to the ruling class of this society about ways and means to keep the people down.

The professional eyes of the sociologist are on the down people, and the professional palm of the sociologist is stretched toward the up people. It is no secret and no original discovery to take public note of the fact that the major and dominant sectors of sociology today are sold, computer, codes and questionnaires, to the people who have enough money to afford this ornament, and who see a useful purpose being served by keeping hundreds of intelligent men and women occupied in the pursuit of harmless trivia and off the streets. I am not asserting that every individual researcher sells his brain for a bribe -- although many of us know of research projects where that has happened, literally -- but merely that the dominant structure of the profession, in which all of its members are to some extent socialized, is a structure in which service to the ruling class of this society is the highest form of honor and achievement. (The speaker's table today is an illustration). The honored sociologist, the big-status sociologist, the fat-contract sociologist, the jet-set sociologist, the book-a-year sociologist, the sociologist who always wears the livery, the suit and tie, of his masters -- this is the type of sociologist who sets the tone and the ethic of the profession, and it is this type of sociologist who is nothing more nor less than a house-servant in the corporate establishment, a white intellectual Uncle Tom not only for this government and ruling class but for any government and ruling class, which explains to my mind why Soviet sociologists and American sociologists are finding after so many years of isolation that, after all, they have something in common.

To raise and educate and train generation after generation of the brightest minds of this country's so-called educational system has let survive in this sociological ethic

of servility, to socialize them into this sociocracy, is a criminal undertaking, one of the many felonies against youth committed by those who set themselves up in a loco parentis situation that is usually far more oppressive than any real parental relation. The crime which graduate schools perpetrate against the minds and morals of young people is all the more inexcusable because of the enormous liberating potential of knowledge about social life. Unlike knowledge about trees and stones, knowledge about people directly affects what we are, what we do, what we may hope for. The corporate rulers of this society would not be spending as much money as they do for knowledge if knowledge did not confer power. So far, sociologists have been schlepping this knowledge that confers power along a one-way chain, taking knowledge from the people, giving knowledge to the rulers.

What if that machinery were reversed? What if the habits, problems, secrets and unconscious motivations of the wealthy and powerful were daily scrutinized by a thousand systematic researchers, were hourly pried-into, analysed and cross-referenced, tabulated and published in a hundred inexpensive mass-circulation journals and written so that even the fifteen-year old high school drop out could understand it and predict the actions of his landlord, manipulate and control him?

Would the war in Vietnam have been possible if the structure, function and motion of the U.S. imperial establishment had been a matter of detailed public knowledge ten years ago?

Sociology has worked to create and increase the inequitous distribution of knowledge; it has worked to make the power structure relatively more powerful and knowledgeable, and thereby to make the subject population relatively more impotent and ignorant.

In the late summer of 1968, while the political party currently in power is convening amidst barbed wire and armored cars, the sociological profession ought to consider itself especially graced and blessed that its own deliberations can still be carried on with a police-to-participant ratio smaller than one-to-one. This may be because the people of the USA do not know how much of their current troubles stem -- to borrow Lord Keynes' phrase -- from the almost forgotten scribblings of an obscure professor, of sociology. Or it may be that sociology is still so crude that it represents no clear and present danger.

In 1968 it is late, very late, too late, to say once again what Robert S. Lynd and C. Wright Mills and hundreds of others have long said, that the profession must reform itself. In view of the forces and the money that stand behind sociology as an exercise in intellectual servility, it is unrealistic to expect the body of the profession to make an about-face.

If and when the barbed wire goes up around the ASA convention in a future year, most of its members will still not know why.

## RADICAL EDUCATION AND THE MOVEMENT: A LOOK AT AN EXPERIMENTAL HIGH SCHOOL IN D.C.

by JOEL DENKER

"I have come to feel that the only learning which significantly influences behavior is self-discovered, self-appropriated learning."

"When I try to teach, as I do sometimes, I am appalled by the results, which seem a little more than inconsequential, because sometimes the teaching appears to succeed. When this happens I find that the results are damaging. It seems to cause the individual to distrust his own experience, and to stifle significant learning. Hence I have come to feel that the outcomes of teaching are either unimportant or harmful."

