

STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, [redacted]

DATE: 15 November 1968

25X1

FROM : [redacted]

25X1

SUBJECT: Special Report "I.U. and the CIA"

1. Enclosed is a copy of the Spectator of 5 November 1968 purporting to "expose" CIA activity on the I.U. campus. As you can see, it's a tempest in a teapot, but we thought you would be interested in seeing it anyway. We have not heard what action Dr. Sebeok plans to take in regard to the evident theft of letters from his file. So far he has made no statement.

2. Dr. Robert F. Byrnes, whose unlikeness appears on page 8, tells us that the Spectator is the voice for the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), an anarchist group which at I.U. has a membership of a minimum of 50 and a maximum of 300. Byrnes states that in his opinion there is an evident reaction on campus to the disruptive activities of these people and he expects it to become much stronger in the next year. The former editor has been convicted of being a draft dodger. We do not know where the Spectator gets its funds, although part comes from special events which SDS sponsors, and part from sales. The group at I.U. profess to hate Communism, but also profess an admiration for Chairman Mao. We do not know how they reconcile the two views.

3. Our estimate of the effect of the "report" on Agency activity at I.U. is that it may actually help our relations since most people will think the attack on Sebeok and the theft of his papers is reprehensible. Certainly the report will do no damage. Incidentally, because of

[redacted]

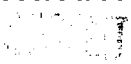
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Attachment

File: Ind. Univ., General



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# SPECTATOR

Volume VII, No. 7

November 5, 1968

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

26 February 1961

Professor Thomas A. ...  
Indiana University  
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Professor ...

... of this Agency ...  
discussed the Agency's needs for linguists ...  
University, ... advised by Professor ...  
you may be in a position to assist ... qualified  
personnel with a knowledge of the ...  
languages.

You are undoubtedly ... of the increasing de-  
mand for linguists in these and other languages both in  
the government and industry. This demand particularly requires  
persons who combine their language ability with a thorough  
understanding of current world affairs and background knowl-  
edge in their linguistic area.

May we call upon you to give us the names and  
addresses of persons whom you consider qualified for employ-  
ment by this Agency, ... if you prefer, encourage them to  
apply directly to us at the address above, with reference  
to this letter.

Sincerely yours,

*Donald V. Mulcahy*

DONALD V. MULCAHY  
Assistant Chief, Procurement  
Personnel Office

**Special Report: I.U. and the CIA**

5  
2



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## JOLTIN' JOE

### CLOSED UNIVERSITY

The publication today of the special SDS report on Indiana University and the CIA serves to underline the conflict of rhetoric and of act in President Wells' recent statement on the "open university" (IDS, Friday, November 1). While indeed it may be clear to the interim President that IU takes no political stand, and in no way cooperates with secret government agencies, it is not so clear to us. The story speaks for itself.

### A FREE PRESS

Largely because of The SPECTATOR, a Faculty Council committee today is recommending that Council meetings be open to the press on a regular basis, with only "executive sessions" excluded. We welcome this long-overdue step, which was requested by the Student Senate last year.

Jerry Hicks, editor-in-chief of the Daily Student, will speak to the Council today on this issue, just as he did last Tuesday at the "open meeting." We support what he said then:

There is a great disenchantment with governing bodies among all students, regardless of the length of their hair or size of their sideburns. There is a lack of understanding of their functions; also, the bodies do not keep themselves open to public record. It is essential to democracy that government bodies keep themselves open to the public, or at minimum to the press. These bodies deal with things that affect people's lives, and people want to know the details of what is done as well as the final decision.

In closed meetings the press cannot report what happened, but just what officials said happened. Their vested interests and personal involvement prevent accurate reporting. Most closed sessions should be opened.

Some argue that the news should occasionally be suppressed. The New York Times at government request did not print what it knew about the upcoming Bay of Pigs invasion. President Kennedy later said "perhaps you should have stopped it by blowing the story."

The seemingly imminent selection of Dean Joseph Sutton as Indiana University's new President was received by the Spectator with a mixture of trepidation and delight. Fear, because it has always been clear where Joltin' Joe stands on dissent in general and the Spectator in particular. And joy, for basically the same reason. We know who our enemies are.

This is the same Dean Sutton who last year charged into the Spectator's on-campus offices with an ax, ready to do his part for IU, God, and The (Carrie) Nation. At any real educational institution, for such an action, the good Dean would have immediately been bounced. His fate seems instead to be promotion to the presidency, for which we can only thank the progressive ideals of the Trustees.

We congratulate Dean Sutton on his impending victory, and hope he soon recovers from the health problem which we understood was the only obstacle standing in his way. It is going to be a long haul, as we are sure Mr. Wells will tell him.

As for his future relations with the Spectator, just wait till we get our ax.

"I'VE LIVED HERE  
IN THIS CITY  
FOR OVER 40  
YEARS!... AND  
NEVER ONCE  
HAVE I BEEN  
BRUTALIZED  
BY THE  
POLICE!!"



RCOBB

# IU: Center for International Affairs

## Preface

By DAN McCORMICK, VIRGINIA KNIGHT, AND RICHARD WATSON

The university is experiencing a conflict of interests, a conflict between its function as an educational institution and its obligation to service the needs of industry and government. In an attempt to combine its functions, the university has sacrificed its ability to stimulate critical thinking in students in order to better train them to fill the specialized jobs being created by government and industry. To repeat the cliché: training is replacing education, while the university is becoming an elite vocational school.

The easiest way to document these charges is to study the careers of the most successful members of the faculty of the establishment. The faculty is that organ of the university most directly involved in the process of education -- whether it be one of liberation or manipulation. Therefore, those professors who have distinguished themselves in the university ought to provide us with a good indication of the traits which are encouraged and rewarded in the faculty at large. They should provide us with a base from which to generalize something about the goals of the institutions which have rewarded them so handsomely.

These are the assumptions on which rests the

## SPECIAL REPORT

### International Activities, Area Studies and the CIA at Indiana University

Our research has focused on Indiana University's government ties. The plethora of international programs at IU has mirrored the shifting cold war priorities of the US government abroad. The men who have planned those programs have had intimate ties with the government and have been influential in creating academic programs which would efficiently service government needs for area specialists and train reliable native public and business administrators with whom the US could conduct its business abroad.

What we already know about several of the key figures indicates that the CIA had its fingers in the goulash from the beginning. On the basis of our information now, we can place area studies programs and institutes such as the Russian and East European (REE) Institute, the Uralic and Altaic Studies Center, the Asian Studies Program and most of the other interdisciplinary programs in a new context, one in which scholarly research transcends narrow departmental barriers to form an interdisciplinary problem-solving team, one that performs the CIA's problem-solving.

The man with whom we are most familiar is Thomas A. Sebeok, Distinguished Professor of Linguistics, who might never have set sail for the spicy shores of Academe had he had his way. In August, 1950, at the outset of what was to become an illustrious career, Sebeok wrote to Mr. C. R. Kerlin of the CIA:

I have just returned from the East and had considerable time meanwhile to think over the interview I recently had with you. I am quite convinced that I wish to place at your disposal whatever expertness I may possess. . . . I should greatly welcome an immediate investigation, if this could be arranged, so as to avoid delay if my services suddenly be called upon later on.

Please inform me on my chances of employment with you and kindly keep in touch with me.

SPECIAL REPORT on International Activities, Area Studies and the CIA at Indiana University, prepared by an SDS Special Research Committee, 6/30/68, which is being made public this week. By examining several "Distinguished Professors," the Committee reveals some startling facts about what actually distinguishes those men.

It is our opinion, after reading the report, that the university community can no longer afford to hide itself under the cloak of the "open, value-free" academy, especially when the CIA is sharing the same cloak. We have a responsibility as members of the intellectual community to take a stand on the non-educational activities going on in our midst. The university has committed itself to policies of dubious educational value at the behest of administrators and faculty who have clear ties to government and industry. To permit a small group of influential men with special interests to determine the course the university will follow in the future strikes us as an act of cowardice and timidity -- an evasion of responsibility on the part of the rest of the academic community. We recommend that this report be studied well, for its implications are far-reaching, both in terms of the nature of the university, and the grounds on which student activists base their demands for change.

But as is often the case, the CIA decided it could use him better within the university than in its direct employ. Sebeok was a scholar who combined his "language ability with a thorough comprehension of current world affairs and background knowledge of (his) linguistic area" to come up with the CIA's formula for instant academic success. (Quoted from a letter of 2/26/51, from CIA assistant Chief of Procurement, Personnel Office, Donald V. Mulcahy, to Thomas A. Sebeok).

A Hungarian immigrant (he immigrated in 1937), Sebeok is a specialist in East and Mid-European linguistics. He was the founder and first chairman of the Uralic and Altaic Studies Department and the first Director of the Uralic and Altaic Language Area Center, the only one of its kind in the country. "Uralic and Altaic studies cover a geographical area ranging from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Arctic to the Mediterranean. . . The total speakers for all the Uralic and Altaic languages is between 110 and 120 million". (p. 131, 1967-68 IU Bulletin, College of Arts and Sciences). This department conveniently includes the peoples in and on the borders of the Eurasian communist bloc, from the subject peoples of the Soviet Socialist Republics, to Korea, the Turkic and Mongolian populations of China.

The Area Center was established in 1963 by the National Defense Education Act. The study of these languages grew out of IU's wartime work with Altaic languages. IU had a "wartime contract for the crash training of linguists in the Altaic languages, a scholarly designation -- derived from the name of the Altai mountain range -- for a number of languages which roughly includes the Turkic, Mongol, and (Manchu-) Tunguz languages. This led IU to import a number of Turks as language "informants" and provided the university with a sizable group of Turkish alumni -- but it also provided a postwar base for a strong program in these esoteric tongues". (p. 226 The University Looks

Abroad, (ULA), a report from Education and World Affairs).

It also led Thomas A. Sebeok to send some graduate students abroad as "informants" or intelligence-gatherers--at least their foreign studies facilitated intelligence-gathering. While one of his students was on a Fulbright in Norway, Charles W. Mathews, regional CIA agent based in St. Louis, Missouri, wrote:

In your next letter to your student who is studying under a Fulbright scholarship, you might suggest that he pick up any maps or charts of the area that are available. (letter dated November 17, 1950)

So the maps were mailed to Sebeok by a legitimate graduate student studying abroad, then relayed by Sebeok to the professionals. In this way foreign exchange programs like the Fulbright Exchange are very subtly exploited by the CIA and other government agencies.

