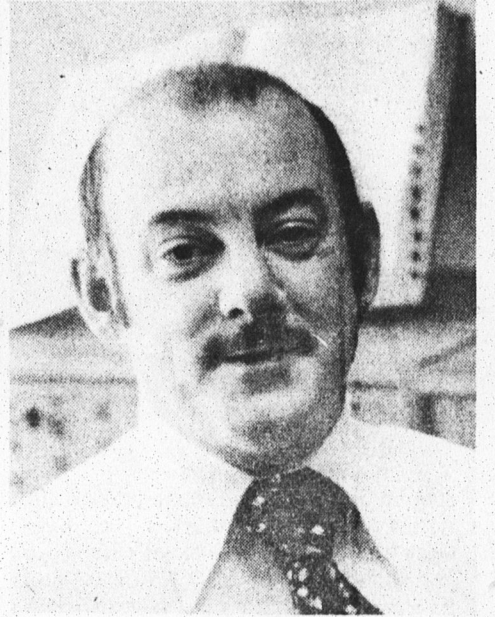


The RICHMOND TIMES

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May 19, 1975



Richmond 1974-1975

(upper left) President Edmund Volpe met students and faculty in the Richmond Cafeteria on October 31st to discuss impending personnel cutbacks that he would soon make. When the cutbacks did occur they became known as the "Saturday Night Massacre" by some.

(upper left inset) President Volpe

(upper right) Dean of Faculties Michael Shugrue was appointed to his position in July 1974 by President Volpe. No member of the Richmond College Search Committee, convened to recommend a candidate to the President, voted for Shugrue.

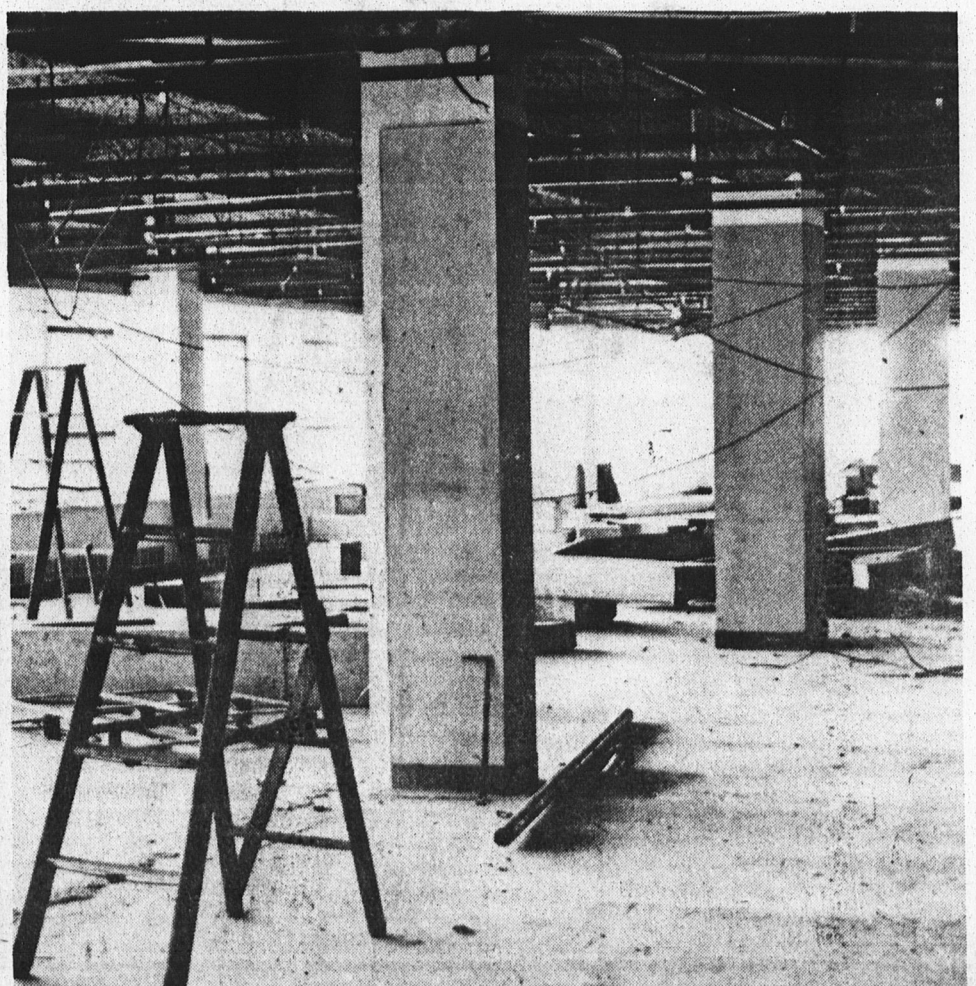
(center) Adjunct Professor Stephen Varble did his "Theatre of the

Hysterical" character Marie Debris in the cafeteria on April 16th.

(middle right) Roberta Schine taught "Toward A New Self-Image" which included instruction in karate for women. She was not rehired for spring '75 by the administration, as an economy move.

(lower left) Benita Gross was the student body chairperson. She worked closely with the Richmond Administration.

(lower right) Ma Bell moved out of the fourth floor making many of Richmond's neighbors angry. Student activity offices, a student lounge, faculty offices, a faculty lounge and the new ASK tutorial center moved in.



Kress In Warmup For B.U.G. Joust



Mike Kress

by Garry Tanner

Environmental Science graduate student Mike Kress spoke about the "catastrophic" possibilities of huge liquified natural gas (LNG) terminal facilities located in Roseville and Bloomfield Staten Island. He emphasized the "totally unacceptable risk" from a mishap that tens of thousands of Staten Islanders faced if Distrigas Co. is permitted to store and transfer the gas on Staten Island, before an audience of forty persons in a Richmond basement classroom on May 8.

Kress, who is both a teacher and student at Richmond, will testify before a congressional committee hearing on May 19 on the problem of storing and transporting LNG. At the hearing in Tottenville Kress' arguments against the tanks will be opposed by Brooklyn Union Gas Co. which claims that it cannot supply the needs of the city without LNG.

Kress explained to the Richmond audience that methane gas in liquid form is harmless but that if it is mixed with air it will become very dangerous. The concern of Kress, fellow Richmond College scientists George Vachtsevanos and Brian P. Leonard, and many Staten Islanders is that an LNG spill might occur "due to operator error, damage to one tank of (a) vessel, chain-reaction

rupture of (the) entire vessel following damage to one tank, rupture of (the) entire vessel or (a) transfer pipe break." Utilizing figures provided by the Federal Power Commission, which Kress considers very conservative, Kress and his associates point out that "the total number exposed throughout the city to perils of an LNG barge accident is 807,000 persons. Further "With every movement of an LNG barge, the life and property of nearly a million residents of the Metropolitan area would be placed in extreme danger."

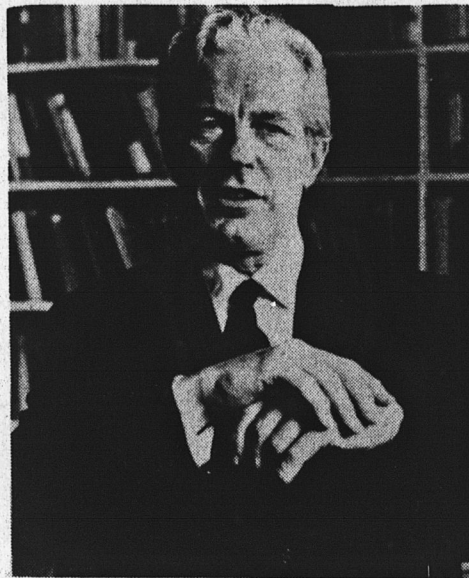
In reference to mishaps occurring aboard the LNG tankers Donald W. Oakley, executive vice president of Distrigas, stated, "We have seriously tried to anticipate all difficulties, but I'm not going to say the chances of anything happening is zero."

