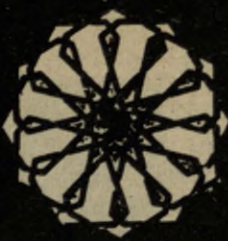


open process



The Knowledge Factory

Peter Shapiro

PART I

It was May 25, the day after John Summerskill's sudden epic departure for Ethiopia, and the Phi Beta Kappa Society was gathered in Masonic Auditorium to hear Theodore Meriam, wealthy small-town businessman and president of the Board of Trustees. Apparently Mr. Meriam is not a man to mince words. "Major industrial forces," he told the society, "must regard the California State College System as a major source of four-year college-trained products. Industry is beginning to utilize these products."

There is a great deal that could be said about this kind of language and the kind of mentality that could feel impelled to use it. To an academic community accustomed to loftier forms of rhetoric, the worldly profit-and-loss verbiage that often emanates from college Trustees has a distinctly alien ring. But there is nothing very new about it. In 1918 Randolph Bourne, then a recent graduate of Columbia, wrote "The Idea of the University," a bitter attack on the Columbia Board of Trustees, who he contended were running the university as though it were a corporation. Pointing out that the trustees were almost without exception wealthy and powerful businessmen, Bourne proceeded to contrast the "corporate value system" -- based on rumor, public relations, the profit motive -- with the traditional academic values of free inquiry, the life of the mind, the search for Truth. With their view of the world, he concluded, the trustees could not be expected to understand the ideals upon which the university was founded and therefore had no business trying to govern it.

Bourne did not attempt to go beyond the issue of conflicting values and analyze the source of situation he deplored. In 1918, when only a small fraction of America's young people became college students, the role of higher educa-

Turns Out

More GNP...

tion in American life was too nominal for it to be that relevant. Then, too, the rich have always run the colleges (and made up most of the student body), higher education having always been something of an extravagance in pre-technological societies. The real source of Bourne's anger was probably the burgeoning corporate elite, just coming into its own around 1920, whose values, prerogatives, power and influence made it more fulsome to him than the wealthy classes of previous generations, and whose effect on the university he particularly deplored. Unfortunately, one consequence of the ascendancy of the new power elite which Bourne failed to foresee was the fundamental changes it would bring about, not only in the academic values, but in the whole social role of higher education. Today, when something like 50% of America's young people will at some time or other become college students, the universities are not merely run by corporations; to all intents and purposes, they have become corporations -- not merely in the fantasies and the rhetoric of their businessmen-trustees, but in sheer, hard economic fact.

We are all familiar with the phenomenon of "mass education"; it is so engrained into our experience that most of us tend to take it for granted. In doing so, however, we lose sight of the fact that mass education has been with us a very short time. It began on a large scale while the present generation of students was just entering the school system. It got an extra boost in 1957, during the Sputnik scare. It had completely arrived by 1964, and its arrival was heralded by the Berkeley Free Speech Movement. Mass education as we know it today is very clearly the product of the Cold War, and its growth closely parallels the rise of the "military-industrial complex," or defense industry.

This relationship is not an incidental one. In fact, the rise of these two "industries" -- defense



and education -- are both part and parcel of the same economic trend, and that trend is one of the dominant facts of contemporary American society. Both industries are government subsidized in themselves; actually they represent the conversion of two traditional functions of the government, designed to "promote the general welfare," into massive, self-perpetuating economic entities whose functions have less and less to do with their original purpose. The nuclear warheads and B-52's manufactured by Boeing and Lockheed, and the napalm being manufactured by Dow Chemical, are not used to defend our own borders from foreign aggression. Invariably, they are put to use in the steaming jungles of some impoverished country thousands of miles away, where few Americans will ever go -- unless they are drafted and sent there. Similarly, one need only read a few paragraphs of the turgid prose of Clark Kerr's THE USES OF THE UNIVERSITY to discover that at least as far as Kerr is concerned, "the uses of the university" don't have much to do with what we have been taught to think of as education. Kerr envisioned his own role as President of the University of California as part bureaucrat, part captain of industry, part "mediator"; presumably he lost his job because he failed to execute to the satisfaction of the U.C. Regents a fourth role, that of law enforcement officer.

If the defense and education industries do not "promote the general welfare" in the old sense, what is their function? For one thing, they absorb surplus labor, both in the armed forces and in the school system. If enrollment-enlistment proportions were to suddenly return to their 1950 level (leaving teachers and military officers on the job), the ranks of the unemployed would swell to three and a half times their present size. For another thing, they represent the ideal form of business enterprise in advanced capitalist society in that they're almost totally non-productive. As such, they do not contribute to the surplus of cars, TV sets, and razor blades which has so glutted the home market that American private industry has long since been forced to look for new markets in Europe and the underdeveloped world. The American economy is

hopelessly overexpanded; industry continues to produce commodities the way malignant tumors produce cancerous cells, and it must look frantically for ways to dispose of them. In such a situation, the crucial importance of the defense and education industries can be particularly appreciated: they employ millions of people, tie up billions of dollars, and absorb surplus instead of adding to it.

At the same time, they make it easier for private industry to dispose of its own goods. When Standard Oil moves into Iran or United Fruit into Latin America or Chase Manhattan Bank into the Congo, the function of the military-industrial complex is to assure that those areas will be safe for American investment, and the investors move in on the heels of the CIA and the Marines. The task of the education industry is more complex and only slightly less glamorous. Private enterprise used to be responsible for job training, but in a technological society, job training is both more complicated and more expensive, and the educational system has generously taken some of the pressure off. In addition to training the technocrats of tomorrow, it offers the workers and the facilities for research and development, maintained -- like the defense industry -- at least in part by government funds.

The pervasive influence of the defense industry on American life has been the subject of considerable study, and has been viewed-with-alarm by authorities ranging from ex-President Eisenhower to Marshall Windmiller. Much of this alarm is based not so much on economic analysis as on revulsion at the carnage of Vietnam, the prospect of World War III, the whole idea of turning guns into profits; moreover, it is an expression of a thoroughly-justified civilian mistrust for the military mentality. No one denies that the defense industry is an economic Behemoth; it accounts for 10% of the gross national product. But some may be reluctant to accept the notion of education as an economic entity of similar proportions, so perhaps a few statistics are in order. The 1967 Annual Report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers describes education as "one of the major U.S. growth industries." Direct costs of formal schooling during the 1967-68

Continued on Page 11





Due to strange circumstances these pictures came into our possession. We don't know who the photographer is, but he probably is a serviceman.