-- Carl Rogers

"Personal Thoughts on Teaching and Learning"

(from: On Becoming a Person)

Anyone who wants to suggest a serious alternative to the public school system must in some way confront Carl Rogers' reflections on the learning process. When I read Rogers last year, when I was teaching in a suburban high school in Silver Spring, Maryland, I was deeply troubled. For I began to realize that, however radical or "progressive" my classes might be, I still remained trapped in an institutional structure which defined my role as teacher. To continue working within that system, I felt, was to give it greater legitimacy than it deserved, to personally accept my complicity in strengthening "compulsory mis-education." The observations that follow grow out of the experiences that I had in organizing an experimental high school, an alternative to both the middle class high schools and the progressive private schools.

A group of us -- several teachers, a lawyer, and a small group of students -- began meeting in February to discuss our ideas for an experimental high school in the area. We all had in common a dissatisfaction with the public schools we had been working in and, more fundamentally, with the patterns of coercive authority embodied in them. We were less clear about the kind of school we wanted to build. We agreed on two main things. We wanted to break down the distinctions between teachers and students. This we hoped to do by living communally in a co-op house we planned to rent in the District. In this framework, easy, natural association would break down many of the normal barriers and all would begin to share in making decisions about the school.

We wrote up a leaflet, analyzing the failures of the public school system and presenting our vision as an alternative for students who wished to drop out. (We had already written to a number of colleges -- Goddard, Antioch, Reed, Chicago, etc. -- about our school, to make sure that if any student wished to go to college that that op-

tion would not be foreclosed. The responses were very favorable.) We circulated this leaflet in schools in Maryland, Virginia, and the District. This decision was important because we were consciously trying to reverse the normal pattern of starting a school -- that is, appealing to the parents first. Since we wanted our school to be under the control of its students, they, we felt, were the ones we first had to convince of its validity. We did speak to parents, but only after the kids had taken the initiative with them themselves. Because of this tactic, we have had very little flack from the parents this year.

We soon began to have a series of bi-weekly meetings with interested students, parents, and teachers in the area, culminating in a spring retreat in the Shenandoahs. These meetings frequently resembled "self-criticism" sessions in which we tried to encourage each other to articulate what was wrong about our schools and to suggest a concrete alternative to them. These meetings were helpful because they helped us to fashion a common educational philosophy. In the process we became a more cohesive group. Surprisingly little in the way of concrete proposals or programs came out of them. I suspect this was natural, given the transient involvement of many of the people present (the people attending the meetings sometimes changed from week to week, with only a core remaining). There was an air of unreality about the whole project. Only a handful seemed ready to commit themselves to it and, since we lacked a building, we had great difficulty convincing more hesitant people of our intentions.

One other important thing came out of these meetings. This was our decision to appeal to white middle class kids. Any illusions we might have had about an integrated effort were dispelled when we spoke to some very savvy black kids from Eastern High School. They said they liked what we were doing but that it was irrelevant to the kind of "freedom school" they wanted. Their advice was that we complement and support each other, not try to duplicate each other's functions.

ES

A NEW  
SCHOOL

In late August we found a house in an integrated middle class area off 16th Street. Interest and enthusiasm soon began to pick up. Kids began to make the anxious decision to drop out of school, parents began to loosen their grip,

and we began to pull our community together. There were 12 of us living in the house (7 of the kids and 5 of the "teachers"). We quickly realized that our project had greater political implications than we could ever have imagined. The landlord, an official from the Indian embassy, who wanted U.S. citizenship, began to get uptight and put us on a month-to-month lease. The FBI began to make inquiries among our neighbors. The wife of a government official whose daughter goes to the school received a call over the White House line from an unidentified person saying that she should withdraw her daughter since our house was under surveillance. In the midst of all this, morale was high and our first "classes" got underway. This external threat had a way of helping us build solidarity when it was most crucial. We quickly decided that it would be the shrewdest thing to move, to find a more comfortable landlord -- which we did.