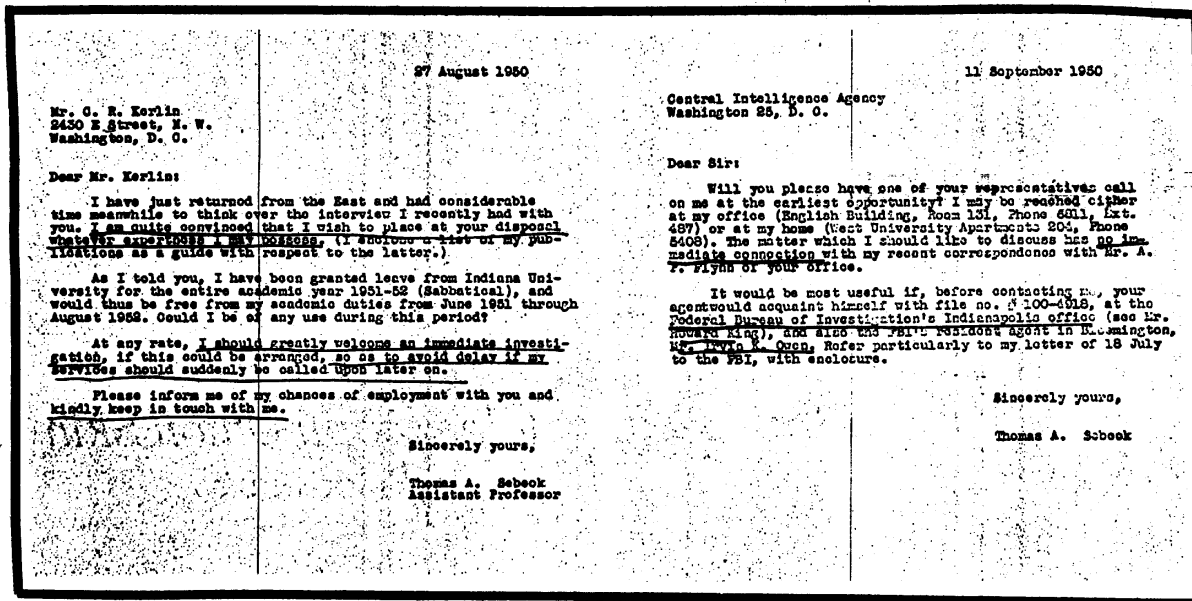
Among the other materials gathered in our research are receipts for the transfer of language texts and tapes in Albanian and Slovakian to the CIA in 1954. These materials were developed under a contract with the USAF Institute of Technology which predated the 1959 contract establishing an Air Force Language Training program at Indiana University. Thomas A. Sebeok directed the operations at the time the language materials were to be transferred to the CIA. A question seemed to have arisen in November, 1954, over whether the CIA had free access to the materials. Evidently Sebeok thought he could charge them for their copies of the materials. But a letter to Sebeok, dated November 22, 1954 clarified the CIA's right to those materials, and in fact, to any research materials produced on public funds:

The foreign language textbooks or parts of textbooks Indiana University has prepared under contract with the USAF Institute of Technology

of International Activities at IU, published by the International Affairs Center)

The expertise required to develop those language materials is rare enough for them to be quite important to CIA men on the move in Africa, Thailand, Indonesia, etc. Of course the precedent set in the case of the Albanian and Slovakian materials is applicable here too. Although Sebeok himself was no longer director when these materials were developed, he was replaced by another reliable academic with government credentials, Carleton T. Hodge, who spent nearly twenty years working in the Foreign Service Institute of the State Dept. between 1946 and 1964. We can be sure the CIA has benefited from this "academic research", financed by the government. It is of course consistent with the government's shifting political concerns that the order in which the linguistic materials were developed was first, Russian and East European languages, later, Southeast Asian languages, and now, Sub-Saharan African languages.

Among his other activities, Distinguished Professor of Linguistics, Thomas A. Sebeok is also director of the Human Relations Area Files at IU, a file which at present consists of systematically arranged information on 200 societies or ethnic groups from all major areas of the world, but with the heaviest concentration on the Eurasian continent. "The HRAF is a research organization composed of twenty-three regular member institutions. It was established in 1949 as a nonprofit corporation to collect, organize and distribute information of significance to the natural and social sciences and the humanities. . . . The files are intended to provide data essential to the theorist, the analyst, the synthesizer, and the critic, and as such they have already proved their usefulness in a number of ways. . . They have also been used in the preparation of guides and handbooks on peoples and cultures throughout the



or in preparation for courses which were supported by the USAF Institute of Technology are considered to be available to other agencies of the Federal Government. No royalties may be charged to any federal agency for any portion of these textbooks which was produced on public funds. . . signed, Charles A. Brelsford, Chief, Contract Section, Personnel and Administration Division. (emphasis added)

The implications for future development of research materials are quite clear. The CIA has access to materials produced under contracts to other government agencies, like the Air Force.

Consider the case of the Air Force Language Training Program begun in 1959 for purpose of teaching Russian airmen who were selected to do intelligence work for the Air Force. In 1962 the name of the program was changed to The Intensive Language Training Center to reflect its broadened activities beyond the scope of the original Air Force contract. "The Center has provided intensive language programs in Indonesian and Thai for the School of Business and the Peace Corps respectively, and is presently developing teaching materials in seven African languages on a contract basis for the Peace Corps and the US Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare". (p. 12 of Survey

world and by personnel from governmental and other agencies who needed background information on particular societies. Theoretically, the utility of the files is limited only by the imagination of researcher". (p. 4-5, Guide to the Use of the HRAF, published at New Haven, Conn., 1965, emphasis added)

A history of the origins of the Files however, shows that they were financed because of their usefulness to the government and military. The HRAF was preceded by the Cross-Cultural Survey, established in 1937 by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University as part of its program of interdisciplinary research in the social sciences. "After the entry of the US into World War II the Cross-Cultural Survey concentrated its efforts largely on areas of probable combat operations, especially in the Pacific. With its budget from the Institute of Human Relations expanded by a grant from the Carnegie Corp., it assembled considerable information which proved useful to the national war agencies. In addition, from materials in its Files, it published a series of seven Strategic Bulletins of Oceania on such subjects as meteorology, food and water supply, and distribution of diseases. . .

"The increasing use of the Files by government agencies. . . brought the Survey to the attention of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. This agency entered into a contract. . . by which was established,

on July 1, 1942, the Strategic Index of Latin America, subsequently renamed the Strategic Index of the Americas. . . . Then during World War II, "The usefulness of the material in the Cross-Cultural Survey Files on the then Japanese-held islands of the Pacific led the US Navy Dept., in 1943, to contract. . . for the continuation of the work on an expanded scale. . . . Between August 1943 and November 1944 nine Military Government Handbooks were published. . . . The handbooks were classified, designed only for military government officers. (source: p. xi-xv, Outline of Cultural Materials, Behavior Science Outlines, vol. 1, 4th revised ed.)

In 1949, when World War II was over and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe were defined as enemy territories, the HRAF was established.

Indiana University became a member of the HRAF, Inc. in 1951, at the same time the CIA was considering some imaginative research of its own. In a letter dated February 26, 1951, Donald V. Mulcahy of the CIA (cited earlier), requested some information from Sebeok:

When a staff member of this Agency recently discussed the Government's needs for linguists at Cornell University, he was advised by Professor J. M. Cowan that you may be in a position to assist us in finding qualified personnel with a knowledge of the Hungarian and Finnish languages.

You are undoubtedly aware of the increasing demand for linguists in these and other languages both in Government and industry. This Agency particularly requires persons who combine their language ability with a thorough comprehension of current world affairs and background knowledge of their linguistic area.

May we call upon you to give us the names and addresses of persons whom you consider qualified for employment by this Agency, or if you prefer, encourage them to apply directly to us at the address above, with reference to this letter. (emphasis added)

Sebeok replied on March 2, 1951 with recommendations and relevant biographic material on Anton N. Nyerges and Felix J. Oinas. Nyerges was at that time on a "research trip to Norway under a Fulbright grant", (the student who relayed the maps to Sebeok.) As for his political reliability, Sebeok writes: "I believe that he has a quite thorough comprehension of current world affairs. . . ." Mr. Oinas, who is currently a

member of the Uralic and Altaic Dept., the Russian and East European Institute, the Folklore Dept., and the Slavic Languages and Literatures Dept. of IU, came to the US under the Displaced Persons Act in 1949. According to Sebeok, "Politically, he is definitely reliable, as you would expect of a native born Estonian." In other words, political reliability depends on how strongly anti-communist you are, to state the obvious. He adds:

By the way, your agent in this district, Mr. Mathews, has recently interviewed Mr. Oinas, and is aware of Mr. Nyerges. . . . May I further refer you to my discussion with your Mr. C. R. Kerlin of August last, which was in reference to my own interest in working for your agency.

There were no records available on any immediate intelligence work these men were asked to do in 1951. What we do know is that Sebeok, Oinas, and a third man mentioned in later CIA correspondence on November, 1951, Alo Raun, were all members of the Uralic and Asian Studies Program (predecessor of the Uralic and Asian Studies Dept.), and that by 1955 each man had had published one or more monographs on Uralic peoples for the HRAF.

Given the fact that the HRAF includes two sets of files, one classified and closed to the normal academic researcher (similar to the way classified information was stored in the files during the war), the other unclassified, it is certain that the CIA had not ignored Sebeok's desire to work for them. Sebeok, Oinas, and Raun (including Linda Raun) were among the researchers engaged in writing a series of monographs produced under HRAF subcontracts. The IU subcontracts were awarded to "provide primarily ethnographic coverage of the Uralic peoples. . . . [They were] reproduced as a service to the scholarly community and as a working paper for the Washington branch of the HRAF (WAHRAF)." (Preface to each volume, e.g. HRAF-2, Indiana-4, Finland) (Emphasis added.) George P. Springer, the HRAF Research Associate for the "Soviet Orbit", and Milton D. Graham, HRAF Research Coordinator, are the signatories of the Preface to each volume in the series; they represented the Washington end of the operation. The Principal Investigator at IU was identified as none other than Thomas A. Sebeok, who by now had become Chairman of the Graduate Program in Uralic and Asian Studies, in addition to Chairman of

November 17, 1950

Dr. Thomas Sebeok  
Apartment 204  
West University Apartments  
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Prof. Sebeok:

This morning's mail had the first material you forwarded to us. We are sending it on to people who can use it. I understand there is considerable interest in these publications.

I have started the wheels rolling in the manner which we decided we should have a number of our questions soon.

The maps are already in the hands of interested parties. I have requested permission to see them until 15 January, 1951. If you desire any of them returned prior to that date, let me know.

In your next letter to your student who is studying under a Fulbright scholarship, you might suggest that he pick up any maps or charts of the area that are available.

Best wishes to Mrs. Sebeok and you.

Sincerely,

*Chas. W. Mathews*

Chas. W. Mathews

8 March 1951

Mr. Donald V. Mulcahy  
Assistant Chief, Procurement  
Personnel Office  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Sir:

This is in reply to your letter of 26 February. I have two suggestions.