In the opinion of Kress, Vachtsevanos and Leonard, "the decision to impose a threat of this magnitude on the residents of one of the world's greatest cities is a very grave one. It is totally out of the question when one realizes that far safer alternatives (such as off-shore storage and conventional gas pipelines) are available. The argument of short term financial benefits to the parties concerned (and presumably, to the consumers) is irresponsible in the extreme when one considers the sheer gravity of the situation."

Taylor Appointed Distinguished Prof

Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, was appointed Distinguished Professor at Richmond College by the Board of Higher Education at its last meeting. In announcing the appointment, which is for the academic year 1975-76, Dr. Edmond L. Volpe, president of Richmond, said that this was the first such appointment at the college.

Dr. Volpe noted that, as an internationally recognized scholar and educational expert, Dr. Taylor's assignment will entail an examination of trends in international education and world affairs. In the course of this examination, he will explore possibilities of developing a program of transnational education at Richmond College. As a part of his study, Dr. Taylor will organize research seminars with field work in New York City, at the United Nations, with international organizations, and with students and



Harold Taylor

experts from other countries. He will also coordinate a series of public lectures on topics relating to problems of our global society.

Dr. Taylor has had an illustrious career as an educator, consultant, and writer. For the past two years he served as Chairman of the United States Committee for the United Nations University and has recently published a book on his findings, *A University for the World: The United Nations Plan*. He is also author of several other influential books on education and on the arts, among them are: *How to Change Colleges: Notes on Radical Reform*; *Students Without Teachers: The Crisis in the University*; *The World as Teacher*; *Art and the Intellect*; and *Art and the Future*, as well as over 400 articles for scholarly journals. Dr. Taylor's interest in the arts is demonstrated by his presidency of the Agnes DeMille Dance Theatre.

Nuclear Teach-In At Richmond

Not since primitive man learned to use fire has mankind been presented with something as serious, as useful or destructive, as nuclear power.

—Dixie Lee Ray
the last chairperson of the AEC

PIRG at Richmond College is sponsoring a "teach-in" on the issue of nuclear energy on May 21. The teach-in will include a full day of activities. Two movies by Impact Films, "How Safe Are American Reactors?" and "A Small Case of Blackmail" will be shown three times throughout the day (11:00 am — 12:00 noon, 3:30-5:30 pm, 9:30-10:30 pm). Two forums (1:00 pm and 7:00 pm), featuring a number of speakers from both sides of the issue will seek to present concrete information on the different aspects of nuclear energy, and some of the opposing perspectives.

The government and local utilities have come to rely more and more upon nuclear energy as the answer to our energy problems. There has been a growing concern within the scientific community and among consumer and environmental groups. But little concrete information has reached the public. There has been little public scrutiny or debate about nuclear energy. PIRG wants to bring information, concerns, pros, cons, questions, and answers before the public. We hope to generate consciousness and discussion, and we encourage you to come and learn, and to bring your questions and concerns to our panel of speakers.

Speakers for the teach-in will include Mr. Lindsay Audin, WBAI's moderator for the Energy Alternative Committee program, Ms. Ann Carl, Lloyd Harbor Study Group, Dr. Andrew Hull, health physicist at Brookhaven National Laboratories, Dr. Alfred Levine, professor of Engineering at Richmond College, Mr. Alan McGowan, president, Scientist's Institute for Public Information, Mr. Leonard Reichle, vice-president of Nuclear Division of Ebasco Services, Dr. Robert Rickles, executive director, Assembly Subcommittee on Public Authorities, Ms. Lorna Salzman, Friends of the Earth and New York State Safe Energy Coalition, and Mr. Jack Wandell, editor of *The Survivalist*, a newsletter of the Citizens Committee for the Protection of the Environment.

The United States is in a crucial decision-making period concerning the future of nuclear energy. The decisions that are made now will have important impacts on our own and future generations. We invite you to come and participate in the Nuclear Teach-In being held at Richmond College in the Hall (130 Stuyvesant Place) on Wednesday, May 21, 11:00 am to 10:30 pm. For further information, call or write to NYPIRG, 5 Beekman Street, New York, NY 10038, (212) 349-6460.

Faculty Research Grants Announced

Dr. Edmond L. Volpe, president of Richmond College, announced today that the City University of New York has awarded grants totaling \$53,405 to ten members of the college faculty. The Faculty Research Award Program was established in 1969 to assist the research efforts of the CUNY faculty. Of the eight projects funded, two were joint projects in chemistry and in engineering science. Faculty receiving awards and their research projects are:

Dr. Richard Barsam, associate professor of English, "Critical Biography of Leni Riefenstahl" \$2,000

Dr. Richard Brooks, professor of romance languages, "Critical Bibliography of French Literature of the 19th & 20th Centuries" 4,241

Dr. Howard Haubenstock, associate professor of chemistry, jointly with Dr. Nan-Loh Yang, associate professor of chemistry, "Polymerization of the Novel

Monomer, Carbon Suboxide" 9,875

Dr. James Hill, assistant professor of biology, "Factors Regulating Later Reproduction in Rodents Mated Prior to Puberty" 9,215

Dr. Brian Leonard, associate professor of engineering science, jointly with Dr. George Vachtsevanos, assistant professor of engineering science, "Laterally Averaged Unsteady Thermal and Salinity Model for Hudson Estuary" 8,938

Dr. Fred Naidier, associate professor of chemistry, "Peptide Transport in Yeast" 8,812

Dr. George Odian, professor of chemistry, "Radiation Initiated Graft Polymerization" 9,712

Dr. James Sturm, assistant professor of history, "American Agriculture 1690-1850: A Study of Economic Growth" 612

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by Henry Ebel

"Okay, wiseass, so you told everybody at Richmond that you don't think classrooms are very productive places. Now what are you going to do?"

"I'm glad you asked me that."

"Why?"

"Because I don't know the answer, and questions you don't know the answer to are so much more stimulating than..."

"Oh, cut the bullshit. You're not in graduate school any more. Grow up! Now, let's get down to some specifics. Do you intend to go on collecting your salary?"

"Uh, gee, I um... could you... uh, rephrase that question, I don't think I, uh..."

"All right, spare us the twitching and jerking. Now, you agree, don't you, that you are outrageously overpaid for the Maurice Chevalier, Ph.D. routine you're performing here?"

"Uh, gee, I never quite thought of it that..."

"Now, I'm sure you didn't. Now considering the fact that your ludicrously high salary and fringe benefits are being provided out of the taxes sweated from this city's poor, and that they couldn't care less about all the self-serving ego-tripping tripe you pour

like I learned to do at Columbia. I mean, it's all very nice being an IDEALIST like you are, really, you have my highest respect, but I gotta eat, I gotta feed my wife, I gotta pay my child-support to my ex-wife, what're you trying to do to me, buddy..."

"Now, calm down, no need for hysteria. There there, I know I've been a bit hard on you, but now that you're blubbering like that I know it's going to be okay. I mean, why are you so hard on yourself? To listen to you, one would think you're nothing but an impotent patsy, when you and I know perfectly well that you've managed to crack some hard nuts in your time. It's just that you got hooked at a tender age on that intellectual role, and intellectualism is what everybody's got more than enough of these days. I mean, who needs more TALK SHOW—and in the daytime, no less!"

"Yeah, but could you lower your voice a little, please? I mean for chrissake this is a COLLEGE. I get my salary for being a TEACHER. That means I have to blah-blah about the glorious past and history and literature and art..."

"And all the other things that take people's minds off all the things that people should have their minds on, right? When you know perfectly well that people need to have their minds on

"All right, already, so what am I supposed to do? Set up a goddam therapy center in my sweaty office?"

into your books and articles and book-reviews, plus you've said in public that you don't feel you're doing very much of value for your students—well, considering all that, I can't help feeling that it's time for you either (1) to shit, or (2) to get off the pot."

"Well, uh, what about..."

"Surely you aren't going to tell me that you deserve your salary at least as much as anybody else around here? About all the effort you put into your teaching, and how nice you try to be to your students, and how hard you try to make each little article and book-review just chockfull of blood-and-guts? Surely you're not going to try to pull that guff on somebody who knows you as well as I do? And who knows that you know that I know that you know that some viciously underpaid coolie pushing a wagon around the garment center is working ten times as hard for a third of the salary?"

