

# collage

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**TAILING**  
**OFF**  
**POEMS**  
 by  
**ken lawless**  
 \$1.25  
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 A ZEITGEIST PUBLICATION

By DAVID ROBERTS

TAILING OFF, Poems by Ken Lawless, Zeitgeist, Inc. 1969

Ken Lawless, of Orange Horse fame some years ago in East Lansing, is not dead: he is alive and well and gnashing his teeth over the state of the world in general. His poems are caustic and witty, crotchety (pun intended) and indignant, sometimes insightful and un-failingly energetic. When he is good he is horrid (as befits a poet who envisions himself as a black humorist), and when he is bad he is

With this issue, **Collage** wraps up its publishing history for another year. The staff has viewed the progress of the magazine throughout the seasons with tempered optimism: although we have had many prolific and enthusiastic contributors (especially in poetry), we still feel that there are talented and creative people who are not using **Collage** to full advantage. Nonetheless, the generally high level of response, which increased steadily throughout the year, was gratifying.

Unfortunately, not all of the quality writings that were received were able to be used due to space limitations. The problem of deciding which material to select from a range of worthwhile items is often an unpleasant one. Any manuscripts which were not used can be picked up at the State News office in the Student Services Bldg.

Looking towards the future, **Collage** has big plans for next year. To avoid the perennial problem of a more or less frantic beginning, with few early contributors and fewer returning staff members, **Collage** is attempting to locate interested people now for next year. Artists, staff writers, idea people in general--call the State News office (355-3252) and leave your name.

And for everyone--during the long hot summer, think of **Collage**--and produce. We are all part of the Collage.

arrogant enough to insist on his right to fumble after his own vision of reality. Taken as a whole, this collection succeeds rather well in conveying to the reader a distinct sense of personality, and this seems to me a considerable achievement.

Strangely, Lawless is at his worst when he is being most personal: his vignettes concerning sexual adventures and drinking himself to popularity seem to me not much more than cute:

Sitting in the cool of this library  
 Reading Parson Weems and John Barth  
 Facing girl in miniskirt with knees spread  
 In this gloom can't be sure  
 Could be black panties  
 Jesus! an erection! trapped in this  
 periodical room  
 It's finally happened  
 I'm

a  
 a  
 dirty  
 old  
 man

or banal:

"You won't respect me anymore," she said  
 "Honey, I'll respect the pants off you,"  
 I said

And  
 I  
 did

But when he turns his eye to the world at large he is pretty pungent indeed:

Write a short essay on Law and Order  
 First prize is a weekend in Detroit  
 Second prize is

A  
 week  
 in

Detroit.

That's what is called an oldie but a goodie, and what Lawless does is to bring the chestnut to a burning issue of our times: he makes us see and hear the ugly humor inherent in our paradoxical times. This particular poet is an *enfant terrible*, and at his best (as here) he gets out of his own egotism enough to tell us something about the world. Surely it's worth our while to listen to a ranter who raves with such incisiveness about things that matter so much:

"This is pure science, don't ask me,"  
 said the Scientist

As he studied the germs

"This is applied science, don't ask me,"  
 said the Engineer

As he developed a way to put the germs  
 into a nation's water supply

"War is hell, don't ask me," said the  
 General

As he altered tactics and strategy in the  
 light of the new weapon

"Preventive retaliation, don't ask me,"  
 said the Politician

As he handed his mandate over to the  
 General

OK, I won't ever ask you again  
 From

now  
 on  
 I'm  
 telling  
 you

But sometimes his rage is less controlled, and he fails to project anything much besides a baleful cynicism:

I will be sixty when the century turns  
 I will get very drunk and be very happy  
 or very sad  
 Unless, of course  
 I  
 am  
 very  
 dead

The problem here is not that his rage or disillusionment is not justified; it is that the poet fails to focus us upon the *source* of his emotion, the conditions which produce it. Instead, he turns us toward his hard-boiled self pity, which may be cathartic for the poet but doesn't do much of anything for the reader.

But overall this collection presents us with a many-faceted personality responding to an ugly world. This is accomplished by means of a somewhat tedious device (dribbling the last line

down the page); but it is also accomplished by engaging a sharp ear, an unblinking eye, and a barbed tongue. Lawless is worth watching, especially when he makes us see ourselves:

Every day we get the body count  
 Estimated enemy dead 21, or 53 VC killed  
 We kill a lot of them  
 Still, it costs us over \$340,000.00 a head to  
 do it  
 Some people think we can afford it  
 Just

because  
 we  
 have  
 so  
 much  
 money

We live in our own atmosphere  
 And sustain each other's breathing  
 Almost as if we were underwater  
 With a tube connecting our mouths.  
 I've often wondered what it would be like  
 If you left me--of how I'd drown and  
 not care

I think of it now  
 As  
 I  
 break  
 for  
 the  
 surface  
 --Bruce Gravert

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# The fatal flaw of tenure

By THEDA SKOCPOL  
 EDITOR'S NOTE: Theda Skocpol is an East Lansing senior majoring in sociology.

The tenure system in American universities avowedly exists to protect diversity of ideas, and the right of critical dissent, through job security for professors. For those who manage to attain tenured status it does this admirably. Even though some so-called "incompetents" are protected by the system, this is undoubtedly the price that must be paid if diversity--and therefore differing definitions of what "competence" is--is to be protected. But the tenure system has a fatal flaw that has nothing to do with the competence of those already protected by the system. Tenure's Achilles' Heel is its gatekeeping function for a set of self-recruiting scholarly disciplines. In the words of Bert Garskof, "the tenure system in practice seems to function as a blackballing mechanism for a comfortable social club."

Who shall be tenured? Decisions are made by the already-tenured faculty in each department. Within six years after he begins his career, a young professor must prove his professional competence to the satisfaction of his already socialized, and already established, senior colleagues. If a young professor has unorthodox ideas about teaching (including the truly "unorthodox" notion that teaching is more important than research), if he has a deviant definition of what his discipline is about, or even if he doesn't "fit in" socially (eg. at departmental



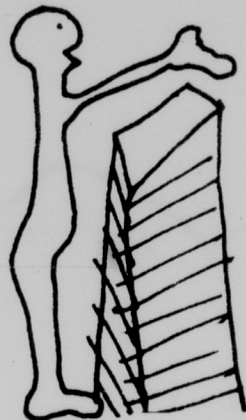
meetings or cocktail parties), he is vulnerable to rejection as "unprofessional" when he comes up for tenure.