1) Mr. Anton N. Nyerges. Mr. Nyerges's knowledge of Hungarian is approximately that of a native speaker; his knowledge of Finnish is excellent. He is a native American, a veteran of the last world war. At this moment, he is on a research trip to Norway under a Fulbright grant. His cur-

rent address is: Mr. Anton Nyerges, c/o L.O. Oulonen gets 60 I etj., Oslo, Norway. He is expected to return to the campus of Indiana University next May to present himself for his final examination for the Ph.D. degree. I am the Chairman of his Committee, and I may say that we fully expect that he will receive his doctorate this spring. His dissertation deals with a Lapp dialect. In addition, he can also handle Norwegian, German, and a little Russian. He is an extremely serious and industrious man, imaginative and with artistic sensitivity. I believe that he has a quite thorough comprehension of current world affairs and, while he has never been to Hungary to my knowledge, he has first-hand acquaintance with Finland.

2) Mr. Felix J. Oinas. Mr. Oinas came to this country under the Displaced Persons Act about a year and a half ago, and is thus not yet a citizen of the United States although he has declared his intention to become one. Politically, he is definitely reliable, as you would expect of a native born Estonian. His knowledge of the Finnish language is equal to that of a native's. His knowledge of Hungarian is also excellent: some years ago, he was Estonian lecturer at the University in Budapest, and has translated several literary works from Hungarian into Estonian (the latter is of course his mother tongue). Mr. Oinas is one of the hardest workers that I know; he is extremely thorough and most cooperative in any task that is assigned to him. He has first-hand knowledge of both Hungary and Finland. I should not say that he is particularly interested in world affairs, since his interests are principally scholarly; on the other hand, I do not mean to imply that he does not have a comprehension of them, for he has shown to me in several conversations that he does. Incidentally, he has an extremely good knowledge of Russian also, and is currently being used by our Department of Slavic Studies as an assistant in several courses. I am the Chairman of Mr. Oinas's Ph.D. Committee. He is also expected to defend his dissertation this spring, at the same time as Mr. Nyerges. Mr. Oinas's address is: Department of Linguistics, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Both of the above mentioned candidates are very good people indeed, and I recommend to you both of them without any hesitation whatsoever. I know that they will be looking for jobs in June, when they are to complete their doctorates, and I do not know of any better possibilities for you than these two.

By the way, your agent in this district, Dr. Mathews, has recently interviewed Mr. Oinas, and is aware of Mr. Nyerges. If you would like to have further information about these two, perhaps you may care to instruct Dr. Mathews to discuss the matter with me at his next visit to Bloomington, which will be, I am told, on 7 March.

May I further refer you to my discussion with your Mr. C. R. Kerlin of August last, which was in reference to my own interest in working for your agency.

Sincerely yours,

Thomas A. Sebeok

P.O. Box 1745, Plaza Station  
St. Louis, Missouri  
October 19, 1954

Professor Thomas A. Sebeok  
Department of Linguistics  
Ray House  
1225 E. Third Street  
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Dr. Sebeok:

The foreign language textbooks or parts of textbooks which Indiana University has prepared under contract with the USAF Institute of Technology or in preparation for courses which were supported by the USAF Institute of Technology are considered to be available to other agencies of the Federal Government. No royalties may be charged to any agency for any portion of these textbooks which was produced of public funds.

Reproduction costs may be charged.

Sincerely yours,

CHARLES A. BREWER  
Chief, Contract Section  
Personnel and Administration Division

Dr. Thomas A. Sebeok  
Linguistics Department  
University of Indiana  
Bloomington, Indiana

Dear Dr. Sebeok:

Thank you for sending me the letter you received from Dr. Sik. I have had a copy made, and it is enclosed for your files. I will send the original to Washington for our people to study, and will let you know their reactions as soon as possible. Personally, I see nothing out of the ordinary about the request and I feel certain that they will want you to follow your own wishes in the matter. However, it is better to check and be sure.

If you receive more letters from Dr. Sik or other persons living in the Communist dominated countries, I would appreciate seeing them.

Sincerely yours,

*Warren A. Couch*  
Warren A. Couch

Enclosure

22 November 1954

*Original sent to handball by 700*  
NOV 24 1954

the Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics (combining his linguistic expertise with a knowledge of geographic areas).

There were some strange circumstances surrounding this project about which we can only conjecture at this time. We know from actual letters that the CIA had carefully screened at least four of the participating researchers in the study. However, references to other suspicious circumstances occur in Sebeok's Introduction to each of the volumes where he notes that:

The staff feel that the severe limitations of time and the inaccessibility of certain important resources resulted in a product which could be considerably bettered, given a more leisurely approach. The staff, of course, appreciate the circumstances which necessitated rapid completion of their monographs. . . . (p. ix-x, each volume of the HRAF, Indiana series) (emphasis added)

There are repeated references to the "pressure of time" which raise some questions we've not yet been able to answer; for example, why was the project so rushed, what were "the stringent specific requirements of the contract" which Sebeok refers to? (p. x)

The actual research reflects the fear of Soviet aggression anywhere at anytime. The researchers are concerned with documenting the case of Soviet subjugation of the East Europeans and in anticipating new Soviet targets. The series of monographs is a transparent exacerbation of the great fear of international communist conspiracy. The volume on Finland, for example, states under the heading of "General Character of the Society":

Finland undoubtedly belongs among the most advanced nations in the world, and there should be little reason for social discontent. All the same, the number of Communists is considerable, and represents a potential threat to the peace of Finland. There is no doubt that the Finn is a born individualist and resents very much any outside interference. . . . It is very difficult to influence the Finn by propaganda, but, on the other hand, an agitation appealing to the worst features in the Finnish character, those of envy and mistrust, can prove itself quite successful, as has been shown by the accomplishments of the Communists. (p. 3-4 HRAF-2, Indiana-4, Finland). (emphasis added)

Or take the volume on the Lapps which begins:

Although the Lapps appear to be politically and economically an unimportant group of people, they are a people important to us because of the possibility that Soviet Russia may produce an imaginary Lapp issue against an unfriendly Scandinavia. Soviet nationalities policy never overlooks the 'brothers beyond the frontiers' of any Soviet nationality. Therefore it duly takes into account the existence of the 19,000 Lapps in Norway and of the 8,000 Lapps in Sweden" . . . (p. 1 HRAF 3, Indiana-6, The Lapps) (emphasis added)

Or the volume on the Mordvins which begins:

Mordvin society today seems to be unstable chiefly because both its economic and its nationalistic aspirations have been squelched by the Soviets. . . . The Mordvins cannot be considered to have been in the past greater collectivists than, for example, the present-day Americans. (p. 1-2, HRAF-6, Indiana-5, Mordva). (emphasis added)

Where the information is available, there is an understandably great interest in whether the various peoples are capable of listening to Voice of America and Radio Free Europe on receivers. For example:

There are hardly any privately-owned radio receivers in use by the Mordvins. . . . As far as we know, the privately-owned sets, where they do occur, are not powerful enough to listen to foreign or long-distance broadcasts. Of course, it is possible to build for oneself a radio, but this again is suspicious, and only those persons in high positions, party officials or army officers, would dare think of owning a private radio set. (p. 79, ibid)

Or in the volume on the Estonians:

All media of mass communication, the press, radio, theater, movies, are in the Estonian SSR under the complete control of the Communist Party. . . . Some people manage to listen to the forbidden Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Estonian broadcasts, and other programs in Munich and tell the news of the Western world to their friends. . . . There is no information about the number of privately-owned radio receivers, their type or reception. (p. 253-4, HRAF-4, Indiana-8)

These publications appeared only one year before the Hungarian Revolt, during which time the CIA was giving its full support to such organizations as Radio Free Europe, Inc., the Free Europe Committee, etc. In this context, our research raises the possibility that the CIA was trying to foment anti-Soviet rebellions all over Eastern Europe, and wanted as much information on the Uralic peoples as it could quickly get.

In 1956 another very active CIA man joined the IU faculty giving anchor support to the CIA contingent in Uralic Studies. He was Robert F. Byrnes, now Distinguished Professor of History. Byrnes has enjoyed a long career in the field of intelligence work. During World War II he served in the military intelligence of the U.S. Army. That was between 1944-45. Between 1948-50, he worked in the Russian Institute of Columbia University, as a Rockefeller Foundation senior fellow.

The Russian Institute at Columbia was the model for regional institutes at other universities:

An independent Russian Institute was first proposed in 1944 by Prof. Gerold T. Robinson (then on leave to the Office of Strategic Services, the forerunner of the CIA). . . .

Although many Russian Institute graduates went into teaching or enrolled in the diplomatic service, many others became part of



the surrealistic world of emigrés, ex-Nazis, CIA agents and professional anti-Communists which constituted the Cold War Establishment. Early issues of the Institute's Alumni Newsletter indicate that RI graduates were working for organizations like Radio Free Europe (and its parent organization, the Free Europe Committee), the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism, the U.S. Psychological Warfare Center, Army Intelligence, and especially, the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Russian Institute was inextricably bound up in the affairs of these agencies. The Institute profited from a \$55,000 grant to the SIA (School for International Affairs) from the Free Europe Committee for "teaching and research on Eastern Europe". . . .

The Russian Institute's studies on national income and product in the USSR and Communist nations of Eastern Europe, which became the Research Project on National Income in East Central Europe, was secretly financed by the CIA. (source: Who Rules Columbia? by NACLA, p. 11)

Between 1951-54 Byrnes worked directly for the CIA on the staff of the Office of National Estimates of the CIA. From 1954-56 he acted as Director of the Mid-European Studies Center of the Free Europe Committee, a heavily CIA-funded organization concerned with the Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe. From there Byrnes came to IU, where soon after his arrival he was made chairman of a review committee on the Soviet-East European area, and -- on the strength of the committee's outspoken report -- fundamental changes were made.



PROF. ROBERT F. BYRNES

In 1958, both the Russian and East European Institute (REE) and the Asian Studies Program were begun, as well as the Committee on Institutional Cooperation. William B. Edgerton, a Slavic language specialist from Columbia U., was brought in to establish the department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. Byrnes was made director of the Russian and East European Institute, whose stated purpose was to prepare students as "specialists on the Soviet Union and on Eastern Europe for jobs in teaching, government, and similar fields. In addition, the Institute was to engage in research." (p. 228, ULA) Naturally Sebeok, Oinas, and Raun were also members of the new Institute. Just like the Russian and East European Institutes at Columbia and Harvard, this too worked closely with the CIA. (It is ironic that the man who was to head the Asian Studies Program at its inception, Joseph L. Sutton, was also a former military intelligence man, who had just returned to IU after serving three years in Thailand, working on the notorious IU Thai Project -- otherwise known as "how to bury 'democracy' under bureaucracy.")