"Uh, no."

"All right, then. We will have a short pause for reflection, while I count to ten, and you will then let me know (1) whether you intend to go on collecting your salary, and (2) what you intend to do to justify yourself in committing that might very well be regarded by some as a foul and unmeritorious deed. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, TEN. Here I come, ready or not!"

"Uh, well, first of all, I think I'll maybe go on collecting my salary a little."

"Yes, AND...?"

"Uh, and that I should do a little... uh, a lot... more to uh... to justify doing that. But holy shit, fella, you gotta understand that there isn't much of anything that I can do except stand in front of a class and go blah-blah

(1) themselves, and their screwed-up heads, and (2) how our collectively screwed-up heads are about to screw us all."

"All right, already, so what am I supposed to do? Set up a goddam therapy center in my sweaty office? Practice psychotherapy without a license? Get put into Dannemora or whatever it was, like Wilhelm Reich?"

"Don't be so melodramatic. The least you can do to deserve that ridiculous salary of yours is to MAKE YOURSELF AVAILABLE TO PEOPLE and then let THEM decide if you can be of any use to them. And that includes not just your students at Richmond, but anybody who needs help and thinks that you can be of service."

"But, but that's so amorphous, I mean it somehow just doesn't..."

"It somehow just doesn't make you feel too safe, does it? Because if NOBODY thinks you can be of any help to them in any way whatsoever, then that will confirm the secret fear you share with most people: that you are really deep down perfectly USELESS. But at least you won't be able to ever say that you didn't even TRY, right? At least you won't have to have the feeling that you condemned YOURSELF to a life of unending blah-blah?"

"True."

"So out with it now, cough up, how can we get in touch with you and are you going to leave your phone turned on for a change?"

"I live at 6 Horizon Road in Fort Lee, N.J. 07024, and my phone number is (201) 224-9062, and I am going to leave my phone turned on for a change."

"Very nice, Henry. Improvement is being shown. You see, I always TOLD you that you're not a 'hopeless case!'"



Robert Hass: Poet

by Gordon Matheson

Robert Hass arrives in a welter of missed connections. He's late and he isn't sure if he was supposed to call Herb Leibowitz or not if he wasn't taking the ferry.

The last poet to read his work in this year's series of readings at Richmond, Hass says of the bard circuit, "What I remember is drinking Bloody Marys out of plastic cups on airplanes. Leave Berkeley (where he lives), go to Pennsylvania, go to Washington, go to New York, go to Los Angeles and go back. Being late—getting cabs—running around."

This for him is very far from the conditions in which one writes poetry. And very far from the ecologically

English department was Stanford Research Institute, where they were designing the Strategic Hamlet program, and everyone was talking about scanning poems. It was driving me crazy, so I just didn't talk to the bastards at all. I was writing on my own, which I liked. For me it was a very good situation, to be working in isolation."

The first few poems that Hass sent out he had the good fortune to see published. His first poem to appear in print was published by the *Hudson Review*, and he had sent it there because they had published one of Pound's last cantos.

He is asked about an article by Peter Davison that appeared in *The New York Times Book Review* the Sunday before, about the difficulty of poets getting a

"What I remember is drinking Bloody Marys out of plastic cups on airplanes."

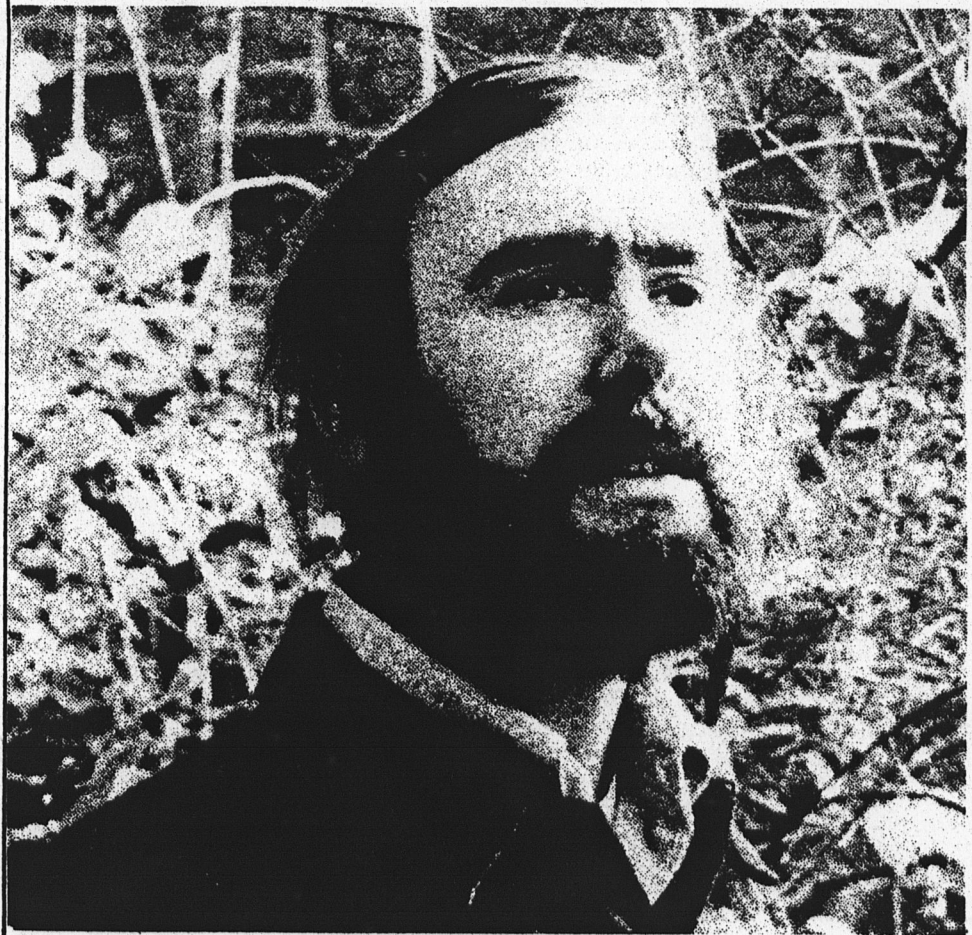
healthy life that he is trying to live. "Allen Ginsberg" he says, "was saying somewhere recently that he was very tired of hearing people complain about American culture, when he makes lists of things that he's not going to do—eat rotten and wasteful food, eat beef which converts protein into protein badly, not take airplanes, use cars as little as possible—and finds himself doing all these things. And he says when people like me, who are conscious of what a disaster the way we live is, can't control themselves, how do we expect people who don't have this knowledge to control themselves?"

Hass's first book of poetry, *Field Guide*, was a winner of the prestigious "About six doors away from the

second book published, in which his name was mentioned twice. Is getting a second book published a problem for him? "No, in fact my problem has been resisting the temptation to get together a second book sooner than I feel that I have what I want. I've gotten offers to publish a book. I have a lot of poems but I don't feel that I have a book at this point."

"I think what Davison is saying isn't true. I know more good first books, circulating, looking for a publisher than I do second ones. I don't know people who had a lot of trouble getting a second book published, once they've had one published."

Herb Leibowitz, who is the editor of *Parnassus: Poetry in Review* in addition



Robert Hass

Yale Younger Poets competition and was published in 1973. Asked how long he had been writing poetry before his book came out, he said about five years. He began writing seriously as a graduate student at Stanford. "I was doing work in literature and editing a political newspaper, and the writing program was run by Ivor Winters and it was very conservative. I didn't like it, I didn't like the people in it—they were all writing iambic tetrameter against passion. It was very unpolitical poetry at a time when Stanford was an intimately political place."

to being a member of the Humanities faculty, has arrived from the ferry terminal where he has been waiting for Hass and he too mentions the *Times* article. Herb knows New York poets who are complaining because of publishers' cutbacks. Assured that Hass is reluctant to hurry a second book before he is ready, Herb congratulates him on his self control.

It is now 8:15, the reading is due to start and we have talked for less than fifteen minutes, but as we go downstairs, I realize how impressed I am by Bob Hass's gentleness and humanity.