In A Dark Time

Bill Barlow

"called my congressman and he said, quote: like to help you boy but you're too young to vote. sometimes I wonder what I'm gonna do just ain't no cure for the summer-time blues."

song of the Fifties

There was some reason for hope when the summer began, especially for those liberal Americans who had finally been stung into consciousness by the war on Vietnam and the war in the cities. Events were such that the more faithful believed a new direction for America's foreign and domestic policies could be achieved through traditional political channels. Unpopularity had not only forced L.B.J. to abdicate, but it had also pushed the floundering Texan into peace negotiations. The Kerner Report had publicly acknowledged that "white racism" was at the heart of the country's racial crisis, and had urged a massive reallocation of resources in order to reverse the trend toward racial polarization. Even the 'liberal doves', at best annoying critics a few years ago, were

multiplying to such an extent that they threatened to capture the Democratic Party. Senator McCarthy with his youth corps launched his anti-administration peace crusade in the lonely snows of the New Hampshire primary, so the story goes, and had made surprising progress in developing an impressive middle class constituency. But the smart money was riding on Robert Kennedy, who, sensing the momentum, had regrouped the old J.F.K. organization for an attack on the presidency four years before it was expected. Kennedy proved to be an adept strategist. Though his dovishness failed to significantly impress the McCarthyites, who branded him an opportunist; his appeal to minorities generated an enthusiastic response. And in addition, restless blue collar workers also appeared to be giving him the benefit of the doubt. Between the two of them, Kennedy and McCarthy were establishing a popular base that would be hard to ignore at the Democratic convention. It was an uphill fight, but the momentum seemed to be with them.

Yet even as the liberals rallied to their candidates an undercur-

rent was developing that would splinter their movement. While the Paris negotiations gave Johnson some breathing space by taking the initiative from the doves, they in no way aided in the resolution of the Vietnam War. Only a complete bombing halt would get the negotiations off the ground, and since the U.S. had no intention of making such a gesture, the holding action in Vietnam was paralleled by a holding action in Paris. Also, the Kerner Report, though widely publicized, had died a quick death. The unwillingness of the Johnson administration to act on any of its specific proposals forecast the inability of liberals to even implement their own programs directed toward resolving racial injustice in the country.

While the Johnson administration fiddled, the Civil Rights Movement burned. The assassination of Martin Luther King broke the spirit of his most ambitious appeal to the conscience of the white America. When the Poor Peoples Campaign died a futile death in the mud of Resurrection City, the bitter demoralization was complete. It wasn't so much that non-violence was dead as it was that the end of

an era had been reached -- and with it the hope and the inspiration generated by the Civil Rights Movement dissipated. Abernathy gamely tried to carry on the struggle, but by relying on the memory of King, he was attempting to recapture the past at the expense of the present. After the fiasco at Resurrection City, the Poor People's march moved in to further humiliation at the political conventions. There the remnants of the Civil Rights Movement appeared as a minstrel show, providing free entertainment for the delegates. History had moved on, leaving King dead and his forces antiquated.

If King's memory and ailing organization were inherited by Abernathy, his legacy almost completely went to Robert Kennedy. It is no secret that King and Kennedy were closely coordinating their respective activities so as to bring together a political base that could carry the November election. And given the philosophy and goals of the two men, this was not surprising. Aside from the assassinations, there were striking parallels between them. Both tended to appeal to the individual conscience. Both were enthusias-

tically supported by large constituencies that crossed racial lines. Both were doves on Vietnam. Both believed that massive domestic programs for the poor and the cities were necessary if the country was to avert civil chaos. And both were grounded within the liberal tradition of American politics, although they approached it from different perspectives. Because Kennedy was the political candidate, King's death was not fatal to their plans. But when Kennedy was also assassinated, the base disintegrated -- and with it went the muscle behind the social perspective that Kennedy and King had advocated.

It is perhaps too early to judge the historical importance of the King-Kennedy assassinations, but nevertheless there are ominous signs that the initial effect has been the onset of reaction. The assassinations not only critically handicapped the strength of the peace and civil rights forces by eliminating two of their most influential leaders, but they also served to strengthen the hand of reactionaries. This is best illustrated by the present status of

Continued on Page 12



Caution: Eating white bread may be hazardous to your health

Paul Kangas

Part 1 of a series

Most Americans think they are the healthiest people in the world. If you investigate that American dream it becomes another American nightmare.

We are twenty first (from the top) in infant mortality, forty million eat poverty diets, ten million are starving, sixteen million suffer from heart disease, eight million more of us are arthritics, three million are under treatment for mental illness, fifty million predicted to have cancer, etc., ad nausea. Sure other nations are worse off, but is that our standard of excellence? America is sick.

PR men for the great society would tell you we live longer today and so we develop these diseases of "old age." Medical "authorities" deny our increasing disease incidence has anything to do with nutrition. Yet current nutritional research has exposed both of these statements to be more clouds in the American dream domino theory. This column will explore this research and expose the American diet for what it is. Obese, sterile and death seeking.

Material you will read in this column you may not believe. You have good reason not to. It is not approved or guaranteed by any official organ. The AMA has attacked most of the material this column will cover. That is the reason you will not see it anywhere except in this column and in the book this column will tempt you to read: FOOD FACTS & FALLACIES by "Fredericks and Bailey," in paper back.

I write this column because I, as a biology major, feel you should be exposed to the newest research in nutrition. Students need to be in the best of health. Your parents couldn't supply you with the nutrition information you need. This book can help.

If you have an interest in: skin problems, menopause, feeling weak, the pill, evolution, fluoridation, alcoholism, heart disease, macrobiotic diets, arthritis, sex & diet, cancer, diabetes, weight problems, mental illness, air pollution, F.D.A., A.M.A. or your birth right of a 100 years of fine health you should invest two dollars and two hours in this book. There is also a course being given through the EXperimental College based on this and other nutrition books.

This book is no collection of mystical panacea witchcraft. This book does not have THE answer, but it can help. The suggestion on how you could improve and lengthen your life are based on objective scientific research. The results from following the book's suggestions are not things you will be able to notice over night or by next week. The changes will come slow. As your body likes. Fredrick's diet plan (pg. 124) will only drop you two pounds a week. Not much but real.

If all the American TV diet is fed to animals, "the stock indeed runs thin." . . . "The animals become infertile, as we are infertile. They suffer heart disease and other "degenerative" afflictions. And the dietetic faults responsible for these debilitating influences on the animals are not recognized by conventional authorities in human nutrition."

If there is a general feeling radiated by Fredricks on the American death diet it is that we eat tooooo much starch and sugar.

Many Americans could improve their diet by simply replacing starchy foods with foods having a higher amount of protein. To give you a current idea of starch as a non-food, the people in Biafra are eating food up to the day they drop dead. All starch. No protein. And where's that at.

What do you need as basic DAILY supplements to supply material your "plastic" (over processed) foods can't supply? I personally use these five things. A supply of vitamin "C" in tablet form. About 250 mg or more. A multiple mineral-vitamin capsule. A supply of vitamin "B-complex." Either thru Brewers Yeast caps or a B-syrup. Protein tablets to increase protein intake. This is a cheaper way to get the protein we must have. A can of wheat germ to replace the crucial vitamins processed out of your bread.

These things are not a licence for poor eating. Your eating habits must change or your figure and health will continue down.