During the Spring of 1958 Byrnes conducted a survey of the state of non-Western studies in undergrad-

uate education in Indiana. According to the survey, "90% of the state's A.B.'s graduated without having learned little, if anything about international affairs in general. As a result of a conference held at IU in the autumn of 1958, with the assistance of the American Council of Learned Societies, the Byrnes findings were translated into a proposal for a cooperative effort among all the colleges in the state, drawing upon the resources of IU, to encourage more study of the non-Western world." (p. 234 ULA). The Ford Foundation funded the formal proposal called The Project for Extending the Study of Foreign Areas in Indiana Undergraduate Education in a 3-year grant made in 1959. It is interesting to see how Byrnes manages to become involved with the committees that plan the university's participation in international activities or area studies.

Also in 1959, Professor Sebeok became Director of the new Air Force Language Training Program which instructed airmen in Albanian, Hungarian, and primarily Russian. Men who studied in that program admitted that they were trained to do military intelligence work afterwards. One veteran said he was sent to London where he worked for two years doing intelligence work. Another now studying on the G.I. Bill said he also had done intelligence work, and moreover, he planned on going into the Russian and East European Institute. The Institute, it seems, has a way of collecting intelligence men.

When we turn to Sebeok's most recent activities, we notice the continuity with his past. He is still engaged in the same kind of language-area studies which he pioneered under CIA guidance back in the fifties. He still runs his operation through government contracts and grants. (The most recent contract proposal was the Project Themis proposal of March, 1968, which was withdrawn during the summer.) But he appears to have expanded his activities to a worldwide scale. The multi-volumed series Current Trends in Linguistics, which his Research Center for the Language Sciences is preparing for publication, is a very ambitious project, nothing less than a worldwide survey of the "state of the art" ... or so goes the current trend in euphemisms for that brand of research these days. Sebeok, who gets his name on more volumes than actual articles, is the chief "Editor" for the series, which is published by the Center for Applied Linguistics (located in Washington, D.C.). It is no coincidence that Sebeok himself happened to have been the founder and first chairman of the Committee on Linguistic Information of the Center for Applied Linguistics; good politics makes good business. Chancellor Herman B. Wells also is on the Board of Trustees of the Center for Applied Linguistics.

Project Themis, whose support Sebeok solicited in March, 1968, is a Defense Department program to develop new university bases for war research. According to the Abstract of Sebeok's research proposal, "Dept. of Defense funds under Project Themis will enable the Research Center for the Language Sciences (RCLS) to accelerate greatly its development into a major interdisciplinary research facility in the field of language. RCLS, built upon and expanding from the former Research Center for Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, provides a base for a coordinated attack upon problems related to the structure of human communication and to cultural differences which interfere with communication. Further, language and language behavior, when properly interpreted, convey information about attitudes and motivations of economic, ethnic, religious, and political nature vital to international planning." (emphasis added) It is hardly necessary to ask who is going to "properly interpret" this information for "international planning." Sebeok's previous associations with the military-intelligence complex should make that point self-evident.

The actual research proposal goes into even greater detail than the Abstract:

Language is not only a means of direct communication among individuals, but it also is a form of human behavior which, if interpreted correctly, conveys information about attitudes and other forms of economic, ethnic, political, and religious motivation. Both these functions of language are fundamental to those who are concerned with the management of people. Technological advance, based upon supporting research into problems of language behavior, can lead to greater sophistication with the principles of such management, to fuller understanding of conditions leading to social conflict, and to improved prediction of when and where conflicts may arise. These are capabilities recognized to be important to the overall mission of the Dept. of Defense." (p. 1 of the

The SPECTATOR, November 5, 1968

Preliminary Proposal for Support of the RCLS,  
by Thomas A. Sebeok (emphasis added)

Sebeok might just as easily have added that "these are capabilities recognized to be important to the overall mission" of the CIA. The research Sebeok planned on doing for the War Dept. is by his own admission essential to the successful manipulation of people. We wonder where the rhetoric of the value-free haven of learning has disappeared to now. One assumes the "social conflict" Sebeok plans to predict and "manage" might just as easily refer to the riots in the urban ghettos as the national revolutions in the rice paddies of Vietnam or Thailand, or on the banana plantations of Guatemala, or in the tin mines of Bolivia. Some of the areas where this linguistic "field work" can be carried out are described in the section on Applied Linguistics.

Coordinated with the University's existing and future overseas research and international education programs (Latin American Studies, African Studies, East European Institute, Asian Studies), field work in this area will be carried out in Africa, the Caribbean, Latin America, Asia, and East Europe. (p. 2, *ibid.*) (emphasis added)

Once more we get unequivocal evidence of how the right hand of the University knows exactly what the left hand is doing, and plans accordingly. A CIA man who penetrates one area of linguistic research has no difficulty pulling the strings needed to coordinate his intelligence work with any other international programs already in existence.

Consider one of the specific studies planned under the supervision of Professor Albert Valdman, cited in the research proposal:

... The linguistic situation in Southwestern Louisiana (where the people are multilingual) lends itself also to studies of the usefulness of the mass media on the control of social behavior (language loyalty, language retention, attitudes toward minority groups). It also suggests experimentation with procedures for manpower utilization and conservation, in this instance, the conservation of a large stock of potential speakers of the world's second largest language of greater communication -- French. (p. 6, *ibid.*) (emphasis added)

Each of the areas of linguistic study, and all of them taken together, "will contribute knowledge in areas important to the overall mission of the Dept. of Defense." (from the Abstract). Sebeok also assured the War Dept. people that:

Indiana University's present proposal under Project Themis is directed toward those areas of the Center's overall program which are defense-related. However, it is clear that support in these areas would very significantly accelerate the development of the Center as a whole and ensure that information obtained in what may not now appear to be defense-related areas will be available in instances where relevance is later recognized. (p. 7, *ibid.*)

In other words,

Support under Project Themis would thus provide the Dept. of Defense with a university-based center for supporting valuable research in the language sciences. (from the Abstract) (emphasis added)

The preliminary estimate of funds needed to convert the research center into a bona fide military base on IU's campus was \$873,000 over the next three years.

That Sebeok's proposal was withdrawn after the Linguistic Department dispute last year matters very little. Undoubtedly there will be many more of these research proposals as long as Sebeok remains solvent within the university. What is more important than the details of the specific proposals are the values that motivate this "distinguished professor" as he goes about his business. Assured of his "academic freedom" to do whatever he pleases, Sebeok has led the CIA, the Air Force, the Defense Department, the State Department and who knows what else onto this campus. The very nature of the CIA's operations means that we will probably never know all the activities they have infiltrated until we can have all the records of the university's activities made public.

From the information on Sebeok alone, it should be clear how IU has surreptitiously edged its way into the competition for part of the government action. Isolated from mainstream politics, existing in a rural environment, it offers intelligence men the truly perfect cover; the fabled groves of Academe come to life in one of the Crest-conquered All-American cities.

Yet the information on Sebeok is compounded by the

information on Byrnes, who is even more responsible for the direction IU has taken in furnishing the academic programs needed to train CIA men.

Byrnes resigned as Director of the REE Institute in 1962. When Elvis Stahr became President of IU, that same year, he immediately commissioned a committee to come up with proposals on how to institutionalize IU's diverse international activities. A survey of all the activities came out in 1964, on the basis of which a subcommittee was formed to translate the information into action proposals. The chairman of the subcommittee was Byrnes. "By the spring of 1965 Byrnes and his colleagues on the subcommittee had produced a proposal for establishment at IU of a central organization for international affairs. . . . Chosen to head the new structure -- inaugurated in Sept., 1965 -- was Professor Byrnes." (p. 257 ULA) (emphasis added)

Professor Byrnes served as director, or principal officer, of the new International Affairs Center. The IAC advises the administration on the main lines of policy in international activities. The director of the IAC serves as the principal spokesman of the university in questions relating to instruction, research, and graduate training in the international field. The IAC has principal responsibility for foundation and government grants intended to support international studies at IU as a whole.

Now he is no longer the IAC director. But he has found his way to the chairmanship of the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants, which was founded at Columbia University in 1955, but moved to IU in 1960. The Committee's purpose is to "strengthen American research and instruction through support of research in the Soviet Union and three of the countries of East Central Europe: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary. . . . The exchanges with the Soviet Union are carried on under the Intergovernmental Exchange Agreement." (p. 47-48, SIA) Forty-nine universities are members of the committee. Funds have been provided by the Ford Foundation and the State Dept.'s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs through 1970.

That operation hasn't been free from associations with the CIA either. In 1967, when the news broke about CIA financing of NSA, many other organizations disclosed records showing covert CIA funding also. At the height of this activity, Pravda charged CIA interference with the Inter-University Committee on Travel Grants. There was also a special indictment of Byrnes as an agent for his ties to the Slavic tours to the Soviet Union sponsored by IU. (Byrnes denied the Pravda charges, noting that he had worked for the CIA from 1951-54, but that he was no longer connected with them in any way.)

The fact of the matter is, once a CIA man, always a CIA man. . . . unless one undergoes a radical change in politics. . . . and the word from Byrnes' students is that he's still a hard-line Cold Warrior. There can be no doubt that all of Byrnes' activities bear the stamp of the CIA, or at best, rigid adherence to the dictates of the foreign policy establishment in Washington. It's more than coincidence that the instrument for centralizing international activities at IU, the IAC, forms an anagram of CIA.

Perhaps the most horrifying thing about Byrnes, however, is the accuracy with which he could predict how the university was going to develop (which of course isn't so surprising, since he did so much to make it fait accompli). But nevertheless, in 1959 Byrnes wrote a memo in which he predicted:

By 1970 research and instruction on foreign areas should be an integral part of the university, and any foreign area programs we have should be just as much an assumed part of university life as any established department. We should seek to change the entire atmosphere of the university. Interest in and knowledge of foreign areas should pervade the entire institution. . . . We should keep in mind national resources and national needs, so far as they can be defined. . . . and we should always keep in mind that a university is by nature universal." (p. 260-261 ULA) (emphasis added)

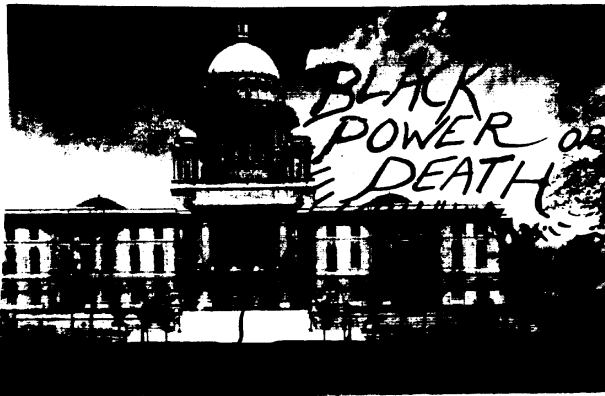
We have only begun to scratch the crusty surface of the university in our attempt to see how it really operates, what criteria are really used to guide the administrators in their decision-making. We have seen how two distinguished professors steered the university into governmental waters, where we now find our university institutionally committed to servicing the needs of a government that has overextended itself around the world, committed to training the men who will continue policies of counterinsurgency in the third world, for which the CIA by now owes its notoriety. We have let it go this far. We must let it go no further.