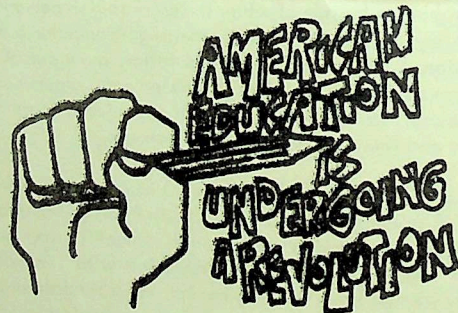
One of our greatest problems this first month was finding a way of overcoming our legal difficulties. In the District, anyone can start a school (there is no local accrediting agency) but must meet rigid occupancy (steel doors, fire escapes, exit signs, etc.) and zoning requirements (being in a commercial zone). We approached the problem by trying to find a local church which would let us use their facilities for formal classes and to have our informal activities in our house. We concentrated first on getting the local Unitarian Church, All Souls, to give us space. They kept procrastinating, so we asked the Friends Meeting for help. They have given us the use of classroom space and have let us use their address as our legal mailing address.

We now have 20 full-time students (the average age is 17). There are about 10-15 others who are involved in activities at the school, but who continue to go to their local high schools. There are five of us teaching full-time -- all except one former teachers in either the District or Maryland. We have managed to attract a number of other people -- artists, a writer, public school teachers, etc., who are volunteering their services to the school.

We offer "classes" in a variety of areas (during the fall we have frequently met in Rock Creek Park) ranging from creative writing and drama to utopian American radicalism (we have a bulletin board where anyone who wants to get a course going puts up a time for a meeting; times of films, local events, lectures, dances, government meetings, etc., also appear). These core courses, which meet once or twice a week, are intended to complement rather than serve as substitutes for the direct involvement that is central to the school. We aim to explode the classroom, to create the feeling that learning is more than a formal academic exercise, that to be worth anything it must be organically related to the person's most immediate needs and concerns. Students have done a variety of things this year: several of the kids are working in apprenticeships with local artists, a metal sculptor and welder and a potter for example. A trip to Baltimore to attend the trial of the Catonsville Nine got us involved in a demonstration

protesting the mockery of justice in federal court and in picketing the courthouse. We went to the City Council to hear a friend protest against their avoidance of the police issue and heard the city fathers spend 40 minutes discussing the question of civilian escorts for funeral processions. Most every weekend this fall, we have been camping out on some land in the Shenandoahs at the site of an old mission. A friend of ours has purchased land there so we have access to it whenever we want.

"Classes" in the school have been a very special experience for me after the formality of the public high school. I remember vividly a discussion we had of Gide's *The Immoralist*. It started out with a discussion of our personal reactions to the novel. It soon became a dialogue in which we talked to each other about our own life-styles -- which ranged from social activism to a kind of religious mysticism. What impressed me was that we felt comfortable enough with each other to speak personally about our concerns -- something which is frowned upon in the icy "objectivity" of the public school classroom. After an hour of conversation, three kids said they felt terribly confused and went off for a long walk. For myself, the ideal is to become a co-learner, a co-participant in the learning process. The intimate relationships we have with each other in the community help to make this possible. For many of us the living situation -- the communal living -- and the learning experience cannot be separated. In fact, much of the richest discussion in and out of class centers on the quality of the relationships we are trying to build.



I have learned many things from my involvement in this project. I have realized how easy it is to bring authoritarian values into an otherwise free and experimental learning situation. The values we have absorbed from our families, our schools, etc., do not vanish just because we begin to organize for radical social change. Unless we become capable of changing our own lives, of confronting these values, we will have changed nothing at all. In our school, for example, some of the sharpest debate between the older people has revolved around the use of words which have more than a semantic function -- words like "teacher" and "student" and "staff" which imply deeply rooted beliefs about the kinds of relationships people ought to have with each other. The younger kids have

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# sds labor proposal

(Jim Mellen of REP staff is currently working on a draft of a labor proposal to present to the Students for a Democratic Society National Council meeting in December. We reprint below a letter and a draft proposal which Jim is circulating for comments. Please send any comments to REP, Box 625, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107.)

Several people I have spoken to at the Boulder NC and since feel as I do that the defeat of the Student Labor Action Project (SLAP) was a good thing but now places an obligation on us to make a positive statement of views with respect to the working class. SLAP was dogmatic, confused and would have led only to missionary politics,

(continued from page twelve)  
much better instincts than we do; they have been poisoned less.