Words you will have to know to understand this material:

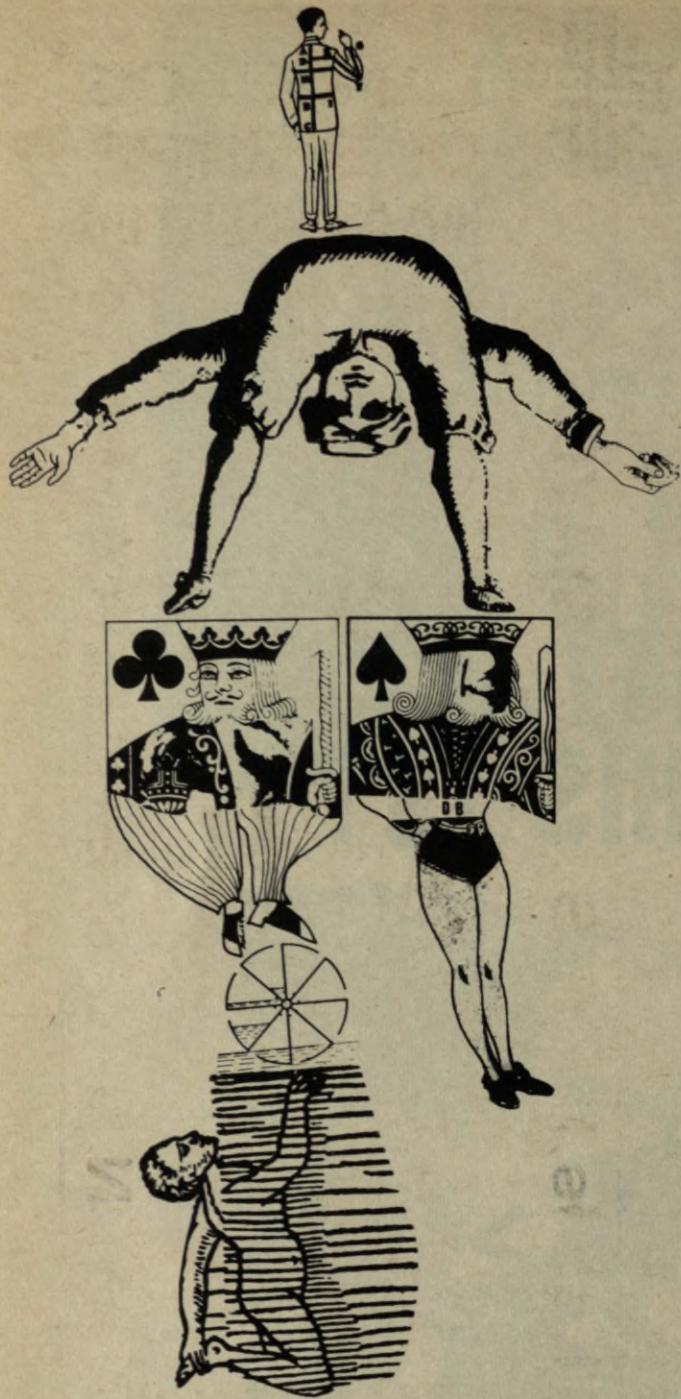
PROTEIN -- (Meat) An organic material found in cheese, milk, and meats in large amounts. Protein is made of amino acids your body needs to build its own kind of protein. Protein is also found in vegetables. Vegetable protein is different than animal protein. Human protein is different than both of these. Your body needs both vegetable and animal protein to build its own very special kind of tissue (protein). You need large amounts.

FATS -- A food found in both animals and plants. It is made of glycerine and fatty acids. You need a medium amount of this compared to protein and carbohydrates.

CARBOHYDRATES -- Bread, potatoes, sugar, alcohol, rice. Also called starch. You eat too much of this. Your body needs only small amounts.

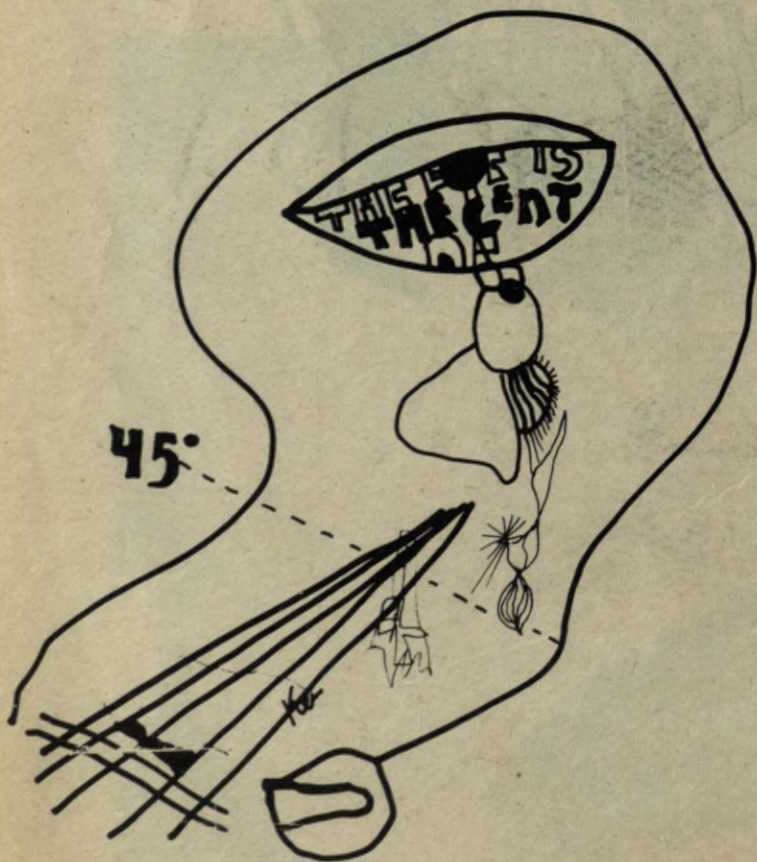
THIS IS REALLY IT! THIS IS REALLY IT! THIS IS?