Rejection of young faculty members is accomplished with the utmost honesty and sincerity on the part of the departmental establishments. MSU radicals have insisted that Garskof was removed from the psychology department for "political reasons." In effect, he was. But in the motivations of the psychology faculty members who voted to support Dean Winder's action against Garskof, he was not. I have spoken to various faculty members about the Garskof decision. They justify their support of his removal by references to his "unprofessional" unwillingness to come to departmental meetings, his unwillingness to consult with his colleagues about his classroom practices, and his stubborn insistence upon teaching subjects in Psychology 151 that they, his colleagues, deemed "not psychology."

In a sense it would be nice if the Psychology Dept. had fired Bert Garskof out of blatantly political motives, for then most students and faculty at MSU could dismiss him as an unfortunate, but deviant, case. But the problem goes well beyond occasional intolerance toward vocal political radicals. Even as Garskof was noisily removed, the same result was accomplished ever so silently in three other cases that I know of. (Many professors, of course, are removed each year without anyone making an issue of their cases. Probably, in some of these instances, those released are truly incapable of fulfilling the functions of a professor.) An asst. professor of philosophy, Edmund Byrne, apparently deviant in his approach to his discipline in the eyes of his colleagues, was refused tenure and reappointment despite the fact that students esteem him highly as a teacher. Also refused tenure and released because of "insufficient research" was an asst. professor of English, Mary Devine, well known as an

excellent (yet "hard") teacher, and a person who has devoted much time to work with individuals and groups of students. Finally, an asst. professor of sociology, who was not yet up for tenure, was denied reappointment for "insufficient research" and general "unprofessionalism." The sociology professor (who wishes to remain unnamed) was recognized by students and faculty in his department as an excellent teacher, of undergraduates especially.

No one to my knowledge has suggested, nor do I mean to suggest, that these three firings



were "political" in purpose. Rather, they are simply examples of professional colleagues conscientiously performing their gatekeeping function of preventing "unacceptable" persons from becoming tenured professionals at MSU. How ironic that in all three cases professors recognized by all concerned as above average or truly excellent teachers were released. How ironic, too, that in at least two cases a somewhat deviant strain of thinking in the discipline in question was removed along with the released professor. In what sense--in these cases, in the Garskof case, and in others we have not heard about--is the tenure system "offering" the diversity of opinion considered essential to education?"

Given the operation of the tenure system as a self-recruiting process among the faculty, no one should be surprised that the tenure system often stifles, rather than encourages, diversity and controversy. Why should anyone believe that a department full of academics, trained in a graduate school system that inculcates a similar set of ideas, methodologies, and behavioral norms in everyone, would be especially open to change in their discipline? Like any other closed, self-governing group, academic disciplines, and especially single departments, develop their own self-justifying world views--which include often stagnant definitions of what the discipline is supposed to study, and what a "proper" academic professional is supposed to be. In a system where such self-enclosed academic cliques control tenure, the "vagaries of public opinion" do not have to attack deviance in the universities, for tenure will be granted only to the politically and academically orthodox, anyhow.

## A Proposal for Reform

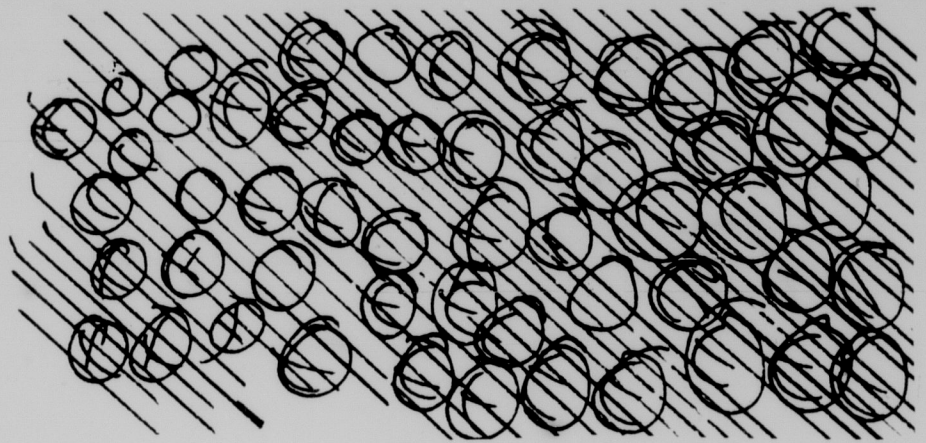
What must be done to realign tenure in practice with its ideal aims? Certainly the need to protect unorthodoxy will not be well served by eliminating job security for everyone. For then administrators, acting under pressure from state legislators, public pressure groups, students, etc., could simply remove a dissenter at any time; and faculty cliques could more easily fire unconforming colleagues.

Rather than being completely abolished, tenure must be radically reformed. The system's contradiction now rests on the fact that already-tenured professors are the sole dispensers of the privilege of tenure to newcomers. In order to break this inherently conservative, self-recruiting cycle, other groups must begin to have some say on the granting of tenure. In addition to tenured faculty, three other groups within the departments ought to be included in tenure decisions: untenured junior faculty (except the one being considered in a given case); graduate students; and undergraduate students.

Each of these groups has an obvious, direct stake in the quality and results of tenure decisions in a department. Furthermore, each would bring to bear on such decisions its own distinctive interests and viewpoint. Untenured faculty, often bearers of new

ideas and approaches in a discipline, should not have to conform only to standards set by older, established faculty members. If they, and graduate students had a say in tenure decisions, increased flexibility and openness to change would be built into academic disciplines.

Graduate and undergraduate students have an interest in good teaching that is not now adequately represented in tenure decisions because it is an interest that is not directly shared by the faculty. As matters now stand, the



faculty claims to consider both teaching and research when making personnel decisions. In practice--because faculty members do not witness each other's teaching, and because national prestige in academic disciplines is dependent upon research, not teaching--the faculty tends to assume or neglect teaching competence in tenure, and other personnel decisions.

If students (especially undergraduates who are not directly tied to the faculty for professional advancement) were to participate in tenure decisions, teaching would surely receive more emphasis. We would not witness the sorry spectacle of excellent professors being denied tenure by their colleagues. Representative procedures can be devised to assure that student representatives on tenure committees could become aware of, and convey, the full range of student opinions about a given professor. Indeed those students whose opinions are now so proudly "considered" by the faculty are only the privileged few who happen to catch the right faculty ear at the right time.