We have frequently set up "liberation schools", "free universities", etc., which attempt to change the old curriculum (in the interests, say, of such worthwhile goals as combatting racism or promoting socialism) but which finally do not alter the human relationships which many kids are rebelling against in the homes and schools. It is these human relationships -- the attempt by many teachers to hide their self-interest, their personal values, their concerns behind a facade of objectivity -- that frequently distort the learning process. By remaining unconscious of this problem, we change course content, but still relate to each other in the same authoritative way.

The same criticism is applicable to many intentional communities. In our co-op a small group is seeking to institute a system of precisely defined roles and responsibilities, being too impatient to let them develop organically. If they were ever to succeed in doing this, our community would have the same hierarchical structure which a year ago our group had gotten together to protest.

All of us have been so badly corrupted by our own education that it is hard to imagine, let alone share in building a more humane learning and living environment. But this must be done, if we are not to reproduce the same kinds of institutions we so frequently criticize. Political organization and agitation within the schools is just not sufficient. Contagious examples -- models of learning and living together -- are also needed if public schools are ever to change. This struggle is equally important for ourselves, for we have much to learn, or unlearn, if we are to change our own lives; if we are to build a new world together.

but now we need a statement which recognizes the need for an independent movement of poor and working class people in this country. SDS cannot conjure such a movement into existence but it can 1) recognize the beginnings of it that we can see now, 2) encourage with organizational support those who are working in it, and 3) make distinct the ways we think the student movement as such can work with such a movement.

I am sending around the enclosed statement to several people, especially a number of SDS people actually working in communities and shops, in order to get some comments, amendments and arguments in the hope that by the December NC a short statement concerning the poor and working class can pass as a statement of SDS' views. Please send any comments you can.

In addition, REP produced "SDS Goes to Work," which was the first of a series of Topical Literature Packets we plan. We are planning now to reprint more of these for the December NC and to produce a second packet on the general subject. "SDS Goes to Work" contained articles describing the nature of the American working class and some of the ideas concerning its organization. The second packet will focus on the relationship between the student movement and the working class movement. We know of some articles on the Student-Worker Committees in France last year. We will include some discussion of the lessons of ERAP and white students working in the civil rights movement. Perhaps we will quote Lenin on the role of revolutionary intellectuals and Mao on the May Fourth Movement. Jim Jacobs has written an article on the subject which we will ask if we can use. Any other suggestions people could make would be most welcome. The two packets together should serve as good material for internal education work in the chapters as well as informing the discussion in Ann Arbor in December.

If the statement is a good idea, it should be printed in New Left Notes in early December. So, if any comments are to be included they should reach Ann Arbor in a couple of weeks. Let me know.

## PROPOSAL

The Students for a Democratic Society recognizes that a revolutionary transformation of United States society depends upon the organization of a massive popular movement of the poor and working people. We recognize that the student movement will play an important role in connection with such a mass movement. The nature of that role will be defined by the struggle and the unfolding historical conditions.

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At this point in the struggle we see the need for:

(1) Extension of the student movement into working class schools, including high schools, community colleges and trade schools.

(2) Support by the student movement of the just demands of workers.

(3) Efforts to organize resistance to the military, both among GI's and potential draftees.

(4) Definitions of campus struggles to include off-campus constituencies -- for example, the gym at Columbia.

(5) Some students must go into working class neighborhoods and shops to become organizers on a permanent basis.

Some of the arguments concerning the statement that I can see are as follows:

(1) The statement is sparse. Fuller treatment of each point with examples is possible.

(2) The first sentence is crucial. I have worded it vaguely to avoid sectarian squabbles which I think will be mooted by historical developments.

(3) A distinction must be made between organizing students, organized students supporting workers' demands, and former students organizing workers. Each is legitimate.

(4) Student support for workers' demands should be on the basis of a coalition between two integral forces -- and not a dissolution of one into the other. This should be made clear in point 2, but I can't do it without changing the tone to negative.