# Black Power, Or Death

By OBI P. EGBUNA

LNS Europe

(Editor's Note: On 12 August, 1968, Obi Egbuna, said to be the Chairman of Britain's Black Panthers, was charged in a London court with others unknown to have threatened in writing to murder police officers, and to incite such persons as might attend meetings at Hyde Park to murder or cause grievous bodily harm to police officers. At a rally in Trafalgar Square on 24 August members of the Black Panther Movement and their friends-in-struggle said the charge was an absurd police fabrication. Britain maintains "a system that preaches justice and love, but practices callous injustice and racial hatred; a system that was built on violence, that thrives on violence, that exploits and dehumanizes the masses (especially Black people) with all kinds of savage and sophisticated methods of violence. This same violent system accuses and condemns the people it oppresses of being violent. With the left hand it offers powdered milk for starving Black children, while with the right it offers gun powder for the mass killing of the very same starving Black children. It is a system, infested and stinking with contradictions, hypocrisy and lies, in which the people are purposely kept misinformed and confused". Egbuna, originally from Nigeria, is a writer and a playwright. We reproduce excerpts from his recent manuscript, "Black Power or Death", written in part with reference to the assassination of Martin Luther King.)



The tragedy of Martin is that he died a victim of social forces which -- thanks to Whitey's opium of Christianity -- he did not really understand. He based his civil rights philosophy on Gandhi's Passive Resistance. But the sad truth -- and it must be told -- is that Martin's interpretation of Gandhism was hopelessly wrong. To put it bluntly, Martin did not understand Gandhism. And this ignorance was encouraged and in fact glamorized by a White Establishment which had a vested interest in the Black man's self-delusion.

The first thing to know about Gandhi's Passive Resistance is that it is not a 'Minority Philosophy'. The first principle of practical Gandhism is that it is strictly a 'Majority Philosophy'. By that I mean that it is a philosophy designed to apply only in societies where the oppressed people form the majority of the population. How does it work? Passive Resistance simply means that the oppressed masses who comprise the bulk of a population are organized to 'do nothing' and, because they constitute the majority, their doing nothing brings the social machine to an automatic standstill. Yet the Establishment cannot lay their hands on anyone because you cannot arrest someone for doing nothing. That is all it means.

Understandably, therefore, Passive Resistance, unlike the guerrilla tactic, cannot be a 'Minority Philosophy'. It simply cannot work in a society where the oppressed people are less in number than the oppressors. It is therefore out of place in a country like the U.S. where the oppressed African-Americans are outnumbered by their White oppressor race. Because while the Blacks are out in the streets marching and resisting peacefully and passively, the Whites are indoors at work, keeping the social machine going and laughing their heads off. The

aim of the resistance movement, which is the instant halting of the social machine, can never therefore be achieved here. And anyway, it is ridiculous to apply a philosophy which relies on effective withdrawal of labour for its success to a situation where the very thing one is protesting about is lack of labour. How can you withdraw what you never had in the first place? No, Passive Resistance in the U.S. is like flogging a dead horse. Mere self-delusion.

The goal of the Passive Resistance tactic is to cripple an unpopular Establishment by paralysing all functioning of society with the freeze of mass inaction. Its aim is to kick the power structure in the groin by jamming the gear of all mass-dependable national institutions. Its objective is to damage, not compromise.

Seeing it in this light, one soon discovers that Gandhi's Passive Resistance is not a non-violent philosophy after all. On the contrary, it is one of the most violent philosophies ever devised by a human mind. What is different about it is that it does its damage unseen and that, while the enemy is lulled into the illusion of morality and peaceful intentions, the weapon of destruction is wielded so invisibly and effectively that the striking power is, on the practical level, catastrophic. It is therefore not true to say that Gandhi got rid of violence in revolution. What he did was make violence inviolable.

Resistance, even by definition, implies the use of force. How then can it be non-violent? Gandhi's Passive Resistance is simply revolutionary violence in disguise. But its destructive power only comes through the weight of number. If this number is not right, it is like driving a car without an engine. Like all revolutionary philosophies it has to be understood to be used creatively. Applied in the right situation, in a society where the victimized masses comprise the bulk of the nation, it could work wonders. But misunderstood and used in the wrong social medium, it could become a dangerous point. Martin's cardinal mistake was to quote Gandhi out of context. Like many Christian preachers who had been groping for years for a philosophy which would give an answer to the Christian religion, Martin jumped on Gandhism and clung to it so feverishly that he failed to see that the bloodlessness of it is not the real objective, but only incidental. The real objective of Passive Resistance, as we have described above, is instant dislocation of the Establishment. This was not what Martin was doing. He was compromising with the Establishment, integrating the oppressed African-Americans into the very social machine they were supposed to dislocate. This was a negation of Gandhism which, as we have seen, ended in disaster.

You cannot coalesce conscience with a man who has no conscience. You cannot base your revolution on morality in a world where expediency has supplanted morality. You cannot introduce a love-your-neighbor morality in a society in which the economic system is a negation of that morality. You find yourself running up the escalator of history when it is in fact going down, and the higher up you strive and sweat to get, the lower down it carries you.

Not long ago, the White man went over the the 'new world' to set up a nation modelled on Europe. And as Franz Fanon has pointed out, they have succeeded so beautifully that that society has today become the greatest lunatic asylum in the world -- America.

Like Martin, we too have been to the mountain top, but, unlike him, we see blood in the distance flowing like a million Nigers in scarlet. We can see White men in the next decade knocking and asking in broken Swahili for social integration; and we can hear the Black militia guarding the gates of the Iron Curtain around Black Africa replying that Whitey's Swahili is not yet good enough. We can also hear the voices of our children swearing before the shrine of our thick-lipped, flat-nosed, ebony black God of Beauty saying:

The blood of our fathers has flowed to wash away our blindness and given us sight to see you as you really are, O Black God of Beauty. We are sons and daughters of MEN who died young in battle because they did not live on their knees. Give us courage to sustain this greatest heritage so costly won.

"Black Power or Death!"

By STUDENT SOCIAL ACTION COMMITTEE, with the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND

The case of the Knoxville College students deserves to be widely known. It is a good example of the repression that is being unleashed across the nation --where militant black people are being arrested on flimsy charges and held under high bond until public pressure forces authorities to free them.

It is also a good case study of scapegoating. In this case, young black men will be punished for conspiring to arson and possessing explosives, because police are unable--or unwilling--to find the culprits in an entirely different crime: the murder of a white cab driver.

And the Knoxville case is a modern instance of an old southern disease--the violent response by white society when a white man is believed to have been killed by blacks--based on the idea that a white life is worth more than a black one.

The white victim is A. J. Boruff, a cab driver, whose body was found early March 9 on the Knoxville College campus. He had been shot with a .22-calibre pistol. Near his body was his cab, which had been battered with rocks and burned.

The chain of events which led up to his death began early the night before, when city policemen invaded the predominantly black campus, provoking two confrontations with the students.

The police say they heard rumors that a dormitory on the campus was to be blown up. They stopped a group of youths, and the youths fled, dropping a bag which police say contained bottles of gasoline. No one was arrested at the scene, but police claimed to recognize a Knoxville College student--Gary Keel. They went onto the campus and arrested him.

Several students, all members of the militant Student Social Action Committee (SSAC), have charged that the police manhandled them while they were on campus. In a complaint filed with the FBI, Arnsell Collier said that a policeman "grabbed me and started kicking me on the hips."

Student leaders called male students from their dorms to tell them what had happened. They persuaded the president of the college, Dr. Robert L. Owens, III, to go to the city jail to see if any charges had been filed. Curtis Johnson, head of SSAC, also went to the jail, arriving at the same time as Dr. Owens.

In the meantime the

students moved to the women's dorms, to tell them what had happened.

There was a second confrontation when the police stopped a car with Alabama license plates as it entered the campus and arrested the two people in it (both were SSAC members). Angry students temporarily blocked police efforts to remove the car.

It was after this, while the campus was in turmoil, that Boruff drove his cab onto the grounds. It has never been explained what he was doing there past midnight. Ignoring requests

the cab. This probably prevented a bloodier Orangeburg.

Two hours later, Boruff was found dead.

Pete Tigner -- a leader in the militant SSAC group -- and Joseph Scott were arrested a week later. With Keel, they were charged with possessing explosives. (Donald Wallace, an ex-student at Knoxville College, was arrested at the same time on unrelated charges.)

With these arrests began months of harassment by the power structure -- harassment of the entire student community, as well as the four who were

family arranged for an out-of-state bondsman to post \$1500 for him and he was released, the police re-arrested him on two new charges (conspiring to arson and felonious assault) and sent him back to jail under \$6000 bond.

--The student body voted (430-76) to use their student fees for bonds. Police promptly placed another charge against the three students (conspiring to bomb the gym) and raised the total bond by \$6000.

The four men spent nine weeks in jail. They were finally released as protests rose -- a few days after Tigner, Scott and Keel won a mistrial, when one of their lawyers suddenly fell ill.

During those weeks -- and since then -- the police have made little attempt to solve the murder. There have been only half-hearted attempts to find the murder weapon and no efforts have been made to investigate anyone who is not connected with the black-power group. Police have not even considered the possibility that the killer was not a student.

Public sentiment has been aroused by reports of "black power" plots and agitation. The local Knoxville News Sentinel has spoken of "black power intervention." Even the school's president mentioned students attending a "black power meeting in Atlanta".

In fact, the college administration has consistently lined up alongside the power structure -- against the students.

The college refused to intercede on behalf of the students. They would not release student fees for bail or legal defense until students staged a one-day boycott of classes. One dean, Dr. Robert Harvey, is reported to have said that the bail should have been higher.

The college seems mainly concerned with fund raising and with problems they will now have in some parts of the white community. An administrator told one of the jailed students that the public would condemn Knoxville College for aiding "criminal offenders".

If the three students are acquitted, will they be readmitted to the college? "I don't know," one dean said. "I don't know what the nature of the charges are. I don't know what would be the basis of the acquittal. Something happened that night. I would not want to say that acquittal means innocence, or exoneration."

What could be clearer? Whether or not a jury finds them guilty, Knoxville's power structure and the college administration have already made up their minds about Pete Tigner, Gary

## THE CASE OF THE



## KNOXVILLE COLLEGE STUDENTS

to leave, he drove toward the dormitories.

There are conflicting reports about what happened then. Some say he was chased by a group of students. Others say that he tried to run over students -- and then was chased. Neither version has been confirmed.

Boruff radioed the cab company for help. The police were informed. They wanted to invade the campus immediately, but Curtis Johnson and Dr. Owens argued that it would only cause more trouble. Finally the police agreed not to enter the campus, after Dr. Owens promised that the college would pay for any damage to

charged. Police questioned hundreds of students -- asking questions directed more toward "proving" that the people they suspected were guilty than toward finding the murderer.