Barry Rubin is a graduate of Richmond and a writer specializing in international affairs. He has written for the Progressive, The Nation, Worldview and other magazines. He was Guardian Foreign Editor in 1972-73 and travelled to China in autumn 1972.

by Barry Rubin

Dominique Desanti, once a top French Communist writer, was asked recently how she and others could have supported that party after the Stalinist purges and mass murders of the 1930s. "Somehow," she replied, "the war had cleansed and expunged all I'd heard and even thought about the Moscow trials... They were over and done with. We'd embarked on a new historical phase. This phenomenon occurs at Communism's every historical turning point. It is pointed out that from now on everything will be different: that we've 'objectively' arrived at another stage. And each time, the young militant erases and discards the experience and disillusionment of his elders—to begin all over again."



National minorities perform traditional dance.

The New Left repeats the pattern. Ignorant or unconcerned with past disasters, it again proclaims Communism as the solution to all society's problems. No longer able to fool anyone about the USSR's nature, it turns to China for its projected utopia. Such ideas can be quite appealing to young students, particularly as we've discovered that the image of our country taught us in elementary school was not necessarily true. Yet the New Left's evolution has also again shown the result of this path through fascist-like tactics, lies and distortions, and apologies for dictatorships.

The aim of this article is to discuss one aspect of these developments, the new China cult. For 20 years, China was portrayed to Americans as a land of "blue ants" and of complete misery for millions. The new image, of China as the new utopia, a land of progress and equality pointing the way to the future, an embodiment of peace and love, is scarcely more satisfactory.

This is not to say that everything about China is negative. The 1950's image is also a great lie. China has made important economic progress and most Chinese certainly support the government. The problem today, however, is not that the negative side has been over-stressed but that it has been swept aside by the current propaganda campaign. At any rate, my point is not to "debunk" China as a country making progress and one in which life is improving—although dozens of other countries in the West and Third World can make that statement—but to critique the candy-coated image.

First, some comments on that campaign's psychology. People often attribute to China what they want to see in it whether it is there or not. Again, China, because of its cultural and geographic distance from us—is a difficult country for untrained Americans to judge. It is hard to separate what is traditionally Chinese from what is specifically Communist Chinese. After all, American fascination with Oriental society has produced Utopian fantasies from James Hilton's Shangri-La to Eastern religions' current popularity here.

Moreover, there are some special reasons why Americans are so susceptible to a "fellow traveler" complex. Critical as we are of our own society, we are used to seeing our criticisms and problems reflected in the press, public reports and speeches, and in political conflict. But when these things are not visible, when the American visitor is subjected to a stream of uncontradictory propaganda, harmony and an absence of problems is assumed. On a more pragmatic level, of course, the Chinese carefully screen visitors (their restrictions on foreign

press are unprecedented) and any critic knows he will never be allowed back—a real problem for Asia specialists.

"Double-think," to borrow Orwell's phrase, is another characteristic of the China boosters. Any media censorship in non-communist countries anywhere in the world is fiercely attacked by this group of liberals and hypocritical leftists. Yet in China, every publication is systematically censored, only government-owned periodicals are permitted, and individuals are disgraced for the slightest deviation from the Maoist line (which, itself means whatever the leadership decides at any given time). If at Richmond a teacher were fired, a student flunked or expelled for their political beliefs people would be horrified. But at Chinese schools, no teacher can work and no student can survive who does not subscribe to the regime's line which, again, it is important to keep in mind, can change 180 degrees literally overnight. No philosophy or analytical approach other than Mao-interpreted Marxism is taught at all except to polemically put it down. There is systematic discrimination against not only those who composed the middle classes or

relatively well-off peasants over 25 years ago. but against their children as well.

The fact that China is a dictatorship directed and controlled by a fairly small group at the top does not mean that the government is unpopular. The twentieth century has seen many popular dictators, including Peron, Hitler, Mussolini and many contemporary Third World leaders. In the medium run, particularly in a developing country, centralization, mobilization, and commandism can bring about unity and economic progress. In the long run, however, such an anti-democratic and dogmatic system will only be able to run out narrow people adept at bureaucratic survival.

*"Double think",
to borrow Orwell's phrase, is
another characteristic
of the China boosters.*

To cite one minor but amusing example, although Mao stresses the importance of "scientific experimentation" in obtaining "correct ideas," scientific ideas in China are judged on whether they conform with "Mao Tse-tung thought." Red Flax, the Communist Party's theoretical organ, recently condemned study of extra-sensory perception because "Lenin had shown" this was impossible. The study of E.S.P. in USSR, the article continued, proved that it has reverted to capitalism. The story of Lysenko biology in the USSR shows how rapidly "scientific socialism" quickly becomes hardened into religious faith.

My interviews at two Chinese universities showed that teachers had been so intimidated by the Cultural Revolution that the Political Science Department taught nothing except "the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao" and that there is appalling ignorance in almost all areas of social science, international history and geography, politics and philosophy. The idea of a scientific sociology—to actually poll workers or peasants about what they think—is absolutely unthinkable since the findings might not match the prior conclusions.

The process, then, is that because people do not have power over the government apparatus, because they are not presented with the information necessary to think for themselves, because all dissent is immediately defined as treason, because

the internal struggles and debates of the Chinese elite are secret until after one side has triumphed, and because there is no limitation on the government's power, the development of a bureaucratic "new class" as in the USSR and Eastern Europe is inevitable.

The real lack of personal freedom in China is part of this problem. To say this is not to ignore similar conditions elsewhere in the world nor is it to ignore the big rise in the standard of living of the Chinese over the last quarter century. Having enough to eat is a rather important freedom. Nevertheless, no one need apologize for pointing out that little things like freedom of the press, freedom of speech, of thought, of assembly, habeas corpus and so on do not exist in China. The question of whether economic progress can be consistent with democracy and freedom in the Third World is one thing, but if people conclude that this is not so they should speak of a pragmatic totalitarianism and not glorify societies in which—they believe—it is a sad necessity.

In fact, though, the regime has used whatever internal differences that have existed to consolidate its control. In the 1950s the "let 100 flowers bloom, let a thousand schools of thought contend" hoax promised lifting of some restrictions. However as soon as potential dissidents, or even mild critics, came forward the program was ended and they were repressed.

*The summit of the pyramid
is Mao
around whom, despite denials, an
incredible personality cult exists.*

Equally important has been the progression of purges over the last decade. During our trip no one could explain why Lin Piao and other "ultra-leftists" had gone virtually overnight from being the "beloved people's leaders" to being "enemies of the people" and "unpersons." The ridiculous story of Lin Piao plotting a takeover and a dramatic assassination of Mao should be laughed out of court. Logically, one might conclude that either China's top leaders had been traitors for 40 years—as the Chinese now charge—and, if true, certainly not to their credit, or that factional opponents are now being framed precisely the way Stalin eliminated his rivals 40 years ago. At any rate, Lin Piao's fate should serve as warning to would-be revolutionaries that no matter how much one gives to a revolutionary movement it retains the right to imprison, revile and probably torture you.

At times of stress, though, some myths become transparent. If top Chinese officials were "traitors" than certainly there must be serious flaws in the structures they built. During last year's Cultural Revolution, stories came out of the beatings and abuse of ordinary citizens by powerful bureaucrats and factory managers, scandals came out about the bloodshed and horrors of the Great Cultural Revolution, and about continuing social problems like crime. But these stories only come out when they are to be used against an enemy faction which can then be blamed for all these events.

Many outsiders, however, ignore these developments and see only what they want to see. Jane Fonda said on radio that "there is no pollution in China." Yet, visibly, pollution in many areas, particularly Canton, is already worse than in the United States. We have often been told about safety regulations in China, the lack of alienation, and workers control. But on-the-spot inspection raises a number of questions. In assembly-line factories nothing has been done to deal with alienation. The Chinese dogmatically maintain that "alienation only exists in capitalist societies," but one look at a Chinese assembly line and talks with workers make one appreciate much more the alienation inherent in the industrial process, or at least hardly mitigated in China. Safety regulations are persistently ignored in the drive for production—although the line is always "We never have any accidents." Workers are kept at the same narrow tasks for decades and they have little or no idea what happens to their products after they finish with them. Factory managers hang over visitors' shoulders as they try to talk to workers and often answer questions without letting workers speak.