Faculty members who argue that only students have sufficient information about teaching, and a sufficient direct interest in it, to make informed judgments about teaching quality. Of course students are not infallible. They are not asking for control of tenure decisions, only a voice in them. In fact, faculty members in one specialty are not fully qualified to judge their fellows in other specialties either. Given the limitations of all concerned to judge fully, the ideal to be worked toward in tenure decisions should be a pooling of information and concerns among representatives of all groups in the academic community with a legitimate academic interest in who receives tenure. A more open tenure system, one that considered the viewpoints of untenured faculty and students, as well as those of tenured faculty, could better serve tenure's original purpose of guaranteeing diversity, rather than promoting a self-perpetuating narrow professionalism, within academia.







# Inside ROTC



By MARION NOWAK  
Collage Interviewer

Discussing the presence of ROTC on campus, an editorial in the April 15 State News (run simultaneously in 28 American college newspapers) said that "perhaps the most blatant example of colleges and universities willingly performing the functions that are rightly the exclusive concern of the military is the Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC). Pedagogically and philosophically, military training has no place in an academic institution . . . Clearly, continued academic support for ROTC would be the height of political partisanship."

Is ROTC indeed the "exclusive concern of the military?" Or can a university truly limit its place-for-universal-learning position to "everything, save one?"



Which is more an example of political partisanship, keeping ROTC or eliminating it?

Perhaps the following comments, made by three people deeply involved in the ROTC program at MSU, will provide a perspective on this question as well as provide some insights into the larger problems of war and the military.

**Jim Comstock, Livonia senior, is a member of the Rangers, an extra-curricular ROTC organization.**

ROTC is a form of occupational training. The advanced program covers this in several sections. It's like chess; there's no right answer--just moves . . . As far as the subjects taught, the basic skills that have to be learned are like the basic skills an accountant has to learn. It should be accredited like everything else. Some things though, should be taught by professors, using more objective material than army documents . . .

An individual soldier in a combat situation who refuses to follow orders could conceivably kill many men. There are no morally justifiable grounds that cause the death of fellow soldiers. If they refuse to obey orders, I think they should suffer the consequences involved and accept justice instead of leaving the country. This is a personal moral decision. It depends on whether he chooses to disobey his orders.

You can't do your job thinking--you'll end up killing someone. Once you've made the decision to serve, or you're drafted into a combat position, you lose the option to decide what is morally right or wrong.

**Col. Robert G. Platt, professor and chairman of military science:**

ROTC has been on this campus since 1917, with military training available for many years before--since Civil War days, in fact. The Morrill Act of 1862 established a requirement for military training on every land grant campus; a state law provides that military training of some sort must be offered at public colleges.

The idea of indoctrination is a highly debatable issue. We're especially criticized for this

in leadership lab (a "core" program, mainly consisting of arms and marching with little bearing on class work). I think you'd have a hard time leveling criticism at any other parts of our program. You can point out any number of subjects where they do the same thing. In art, business, agriculture, is it education or education and training?

We're quite aware of all this criticism and are trying to improve the department. We can, we have and we will continue to do so. We recently proposed course changes to the curriculum committee which the Army has been in the process of developing since 1965, a curriculum we feel will be more academic and academically compatible with other curriculums. For instance, there is projected more civilian participation; our U.S. military history course is taught by a civilian professor and is a fairly

popular history course in the university. We're proposing to extend the requirement to political science and management particularly.

I don't make policies for this government, all I do is support and defend the Constitution . . . Our concept of government includes that of duty and rights. Every man has an obligation to duty as well as to rights. If a man is not willing to fulfill his duty, he doesn't deserve and may lose his rights . . . I feel that every U.S. citizen has an obligation to his country and when called upon is morally obligated to fulfill . . . with every right there is an obligation and there are very few who have decided they want no part of their rights.

The military people are the first to wish there was some way to end wars--we're the first to lose. But when others are in opposition to our government it would be foolish to eradicate the military. So quickly do people forget Czechoslovakia . . . and this is exactly what happens to a militarily weak country. I don't want it to happen here.



ROTC is the principal source of officers for the Army. This arises from the old citizen army concept of the Founding Fathers, who were afraid of a professional army . . . There is no other group available as potential officers with as advanced a level of education to provide officers. Sure, we could get all our officers from West Point (at a cost of \$50,000 per man rather than \$5,000 through ROTC--also important from the taxpayer's standpoint) or, more likely, OCS, but the level of education wouldn't be the same, wouldn't be as high.

If you want to go all the way with the military-industrial complex, if you carry this thing to its ultimate, let's do away with the colleges of business and engineering. They produce the industrial part.

**Jim Aubrey, Detroit senior, is cadet colonel of AFROTC:**

There are lots of different people in AFROTC, with different commitments. We meet four times a week, three in class (for seniors). The rest is spent in core training (leadership lab), which is things like marching on parade and wearing the uniform. This is the big thing that's most misunderstood. It's the part that shows the most but only consists of 10 per cent of your grade. No matter how much you put in, the return isn't much. And quite a few people don't even know the classroom part exists . . .

There are many legal means of getting out of the draft. Many people aren't resorting to legal means before trying the extralegal. You can be a student, get married in some states, join the peace corps, work during International Geophysical Year taking temperatures in Alaska for the government, work in a hospital . . . The alternative is going to jail, probably for longer than you'd be fighting. But any man is justified in refusing to act in a manner he considers immoral. It's a decision you have to make in your own mind.

As far as the draft for me, it's taken care of. One thing about ROTC, you sign up to serve for six years but two are gone when you graduate. The first two years of AFROTC you're just a student. Then you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. It's a little shocking to know that at 9:10 on a Tuesday morning you're signing away your life. But the competition for AFROTC is pretty stiff; we were all glad we were there.

It upsets me to see people really gung-ho about ROTC. It's part of a class, a means to get a commission. The experience here has very little correlation to experience in the service. You play soldier here for about 15 minutes a day--which is very different from 24 hours a day.

**There is a right to protect but also there is a right to take ROTC.**

As for propaganda, we're occasionally shown some in class to fill time. We were shown a film about bombing Germany in World War II that concluded that strategic bombing hurt wartime production but that production of the stuff continued anyway. Korea's similar Operation Strength didn't work either. We decided in class that we should stop bombing North Vietnam long before the government did. Unfortunately, what the cadets decide doesn't carry any weight with the government. You've got to take everything with a grain of salt, no matter what course it's in.