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George Maciunas



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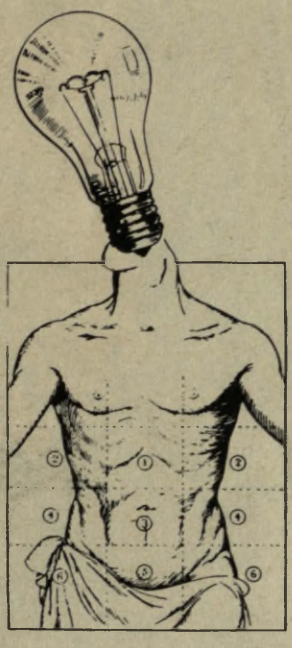
Ken Friedman



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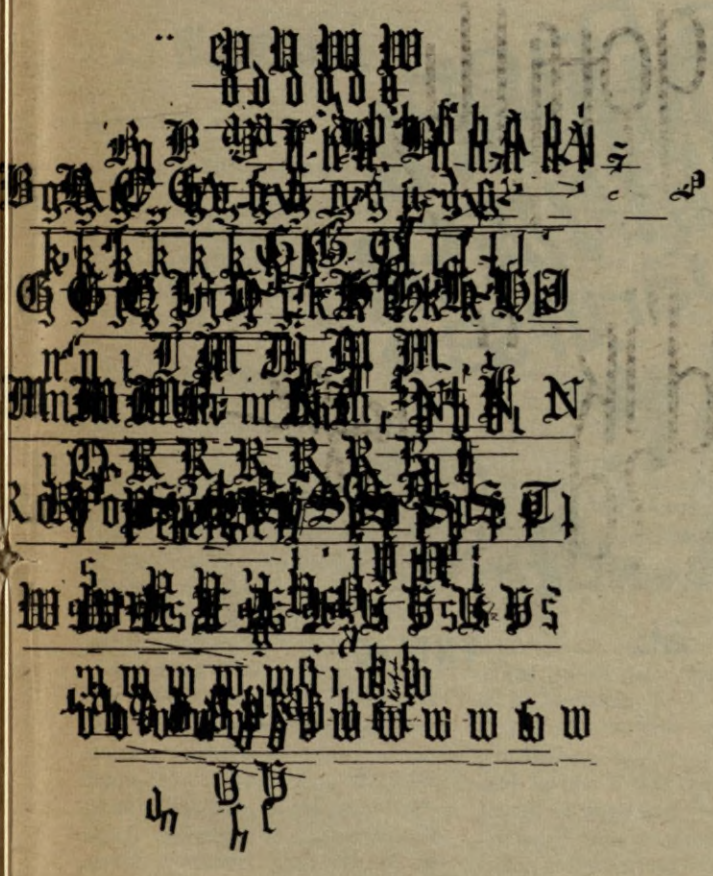
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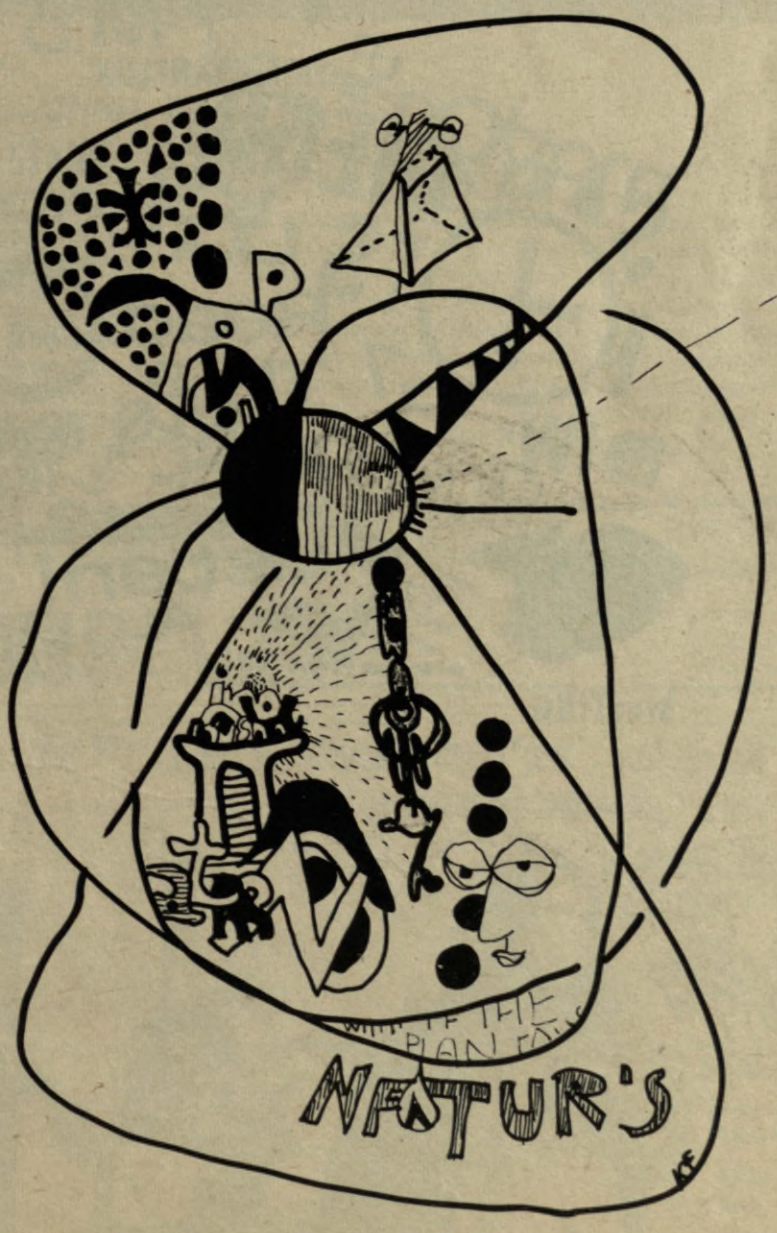
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Emmett Williams