One finds that China is not ruled by "the people" much more than any other country. The government and the party operate and make decisions from the top down with no limitations on

Con't on 5

by Ralph Palladino

This installment of the series contains quotes from newspaper articles and letters sent to me from people on our tour. The significance is that these people are not "radicals," "leftists," or communists. In fact, most have never read Marx or Mao, nor much of anything about China except gruesome tales of horror and the people's deprivation in this "Stalinist" country conjured up (and undocumented) by China haters. They are the observations of "average" Americans—farmers, farmworkers, former teachers, members of various church and religious organizations such as the Menonites, Quakers, Church of the Brethren.

It is important to understand first that China is a socialist country guided by a Communist party under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The theoretical works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao are studied and applied in every facet of life. When people hear "dictatorship" they naturally cringe and think of Hitler and the horrors of fascism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is quite another thing as China illustrates.

"most oppressed"

The people enjoy a true democracy as described in the first article of this series and the formerly "most oppressed" sections of the population, women and national minorities, have new found freedoms not enjoyed under the capitalist system. However, there is a dictatorship exercised over the former ruling class, the bourgeoisie, and their followers. This is necessary because, as the Chinese illustrated, the former ruling class will and has tried to take power and return to the old system of exploitation by a small group over the vast majority of working people—Capitalism.

In China these bourgeois capitalists lose all rights (except the right to work), must undergo ideological and political re-education, and must prove to the Revolutionary Committees by deeds that they are willing to help build the new socialist society in order to gain all their rights. Those that actively try to overthrow the government are imprisoned. Even these people are re-educated and can regain their rights. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution briefly described in the second installment of this series illustrates how class struggle (between the working class and peasantry on one side, and the bourgeoisie on the other) takes place in today's China.

What did our American friends on the tour observe about the Chinese people's life under this "Stalinist dictatorship?"

Arden and Mae Ramseyer, farmers from Ohio, in an interview in the Wayne County Daily Record, "... they (the Ramsayers) mostly brought home an appreciation of the accomplishments of the Communist Chinese during the last three decades and, 'an admiration of the enthusiasm with which everyone works for the good of all the people.'"

Warren Henegar, a farmer from Indiana, in an interview in the Bloomington-Bedford Herald Times, said about the Chinese that, "They believe very strongly that everyone should be a Marxist-Leninist, but that it should be done from your own experience... by your own people... out of your own history and situation, rather than being imposed from above.

"Russia," he said, "was continually cited as an example of how Communism can go wrong (the Chinese say that the USSR is now a capitalist country). The Chinese have been more successful than the Russians in changing people's values. Others on the tour told him they were astonished at how free the Chinese were in talking about everything and anything. They seemed to be unpressured and unafraid."

Before the Revolution

Robert Thrasher, Indiana farmer, continues in the same article, "Before the revolution, everything was hell. They were promised if they changed governments something good would happen. And it's happening. You can't judge them in our terms. You have to judge them in historical context."

The article continues, "Bob Thrasher, the more conservative of the two, (the other is Henegar), feels that, 'their value system is very good, better than ours. I hate to say this. People will think you're a Communist if you approve of things. I don't want to be Chinese. But, they have a lot of things we can copy.'"

The article continued, "Thrasher... noting that universally the Chinese people they saw had sparkling eyes, rosy cheeks, shining hair. He also observed that fruit and vegetable departments of the supermarkets in the cities were stocked at least as well as those in the U.S."

"Honesty and the absence of crime were phenomena which impressed Henegar." Actually the Chinese do say they have a crime rate, but it is very small. "We never saw policemen, he said."

Max and Helen Grossnickle, farmers from Iowa, in an article they wrote for the Laurens Sun, "Even though the Chinese don't profess religion, we saw evidence of many Christian virtues. They were very honest. We stayed in hotel rooms with unlocked doors from Peking to Shanghai and nothing was ever missing. They seemed to give unselfish service with a minimizing of self interests. They were hard workers of good moral character. If their love for their fellow man wasn't genuine, it was a pretty good carbon copy as far as we could determine. We wondered if Chairman Mao was taking the place of God in their lives. They say Mao is not revered as a god."

"We were always greeted with programs of singing, dancing, or acrobatics in the schools. The children were very friendly and outgoing. Their songs and dances were invariably of Chairman Mao and his advice to 'serve the people.'"

Another question about China concerning the freedom to meet the people and go where we wished was answered by the Ramsayers in their

interview. "We didn't feel we were getting a snow job. Throughout the tour we were given every opportunity to talk freely with the Chinese." Arden recounts one incident in which a tour member picked two Chinese factory workers at random and asked for permission to have them come to the hotel for a conversation. "There was no problem," Arden said, "they were asked to come and they did. We talked to enough workers to see that they really feel that they have come a long way."

The national minority people on the trip were the most impressed, especially the two Mexican-American farmworkers who constantly told the Chinese, "We don't have the freedoms you do." John Gadson, an Afro-American from South Carolina, felt the Chinese people had "realized what we have been fighting for for 300 years—equality." It is interesting to note that the Chinese provided on their own initiative, a Spanish interpreter for their "Chicano friends."

The unity of the tour membership's feelings is probably best summed up by Harley Kline, a farmer from West Virginia. "Generally, my feeling toward China is very positive. The oneness of purpose of the people is admirable, and the denial of self for a larger cause most impressive."

China Cult con't from 4

their power. Although factories and communes are supposedly governed by "revolutionary committees" (workers are always vague about when elections were held) the real power lies with the party cell which receives directives from above. Workers and peasants can participate in deciding—in conjunction with higher authorities—production quotas, they can make complaints and suggestions, but this is more pragmatism than democracy and hardly replaces an independent trade union structure.

There is an important distinction between mass participation and mass control. Modern dictatorships are quick to use the former: people are mobilized to support the regime's position. But mass control—or democracy—means that the people also participate in formulating and deciding issues and policies and choosing the people who legislate and carry out government. In China the masses are mobilized as shock troops in factional battles above (ironically, the Marxist view of how "bourgeois democracy" works) and woe betide those who choose the wrong side.

The summit of the pyramid is Mao around whom, despite denials, an incredible personality cult exists. His picture is everywhere, he is quoted in every article and discussion, songs and dances celebrate his achievements and theories. This endless adulation is nothing more than a secular religion. Within this framework, the bureaucratic personality

is formed. The worst people must rise to the top for only they will be willing to turn ideologically on a dime, heap sycophantic praise on the leadership, to denounce and forget their friends and what they themselves said last week, to never criticize the accepted line (unless it is already being challenged from above).

A brief remark should be made about Chinese foreign policy, which is as imperialistic as anyone else's. The Chinese willingness to sell out movements in Ceylon, Oman, Bangladesh, Eritrea and elsewhere for reasons of state interest is well-known. The blocking of supplies to Vietnam during the Cultural Revolution and the use of North Vietnamese troubles to gain leverage with Nixon have also come out. The Chinese actively aid repressive governments in Sierra Leone, Sudan, Chile, Haile Selassie's Ethiopia, Pakistan and other countries. In short, like any other country they are concerned with their great power interests, with building alliances and obtaining needed markets and raw materials. They have used foreign aid as blackmail on a number of occasions.

The point is that the way to correct the simplistic anti-communism of the past is not by pro-communism; the way to deal with the problems of our country, which are very real, is not by boosting totalitarian solutions.