A lot of people used to think in Senator McCarthyish ways that communism is a conspiracy. SDS as communist-inspired and financed is utterly ridiculous. The Russians and the Chinese haven't got the slightest chance of fomenting revolution in America. It makes no sense.



# The stance of resistance

By JIM DUKARM

Dealing with the draft is, for young American men, one of those unpleasant necessities which—like death and taxes—have become even more unpleasant and unavoidable since the United States began fighting in Vietnam. Over 296,000 men were drafted last year, and they will be joined in uniform by about 350,000 more by December 1969.

Not everyone deals with the prospect of military service by packing his bag and putting on a uniform; a surprising number of otherwise healthy men are rejected by the Army because of drug problems, mental instability, or strange sexual preferences. The number of addicts, schizophrenics, and fairies roaming the streets of East Lansing alone is astounding. Few of these creatures are ever heard regretting a lost opportunity to "see the world" or "become a man" or whatever.



Several thousand individuals have responded to draft notices by taking prolonged vacations in Canada or by teaching elementary school, putting braces on their teeth, or claiming exemption from military service as conscientious objectors.

A small but significant number of draft-age males have ventured to resist the draft directly, burning or turning in their draft cards, publicly refusing induction, and often serving time in prison. The number of draft resistance cases has risen from about 200 in 1960 to almost 1,200 last year and up to 3,000 in 1969. There are over 600 draft law violators in prison today, and 23,000 men are classified as "delinquent" by their boards—an increase of 9,000 since 1967.

Draft resistance at MSU has been a sporadic affair, first taking the form of an anti-draft union organized in 1967 by SDS. The anti-draft union featured a pledge signed by members to resist and refuse to submit to military conscription, but did not go as far as MSU Resistance, which appeared on campus in May last year and encouraged young men to turn in their draft cards.

Denny McGuire and Mike Young, who explain their relation to the draft and draft resistance below, turned in their cards at that May 1968 Resistance rally. Denny McGuire, a former MSU student now living in East Lansing, was visited by the FBI recently and expects to be arrested before summer:

Denny McGuire

"I turned in my draft cards at the May 28 rally. At that time I was still in school but didn't want to be, and so before I dropped out I had to decide what to do about the draft.

"I couldn't take part in the Vietnam war or in the military that was waging it, so I was thinking about conscientious objection, Canada, or going underground. I already liked the identity I had and didn't feel like changing it, so I couldn't go underground. The whole idea of conscientious objection under the law seemed ridiculous—you can't participate in the military system because you feel it's immoral, so they make a place for you in the system based on your objection to it. And I didn't like the idea of having someone else passing judgment on my conscience. When I thought about Canada, I decided I really had a commitment to this country—at least the people of it—and should stay.

"So there was nothing for me to do but turn in my cards. It was a personal confirmation of my decision, and I'm not sure what kind of political significance it had. But after all, personal things like that are a large part of what politics are about. Maybe my action got other guys to think about how far they were going to cooperate with the military, but I don't know.

"The FBI came a couple of weeks ago and asked me if I still believed in what I did. And I do. I've had plenty of time to accustom myself to the idea of prison. It-it's going to be a new experience, and in that sense I'm looking forward to it. And also to getting it over with."

MIKE YOUNG

"I handed Colonel Holmes my draft card. Well, actually it was only the one with my identification on it. I lost the registration certificate and never got around to getting another one. I discovered I had lost it when I turned 21 and tried to get into a bar.

"When Resistance was just getting started I heard that Brad Lang was going to turn in his draft cards and it kind of shamed me so I decided I had to do it too. But Brad finally decided not to.

"About three weeks after I turned in my card I got a letter from my draft board saying that my card had been found abandoned in Lansing. They explained all about how necessary it was for everybody to carry their cards and how if I didn't carry mine they would turn my name over to the attorney general. They sent me an application form for new draft cards!

"For a year before that I was 1-Y because I was mentally, physically, and morally unfit. Well, my 1-Y ran out in September and they sent me a notice to report for a physical, which I ignored. A couple of weeks after that one I got another notice for a physical and ignored that one too. Then, about the end of October or the beginning of November they sent me a letter. Basically all it said was 'please answer this letter.' I didn't answer it, and I haven't heard from them since."

Asked about the philosophy behind his non-cooperation, Young replied, "It's a joke. That's the only sane attitude towards the whole thing.

"The resistance bit is complete bullshit. For people with weird senses of humor. Politically, it's a loser.

"I was just sick and tired of playing their game. Every time they sent me a letter I had to drop what I was doing and hassle with Selective Service. I didn't even want to have to think about that bullshit, so I quit. Since then, it's been great.

"If they want to do something about it, I'll take five years free room and board. The prospect doesn't bother me now, but it probably will when and if it happens."

Draft resistance or noncooperation is generally based on an individual's judgment that he cannot, for moral or political reasons, serve in the military. When the draftee's political beliefs are strong and his objection to military service per se weak, or at least

weaker than his objection to prison, the military sometimes ends up with problems. The following statement is offered by an MSU student whose ambition is to become such a problem. For obvious reasons, his name is not given:

"Right now I'm 2-S but that won't last long since I just dropped out. They'll probably get around to reclassifying me this summer and send me my induction notice.

"I'm not going to try to get out of it or try to flunk the physical or anything. I'll just let them draft me if they want to. The only thing is I won't sign their security oath. Swearing that I'm not subversive would be bad faith. I intend to live up to my political beliefs.

"While I'm in the service I intend to organize. It'll be more along the lines of Progressive Labor, you know, class analysis, imperialism, and all that. A lot of people are taking the Trot approach—organizing around arrest cases, civil liberties, or anti-war type stuff, and I can't buy that. You organize people around some temporary issue, like stopping the war,



and when that issue is resolved they're satisfied and you lose your base. You have to show people the basic things that those issues arise from.

"Actually, my chances of accomplishing anything special are pretty slim. The main idea of military organizing is to get the guys to thinking about these things, to act as a kind of catalyst to get them to continue their political activity after they are out of the service.

"The military is full of blatant contradictions. Servicemen are confronted with them all the time and they are really uptight. It makes the military an excellent organizing place. The only direct effect this might have on the military is to tend to make the military more repressive. But the service itself is unreformable. It would be like reforming the Oakland Police force.

"I suppose I support draft resistance, but in the long run I don't think it's effective politically. If all the people who went to prison or skipped the country and so on would join up instead, they could really mess up the military."