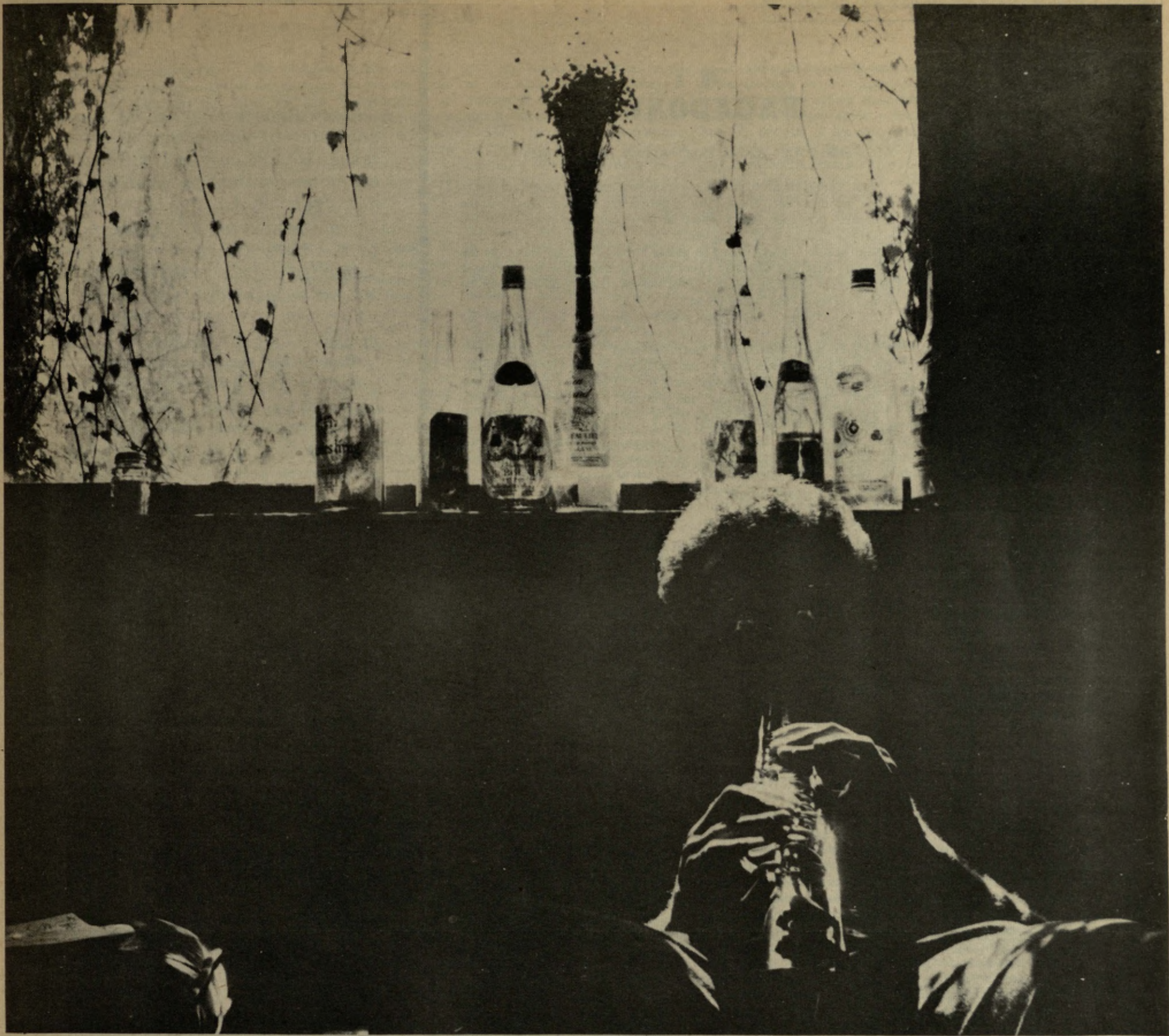


Photo: Jeff Chop

Wordspeak

A Review

by Bruce Skogen

Marshal McLuhan, *WAR AND PEACE IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE*, McGraw-Hill, \$5.95, Bantam Paperbacks, \$1.45

McLuhan's *WAR AND PEACE IN THE GLOBAL VILLAGE* adds another dimension to the thought of the most important critic of technological civilization. Those who have been annoyed with McLuhan in the past will find much on which to vent their anger. Those who feel that he is significant have simply been given more evidence to substantiate that fact.

The book is not primarily about war any more than *UNDERSTANDING MEDIA* was primarily about media. Rather, it jumps around from computers, drugs, education, pain, television, to the use of personal pronouns in Japanese - the usual McLuhan grab-bag of insights, probes, and occasional absurdities. No one who reads the

book can help but be a little shocked. A random collection of thoughts from the book will substantiate this. The computer will eliminate all businesses it is being brought to serve. Anti-gravitational devices are just around the corner. Language will be replaced by "macroscopic gesticulation" of entire societies, and as a topper, New York will be dismantled within ten years as everyone returns to live in the countryside.


Perhaps McLuhan's most brilliant observations come from recognizing that technology and society as a whole are projections of the human body itself. Once this is understood, it is possible to translate medicine, biology, and psychology into macroscopic social terms. If this method is criticized as improper "reasoning by analogy" it has nonetheless produced more felicitous insights than a shelf full of "correct" social analysis.

The literati are confounded by McLuhan because he treats words, not as discrete definable terms, but as icons. Icons resonate far beyond any dictionary transliteration of their meanings. This gives McLuhan's prose a transparent quality (Most critics, however, find it exceedingly opaque. This is not the fault of McLuhan, but the result of their own literate training.) which forces the reader to complete the prose commentary with his own examples. To read him is to remake or reconstruct the argument on the levels not explicit in the text.

The most impressive proof of McLuhan's thesis, however, does not lie in his books at all, but in the many books which have from a specialist standpoint dissected aspects of contemporary culture which any close reader of McLuhan could have easily anticipated from his earlier books, particularly *UNDERSTANDING MEDIA*. Books such as *THE IMAGE CANDIDATES* and *THE NEW PEOPLE* are inter-

esting but relevant only as collections of particular examples after McLuhan. Since we are now faced with crises in every sphere because we do not understand our technologies, it is hard to dismiss out of hand, as many -- most? -- critics have, this attempt to make sense out of them. As McLuhan would say, we'd better get with it.

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M T BAGADONUTS

WEST SIDE SOUL - MAGIC SAM'S BLUES BAND (DS 615)

This, Sam's first album, is one of the best Chicago blues albums to come out this year. The quality of the record is certainly due to the efforts of producer Bob Koester in part, but even more so to the talents of "Magic Sam" Maghett.

Sam has an original sound on guitar - a sort of combination of the Memphis beat and Chicago sweet blues. In addition to Sam's unique and pleasant sound on guitar is Sam's voice - sliding up and down the scale, rarely if ever going off key.

The selections on this album, ones Sam generally does at in person appearances, include: "All Your Love", "Sweet Home Chicago", "Our Love Will never Die", "That's All I need", and "Lookin' Good". The only song conspicuous in its absence from the album is "Hide-away", which is Sam's theme song (to clear all accounts, Sam got it from Hound Dog Taylor and Freddie King got it from Sam).

The album finally introduces one of Chicago's finest guitarists to the listening audience outside of the Chicago R&B world. If the quality is any indication of the J. B. Hutto and Roosevelt Sykes albums to come on Delmark, then we're in for great stuff.

* * *

11 P.M. SATURDAY - THE BAGATELLE (ABCS 646)

This album is little more than a collage of songs made popular by other groups. The vocal work and horns of the group are both excellent and there is good balance to the sound of the music.

The album is a combination of blues, soul and rock. Cuts include "Soul Man," "Shake," "Such A Fuss About Sunday," "In The Still Of The Night," "Crying In The Chapel," and others. Most of the recreations appear to be attempts (perfectly executed) at recreating the original sound. This album may not get far, but with the right breaks and more original material, The Bagatelle will join the ranks of the untouchable R n' R big bands (Chicago Transit Authority, Electric Flag, etc.)



DONAVAN (above) at
CIVIC AUD., SEPT. 27
Thank you E. hello,
GROVER SALES

Coming:
A Top 10
plus REVIEWS
OF OLD CATS'
NEW CUTS IN
THE M.T. BAG

SOUL LIMBO - BOOKER T. AND THE MG'S

Jazz critics used to have a hard time trying to discuss The Modern Jazz Quartet, because MJQ was too tight, too flawless. In pop music this problem seldom arises, but such is the problem with Booker T. and the Memphis Group.

The band (Booker T. Jones, keyboards; Al Jackson, drums; Don Dunn, bass; Steve Cropper, guitar) has been together 7 years and with all the songs they have written (Knock On Wood, Soul Limbo, Born Under A Bad Sign, Midnight Hour, Ninety Nine and a Half, Green Onions, etc.) rank as the top instrumental group and most influential R&B song writers of the decade.