(5) It may seem unnecessary to pass it at all, since what it describes is already happening. Some people feel, however, that (1) many SDS members are prejudiced against workers, and (2) SDS might be developing the reputation of being anti-worker. There is merit in expressly denying both points.

(6) The most important point is that SDS has developed as an organization through struggle. The political perspective of SDS has developed out of that experience. Summing up experience, tentative as it may be, helps develop theory.

#### RADICAL LITERARY CRITICISM: MANUSCRIPTS SOLICITED

Dick Wasson from the University of Illinois and Arthur Efron from SUNY Buffalo are working together on a collection of Radical Essays in Literary Criticism. Dick writes: "We start with applications of Marcuse and work into new uses of Freud, Marx, and then to the new left." Prospective contributors are invited to send manuscripts to: Dick Wasson, 100 English Bldg., University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois; or Arthur Efron, English Dept., SUNY Buffalo, Buffalo, New York.

#### INSURGENT CAUCUS MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

A number of people are organizing an "insurgent caucus" at the Modern Language Association meeting in December. Interested people should contact Florence Howe or Paul Lauter, 310 Ridgemed Rd., Baltimore, Md.; or Louis Kampf, Dept. of Humanities, Mass. Institute of Tech., Cambridge, MA.; or Richard Ohman, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.

# correspondence

## NEW YORK SCHOOL DECENTRALIZATION



(The following two letters have been written in response to the article "Look Who's Jumping on the De-Centralization Bandwagon: A Radical Critique of the New York City School De-Centralization Plans," which appeared in the September issue of this newsletter. Authors of the article were Adrienne Yurick and Francine Lerner; they may be contacted through Movement for a Democratic Society, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012.)

To the editor:

Though I found the article on New York school decentralization accurate and useful, I also finally found it dissatisfying -- in just the same way that NACLA's "Who Rules Columbia" is dissatisfying. They're both too formalistic, if that's a useful word.

Power must be examined not in terms of who formally holds office or technical responsibility, but in terms of whose orders are obeyed, or what combination of forces actually shape what happens and how people live. What the current struggle over Ocean Hill-Brownsville illustrates is that it is not fundamentally important who controls the Board of Education, or even who is Superintendent of Schools. Because effective power has more and more been wielded by an alliance of union teachers and the middle management of the school system. Doar has ordered the schools open. The Teachers' Union, the Supervisor's Association, and now even the unionized janitors keep them shut. Community control threatens their sources of power.

Moreover, even the most cursory look at curriculum, school organization, personnel policies, etc., will also reveal the domination of union and supervisors. The Board and its officials -- as it was said of the French in Vietnam -- legislate into a void; others determine what really goes on inside the school. Which is not to suggest that the individual teacher's life is cushy, any more than the industrial worker's to whom Wallace is appealing so strongly. But only to suggest that the dynamics of power in New York City's education industry, whether that means public schools or Columbia, are in many respects similar to the dynamics of power elsewhere in the corporate liberal establishment. And in analyzing them we must move on from the initial question of who sits on the boards.

Yours truly,  
Paul Lauter  
Baltimore, Maryland, October 19, 1968

To the editor:

I read with interest the Yurick-Lerner critique of New York City school de-centralization plans and policies in the September issue of RADICALS IN THE PROFESSIONS, but have a number of questions raised by the article which should be discussed. The questions have two foci: the school system, as such, and the effect of decentralization on it. As I am most concerned with the positive view of people in the REP (and not with the criticism of plans whose purpose is to maintain the oppressive structure of the society as it exists) the questions refer to the concluding section, Where It's At Now.

There seems to be a severe confusion of the oppressive purpose of schools which must train youngsters for lives in a technological capitalist society (the most telling symptoms are the hatred of the University, distrust of careful analysis, and loss of self, experienced by older students) and the breakdown of the school system in fulfilling its purpose (the symptoms are more down to earth -- Ghetto children aren't learning to read, or to handle mathematics). It seems to me that the call for community control, even as expressed in your article, rests on the accusation that the centralized school system (and its teachers) is responsible for this breakdown, and that community control will insure that proper teaching and care are given to Ghetto pupils, in order to bring their verbal and mathematical understanding up to that of their urban peers. Thus, community control, for the most part, is a way of insuring that Ghetto children will learn the skills which other children learn (and I think this is what their parents are interested in). Few people, if any, seem concerned that the same city school system is producing white graduates from non-Ghetto areas who possess these skills, but who also have undergone the dehumanizing processes necessary in making them tomorrow's supporters of status quo.