# THE CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: TWO

EDITOR'S NOTE: Daniel Millin and Arie Melnik are members of the MSU Israeli Club.

Ever since its birth in 1948, Israel's peace, security and development have been aggressively attacked. Israel's very right to exist has been forcibly denied by its Arab neighbors. The records of the United Nations are full of official statements by Arab leaders, in the past 21 years, announcing their intention to destroy Israel by all means of organized physical violence. The Arab population and other sympathizers of this violent cause have been conditioned by their leaders to the anticipation of a total war preceded by the constant harassment and terror of the prospective victim.



In light of the undeniable social, economic and cultural achievements of the state of Israel and its demonstrated capability to help other underdeveloped countries help themselves on one hand and of the social and economic problems which the Arab countries face, on the other, one wonders if indeed the destruction of the state of Israel would contribute a speck to the welfare of the Arab people. In order to understand the conflict, one must look back in history and evaluate certain facts. We shall, therefore, begin with a short recount of the major events of the past few decades and then summarize the present situation and the prospect for the future.

### The Historical Facts

The rights and the sense of belonging of the Jewish people to Israel date back to the days of the Bible. In fact, Israel was never without a Jewish community. By the end of the 19th century Jews from the Palestine province and new immigrants from Europe began to move from the cities to the countryside and build new agricultural settlements. It should be noted at that time, Palestine was no longer the land of milk and honey described by the Bible, but a poor Ottoman province half of which was a semi-desert. The other half was covered with stony hills and marshy plains. Large areas of marshy-salted land were sold to the Jewish settlers.

The historical, religious and national association of the Jews with the land of Israel was granted recognition, and legal sanction in this century, first by the League of Nations and then by the United Nations. In 1948 the state of Israel was born. On the eve of its establishment, the distribution of land in the part of Palestine which is now Israel was as follows: 8.6 per cent of the land was owned by Jews, 3.3 per cent by Israeli Arabs, 16.5 per cent by Arabs who fled and over 70 per cent of the land was the property of the Mandatory Government and now constituted the property of the state of Israel. (See British Government Survey of Palestine, 1946).

While the Jews accepted the 1947 U.N. partition resolution, the Arab League made public its program for the "occupation of Palestine by the armies of the League's member states and forcible prevention of the establishment of the Jewish State" (See New York Times, Nov. 30, 1947). A large scale invasion of seven Arab armies took place on May 15, 1948. The Arab states and Arab leaders encouraged the local population to leave Israel and about 580,000 Arabs left Israel during its war of Independence. (This figure was verified by the U.N. mediator, Count Bernadotte, in his report to the General Assembly in 1948). The Arab refugee problem is indeed regrettable. However, it was not created as a result of the establishment of the state of Israel but because its establishment was forcibly resisted by the Arab states.

The welfare and political rights of Palestinian refugees were never taken into consideration by the Arab countries. The parts of Palestine which fell into Arab hands in 1948 were annexed forcibly to Jordan, Egypt and Syria respectively. The local populace was oppressed by its own so called 'brothers'. Instead of focusing on a constructive effort to solve the refugee problem, the Arab countries turned to liquidate their own Jewish population. In the years immediately following 1948, more than 700,000 Jews left Iraq, Yeman, Egypt, Libya and other Arab counties. These Jewish refugees who had lived in these countries for countless generations left everything behind. Their properties were not given to Arab refugees but rather served to augment the political and economic power of the ruling feudalists. Instead, the refugees were put into camps, their freedom of speech and movement limited and their economic and social development restricted.

The Arabs who stayed in the State of Israel acquired full citizenship. As citizens of Israel, they enjoy the same rights as all other citizens. In addition to their legal equality, the Arabs in Israel take full benefit of their political rights under the state's democratic process. There are four political parties led by Arabs and unlike the situation in some Arab countries, all Arab women in Israel have the right to vote. Many Arab civil servants are employed by the Government, including judges, teachers and administration officials. The Arab community in Israel has made substantial strides in the economic and social fields in the past two decades, thus showing that peaceful coexistence with Israel is not only possible but also beneficial to the Arabs themselves.

### Separating Facts from Illusions

Palestine was never an exclusively Arab country and never had an Arab government. It had been occupied in modern history by the Turks and then by the United Kingdom. The young Jewish state was not created at the expense of any one who lived in what was the Palestine. Israel never disregarded the

rights of the resident Arab population. She was prepared to accept a small land area of 8,000 square miles in peaceful co-existence with her Arab neighbours, including a Palestinian Arab state. The Arabs refused; they attacked Israel continuously and with all means. The Arab aggression in 1948 and thereafter led to human suffering on both sides.

Terror in all forms is an Arab tradition of long standing. For more than 40 years prior to the emergence of the state of Israel, organized political terror, anti-Jewish and inter-Arab, has been a firmly established tradition among the ruling elite of the Arabs (see the New York Times, Oct 15, 1938). This terror was encouraged by the Arab governments. The stated reason for these tactics was the idea that the Jews and their national movement, Zionism, were the principal obstacle to the realization of the Pan-Arab dream. Thus the Jewish people and later its national state became the permanent scapegoat while the people of the Middle East continued to suffer from the suffocating oppression of their self-appointed leaders.

The real struggle of the Palestinian people is not against the Israeli scapegoat but against the heads of the Arab league which have never stopped using them for their own ends. The Palestinian intellectuals of today, claiming that they are waging a war of popular liberation against Israel, labor under the same illusions as did their predecessors who followed the Mufti. They fail to see the real role of the Arab League and how its feudal and corrupt regimes serve the international ambitions of the U.S.S.R. The banner of Arab nationalism which was at first born by an oppressed, commercial middle class and by decadent feudalists, whose power was sustained by the French and the British, fell into the hands of the military establishment who relies on the political and military support of the USSR. By their nature, these dictatorial regimes seek military adventures. Beside active aggression against Israel, these regimes, under the leadership of Egypt's Nasser, oppressed the Kurds in Iraq, invaded Yemen using neo-fascist tactics (such as gas attacks on civilian population), conducted a genocide campaign against Christian blacks in the Sudan (where 500,000 blacks were killed, according to the New York Times of May 15, 1967) and sent mercenaries to bomb Biafran hospitals and schools. In the meantime the needs of the Arab people were not merely neglected but completely ignored.