Students report being asked: Why do you wear your hair that way? You and who else killed Boruff? Did outsiders start trouble over there? Who are the black-power troublemakers?

The authorities seemed determined not to set the four men free until they succeeded in pinning something on them.

--Knoxville bondsmen refused to put up bond for them.

--When Pete Tigner's

Keel and Joseph Scott.

Both the police and the college have already yielded to pressure from the white community to convict someone -- anyone. Tigner summed it up recently. "They just want a rope around somebody's black neck," he said. "Preferably ours."

The Knoxville College Three will pay for Boruff's death, in one way or another -- unless many, many people make up their minds that it won't happen -- and then ACT to see that it does not.

Pete Tigner and Joseph Scott are back at Knoxville College awaiting trial. Gary Keel is at home working to earn money for the second semester.

Their trial has been set for October 28.

\* Write Mayor L. R. Rogers of Knoxville, protesting the way this case has been handled;

\* Write your local newspaper -- to tell them what

really happened in Knoxville last March -- and ask them to follow developments in the case;

\* Knoxville College is affiliated with the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.

Write Gayraud Wilmore, Division of Church and Race, or Dr. Kenneth Neigh, Board of National Missions (the address for both is: 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 10027).

Ask them why the college administration has abstained from any action on behalf of the students.

SUPPORT THE KNOXVILLE STUDENTS -- MORALLY AND FINANCIALLY

Send contributions to:

THE STUDENT DEFENSE FUND  
c/o the Rev. Matthew Jones  
2201 McCalla Avenue  
Knoxville, Tenn. 37915.

# ROTC- COUNTER-INSURGENCY 101

By MILLARD FILLMORE

One of the sad testimonials to the military's success in influencing American thought is our widespread acceptance of military "non-logic". Because of the near-universality of military training in this country, people seldom bat an eye at such choice exercises in non-logic as the need to destroy a village so as to "save" it, the concept that we are fighting in Vietnam to preserve peace there, or the idea that soldiers must give up their freedom to protect the same.

Fortunately, these attitudes are accepted only by the masses, those mindless, spineless wonders outside the academic community who are quite willing to let Big Brother do their thinking for them. We at Indiana University are too bright to be duped into believing that an institution which runs contrary to every principle of democracy and freedom, could possibly be necessary for the preservation of these values.

Aren't we?

Consider, if you can, the following scene:

A small group of dirty, cold, wet men approach a hill at the outskirts of Bloomington, a hill held by a force of "insurgents". Our heroes have been pursuing these "insurgents" all evening, and now, thanks to their superior training, leadership and physical fitness, they have caught up with them. Though the "insurgents" have thrown every dirty trick in the book at our heroes, right finally triumphs and the "insurgents" are routed.

If the preceding sounded a bit warped, or childish, perhaps it is because that sort of thing actually goes on around here, with Indiana University's blessing.

It's part of training in something called "counterinsurgency", offered by the IU Army ROTC department, defined in a newsletter distributed by its cadets as something which "...stands for the highest degree of physical fitness, practical leadership and individual proficiency that can be obtained from ROTC". Field problems--which, according to Col. Geiger of the Dept., are carried out in "certain little areas" around Bloomington--are "...dirty, cold, and usually wet, but most of all they are rewarding...it takes a certain type of individual...sometimes it takes all of ones (sic) effort..." the cadets proudly proclaim.

The program is an optional supplement to the ROTC program, and The PMS (if you don't know what that means, you are hereby courtmartialed) estimates that about a tenth of his 841 students are running about "dirty, cold, and usually wet". He also emphasizes that the counterinsurgency training is not limited to our "current war".

The idea of a university supposedly dedicated to ideals such as free expression and academic freedom supporting an entirely anti-intellectual institution such as the military is a good example of how we have fallen prey to non-logic, but a closer look at this thing called "counterinsurgency" might prove valuable.

It's not as childish as the childish cadets would make it appear. In addition to helping mindless college students prove their manhood, counterinsurgency is being used to put down popular revolutions throughout the world.

Col. Geiger says the insurgent must have both a political and a military base, and that these are "mutually interdependent". He characterized this "military base" as being aimed at the government, saying that force was used to demonstrate to the populace how ineffectual the government was.

As for the "political base", we must assume that it is derived from the people of the country.

The whole thing would appear to be a good, workable definition of a popular revolution (for this we must thank the colonel), and it would further appear that the only reason the U.S. would be engaging in counterinsurgency would be to support the government and not the people, and thereby suppress the revolution.

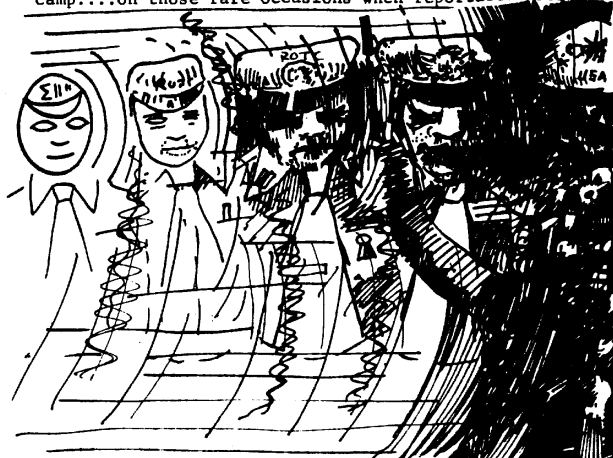
Vietnam, as Donald Duncan points out in The New Legions, a fascinating trip into the military mind, is a good example of how the whole thing works.

Duncan calls insurgency "political, a popular uprising against a government", and points out that "counterinsurgency must exist both to defeat the guerrillas and to consider the causes of the insurgency". (It might interest you to note that the counterinsurgency taught here was classified by the colonel as only "anti-guerrilla," which would make it appear that we have said something like "fuck causes, let's kill Commies.")

Duncan says that the objectives of counterinsurgency can be achieved either by changing the existing government or by trying to convince the people that the insurgents are even less desirable than the existing government, and notes that it is "utterly unreasonable to try to convince people who in desperation have taken arms against the government that a change, any change, can worsen things."

And in Vietnam, says the former Special Forces trooper, it appeared as though the Vietnamese had made up their minds, and chosen the insurgents.

"As the year (1964) passed, it became apparent that for all purposes the war was over--what little fighting there was, was usually around a Special Forces camp...on those rare occasions when reportable action



The SPECTATOR, November 5, 1968

occurred, it seemed to be an accident or the result of American initiative." The NLF controlled some areas so well that they "held elections, built and ran schools and hospitals, had their own markets, collected taxes and repaired roads and bridges."

Thus we have a good example of counterinsurgency as practiced by the U.S. Army: putting down, or trying to put down, a popular revolution against an unpopular government. This "current war" should serve as a good object lesson to us.

This is the sort of thing we are supporting at IU, under the guise of "academic freedom" and "free speech". The fact that the university is allowing itself to supply manpower for these activities is not so important as the fact that it appears to sanction the whole thing. But then, the U.S. has never, of course, been considered "revolutionary".

When people suggest this training be eliminated from the university, they are met with the argument that the university is largely supported by government funds, and that, if we were to eliminate ROTC we might also eliminate a substantial amount of financial support.

# RITC

The I.U. RITC program is conducted by revolutionary militants who are specially selected and approved by Indiana University for this duty. The curriculum is designed to provide the knowledge and to develop the ability and skills required of modern insurgents. All credits earned apply toward the total credit hours required for graduation.

**Four-Year Program.** This program is divided into two phases--a Basic Course, conducted during the freshman and sophomore years, and an Advanced Course, taken during the junior and senior years. Students are selected on the basis of their application, scholastic record, and demonstrated potential. Advanced Course students normally attend a six-week summer camp in either Newark, Watts, or Detroit between their junior and senior years.

**Two-Year Program.** This program extends the advantages of Advanced RITC training to students who did not take the Basic Course. As a substitute for the Basic Course, the student must practice Survival Techniques for six weeks in a small Indiana town.

**Pay and Scholarships.** All students in the Advanced Course receive a nominal sum in the currency of their choice during the Academic Year. During summer training, payment in the form of television sets, radios, clothing and the like will be available for the student with initiative. It should be emphasized that during this training, students will be required to "live off the land," so payment will be a matter of individual concern for the individual student.

Students are also invited to investigate the availability of the following scholarships: Malcom X Scholarship for black students with demonstrated potential, the A.J. Muste tuition remission for the academically oriented and the Ho Chi Minh Fellowship for the outstanding senior in the Department.

## Description of Courses

R101, R102-(3-3)--Militant Non-violence (Fills Arts and Sciences Group IV Humanities Course Requirement). Techniques and ideology of non-violence. Practical pointers on the techniques of going limp, the Sit-In, leaflet-writing, how to run a mimeograph, Picketing and Sign-Making. Second semester explores more turbulent but still basically non-violent demonstration (techniques of Shit Throwing, Running from Police, etc.). Offered in large lecture sessions.

R250, R251\*-(3-1ab)--Advanced Militant Non-violence. Occupation of Buildings, Disruption of Orderly Conduct of Business, Destruction of Files. Lab (R251) dedicated to practical achievement of ideals learned in R250 lecture.

R333, R334\*-(3-1ab)--Urban Guerilla Warfare. Method and Ideology of Demolition, Academic Study of

Not being the type to want to offend anyone, and not wanting to see the university lose financial support, I have an alternative to the withdrawal of university sanction of Revolution Suppression 101. I suggest we introduce a course in revolution, titled Revolution 10, and as a recognized supplement to the course, students could break down into small groups to practice the fine art of street fighting. Rioting is dirty, hard on the head, and taxing to the brain (thinking up new taunts for cops is no easy matter), but it can be rewarding.

Through such action, we would not only develop the important practical skills of street leadership, but we would not lose any of the money we are currently getting from the military. Indeed, we might even get a grant from Communist China, or, say, Cuba, thus pouring extra money into the old coffers. More important, we would instill a new sense of academic freedom, and open up the chance for more real intellectual give and take, something we have been urged to do for some time.

And that, after all, is what it's all about.

## Revolutionary Insurgency Training Corps

Fire, Organizing Street Rioting, Sophisticated Draft Evasion Methods. In lab (R334), a building on the campus will be chosen for each student, and he will be assigned the project of destroying it. (Credit withheld from students who either destroy themselves inadvertently or who are caught in the act.)

R399, R399 Lab\*-(3-none)-- Honors seminar on selective terrorism. How to choose a target, how to make the implications of the assassination politically



relevant to the masses. In lab, honors thesis is translated into concrete social action.

R499, R499 Lab\*-(3-none)--Organizing the People's Militia. (P: lab work in R399; recommended only for serious students). Lecture to stress academic approach to Problems of People's Militia. Lab will offer the student the chance to see his program take shape. Lab offered only once for credit.