Clearly it is simplistic to suggest that the city school system corresponds to a model in which the Ghetto children are being exploited in favor of the rest of the school population. What is essentially exploitive about the school system is being experienced by all children; the gripe in the Ghettoes is that their children aren't reaping any of the benefits.

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#### PROGRAM FOR RADICAL WHITE ORGANIZING

(LNS) The National Organizing Committee, a group dedicated to radical organizing among youth and working class people throughout the country, has just published a leaflet detailing its 13-point program. It calls for the unity of all working people around social and economic issues and the war.

NOC is currently developing other education materials, tips to community organizers and a film. The committee also helps local groups to obtain other films and materials, and can provide speakers. It has full-time people at work in a number of midwestern and border state cities.

For copies of the program leaflet and other information write to the NOC office, 4401 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, 60640, or phone: (312) 334-8040.



(continued from page fifteen)

I would suggest, perhaps out on a limb, that the breakdown of the school system is a result of contradictions within the society, but only second hand. Namely, that the city schools cannot teach because the Ghetto students cannot learn from them. The schools, as a point of contact, do illuminate what used to be called "under-privilege", but they do not create it. Confusing the breakdown of this oppressive system, and the subsequent loss of what benefits it offered, with the nature of the system itself, leads only to the conclusion that the Board of Education, UFT, etc., are the agents of exploitation, whereas a more fruitful study might investigate the possibility of anyone's teaching Ghetto children so long as the Ghetto remains. It's not obvious to me that total decentralization, of the sort you show is lacking in the established plans, will solve this problem.

A further question is more easily stated. If real decentralization requires control of monies, and this control is not forthcoming, is decentralization a dead end? It seems to me decentralized control of monies would require a change far greater than change in the educational policy, and I cannot see the schools as a wedge for such greater change. Perhaps you do. It may be that I don't view decentralization as hopefully as you because I'm removed from immediate contact with what the Black leadership is saying.

Very truly yours,  
Ken Kronberg  
Santa Barbara, California, October 23, 1968.

### RADICAL THEATRE REPERTORY

Seventeen theatre ensembles have joined together as participating groups of the RADICAL THEATRE REPERTORY. They state: "The member groups, and dozens of others in this country and abroad, are in the vanguard of a new phenomenon in theatrical and social history -- the spontaneous generation of communal playing troupes, sharing voluntary poverty, making experimental collective creations, and utilizing space, time, minds, and bodies in manifold new ways that meet the demands of our explosive period. RTR arranges tours, one-night stands, radical theatre festivals, lecture-demonstrations, film programs, and conferences for its member groups with universities, schools, organizations and communities throughout the world." (from the RTR brochure)

Members of the RTR include: Living Theatre, Firehouse Theatre, Open Theatre, The Performance Group, Daytop Theatre Company, OM Theatre Workshop of Boston, Pagent Players, GUT Theatre, Concept East: New York; Drama Group of Mobilization for Youth, Theatre Black, Black Troupe, Playhouse of the Ridiculous, Caraban Theatre, Bread and Puppet Theatre, El Teatro Campesino, and the San Francisco Mime Troupe.

To arrange engagements for any of these groups, and for new groups now in process of joining RTR, please call or write to: Oda Jorges, Co-ordinator, Radical Theatre Repertory, Inc., 32 Washington Place, Room 74, New York, NY 10003. Phone: (212) 598-2525 or 598-3279.

### NEW LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM REP

- (35¢) Dialectics of Black Power -- R.A. Allen (a Guardian pamphlet)
- (35¢) An Outline History of Vietnam -- Adam Schesch
- (15¢) What is Guerrilla Theatre Anyway? (A summer with the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union Caravan)
- (35¢) Black & Red -- a journal; a "new revolutionary front" (current issue)

# radical economics

THE UNION FOR RADICAL POLITICAL ECONOMICS

## A PROSPECTUS

Economists' soul-searching sessions usually generate more searching than soul. The typical gripes are put forth, and then we retire to our next day's classes either as a giver or receiver of an unwanted and obsolete conventional wisdom. We genuflect before the twin deities of marginalism and equilibrium, while the world around us suffers from an extreme disequilibrium requiring large changes.