The Israeli war of Independence could have ended with a true peace had the Arab League

(continued on page 11)





# VO PERSPECTIVES

By AHMAD HANNAWI

EDITOR'S NOTE: Ahmad Hannawi is a member of the MSU Arab Club.

The State of Israel, proclaimed in 1948, was born from the Zionist claim that the Jews of the world constitute a separate nation entitled to a land of their own and sovereign statehood. The demand for the creation of a Jewish "homeland" in Palestine was pursued by the World Zionist Organization which was founded in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897 and which grew rapidly in number and effectiveness under the pressure of anti-Semitism in Europe.

When Turkey entered World War I as an ally of Germany, the Arab people seized the occasion to align themselves with Great Britain and secure their independence. The 1915 MacMahon Agreement with Sherif Hussein of Mecca confirms this fact. But the Sykes-Picot Agreement, later the same year, between Britain and France, and the November 2, 1917, Balfour Declaration revealed the emptiness of the British alliance with the Arab people.

The first steps toward the realization of Zionist ambitions to take over Palestine may be dated from the Balfour Declaration of 1917 in which British Foreign Secretary, A.J. Balfour, with the support of the Allies, proposed "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

The Balfour Declaration was accorded international recognition when it was incorporated into the preamble of the League of Nations agreement assigning Palestine to Britain as a mandated territory. The Treaty of Lausanne of 1924 and the League of Nations Council confirmed the Middle Eastern mandates of Great Britain and France embodying the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration.

The World Zionist Organization may be said to have won recognition as an international body under world law when it was invited to take part in the drafting of the mandate agreement. Under the terms of the mandate, the British Government was to encourage Jewish immigration into Palestine. The right, however, of the League of Nations under international law to approve a British-protected Zionist invasion of Palestine is as questionable as the subsequent attempt of its successor, the United Nations Organization, to apportion Palestine into Arab and Jewish states in the 1947 Partition Plan.

The wishes of the people whose home had been in Palestine for 1300 years were totally disregarded and their right to self-determination was never considered. (It is important to

note that the British Government, before adoption of the mandate, had already detached that portion of Palestine east of the Jordan River and established the emirate of Transjordan, in which Britain asserted the terms of the Balfour Declaration would not apply).

The mandate created a Jewish Agency (which was financed by the World Zionist Organization) to represent Jewish interest in Palestine and an Arab Higher Committee to serve Arab rights there. Both agencies were very clearly intended to function under direct British control and possessed no international jurisdiction per se. No Arab State was at that time a member of the League of Nations, and no authorized Arab representative ever consented to the League's decision to allow Zionist immigration into Palestine.

On June 3, 1922, Great Britain restricted the intent of the Balfour Declaration in a statement that it did not contemplate "the

asked that they be referred to the International Court of Justice (U.G. GAOR, Ad Hoc Commission on Palestine). The chief points were these: (1.) the legal right of the United Nations to dispose arbitrarily of Arab territory, and (2.) the inherent right of an indigenous population to determine its own constitution and government. Other legal points were posed, including that of the legal status of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate which were created without Arab participation or approval; the question of British authority in Palestine under a mandate from a league that no longer existed; and the related question of the authority of the United Nations to deal with Palestine on the basis of that mandate. The Arab resolution failed adoption by 20 to 21 with 13 abstentions. The then European majority control the U.N., in the name of international law, had unilaterally abrogated the Palestinian's right to self-determination.

In 1948, Israel was created. It may be properly asserted, however, that Israel's creation had no recognizable sanction in international law. Recognition by other states was and is a political, not a legal, decision. Such recognition has no more significance in world law than the decision of the United States not to recognize mainland China.

Since an advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice on the Partition Plan had not been obtained because it was blocked by political partnership, the extent of the U.N. Charter and its protection of the Arab population was left to a political rather than a legal determination and the questions of the legality of a Jewish state remained. Thus it seems that the partition was a violation of the rights of the Arab population protected by the League of Nations, Mandate of the Trusteeship Articles of the United Nations and of Article 80 which provides that in no manner can a trusteeship under the U.N. alter the existing rights of peoples (Palestine In The United Nations by Sami Handawi).

Given the illegality of the Israeli position, however, the ensuing struggle with the Palestinian Arabs must be regarded as civil strife and not war. The Palestine problem is essentially the problem of an entire people, the Arab majority of Palestine, uprooted and expelled from their homeland in order to permit the establishment of Israel. Today, the Arab people of Palestine have decided to take their destiny into their hands. After the 1967 June war the Palestinian refugees total over one million and a half. The Palestinians were denied their homes, the right to determine their fate, and their right to enjoy the basic need of Man 'Freedom,' was taken away from them. They want to go back where they lived for many centuries.

Hence, considering the illegality of Israel as a State, the restructuring of Israel on a secular basis and its liberation from the Zionist rule are the minimal requisities for a viable peace in the Middle East which will permit Arabs and Jews to co-exist in that area. Unless these two conditions are met, peace in the Middle East is doubtful.

rage dies all at once  
in a quiet way.

(as say opposed to other things)

like night somewhere in the east

(the deep and dark like closets closed)  
sun setting on a summer equinox.

closed, a doorway sliding shut  
on all the used skeletons.

and buried alone  
somewhere along the side of a life-grey highway

yet alone so laid to rest  
yet with so very many buriers.

--eric sauter

disappearance or subordination of the Arabic population, language or customs in Palestine." or "the imposition of Jewish nationality upon Palestinian Arabs." In May, 1939, Britain reasserted this view in a White Paper on Palestine and pledged that Jewish immigration would be limited to a total of 75,000 during the ensuing five years. There were then about 500,000 Jews in the country--some were citizens but many were not lawful residents - and approximately a million Arabs. Zionists owned approximately 12 per cent of the land.

In 1945 hundreds of thousands of hopeless, stateless Jews lived in hastily built displaced-persons camps in Western Europe. With an eye on its domestic politics, the United States Government demanded that Britain disregard its earlier Palestine policy and accept 100,000 refugees into Palestine at once. Britain refused. The growing spirit of revolt in her Arab empire made her unwilling to increase Arab anger against her. Openly encouraged by Washington and financed almost entirely by private American gifts, Zionists smuggled great numbers of Jews from Europe into Palestine past an ineffective British blockade.