This album, originally titled "Over Easy" includes four B.T.M.G. originals in addition to Foxy Lady, Eleanor Rigby and five others. As always, each song is separate from the others, repetition, so common with other groups being almost nonexistent here. Arrangements and production were both handled by the band, but mention must be given to engineer Ron Capone's work and to Stax P.R.ers, Al Bell and Deanie Parker.

* * *

LIVE WIRE * BLUES POWER - ALBERT KING

The entire album was cut live at Fillmore, (M.C. courtesy of Bill Graham). The sound is full and heavy, featuring guitarist extraordinaire, Albert King with his old band: Roosevelt Williams, bass; Theotis Morgan, drums; James Washington, organ; and Willie Exon, rhythm.

The six cuts on the album are 40 minutes of music that exemplifies the album title LIVE WIRE - BLUES POWER. Four cuts: "Blues Power", "Blues At Sunrise", "Look Out", and "Night Stomp" were written by Albert (the last in conjunction with Al Jackson of the MG's); one, "Please Love Me", by Albert's brother, The King of The Blues, B. B. King; and "Watermelon Man" is by H. Hancock.

Albert's jolting, harsh-blues style and mellow voice prevail throughout the album. The sound is perfect, besides that its fantastic, especially considering that it couldn't be manipulated as in a studio. Perhaps a live performance before Albert's favorite audience (Fillmore) was the only way to capture the power and artistry of Albert King.

Albert sounded like he picked-up a little Freddy King in "Look Out" and a few blues cliches in "Blues At Sunrise", but there is no doubt, due to sound and feeling of the music, that this album is far superior to the first and should be a much bigger seller. A great, great album by one of the truly great blues singers and guitarists, Mr. Albert King.

* * *

HONKEY BLUES - THE SIR DOUGLAS QUINTET PLUS 2 (SRS 67108)

The Sir Douglas ensemble (generally closer to ten than seven) is part of the fantastic S.F. Area R n' R-big-band scene. They don't rely on loud, poor noise or gimmicks to sell their music. Credit goes rather to The Sir himself, Doug Sahm, who writes most of the material and plays guitar and to his very heavy horn section. The horns have to rank with The Flag and CTA.

The album cuts range from "Whole Lotta Peace Of Mind" and "Song Of Everything" to "You Never Get Too Big And You Sure Don't Get Too Heavy, That You Don't Have To Stop And Pay Some Dues Sometime". Musically, one of the finest, best arranged and executed bands and albums in the pop field.

Should this album get national underground play, or the group exposure of the same, The Sir Douglas Quintet Plus 2 will be one of the hottest groups in the country, and you can quote Bagadonuts (Was I wrong about Tiny Tim being out of sight). A great record, and take note of the Smash fold-out jacket.

NOTES: Donovan, the 27th at Civic; Cream in Oakland the 4th; Flatt & Scruggs at Avalon; Sonny James in Oakland, the 5th; Willie Bobo at Jazz Workshop; Super Session at Fillmore. Muddy Waters, new album should soon be at Doughty's look for Electric Mud.

The Physical Science Department first program in its series of free films will be shown on Thursday, September 26 in Science 101. The program will begin at 7:30 p.m. with Walt Disney's OUR FRIEND THE ATOM. The other three films are THE GREAT BARRIER REEF, RADHA AND KRISHNA with music by Ravi Shankar and Ali Akhbar Khan, and Alain Resnais' NIGHT AND FOG. The Resnais film deals with Nazi Germany and is "for the mature."



UTILIZE OUR
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OR ELSE

The Poetry Center has announced two events for next week. The Center will open its Fall series on October 2 at 1:30 in HLL 135 with a showing of three films. The program will feature "Give Your Heart to the Hawks", a film about Robinson Jeffers produced for NET. Also being shown are "Horseman, Pass By" which is about William Yeats, and "Wholly Communion", a film of a poetry reading in London featuring Gregory Corso, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, and Allen Ginsberg. Admission is free.

The second event will be on Thursday, October 3 in the Gallery Lounge. It will be an Open Student Reading. Students who would like to read their work are asked to sign a list in HLL 340 up until noon on October 2. The reading will begin at 1 p.m. There will be a coffee hour in the Ecumenical House following the reading.

Sept. 27, 28, 29
**FLATT & SCRUGGS
SONS OF CHAMPLIN
COUNTRY WEATHER
RAMBLIN' JACK**
Oct. 5, 6, 7
**THE QUICKSILVER
MESSENGER SERVICE
ACE OF CUPS
BLACK PEARL**
AVALON BALLROOM
SUTTER & VAN NESS
9pm - 2am
FRI. \$3.00
SAT. \$2.50
SUN. \$2.50

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THE DIRECTION OF THE**
**AND
JEAN-PAUL MARAT
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CHARENTON UNDER
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COLOR
Released thru
UNITED ARTISTS
by PETER WEISS
Plus Sci-fi co-hit!
Julie Christie Oskar Werner
"fahrenheit 451"
TECHNICOLOR
Directed by
Francois Truffaut
his internationally acclaimed and most unusual motion picture
Cento Cedar
38 Cedar, off Larkin
between Geary & Post
PR 6-8300
Extra! Multi-prize Czech short
Trnka's "THE HAND"
Fahr. 6:30, 10:35 Sade: 840
Hand: 820... REGULAR PRICES

Multiversity Continued from Page 2

academic year made up 6-1/2% of the gross national product, while Clark Kerr has said that the "knowledge industry" as a whole accounts for 29%. The latter figure has probably grown considerably since Kerr made the statement five years ago, since the rate of "knowledge productions" is growing twice as fast as the rest of the economy. Moreover, the public school system alone accounted, over the last ten years, for one out of every six new jobs in the United States. (A third rapidly-growing economic entity with the characteristics of the defense and education industry is the welfare system, which I won't discuss here -- suffice to say that, like its counterparts, it is government - subsidized, surplus-absorbing, non-productive and self-perpetuating; it has built-in mechanisms which discourage welfare recipients from getting jobs).

I mentioned earlier the extensive use of university facilities by private industry, both for job training and for research and development. Ironically, it is the defense industry which most frequently take advantage of these facilities. The relationship between the academy and the defense industry has been described as "complicitous," but a better word would probably be incestuous. In playing parallel economic roles, they also feed on each other's resources. It has been said that the American empire is held together by a combination of military power and technological expertise, and it is getting harder and harder to tell the difference. While the military becomes more and more cybernated, more inclined toward germ warfare, complicated weapons and delivery systems, and "counter - insurgency" techniques, the academy is beginning to acquire some of the characteristics of the military: authoritarianism, secrecy, manipulation of human resources, less blatant forms of thought control.