This is not said to deny the value of some of the tools and concepts of modern economics, but is said to question the importance of the problems to which these props are applied and the uncritical way in which the neat tools of economics are inappropriately used. A cursory glance at the course offerings of any school in the country, when juxtaposed to the problems facing contemporary society, demonstrates the irrelevancy of modern economics. Economics curricula are reinforced by a plethora of economic journals that compete with each other in perpetuating the poverty of economics. Do we really need another article about the Slutsky equations? How infrequent are articles which deal with the economics of racism, poverty in the American economy, international imperialism, or the real economics of defense.

On another level, modern economics deceives itself when  
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## RADICAL HISTORIANS

The History Students Association at the University of Wisconsin is planning to bring radical activist historians together at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association this December. They hope to schedule a meeting for the late afternoon of Saturday (the 28th) to discuss what is to be done.

Radicals and activists should look for them at the Registration Desk in the Statler Hilton (New York) Main Lobby. Notices will also be posted on the announcement board.

If you can't make it to New York, get in touch with them by writing:  
History Students Association  
439 West Dayton Street  
Madison, Wisconsin 53703

Last September a four-day Radical Economics Conference was held in Ann Arbor. The conference, the culmination of two years of soul sessions of graduate students at Michigan, was attended by a small group of graduate students and faculty members from Michigan, M.I.T., Harvard, Stonybrook, Eastern Michigan, Miami University, and the Institute for Policy Studies. Out of the Fall conference came the felt need for an on-going organization of new left economists committed to radical teaching, research, and organizing both within educational institutions and within the movement itself. In the middle of November a New England region Radical Economics Conference was held in Boston. More than 120 students, faculty, and movement organizers turned out for sessions on a radical critique of contemporary economics, imperialism, the relevance of Marxian economics, the Cuban economy, and poverty. To continue building the organization a nationwide conference is now planned for Philadelphia for December 19-21 (to be held concurrently with the alternative economics "job market" in that city.)

The following paper is a preliminary, unofficial draft of a prospectus prepared originally by Howard Wachtel and revised by the Michigan contingent of the newly renamed, Union for Radical Political Economics (URPE). The prospectus is an attempt to explain where we are, who we are and where we think we would like to go.

If you would like more information about URPE or if you are interested in attending the URPE conference in Philadelphia in December, please write to:

URPE  
P.O. Box 571  
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107

If you are interested in becoming a member of URPE and receiving the Proceedings of the September conference and the Working Papers for the December conference, you can submit "dues" to the group at the same time.

Low-income dues \$3.00      High-income dues \$6.00

Other contributions are more than welcome.



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it insists it is value-free. The values are there, perhaps hidden behind statements about the objectivity and neutrality of economics. And these values conveniently find the status quo quite satisfying, or at least satisfying. Our quarrel is with both the nature of these values and the failure of economists to admit they are operating on certain value premises.

This suggests that a substantive upheaval is required in the economics profession. Another type of economist is needed -- an economist concerned with the important problems of the world in which he lives and works; an economist willing to jettison the irrelevant and incorrect portions of the received doctrine, while at the same time willing to embark upon the arduous task of constructing a new economics.

This would obviously be impossible for any single individual to do. However, many of the student participants in the movements of the sixties are becoming the assistant professors of the seventies. Outside the universities there is an articulate group of economists and social scientists -- government workers, movement people, etc. -- who share a common contempt for contemporary economics. In addition, there are many economists of all professional levels scattered about the country who were not movement participants but share a common critique of economics and a common concern about the world. These groups form the constituency for a potentially large and effective organization of economists.