A Taste of Honey
By Shelagh Delaney
Directed by Emsshalom Mamon Smith

to be presented
MAY 22 23 24, 30 31
8 O'Clock
350 St. marks pl., 5th floor
ADMISSION: ONE DOLLAR
Richmond College Students free with

THEATRE

Who's Who In The Class Struggle

The Richmond Struggle

by Joe Schwartz

The Administration has been turned back in its efforts to impose a 3-3 course load on the faculty. Hopefully no one will follow the administration "suggestion" that everyone teach three courses next Fall with the Spring semester being "open". In another development, the appointment of a "prestige" senior faculty person "to bolster Richmond's image" has been defeated by vigorous faculty opposition. The faculty had been presented with a cock and bull story of how the appointment wouldn't cost Richmond anything and how the candidate had been previously screened by a Search committee at the graduate center. Neither of these things were true. The Chancellor's office showed complete contempt for Richmond in its attempt to get a sinecure somewhere in the system for this person. The Administration in its eagerness to please the Chancellor's office swallowed this story whole however, and it is only faculty opposition that has prevented this absurd appointment from being made. And a last example, the faculty is now being faced with pressure to not give W grades since Richmond then doesn't get the student credit hours. It doesn't matter that the W is sensible educationally. What matters is depersonalized "costs" and apparently our administration is not willing to defend this practice.

Now, whereas firings can be rationalized, and the issue of faculty-student control can be ignored, the 3-3 course load, the soaking up of resources for a wasteful and meaningless senior appointment and the removal of the W grade affect the working and studying conditions of everyone remaining at Richmond. The administration shows no sign of standing up for Richmond on these issues.

If the Administration had learned anything from the 60's it would attempt to organize the Council of Presidents to defend the colleges from these budget attacks, instead of trying to find ways to implement them. In fact unless this happens (which it won't of course by nature of the class position of the Presidents) Richmond is going to be continually getting the short end of every stick. The reason is tracking. The colleges that have been selected for "excellence", Queens (see NY Times 4/28) Brooklyn, Hunter, will all dump on Richmond and the rest of the system because they will be called superior. The danger is that people will start believing that Queens is the "best". Even Queens will start believing it especially when it starts getting the lion's share of the budget. And this is how tracking is useful to the BHE. The middle class schools are bought off at the expense of the third world communities and the white working class when in reality all are suffering from the cutbacks. Our Administration will compete for limited funds against other Administrations and it will lose because Queens, Hunter, and Brooklyn have been *already* selected for favored treatment. The Chancellor's office will give our Administration the same bullshit our Administration gives us. "Upgrade", "credentials", "publish", etc. *then* your school can get into the (white) middle class club, — maybe.

In a recent journal article a Richmond faculty member wrote, "In every nation and amongst every group of people who are oppressed and exploited, you find people reacting to this state of affairs in one of two ways, by accommodation

and by resistance." So it is at Richmond. There are those who engage in active collaboration with the Administration as they run to the 9th floor to get funds and favors from the President at the expense of the rest of us. The less active accommodators serve on committees and task forces doing Administration work without challenging the Administration decisions and prerogatives. For resistance we have passive resistance of refusing to follow orders and ignoring memos. The active resistance is the people who use the college committees and the union as arenas to directly challenge the Administration's decisions and prerogatives. The people who do nothing are accommodating themselves to the system passively. This is the who's who of the Richmond struggle.

*"The middle class schools are bought off
at the expense of the third-world communities
and the white working class..."*

But why am I writing these columns? Because the union is the one organization that is capable of resisting these large scale attacks on college education in the city. The Administrations are collaborationist. It's their job. The only remaining option is strong and active union membership. And our demands are class demands because they directly challenge the class that holds the money on behalf of the people who work in the institution and the people who the institution serves. It's the conflict between the people who work and the people who control the conditions of work. In the present situation the union is the only potential weapon for engaging in this struggle. And not only that, the union can easily become a reactionary force unless its practice is informed by an active and committed membership that is dedicated to education and service.

We will have a contract of sorts offered us soon. It is almost certainly going to be a bad one with retrenchment clauses that accept the principles of layoffs, and which will in effect legitimize the attacks on higher education in the city. As long as the membership remains passive and accommodates to the administration, the leadership is incapable of demanding a strong contract. For example, what is the faculty willing to strike over? We need more control over firing. We need clauses that require the Administration to show cause for firing. We need parity for adjuncts. We need militant protection against layoffs. We need elected chairpersons. We need these things to do our jobs properly. These are not salary demands. They are control demands. Trade unions with weak and uninvolved membership are traditionally sold out on these demands usually with money sweeteners to soften the blow. This kind of economic trade unionism is what the CIA managed to get in Europe after World War II and continues to push in Europe and in Latin America. George Meany and Jay Lovestone of the AFL-CIO have been closely associated with these policies.

So our struggle is a local struggle. It is a city-wide struggle and it is also by nature of our demands an international struggle. This is the who's who of the class struggle as it affects Richmond College.

The Bicentennial: "Ceremonial Bullshit"

by Eric Bahrt

What is the Bicentennial all about? It is about a bunch of rich men who signed a piece of paper two hundred years ago which made it illegal for those who were too poor to own land, to vote. It didn't matter that it was those poor people who had gone out and won the war of "independence." The rich men would call the shots.

And while these rich men were writing all sorts of things about democracy and equality, black men were coming over here in slave ships, caged like animals, where thousands, if not millions of them died before reaching our shores. Perhaps the blacks who died were the lucky ones.

These rich men enjoyed calling this THEIR country, though of course it belonged to the Indians who were either murdered or driven off onto reservations where they remain two hundred years later. Today the average life span of an Indian on a reservation is only 42 years. I assume it was even less then.

I realize there are clichés in those first three paragraphs. I also realize that historians like to write that that was just the way people were in those days and that these "great men" should be forgiven for the attitudes which they held towards the blacks and the Indians. It is indeed fortunate for Thomas Jefferson that most historians are white. But I hope two hundred years from now people who think like me will write the same sort of clichés about today, when historians try to explain that Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon were really great men who were just products of their times.

I am sure Hitler was just as sincere in his views about a superior race as Jefferson was. But it is easier to point our finger at Germany than it is to point our finger at ourselves.

Today the same sort of injustices still exist. In the last few years we have witnessed Vietnam, Kent State, Attica, Watergate, The Nursing Home Scandal, and a countless number of other such crimes. We are still a country where a poor innocent black man like Ruben Carter goes to jail and a rich guilty white one like Richard Nixon gets pardoned. And the ever richer guilty white ones like Nelson Rockefeller don't even have to suffer humiliation.

Take Attica for example. The McKay Commission found there was "unnecessary shooting and vengeful reprisals" during the storming of the prison. A reputable lawyer named Malcolm Bell resigned in December as second in command to chief prosecutor Simonetti. Bell resigned because he said Simonetti was only going after the inmates while deliberately covering up for the troopers who shot those 39 people at Attica. He privately protested (so you can't say he was a headline seeker) to Attorney-General Lefkowitz (Rocky's boy) and yet no

THE LIBERAL VIEW

investigations into Bell's allegations were even considered until they were recently made public. So hitherto, the inmates (the victims) have gone on trial, the murderers have gone unpunished, and Rockefeller (the real criminal) who might have been able to prevent the whole bloodbath with just one visit to the prison, has gone onto become Vice-President. Yeah. We've come a long way in the last two hundred years.

But nothing could more epitomize two hundred years of American hypocrisy than the recent Babylift from Vietnam. There was no outpouring of sympathy for the Vietnamese orphans during the "Christmas Bombings." In fact, a month later, Nixon would hit his peak in the polls. There was no outpouring of sympathy when many civilians, some just like the little "orphans" that so many



Americans are now cuddling in their arms, were put into a ditch and had their brains blown out by Lt. Calley. In fact, it is quite conceivable that there was more sympathy for Calley than there was for his victims. And still, even today, there is no outpouring of sympathy for those young men in Canada, whose only crime was that they refused to partake in the war which made those babies orphans in the first place. Why not celebrate the Bicentennial by granting these men unconditional amnesty and calling for a new era of humanity, instead of celebrating it with all this ceremonial bullshit?

Or to bring the problem closer to home, why not have Mayor Beame
con't on 8

Letters

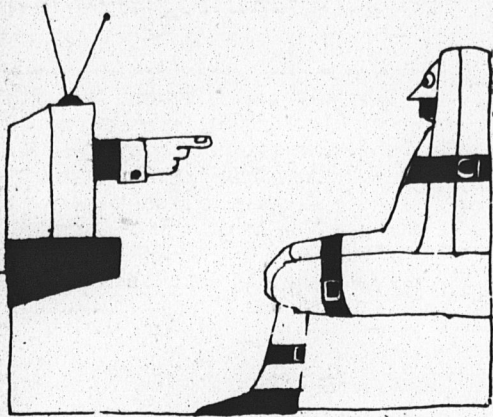
To the Editor:

I sometimes hear students put down Richmond. The usual rap is that a degree from Richmond College has little value in terms of getting into graduate school. I don't know the basis of this negativism and of the inferiority complex of some students but these misconceptions have to be countered by some facts.