By 1947 there were approximately 700,000 Jews in Palestine and a secret army, the Haganah (together with Irgun, Zvai Levmi and the Stern Gang), operated against both the Arab population and the British administration. In February, 1947, Britain announced that it was "not prepared to govern Palestine" any longer under these conditions. On April 2, 1947, she invited the United Nations General assembly to "make recommendations under article 10 of the charter for the future government of Palestine."

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly recommended the partitioning of Palestine into two states. The Zionists accepted the plan and the Arabs rejected it. Arabs still owned over 80 per cent of the land, but the partition granted the Jewish minority 56 per cent of the territory of Palestine. In a draft resolution presented to the Security Council on November 11, 1947, before the partition plan was adopted, the Arab states posed a series of legal questions and





# GIs and the underground press

By MARYANNE GEORGE

*"Freedom of expression is our basic heritage. That right is not eliminated when a man becomes a soldier. Indeed, that right becomes enhanced; it becomes a duty, a duty to laud his country for its greatness and, like any other citizen, to criticize any betrayal of its basic ideals. A soldier's obligation is not silence and unquestioning obedience."*  
*--from an editorial in the GI underground paper Task Force.*

Traditionally, when men have become servicemen the rights of the military have taken precedence over the constitutional rights of the servicemen. The court marshal replaces the right to trial by one's peers. Servicemen have discovered that once in the military their rights of free speech and assembly guaranteed by the First Amendment are denied, as in the case of the Fort Jackson 8. Today, however, resistance to this denial is strong among GIs and has found its voice in the underground press. Servicemen who thought their anti-war sentiments would have to be temporarily silenced while in the service have found that these opinions can be expressed in the GI papers.

GIs in Vietnam contribute heavily to the papers' marking perhaps the first time in history that soldiers in combat have overtly expressed disloyalty to the war in which they are fighting.

GIs and anti-war civilian groups have organized these underground resistance papers on a national and local level to encourage resistance to the Vietnamese war and encourage GIs to demand their constitutional rights while in the military. Three national newspapers, **Task Force**, **The Bond** and **Viet Nam GI** are published by veterans with the help of anti-war civilians. Individual bases have also organized their own underground papers, written by active duty GIs. Although primarily intended as local papers, copies reach other bases because of constant troop movement. **The Last Harass**, published in Augusta, Georgia, and **Fun, Travel and Adventure**, published

at Fort Knox, Kentucky, are two such local base papers.

Both the national and base contain primarily letters from and interviews with anti-war GIs and anti-war editorials. The papers deal heavily with the case of the Fort Jackson 8, a group of black and Puerto Rican GIs on trial for holding an anti-war discussion group at Fort Jackson.

The large amount of college graduate draftees in the service is greatly responsible for the strength of the anti-war movement. Most of the editors of the base papers are former anti-war college students. The GIs and especially these college GIs have taken on a broader and vastly different perspective towards their role as a soldier following orders. This questioning perspective is illustrated in the article below from **Shakedown**, published at Fort Dix. "Obedience to the Law is Freedom" is the motto printed over the door of the stockade.

"Obedience to the Law is Freedom."

Every enlisted man on the base has seen this beauty outside the stockade. Perhaps the best way to view this kind of jive is to compare it to the well-known Nuremberg Trials after the defeat of the Germans. Their primary defense was that "We were only following orders." These men were then found guilty of war crimes against humanity.

Thus, for the first time in history the world recognized that orders (read as laws) were no longer an excuse for men to follow blindly (read as obedience) what their commanding officers said was necessary (which we all know is freedom).

The above also can be applied to "MY COUNTRY, RIGHT OR WRONG" because we know that any country can be wrong. For example, it was once against the law for workers to demand higher wages, better working conditions, etc. but they knew that was jive. So they got together--just like we've got to do and did something about it. Law stands for what is, it supports what is, and if we all blindly obeyed it we'd still be living in 1776."

Excerpts from an editorial in **Task Force** on a GI march for peace in San Francisco

last October express the awareness of the need for GI resistance while in the military

"This is the first time in this nation's history that, during a war, soldiers gathered together in an organized and democratic fashion to protest their own country's commitments and conduct. Soldiers are telling their world, for the first time, that they will no longer wage unjust wars, that they will now wage peace."

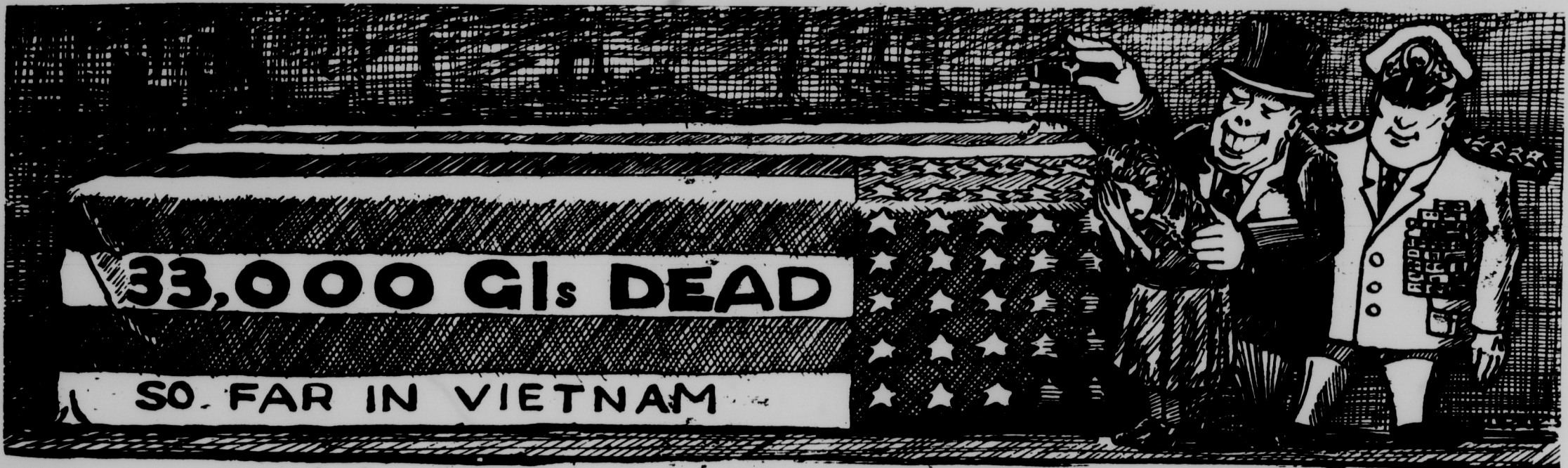
The GI underground press has encountered strong resistance among the "brass," officers and commanders. Opposition has taken the form of ignoring the existence of the papers to harassment of GIs having copies or of writing for the papers. In a recent incident at Fort Dix, a sergeant demanded that one of his privates give him all his copies of the underground papers. The sergeant forced the private to empty out his footlocker. The private, recognizing this as a direct violation of his constitutional rights of private property, reported the incident. The sergeant was subject to disciplinary action.