A new organization of economists would serve several purposes:

1. A new approach to social problems should be formulated -- one which attempts to break out of the bonds of narrow specialization and dips into political science, sociology, and social psychology. It is now necessary to resurrect the notion of a political economist.
2. In the classroom new courses should be taught, and those courses presently taught should be changed to reflect the urgencies of the day. A prime example is the economics principles course which is in dire need of a revolution. Can we stand another generation of Samuelson-trained students?
3. The priorities in economic research should also be made more relevant to the world around us. A sampling of new issues which should be treated by economists include: the economics of the ghetto, poverty in the American economy; international imperialism, interest group analysis; the military-university-industrial complex; etc. The list could be multiplied many times. The results of our research should be addressed not only to the economics profession, but to the larger society as well. Along with the change in research priorities must come a change in the value premises upon which economic research is based.

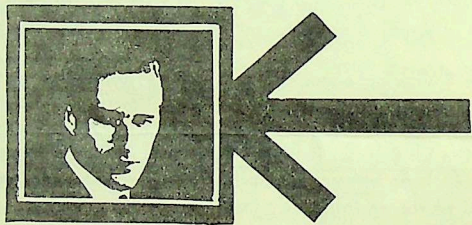
4. Joint research must be formulated so that the quest for scholarship does not induce us to tackle tiny fragments of large inter-related problems.

5. The social movements of our day need an economic analysis offered in a sensitive manner. At least some of us should be responding to those movement needs.

Obviously no organization can reflect each of our individual priorities in economics. However, it should not be too difficult to find common values which unite us as radical political economists. If we remain alone scattered throughout the country it will be difficult to avoid the "creeping socialization" of the university or government office. Money for research and jobs is plentiful for those activities that support the status quo. Our task, as an organization, is to provide a strong counter-weight to the pressures of society.

The foundations for such an organization were laid at the (continued on page nineteen)

## LET US ALL BE NAMECALLERS



It is imperative that we in the radical movement know exactly who our oppressors are. That means, among other things, calling names -- especially the names of those key money-powers and their servants who attempt to remain invisible behind the screen of their power apparatus. One such figure, brought recently to the attention of the Guardian, is the man above: Dr. John S. Foster, Director of Defense Research and Engineering for the Defense Department. His job? To hand out more than \$60 million per year for scientific research on behalf of U.S. imperialism. One of his interests, indeed, is the "motivations" of the Columbia rebels. In a future issue of the Guardian therefore, you will learn more about him, including his address.

Among other of our recent and regular features:  a two-page diagram of the power structure that dominates Columbia University;  a detailed breakdown of U.S. military arms manufacturers;  regular dispatches from Southeast Asia and Paris by Wilfred Burchett;  former SNCC member Julius Lester's popular column;  new left analysis by Carl Davidson;  book, film and record reviews;  much more in 20 to 24 pages tabloid.

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Radical Economics Conference held in Ann Arbor during September, 1968. As a result of that conference a Secretariat has been established in Ann Arbor. A New England Regional Conference was held in November, 1968. On December 19-21, 1968 a second national conference will be held in Philadelphia, concurrent with the alternative meetings of the American Economic Association.

We encourage you to start meetings on your campus, in your communities, and in your regions to define the form and purposes of URPE. We will cheerfully distribute any materials you produce to individuals throughout the country.

And to keep the Secretariat functioning we ask for a little bread. Though man may not live by bread alone, no movement lives without it! ◆◆

### GI PROGRAM MARCHES ON

(LNS) The movement program directed at GIs and others under the yoke of the military is continuing. Coffee houses are by now the best known aspects of this movement, but there are other programs in entertainment and education. For further information write to: Support Our Soldiers, 373 Green St., San Francisco, California. Phone: (415) 434-1619



### LET-THEM-EAT-CAKE-OF-THE-MONTH-DEPARTMENT

(from Newsweek)

# 1% of the companies make 70% of the profits. They're the Big Board companies.



Think about this next time you're in the market for a common stock purchase.

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### US COMMITTEE TO PROTEST MEXICAN REPRESSION

(LNS) A national campaign to focus attention on the repressive political situation in Mexico and to work for the release of Mexican political prisoners has been launched by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

Statements of protest can be mailed to President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz, Presidential Palace, Mexico City. The justice committee has published a pamphlet entitled: "Mexico 1968 -- The Students' Side of the Story" which can be obtained for one dollar from USLA Box 2303, New York, NY 10001.

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