A degree from Richmond is as good as the effort that went into it. Serious students who have earned their B.A. here have gotten into some prestigious professional and graduate institutions. This spring, for example, Ronald Bader was awarded a Hughes Fellowship and a teaching assistantship at Berkeley. Aubrey Lewis was accepted into several medical schools. Richard Wexler has gotten into journalism school, including the top-rated Columbia School of Journalism. Rosemarie Ruggero was accepted at Rutgers' School of Social Work; Judy Weiss, at Fordham's School of Social Work. Lois Heintz will be starting work in clinical psychology at Columbia in September and Carolyn Friedman was accepted into several Ph.D. programs in English and will be attending Columbia.

This represents a partial list—many students are still awaiting decisions from the schools and there are others who have been accepted of whom I am unaware. But even such an abbreviated list must belie the myth that a degree from Richmond bars students from acceptance into graduate school.

Irene Singh
Graduate Adviser



The Institute for Psychohistory announces its First Summer Workshop

*A three-day intensive workshop in psychobiography,
group psychohistory, psychoanalytic theory,
and the history of childhood.*

July 22, 23 and 24, 1975

Registration and materials fee: \$75.00

Scholars, therapists and students of all disciplines are invited to attend, and will be accepted in the order of receipt of the registration fee made payable to The Institute for Psychohistory.

Tuesday, July 22 — PSYCHOHISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Morning — 10:00 to 12:30: Modern Psychoanalytic Taxology and Psychodynamics (Lloyd de Mause)

Afternoon — 1:30 to 4:00: History of Childhood and Periodization of Historical Personality (Lloyd de Mause)

Wednesday, July 23 — WAR AS A GROUP-FANTASY OF BIRTH

Morning — 10:00 to 12:30: Small- and Large-Group Theory

(John Hartman)

Afternoon — 1:30 to 4:00: War as Birth (Lloyd de Mause) and videotapes of birth primals (Milton Klein)

Thursday, July 24 — PSYCHOHISTORY AS GROUP-PROCESS

Morning — 10:00 to 12:30: Symbolization in Riefendstahl's film *Triumph of the Will* (film showing) (Henry Ebel)

Afternoon — 1:30 to 4:00: Psychohistory: Methodology and Criticism (Lloyd de Mause)

Workshop to be held in New York City at the Biltmore Hotel (Madison & 43rd)

LLOYD de MAUSE, director of the Institute for Psychohistory, is founder and Editor of *History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory* and Editor and an author of *The History of Childhood* and other books.

JOHN J. HARTMAN, Prof. of Psychiatry, Neuropsychiatric Institute, Univ. of Michigan, co-author of *Analysis of Groups* and other books.

MILTON I. KLEIN is a psychotherapist in private practice, certified in psychoanalysis from Post Graduate Center for Mental Health where he is on their faculty.

HENRY EBEL, Prof. of the Humanities, Richmond College, CUNY is author of *After Dionysus* and *Odyssey Through the Dead Land*.

Counselling Program

to the Editor:

As a postscript to my first letter concerning the graduate program in guidance and counseling at Richmond I wish to add the following information and thoughts: There is a tendency on the part of the faculty of the program to use catholic schools as fieldsites which alone raises questions of church-state relations especially when you take into account that we are providing a free service to these catholic school students while their parents pay for school-employed counselors as part of their tuition. We are in effect providing a service to the catholic schools that the catholic schools are getting paid for.

While on the subject of catholic schools I would like to inquire as to the legality of a professor in the program collecting a fee from the parents of the students we counseled. I would be interested in knowing what became of the money or even if the professor reported such income to the IRS. I also wonder if another professor who likes to sell his poetry books in class pays income tax on such sales.

I would also like to comment on the racial make up of the classes. As I have said in the former letter the admissions system is vague and based for the most parts on the whims of the faculty member doing the admissions interview. While I am not accusing any member of the faculty of racism in admissions policy, I am saying the guidance and counseling program seems to have very few blacks or third world students in it. The percentage of black students in this program is far less than those in other education programs at Richmond or even less than the percentage of undergraduate blacks at Richmond. This program seems to have the whitest program of its type throughout CUNY.

I would urge all students who feel they have been shafted by faculty for any reason to contact the New York Civil Liberties Union/Student Rights Project, 84 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10011. Also the National Lawyers Guild in Manhattan is also helpful. Letters to various CUNY deans with copies to the State Education department also seem to get results. The University Student Senate and National Student Association are also setting up a clearinghouse on student rights that might prove helpful.

During the past week reactions to my letter in the last issue have been varied; In Professor Gruberg's class one full hour of class time was given over to a discussion of my letter. I seemed to be the only one in class who wanted to go over the class subject matter. Students also used this time to read and pass out a letter in reply to my May 5th letter. In the Marsh class things tended to be normal. We had to fill out teacher evaluation forms. Professor Marsh requested that the whole class assist in the tallying of the forms rather than having three students do it in private as called for in the instructions.

Professor Gruberg also pulled me out of the early part of the Marsh class to tell me the May 14th class was not cancelled, as he claimed in the May 7th class (that would have been the third class cancelled by him this term).

A number of people have asked me why I wrote the letter in the Times and I will now answer them. The program and faculty in counseling seem to me to be well below the standards set by other areas in Richmond. The faculty seem to end all the classes very, very early. They seem to feel a contempt for book/homework/test style education, and as there are only three people teaching in the area you tend to get a clanish group. The college would be better served by ending this program and starting a MBA or MPA program. At least then the students would be able to get jobs in their fields.

Donald Loggins

Reply to Loggins

To the Editor:

As students of the Guidance & Counseling Program at Richmond College we find it to be of utmost importance that a reply be given to the letter published in the May 5th issue of the Richmond Times. We have carefully read this letter and feel that it is not an accurate reflection of the program or of our faculty.

Our program is an ongoing process of revision and re-evaluation planned by a student-faculty Advisory Committee. They spend long hours meeting and formulating policies for the program which have been initiated and supported by the students. We have been fortunate to work within a program which provides us with professional experiences in dealings with our peers.

Our faculty consists of competent professionals who are dedicated to the counseling profession and to us as individuals. They come from diverse backgrounds which enables and qualifies them to instruct us in various aspects of counseling. We feel that our educational and personal needs are being met since there is an integration of the necessary material with the class didactics.

We, the undersigned, are strongly in support of the faculty members and the Guidance and Counseling Program at Richmond College.

Alice Goodloe	James Casale
Terry Searl	Diane Whyte
Rosemarie Di Rista	Elizabeth Sweeney
Inez Siegel	Marie Carrese
David Rubin	Julia D. Lyons
Thelia Hsu	Howard Klein
Samuel Z. Friedman	Annette Mims
Judi Kimmel	Phyllis Cohen
Alfred Castro	Alayne Kuffner
Paul Pavone	Andre D. Dorato
Angelo Fritini	Barbara C. Irolla
Lillian H. Hill	Carmela Leotta
Eugene Gottesman	Jill Snow
Norman Hoff	Helene Byrne
Jeanne Parnizari	Judi Orlando
Paul Siegel	Hedy Brown

Club Notes

Puerto Rican Week

Considering the sporadic attendance at some of the week's activities, Puerto Rican week April 14-18, at Richmond College was a success in terms of its original goal.

Our intent via the week's events was twofold — to enlighten and entertain. Aware of the confusion and general misinterpretation of that which concerns Puerto Ricans we realized a responsibility in providing an accurate backdrop was essential.

In formulating a framework toward this end we felt three aspects should dominate out schedule of events: (1) Cultural, (2) Political and (3) Historical. Indeed Puerto Rico is rich in all three.