On a superficial level, the links are obvious enough. Seymour Melman has said that two out of three research-workers and engineers turned out by the educational system find work in the defense industry. Since most of the research grant money the universities receive -- and Clark Kerr has said that government grants, mostly for defense work, make up 15% of all university budgets -- is in the physical sciences, the orientation of the academy is increasingly in that direction. After the Sputnik scare in 1957 there was a good deal of talk about how students should, "in the national interest," be steered toward science so we could turn out a lot of missile technicians and beat the Russians to the moon. So much money has been invested in scientific research by now that appeals to patriotism are no longer necessary. Kerr defends the "over-orientation toward science" in the Universities by saying that students will inevitably "flock to the areas with the brightest new ideas," but he is at least partly wrong. Gerard Piel, publisher of the SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, tells us that scientific research in America has in fact been stagnating since the beginning of the Cold War. This is partly because so much of it is top-secret that the only way a scientist can get access to the data he needs to pursue his own projects is to get a security clearance and participate in defense research, partly because virtually all of the research is "applied" rather than "pure"; that is, it is directed not towards simple increased scientific knowledge, but towards some predetermined goal set not by the scientist, but by the foundation or corporation or government agency that is paying for his research grant.

The synthesis of the new roles of the academy can be seen in the rise of the multiversities -- "knowledge factories," Clark Kerr calls them. The multiversities represent the most advanced stage of mass education; although they comprise only forty or 50 of the nation's 5000-odd colleges, they have on their enrollment lists close to half its college students. As the centers of Cold War research, they have become the repositories of the ugliest secrets in the educational system. One by one, these secrets have been exposed, and it is rapidly becoming clear that almost all of the multiversities have their dirty linen to wash. Perhaps the most famous incident involving Ngo Dinh Diem, dictator of South Vietnam during the '50's and early '60's and unwitting father of the National Liberation Front, and some political scientists from

tion techniques, and other forms of chemical-biological warfare. Twelve of the biggest multiversities in the country were until quite recently involved in the Institute for Defense Analysis, which according to NEWSWEEK does "most of the major U.S. weapons research." But the multiversities operate on the home front too. The present grape pickers' strike in the San Joaquin Valley was delayed by about ten years by the importation of scab labor from Mexico under the bracero program, extended repeatedly at the behest of the California growers. The University of California's Department of Agricultural Economics generously put out several reports giving "evidence" in favor of extending the program. As it turns out, the Department was being financed by the Bank of America, financial arm of the growers; the U.C. Board of Regents is domina-

value, since the popular conception of the academy still envelops those wonderful old values Randolph Bourne was talking about -- free speech, the life of the mind, the search for Truth. But it is difficult to reconcile germ warfare research with free speech, or secret defense and CIA contracts with the life of the mind. Given the conflict of values Bourne saw between the industrialist and the educator, serious questions must at least be raised about the reconcilability of "one of the major U.S. growth industries" and the search for Truth. The "old academic values" aren't simply eroded, they're dislocated. Like the mass media, the academy has become a rhetorical house of mirrors, with all the inherent confusions about illusion and reality (a favorite topic for academicians, incidentally). The peculiar terror of American life is exemplified in the plight of the honest academician who suddenly finds himself unable to control or even understand the consequences of his own professional activity, unable to relate his private world to the world "out there." His language, his ideals, his life-style are rife with internal contradictions. His condition comes to resemble a kind of schizophrenia.

The bombing of Hiroshima had its own peculiar significance for the academy, for the building of the Bomb represented the first time scholars lent themselves to the military-industrial-political machine to achieve a consequence which was, in the last analysis, totally out of their hands. Worse, the political and military leaders who were the beneficiaries of the scientists' work didn't even understand its implications. The scientists didn't think the bomb would be used (or if it was, it would be used defensively, the assumption being that Germany also had one). The generals intended to use it all along, for reasons which had nothing to do with Germany, and didn't understand (twenty-five years later, some of them still don't) that its use would be totally irrational. Out of this fusion of two sets of misconceptions came the revelation on the part of the scientists that they had inadvertently created a monster, and the revelation on the part of the war machine that those eggheads were really pretty useful after all. The multiversities built up, the research contracts were signed; in the shadow of the bomb, technological Cold War America was born, and the educational system became a major element in its perpetuation. For the original group of scientists who built the bomb, there was agony and pangs of conscience. But by now most scholars have adjusted to the New Order. They take for granted, like the worker on the assembly line, that the use to which their labor is put is out of their hands. They no longer try to relate their personal activities to any kind of larger social consequences. The debate you sometimes hear among liberal academicians about "the responsibility of intellectuals" is inevitably predicated upon a curi-

ous dichotomy between their role as scholars and their role as human beings, and they search frantically for new ways to try and resolve it in a way their life-styles cannot. Their fellow scholars, getting fat off research grants, are less troubled. They know they're only doing their job.

I have spoken of this dislocation of values mainly in the context of the multiversities. But the various scandals we hear of in connection with the biggest of the "knowledge factories" -- Berkeley, Stanford, Columbia, MSU -- could not occur if they were not totally consistent with the functioning of the educational system as a whole. In the next OP I'll attempt to trace the "knowledge factory" syndrome back to its true origins -- in the rules of the game as we began to pick them up the day we started kindergarten.

Continued in the next issue



Michigan State University, is instructive, if for no other reason than for the light it sheds on the curious effect guerilla movements in the Third World have had on the American universities. By making conventional firepower and technological superiority irrelevant, guerilla warfare has given the social sciences a new lease on life. Working in collusion with the CIA, the M.S.U. professors helped a regime with no popular support stay in power (more or less) for eight years, by devising indoctrination techniques (to be utilized in lieu of free elections), supervising the incarceration of thousands of Vietnamese in concentration camps, and by coining euphemisms -- the concentration camps were referred to as "strategic hamlets." The current presence of 500,000 American troops in Vietnam attests to the failure of their efforts, but the "counter - insurgency" theory which they spawned is still very much alive. The Stanford Research Institute is currently making similar plans for Thailand.

CIA influence on the multiversities is not confined to M.S.U. It is at work at Columbia, whose new Institute for International Relations was built with a \$125,000 CIA grant. It is at work at Pennsylvania, with its "school for spies" and its Institute for Cooperative Research, which develops nerve gasses, crop defolia-

tion techniques, and other forms of chemical-biological warfare. The report was in line for a Bank of America job. While worthless from an academic standpoint, the Department's reports were undoubtedly of some political value.