\* All courses designated as "lab" are optional to the student and will carry no actual credit within the university, though they will be taken into account when the student's overall proficiency is judged prior to his acceptance to graduate or advanced studies. It should also be noted that many of the lab courses are interdivisional in nature; i.e., they are offered in accordance with the ROTC program in order to give students from both courses a chance to increase their intellectual "give and take".

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# THE CASE OF THE PLANTED PIPES (part 2)

By BERNIE MADURA

Last Thursday Bob Grove's counsel made a motion before the Monroe County Superior Court to suppress the evidence in his case. The details of the case were given in the first

issue of this year's Spectator; as it now looks, charges will be dropped. However, one can never make assumptions about the workings of Southern Indiana justice; Grove may be charged with wearing black socks before

this whole thing is over.

The hearing itself was late Erle Stanley Gardner. A key witness, Grove's former landlord, was a very old and tired man, hardly able to shuffle the few feet from his seat to the stand. His testimony was not very valuable to either side, as his memory was very bad, causing him to

found in his room. At one point he said, "I believe in law and order, I know I do."



One of the detectives who had arrested Grove originally had kept the arrest warrant, rather than giving it to the county sheriff to be certified; therefore, there was no valid warrant for Grove's arrest, in addition to there being no record anywhere of a search warrant ever having been issued. In short, there is not one solid piece of evidence in the prosecution's case. The pipes were planted; the police searched Grove's room without his permission or a warrant; there were no charges of any kind made at the time of his first encounter with them. The only reason for the case not being dismissed at this hearing was the unbelievable ignorance of the judge. (At one point, when Grove's attorney vehemently objected to a prosecution question about Grove's CP membership, he took off his glasses and roared "Suspicion sustained! No, that's objection, isn't it?") His decision, coming after six hours of examining, cross examining, and re-cross examining, was to make a decision within two weeks on whether or not to allow the non-existent evidence, and possibly send the case into Phase III, The Trial.

The Bob Grove Defense Committee needs funds desperately for lawyer's fees and bond. \$1400 must be raised within the month. Only \$100 has been raised till now. Unless funds become available there will no longer be a lawyer to handle Bob's case.

Sponsoring the Defense Committee is Reverend William A. Dennis of Indianapolis. The Chairman is Orlando Taylor, Speech and Hearing. Russell Block is Treasurer, Secretary is Bob Laczi. Groups supporting the Defense Committee are the Progressive Reform Party (PRP), New University Conference (NUC), Committee to End the War in Vietnam (CEWV), Socialist Workers Party (SWP), Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Funds should be sent to P. O. Box 531, Bloomington.

answer most questions with "I don't know, I can't recollect for sure." He said that he suspected Grove was some kind of criminal because of the mound of "Communist literature" he

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# THE DARK BAG

Black Power: New Alternatives  
(First of three-part series)



By BOB JOHNSON

The coming of Black Power officially registered the death certificate for the concept of integration. The irony of its demise is that it never existed. Integration has always meant assimilation -- the relinquishing of and denial of all cultural elements that distinguish the black subculture from the majority culture. American society suggested that black people would be given the ungivable -- human rights -- if they became black prototypes of a white American model. Not only is this a physical impossibility; it represents a cultural sacrifice that no white ethnic group has ever been asked to make. Integration (assimilation) represents the kind of semantic trickery that graphically details the highest level of institutional racism.

After 1954, all elements of the society were arranged to accommodate this slow, individual process. Schools, jobs and neighborhoods were to become "integrated" as quickly as black Americans could be programmed white enough to be absorbed into the "mainstream" of American life. White racism killed the programmatic thesis of integration. School integration was fought along all fronts. In the south, little crackers with designs on the white house (perfectly named) stood in the doorways of the schools. In the north, parents fought every type of integration scheme proposed from bussing to school district boundary adjustments. Today schools are more segregated than they were in 1954. Jobs remained problematic. While industry was racing frantically around the country looking for "qualified" (white-like) black executive talent, they were also automating and cybernating out of existence the jobs traditionally reserved for black workers. Only the longest uninterrupted period of economic expansion in the nation's history kept the bottom from falling out of the job market. Campaigns to provide for open housing met savage resistance as the northern and western hypocrites were confronted with the possibility of blacks for neighbors. The open housing marches of Chicago and Milwaukee need no amplification. Racism shoved a dagger into the heart of integration. Black Power buried the body.

The collapse of the civil rights (integration) movement served to elevate the black struggle to the level of human rights. This question led to a number of new approaches based on a more realistic assessment of the actual condition of black people in America. These new approaches break down into roughly three categories, based on the affinity their proponents hold for society as it exists today. First, there are those who accept the system as it is and wish to integrate into it on a group rather than individual basis. Second, there are those who accept the separateness of ninety percent of American society and seek to control the processes and institutions of the black community. Finally, there are those who seek the liberation (or freedom) of black people through self-determination. There is some overlap at the periphery of each category and inconsistencies within each. However, the complex nature of the issues involved, the hypocritical nature of the systems response to the question of race, and the rapidity with which crucial events take place, make clear distinctions impossible.

Group integration is modeled after older versions of ethnic politics. Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Jews and other national groups have forced entrance into the larger society through a political and economic address to their ethnicity. Those who propose group integration suggest that a strengthening of ghetto institutions, the election of black politicians to office by established parties, massive government programs and promotion of the black management of business in the ghetto will provide the buttress for aiding blacks to secure advances in the larger society. It is felt that ultimate goals should include growing representation of blacks in the hierarchies of business, education, government and politics. In short, group integration implies greater black representation in the system as it now exists.

There are several problems with this approach. The election of black politicians to existing political parties somewhat perpetuates a problem that already

prevails. Politicians elected to office on regular party tickets are responsible to their parties first, and then to the people. The national characteristics of the two-(one) party system, and the breadth of its political persuasion, places the immediate needs of the people and the harmony of the party in direct conflict. In such a conflict the predominantly white party always has the upper hand.

Capitalism, in terms of resources, lines of authority and organization, is controlled from the top down. Its sole end is profit. Its method of perpetuation is profit. Profit ultimately is given higher priority than such subjective notions as human needs. This fact is the basis for the exploitive nature of capitalism. Substituting black business managers for white business managers is no solution to the exploitive practices that ravage the black community. This process simply replaces white exploitation with black exploitation. In the end the profit levels must be maintained no matter who the managers happen to be.

The Federal government's responses to the question of race have been legislative and monetary. Civil rights legislation became the fad of the sixties. Unfortunately enforcement has not been an accompanying fad. Federal programs have suffered from paternalism, as well as inadequate funding. You cannot correct a century of injustice with a C-note. It is also questionable that the source of problems should secure the solution. As long as traditional government-controlled programs are injected as remedies to the problems of black people, such fiascos as the "War on Poverty" will remain the result. The massive problems confronting black people can only be disentangled from within the black community.

The most crucial problem with this approach is that it neglects the most prominent cause of racial tension --- racism. Although other national groups have used their ethnicity as a lever, they were never confronted with the question of color. Manners could be changed, religions dropped and names altered to better accommodate their whiteness. The black American does not have this option open to him.

Group integration, in the final analysis, offers the same circular trend toward assimilation as its older, individualistic brother did. In order to make it in a set where you have no hand in establishing the criteria for the game, you must accept the values and standards of those whose game you play.

(Next week we will take up the complex notion of "black control of the black community." The following week the most crucial concept in the black power scheme will be discussed.)

## QUOTE WITHOUT COMMENT

### RESOLUTION ON PROCEDURE FOR RECORDING THE ATTENDANCE OF NON-COUNCIL MEMBERS

I recommend the addition of the following sentence to The Revised Bylaws, No. 7e, after the sentence: "Faculty members are welcome to attend meetings of the Council":

"They are asked to sign in with the Secretary of the Council as they enter."

The reason for this addition is very simple: since the Faculty Council, even in its potentially expanded form, is a university community body and primarily a faculty one, we ought to make sure that people dropping in really are faculty members. We have no way of identifying them unless they have been invited, and faculty members no longer have to be invited. The faculty has become so large that a complete stranger could walk in, take notes, and never be detected.

Henry Remak  
German



# MEMORIES OF THE FUTURE

by CHARLES ECKERT

It seems axiomatic that periods of experimentation produce less variation in form than periods of rigorous formalism. Perhaps this is because the artist who deliberately cuts himself adrift from tradition rediscovers those few primal sources from which all of the traditions issued. If the experimentation is radical enough, as it is in some amateur film-making today, what the artist comes up against is that most archaic of choices (Babylonian creation myth, Genesis, Pre-Socratics-- the choice between form or chaos.

At this level form is anything that provides predictability. Escaping it is simple: an utterly random series of images edited in a random fashion (preferably by not looking at the bits of film one splices together) gives one something close to that formless void over which the first spirit brooded. Several of the films shown by The Experimental Film Club last year were of this sort. They were rewarded with boos and hisses by a brooding audience -- in large part, I think, because the average reaction to such films is that anyone can operate a splicer. Which reminds one that in the world of myth only evil spirits delight in chaos.

The vast majority of amateur film-makers know instinctively that formless films are bores -- no matter how elaborately shored up by theory drawn from philosophy, physical sciences, or what have you. Experimentation in form is therefore usually a matter of finding alternatives to standard forms. And it is in this search for originality that one finds oneself running through a labyrinth that always leads to one or another of a small cluster of dead-ends.

One of these dead-ends is exemplified by films like Warhol's The Exploding Plastic Inevitable. As the film progresses, the complexity of the printing techniques, psychedelic effects and sound-track increases. The final crescendo, with several of the best effects saved for the end, is as predictable as a massed drum roll at the end of a military march. This does not in itself make the film good or bad, but it does saddle the film-maker with a heavy yoke. One can detect a resistance in the audience -- a sort of "here we go again" attitude -- that can be deadly.

Another cul-de-sac is the deliberate setting up of rhythms which are abruptly

broken (as with a long series of rapid cuts suddenly interrupted by a long still or slow pan shot). Whatever rhythms are juxtaposed, their ritualistic manipulation with insistence upon surprise and shock effect comes off as condescending. I have seen audiences become comatose while viewing powerful images because of insistent rhythmical cutting.



At the opposite extreme is the monolithic film made up of one long shot (Warhol's Kiss) or of one image to one frame (Breer, Brakhage). Usually this purity of form is only approximated, but again a sophisticated audience may be irritated by the technique itself, whatever the content of the film.

Equally common is the cutting of a film in synchronization with a soundtrack (usually musical). The effect was exciting when Disney's Fantasia was avant-garde, but it is now an intolerable drag appropriate only to beginning film classes. Perhaps this technique should be regarded as a begging of the issue of form, since the film-maker determines nothing substantial about the shape of the film.

Most recent experimental films are blob-like mutants born of a wedding of two or more of the previous forms. One usually does not know what to expect next or where the film-maker thinks he is going. All that is predictable is that there will be sequences of rapid cuts, a spattering of subliminal images, long stills, and so forth. The result is something suspended between form and chaos -- amoeba-like films that ooze across the screen leaving only memories of transient shapes.