Aware of the poor attendance due to the general apathy as concerns most prior events at Richmond College PALO (Puerto Rican and Latin American Organization) members worked hard at disseminating and advertising the week's events in hopes of "drumming up" interest. Many non-PALO members (i.e. other students, faculty and even non-college related friends) also worked hard at trying to make the affair a success. Our thanks to all of these good people!

In summing up Puerto Rican Week at Richmond College, 1975, we are proud to have had represented various aspects of the Puerto Rican reality. We hope that whatever continues to perpetuate the negative differences between people will give way to love and understanding!

Higinio Albelo &
Members of P.A.L.O.



"Refugees" Include 5,000 Phoenix Officials

(Note: In the following story, the word "evacuee" rather than "refugee" has been used in referring to the Vietnamese who have been evacuated to the United States. The United Nation Commission on Refugees, UNICEF, and the UN Economic and Social Council have not recognized these people as true refugees. Refugees are people who have been displaced through persecution, natural disaster, famine, war or genocide, according to the UN commissions.)

SAN FRANCISCO (LNS) —Five thousand of the Vietnamese evacuees arriving in the United States were paid operatives of "Operation Phoenix," a CIA terror program, according to an official of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

Operation Phoenix, which operated in Vietnam from 1967-1972, consisted of the assassinations, kidnapping and torture of suspected "Viet Cong sympathizers." According to Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Dennis J. Doolin, 26,369 Vietnamese civilians were killed under the Phoenix Program, and another 33,358 were imprisoned without trial.

The AID official who gave the 5,000 figure to the San Francisco Examiner said, "Most of these (evacuees) were the heads of the (various Phoenix) programs."

L. Dean Brown, who heads the U.S. "refugee" airlift operation, admitted in Congressional testimony on May 5, that Operation Phoenix operatives were

considered to be among the 50,000 Vietnamese who the U.S. government classified "high risk" personnel. "High risk" personnel are Vietnamese who the U.S. claims would possibly be killed by Vietnamese liberation forces, and who get first priority among Vietnamese for evacuation to the U.S.

Dean refused to reveal how many Phoenix operatives are among the

evacuees, but if the 5,000 figure is correct, over 15% of the "refugees" who the government says are "heads of households," are veterans of the CIA assassination and torture campaigns.

According to the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), "Most Phoenix field operations were performed by small mercenary units organized and financed by the CIA and

composed largely of Vietnamese ex-convicts and bounty-hunters."

Wayne Cooper, who served as a Phoenix advisor in the Mekong Delta, said that the program's "function was to use Vietcong techniques of terror (sic) —assassination, ambushes, kidnapping and intimidation against the Vietcong leadership."

Jeffrey Stein, an ex-Army intelligence officer stationed in Da Nang told an interviewer in 1971, "(Phoenix operatives) are much higher paid than ARVN (Saigon Army) soldiers; that is one reason why funding goes through the CIA. A more important reason is the direct control the Americans have . . . (Phoenix operatives) at times can be seen roving through villages, neutralizing (assassinating) whomever they come upon, bringing in a head to the local Phoenix office, and receiving a nice weekend bonus for eliminating a VCI (Viet Cong Infrastructure) tax collector."

Several Government sources which corroborated the initial report in the Examiner said that very few of the "actual triggermen or torturers" were among the 5,000 evacuated. Most of them were "top officials and secretaries" claimed Robert Gould, an ex-State Department official who was an architect of the Phoenix Program.

John Marks, another ex-State Department official and co-author of "The CIA: Cult of the Intelligence," said, "the people who were saved were the bosses of the torturers."



Here's the original U.S. Government caption to this picture: "Youthful hard-core Viet Cong, heavily guarded, awaits interrogation . . ."

Credit: Indochina Mobile Education Project/LNS

The Richmond Historian

The *Richmond Historian*, published by Richmond graduate students, will appear in July 1975. We are currently seeking submissions for future issues. Essays on the local history of Staten Island, and its impact on the surrounding society, are especially welcomed.

The following guidelines for submissions are recommended:

Articles	5,000-6,000 words (20-25 typewritten pages)
Review essays	1,500-2,000 words
Book reviews	400-600 words

All submissions should be sent to:

Joseph Vuolo
c/o American Studies
Richmond College
130 Stuyvesant Place
Staten Island, N.Y. 10301

The editorial board cannot accept responsibility for manuscripts. However, every effort will be made to return manuscripts, provided a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed.

Classifieds

For Sale — Fender Bassman Amplifier
Reasonable Call 273-8389

Filmmaker Student needs quiet, moderately priced Village or West Side Apartment for Summer Sublet and /or longer. Lease. Call Evenings 282-1958. Ask for Phantom Nate

For Sale — Fender Bassman Amplifier
Reasonable Call 273-8389

For sale
2 chairs: both custom-made wing-back chair, light blue velvet, reversible pillow, practically new, henredon, scotch-guarded. green velvet louis xiv chair, carved wood, reversible pillow, almost new.

Call 836-8361 after 6 pm or before 8:30 am.

ASK Center

ASK, the Academic Skills Center, is now accepting tutor applications for the fall semester. If you are strong in any academic area, if you want to work with people, and if you would like to be paid for it, ASK in Room 1-403.

Happenings

May 21: Film Program for Children.
3:30 p.m. West New Brighton
Branch 976 Castleton Avenue

May 24: Beethoven Ninth Symphony on Saturday at 4 p.m. the American Symphony Orchestra will conduct a series of three Bicentennial Concerts at Castle Clinton, in Lower Manhattan's Battery Park.

New York Consort

Sunday, June 1 3:00 p.m. A CONCERT by the New York Consort of Viols to introduce the new set of viole da gamba built for Richmond College by J. Donald Warnock Music by Purcell, Byrd, and Dowland No admission charge

ICAC Week

Eight dollars of your registration fee goes to Student Government, which in turn is doled out to clubs. It is a lot of money, there are a lot of clubs.

The Inter Club Activities Committee (I.C.A.C.) as a student body of club representatives that attempts to maintain a continuum between clubs, student council, and the student body.

In an attempt to unify club functions, the Inter Club Activities Committee (I.C.A.C.) is creating "ICAC Week" — a week of open club functions that ICAC will foot the bill for. Films, speakers, demonstrations, whatever your club is into is fine. ICAC desires no theme or control over ICAC week, only the open expression of existing clubs.

All individuals, or clubs interested in participating in ICAC week (May 19 to 23, 1975) please contact Donna Brogna, Student Council Secretary room 424 or telephone 448-6835.

p.s. Clubs interested in partying are requested to pool their efforts For Friday, May 23. Jump in with both feet.

May 19-23

Bicentennial don't from 6

celebrate this event by reversing his decision to close down Goldwater hospital, one of the best hospitals in the country for paraplegiacs. In other words, why not celebrate the Bicentennial by showing the world that we are capable of acting like human beings; to me that would be the greatest celebration humanly imaginable.

Still in all fairness, I have to concede that there are also positive aspects to our system. The fact that I can write this article without going to jail would be an example of something that's positive about America. On the other hand, since so many Americans (such as Dr. Spock and the Chicago Seven) have gone on trial because of their political views, or as in the case of Fred Hampton have even been murdered because of them, when I say that there is freedom in America, I say it with a grain of salt. As we see how Nixon brought this country within half-an-inch of a police state, I don't think anything can be taken for granted.

Still while we should appreciate the good which exists in this country, nothing can justify the savagery that America has been guilty of throughout its history. I saw a recent poll which showed that Kissinger, whose hands are just dripping with Vietnamese blood, is still highly regarded by the American people. My God! Haven't we learned anything in two hundred years? Just look at the "Ten Most Admired Men" in America list for the past year. The top ten consists of such men as Gerald Ford, Henry Kissinger, Nelson Rockefeller, George Wallace, Barry Goldwater, Billy Graham and Richard Nixon. This is what America has learned from all her atrocities! And that is why so many people will celebrate the Bicentennial in the most superficial way possible, because our flag represents the same phoniness and hypocrisy it did two hundred years ago; and that is unfortunately the America that most Americans believe in and love.