The true terror of this little story lies not so much in that the reports in question violated the canons of objective scholarship -- we can pretty well take that for granted -- as in that they used the concept of objective scholarship to give what were essentially Bank of America propaganda tracts an air of legitimacy. Because they came from an academic institution, the reports were expected to be accepted at face



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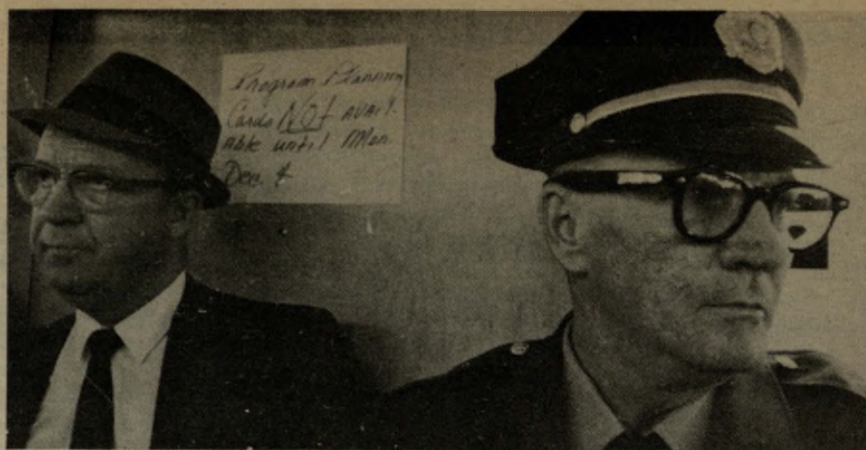
political appeal and debate. Where the appeals of Kennedy, King and McCarthy were to individual conscience, now the appeals of Nixon, Wallace and even Humphrey are to fear. And where social injustice was just recently the focus of political debate, now the slogan of "law and order" dictates the prevailing theme. In the process of this transition the appalling need for social change has been extremely minimized -- if not ignored. The assassinations have served the needs of this reactionary onslaught precisely because they have been used out of context to further illustrate the so-called breakdown of law and order, rather than this society's violent resistance to change. In reality, "law and order" is a facade created to initiate the repression of dissent, and rationalize the perpetuation of racism and social injustice. Served up as an instant panacea resolving all social malfunction, it represents the emergence of totalitarian mentality in the United States.

Nowhere was this mentality more evident than at the Democratic convention. And while the outcome of the convention was never in doubt, the events inside and outside, coupled with the preponderant reaction of the public, rubbed raw the sores of the American political process. There can be no doubt that the official brutality in the streets of Chicago was blatantly vicious. Even the 'McCarthy Kids' failed to escape the clubs of the cops -- and the horror of being both physically and legally defenseless in the face of their onslaught. Yet for all the sensationalism of the street beating, the violence that took place inside the convention hall was perhaps the most ominous. Not the physical scuffles, but rather the pervasive concentration camp atmosphere. It was in this setting that the insurgent anti-administration delegates, doomed even after their first test of strength, were bullied and harassed on all fronts. As a minority, their freedom of expression and rights of participation were abused and circumscribed by a controlling clique whose task, obviously, was to railroad the preordained proceedings through to a swift conclusion. As an exalted example of American democracy in action, the convention revealed the malignant reality of a system victim to schizophrenia.

If there was one event that especially dramatized the irresponsible political principles within the Democratic Party, it was the explosive exchange between Mayor Daley and Senator Ribicoff. Daley was a peerless ornament of low-brow vulgarity. He bellowed and belched in a boisterous display of venality, shouting orders at his lackeys and signalling commands to his cohorts on the podium. As

a man seemingly obsessed with power for its own sake, he relished in advertising his political strength in the crudest fashion. A dumpy man with a sour face and a haughty vanity, Daley delighted in cultivating an up-from-the-bottom, man-of-the-people image. He dressed like a third rate salesman, and his suit was so ill-fitting that at a distance he reminded one of a bloated hot water bag. But in his own brash way he was a determined man, and his ruthless manner had gotten him what is most envied in this society -- success and power. As for Ribicoff, he had the aloof composure of an aging country squire who had entered politics because his sense of duty demanded it. Tradition and responsibility seemed to have disciplined his character to the extent that even his outward appearance reflected an ethical code that was at once stoic and compassionate. He was thin with austerity, and his face depicted an intelligence that must have been meticulously cultivated. His clothes were conservative, yet they fit him with such somber perfection that he appeared nonchalantly well-groomed. And when Ribicoff walked up to the podium, his movements were so subtly controlled that he almost appeared graceful. At first only an occasional crack in his voice gave him away. He monotonously continued to read through his prepared script until his voice rebelled and he had to stop. As he looked up from the podium his eyes glistened with tears and uncontrolled emotion flashed across his face. He glared at Daley and then blurted out his now famous reference to "gestapo tactics in the streets of Chicago." Daley reacted like a cornered dog. He was instantly on his feet barking obscenities at Ribicoff and making threatening gestures with his fist. The Mayor's face was contorted and snarling. Ribicoff sternly finished his attack; his voice contained a moving sense of anguish. Then he stood silently until the roar of the delegates had subsided. Daley swaggered away to his private room under the podium; his bodyguards hurried after him. When there was only a chorus of murmurs left in the hall, Ribicoff dutifully went back to his prepared text. It was over as soon as it had begun.

The irony of all of this is that Daley came from the Democratic convention a national hero, and in fact, had the Democrats nominated him for President, they would probably have a much better chance of carrying the election. In this sense, the public response to Daley and the action of his police was a curious phenomena; especially since the media had harshly criticized both Daley and the brutality of his police. Two explanations immediately come to mind: perhaps the public is becoming increasingly distrustful of



the national media, and when Daley accused them of slanting the news, there was an eager readiness to believe him. Or, perhaps the visual medium really is more influential than the verbal content accompanying it. If so, then the continuing barrage of demonstrations and disorders, coupled with the status quo of violence, seen by the viewing public has caused them to react with hostility to dissent and 'protesters'. Where images superseded issues, authority figures such as cops automatically get the benefit of the doubt. And the angry black or the 'hippie' are synonymous with criminals precisely because they defy authority through their action and/or appearance. Before the cops were unleashed in Chicago the media had cynically pegged all those who came to the city to demonstrate as 'hippies', 'yippies' or 'protesters'. When the violence broke out and the media became sympathetic to the demonstrators, calling them 'young people', the derogatory image had already established as justification for the punishment administered in the streets of Chicago. If the establishment media has little use for radicalism,

they also are not too fond of reaction. Yet they seem to have become captives of their own technology, and not being able to directly mold public opinion, they may well decide to drift with it for their own safety.

For the past few years now, radicals have utilized the analogy of fascism and Nazi Germany in order to dramatize the perilous course this country has embarked on. Such a comparison has been mocked by large segments of the intellectual community; it has been condemned as being absurdly distasteful, and indicative of the extreme emotionalism of the New Left. Yet developments in this country are such that the prospect of a fascist society is becoming increasingly omnipresent. Demagogues like Daley and George Wallace are solidifying a large following, especially among lower middle class groupings like the labor rank and file. Assassinations have eliminated key leaders of the liberal and progressive categories, not those who advocate racism and reaction. Law and order has monopolized the political spectrum to such an extent that any meaningful programs

for social change are considered treasonable. The entire judicial system is under such a heavy attack that basic civil liberties are being threatened. The police, by their abusive use of power have become an entity unto themselves; and seem to be evolving into a paramilitary instrument of fear. Dissent is presently so despised and scorned that its repression is readily advocated by a growing number of political leaders. In these circumstances, the question becomes not whether or not fascism is possible in America, but rather how do we go about opposing its imposition.