It seems that the amount of energy put into experimenting with form and the number of films produced have led inevitably to the exhaustion of audiences and film-makers alike. Because the search for novel form has restricted itself to such basic experiments, the results could not be different. Obviously the best film-makers will seek new directions.

Probably we will see more genuinely narrative or expository films in which content predominates over and in large part determines form. Bergman, Fellini, Antonioni and others have shown how the best of the experimental techniques can be incorporated into narrative films. They are unabashed plagiarists of the best experimental effects and are scarcely to be regarded as innovators, but they bring taste and maturity to everything they make and are increasingly admired by young film-makers.

There will also be, I believe, a heightened formalism in films corresponding to, say, the Baroque in music or the Rococo in art. Multiple projection and multiple images greatly heighten the possibilities for subtlety and complexity. So far they have been largely used as gimmicks, but they have limitless potential.

Certainly the experiments of the past five years cannot be endlessly repeated. Now that film-makers have proven that film can be anything its creator wants it to be, and now that audiences are thoroughly hip, we should be in line for some films that will make the words "experimental" and "amateur" obsolete.

# Percy Houghton Is Alive?

By KEVIN SHEETS

Since nearly everybody enjoys football (right? right?), nearly everybody should enjoy *Paper Lion*, (rah! rah!), Alex March's film from George (Esquire Wretched Excess Award Winner) Plimpton's book of the same name and similar temperament. The entire struggle and interest of the book seemed to be George Plimpton's efforts to cope with a monstrous (six-five two-sixty) ego problem that could only be treated by super-human doses of humiliation. The film resists, as much as it can, the more complicated Plimpton problems and tries to reduce things to a Walter Mitty complexity. There's this writer, you see, on assignment from *Sports Illustrated*, who will go to training camp with the real Detroit Lions, compete with real professional football players, and try to make the team as a quarterback. A real fourth and long

yardage identity problem for anyone without the Plimptonian varicose-personality symptoms, a degree from Harvard, the editorship of this polite literary magazine, and this here swinging piece of ass who obviously is driven wild by the paper lion and would like to reset his margins. (She of course is the "romantic interest," the girl the team should gang-bang in the whirlpool bath after an exhibition game victory).

Trying to make a movie of *Paper Lion* is both ambitious and stupid; Plimpton's book actually did convey a sense of the alternate brutishness and childishness of the lives of professional football players, but it certainly didn't make the Detroit Lions seem like the good-hearted Big Kids they are in the movie. Pro Football comes off in the film as a profession practiced by men with certain glandular and mental characteristics and certain moral

obligations. Never is it suggested that Football is, after all, just a game, or that the crowd fascination with violence is anything other than natural (there is a new promotional



film available for really bloodthirsty viewers called *Bonecrunchers*, which has clips of the best in broken bones, torn ligaments, concussions, and violent collisions).

Alan Alda deserves a special Dubious Achievement Award for playing George Plimpton. It's not exactly what Stanislavski ordered, although it is in a sense like frying eggs. Alda's misfortunes as a human among the God-athletes aren't so much humorous as pathetic; he accepts his mistakes with such obvious reference to the superior athleticism of the real pros.

The locker room has never been a healthy place for feet or minds; the *Paper Lion* suffers from the same arrested development as the crowd in the stadium. That football has replaced baseball as our national pastime indicates only that our increased metabolism has ruptured our sensibility.

## AND WHAT HAVE WE FOR SALE THIS WEEK?

If you quarrel with your Government in January  
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- "People get the government they deserve", so —
- do you study each candidate for every office in the Primaries: go behind his words, insist on knowing his character, his principles, his intent?
  - do you do the same with every candidate for election, and vote for the best man regardless of party?
  - do you watch how your representatives vote, write them often on your ideas of what is best, compliment them when they do it?
  - do you write your government officials, local as well as national, of your beliefs?
  - do you tell government how to save, not what you want?
- All this is what being a free man means — the obligation as well as the privilege of being a citizen of a free country. It's just that simple.



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See the smoothly running machine in the picture. See the skilled worker. Yes, our political system runs very smoothly -- just like the machine in the picture. But isn't that part of the problem? Our political system is a machine, a well-oiled, very specialized machine that only a few people run. We can examine each candidate carefully; we can vote; we can write letters; we can compliment our representatives if we wish. But those skilled politicians operate the machine. January comes and it's still a bitch. "It's just that simple."



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# Waiting for the Revolution

By CHARLES KLEINHANS

"Good theater does not unite its audience, it divides it."

The only authentic resolution of the dilemma presented on stage in Jean Genet's *The Blacks* would be the murder of every white in the audience by the black actors. However, you are allowed to leave walking -- perhaps educated, purged, or cauterized -- but still alive and walking. In its own terms the play is a complete sell-out.

If it must be excused, you could say it merely shows blacks in a pre-revolutionary situation. That, depending on your own position, may make the play an historical costume drama, an exciting contemporary event, or a futuristic fantasy, but in purely dramatic terms the play seems hopelessly dated. It consists of some philosophic scraps from the Sartrean wastebasket strung together with the stock conventions of the theatre of the absurd, much trite, heavy-handed irony (especially black/white inversions) and simplistic propaganda. Not content to show us his concerns in the process of the play, Genet underlines action with bald statement, such as having a character intone, "We blacks have got to learn to stop fighting among ourselves," after having already shown this in action.

The IU Theatre opened its season Friday night with an innovative and experimental (for them) production of *The Blacks* directed by David W. Wiley. His intriguing staging, accented by Carolyn Woods' imaginative costuming, began with a promising

start, lagged, picked up briskly through the middle and slowed again in conclusion. The major problem with the production is the actors, who vary in ability from average to fairly weak. Lest I be accused of white cultural blindness, let me defend myself by pointing out that this is a white writer's play, intended for white audiences. I think Genet had general Western theatrical standards and skills in mind when writing it, and meant productions to be produced and evaluated in those terms.

Since much of the evening consists of a play within a play within a play, some of the overacting, such as Don Saine's master of ceremonies, can be charitably attributed to portrayal of overacting. But the chief difficulty the actors face is that of almost every young performer -- voice. They confuse loudness for resonance, shouting for emphasis, strain for emotion. On the other hand, and their director served them well in this, their command of body movement, expression, and interpretation of ritual in the play was excellent. Diindus Brown and Thursa Crittenden, after brief initial faltering, showed some fine lyric strength as separated lovers, and Rose Baily conveyed her role with convincing earthiness. The evening as a whole was up to previous University Theatre standards (take that any way you want to). The appearance of new faces in a contemporary (1957) play, with a deliberately modern set, deserves the attention of potential theatre-goers tired of "the same old thing."

The normal sterilization of the play's power would involve an elabor-

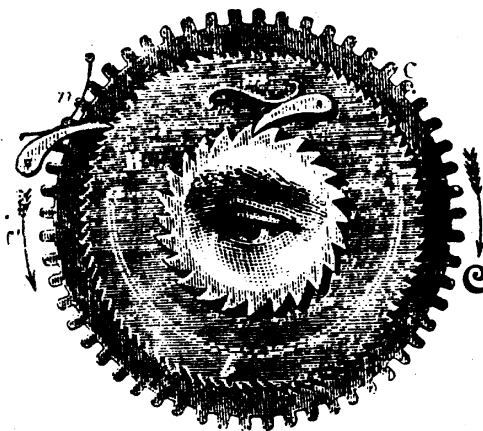
ate "aesthetic" discussion of Genet's use of real and psychological masks, the fascination/repulsion syndrome, the meaning of ritual, the importance of language, and the multi-leveled hall of mirrors effect. Such a discussion seems pointless in approaching this play and this production at this time in history. Genet is a good, but second-rate, dramatist; if *The Blacks* has any significance for our lives it must be largely in terms of its social impact.

In *The Blacks* a group of black actors perform a ritual murder of an imaginary white woman for a gallery of blacks masked as ruling whites and for a white audience (us). By the end of the evening, the actors overcome the gallery of rulers and lead them off to destruction -- but this, of course, is total fantasy -- only if the actors killed the real audience would they have actually begun the revolution. We are also informed that "out there" in the real world the revolution is beginning, and the blacks on stage have killed a real black who was a traitor to the race and class. Although there is no victory outside, there is a revolutionary consciousness which emerges co-existently with race consciousness. Thus the pair of black lovers, having proceeded through the ritual murder of the white woman, have begun to find genuine (black) expressions of love in themselves free of white culture. In this emergence of authenticity there is hope: hope that blacks may find their own culture, hope that drama (ritual) can lead to self awareness, hope that the abortive revolution may succeed in an unspecified future.

Lucien Goldmann points out that Genet, in this play, assumes that western society cannot be overcome except in the blacks' fantasy triumph. Thus, violent revolution, while seemingly Genet's solution, is not yet possible in the play. It presents a problem, but cannot solve it.

But this play was written before the Algerians expelled the French from North Africa, and before Cuba had seen its revolution. Similarly, it was ironic, but also crucial to our confrontation with the play, that the day it opened at IU was the same day that US bombs stop falling on North Vietnam. What are the possibilities for revolution? Can the Third World really free itself from the major powers? Who caused the bombing halt? The North Vietnamese people or the CEWV? Who gets the credit? Ho Chi Minh or those who screamed "murderer" when Dean Rusk spoke in the IU auditorium? Or does it matter? I think it does: rejection of white middle class America does not change your class or your skin color. Being harassed because you have a beard or long hair is hardly equal to being black in America. Selling the *Militant* at a Free Huey rally reveals your bourgeois merchant background more than your revolutionary consciousness. Perhaps the final question that *The Blacks* implicitly asks is if the class struggle is the same as the black man's struggle. Is race bigger than orthodox marxism?





# CORRESPONDENCE



Dear Sir:

I have been following your exchange with Mr. Wackowski and Mr. Wismer with some interest. I find myself forced to agree with the latter gentleman. It seems to me that a violent revolution, especially in this country, would not be a revolution at all, but a substitution of oppressors, i.e., those who use weapons to subdue their self-defined "dangerous" elements in the existing society. The violent revolutions now going on in the world are causing untold suffering while failing to achieve their goals. But in your own country, the most success-

ful radicalizing action was the Battle of Chicago, which was a classic example of non-violent technique. I suggest to you R. Gregg's The Power of Non-violence, which is a succinct, hard-hitting explication of what nonviolence is.

Also, let me say that your argument, "It is easy to be so absolute when one is comfortable", is essentially a character slam which has zero validity, especially since you yourself are operating from the same position of comfort. Equally invalid is your "Les Mains Sales" argument. Nothing forces one to choose sides in the manner you suggest. Which

side do you pick in the US-USSR confrontation? I pick neither, but oppose them both. We are all guilty only from a dogmatic, absolutist standpoint which ignores what is true causality in the world.

Pax.

Arturo S. Pinosa



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