The absolute Constitutional legality of the GI press and the resistance movement is one of its strongest bulwarks. The GIs continue to have "inalienable rights" as servicemen. This fact ties the hands of the "brass" who are looking for an effective way of silencing these papers.

Although the papers are legal they are not popular among commanders and encounter many difficulties. The papers have to be printed off base and delivered late at night. GIs that are known to contribute to these papers are frequently the object of discipline for exaggerated charges of infractions of minor rules.

The papers have no financial base and must rely solely on contributions from the GIs and donations from civilians. Subscriptions are sent to any GI free of charge, while civilian subscriptions are available usually for \$5.

Despite the harassment and financial difficulties, however, the papers continue to publish. The resistance movement is mushrooming so much so that a second underground paper, "Shakedown" began publishing at Fort Dix. In the words of an article from **Task Force**, "we've shown it can be done!"



"Just look at it our way, lady. Your son was a profitable investment."

FROM THE BOND/LNS

The Fisherman at the Jetty

Some beer, a few cigarettes,  
 But no radios and no light  
 Except the ivory-eyed voyeur  
 Who envies the sea her gentle lovers.  
 All the moon can claim  
 Are stony meteors who,  
 In the spatial nothing,  
 Rape her and scar her.

A fisherman curses.  
 Pulling in his line,  
 Finds not some moonfish  
 Snook blue or snapper  
 But only red pubic hair.  
 Damn seaweed!  
 But soon freshly dressed line  
 Spins through the air  
 Plunges towards her deeps.  
 Waves caress his feet  
 The boats, the seamen  
 and her nightly deducers  
 At the jetty.

--peter dodge

you are nothing real to me  
 anymore  
 now that I have forgotten  
 those fractured dreams  
 all weathered in some  
 infertile field  
 and I'm bleeding  
 bleeding my unimportant life  
 away as any useless souvenir  
 I'm bleeding blood  
 pale as death  
 now that I have tossed  
 desire out

--Nancy Brackstone

Grand Rapids

From Market Street to Monroe  
 The dead man of bald cheek bones  
 Peddles with his basket of suckers

The Bridge Street bridge to the West side  
 The river pricked with foam from the rapids

Box elders and men  
 Standing on rocks beyond the backfilled canal  
 The black ball tosses in the sun pouring rebars  
 The cigar store nailed with old wrestling  
 posters

His bicycle revolves without sound  
 He disappears in the traffic of school  
 children

--Robert Vander Molen

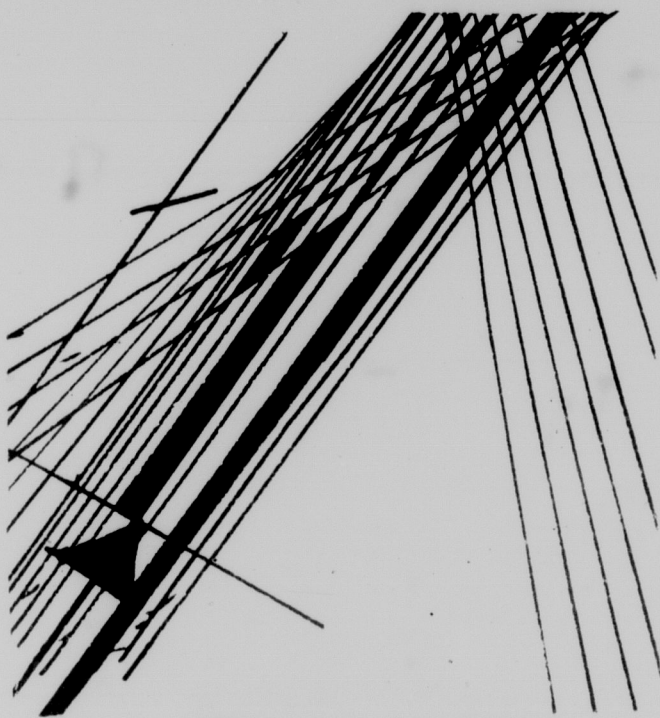


# National priorities and ABM

By ANABEL DWYER

When will enough Americans agree on a time to reorder our priorities? After we have spent \$400 to be secure under a "thick" antiballistic missile (ABM) system? When we have built an antiballistic missile for every intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) and a bomb shelter for the Pentagon?

"It's foolish for the United States not to go forward with the art of the ABM," Sec. of Defense Melvin Laird said. A fascinating art indeed. An art with admirable symmetry of Sprints and Spartans and radar. An art based on the neat logic of surface radar to guide underground ABMs to guard underground ICBMs. Sen. Philip Hart said he thought it was rather like "building the house to guard the god that guards the house."



\$7 billion. President Nixon claimed in his March 14th statement, will cover the cost of a "thin" ABM system to "insure that our strategic retaliatory forces will not become vulnerable to a Soviet attack." We need ABMs, he said, to "safeguard" our Minutemen so we have a "credible deterrent." If the Russians know we can blow them up, the proponents of ABM argue, then they will not blow us up.

On the basis of a report made up by former Sec. of Defense Robert McNamara, Ralph Lapp in a May 4th *New York Times Magazine* article said: "Only if the Russians could confine a U.S. retaliatory strike to fewer than 200 warheads could they hope to preserve more than 28 per cent of their productive capacity and obviously their present society." 200 warheads could easily, then, be considered an unacceptable blow.

CBS said on April 29th that our nuclear arsenal now includes: 1,000 Minutemen ICBMs "each with a one megaton bomb capable of flattening a city the size of San Francisco"; 656 Polaris missiles, in submarines roaming the oceans, "each of which can burn to death everyone within a radius of five miles"; and 650 bombers each carrying several warheads. "We do not want any of the three vulnerable," said Dr. John Foster of the Pentagon -- neither Minutemen, nor Polaris, nor bombers. Is there art in this Trinity?

Imagine what the Russians would have to do to wipe out our nuclear retaliatory force. Consider blowing up 1,000 Minutemen simultaneously. Consider blowing up enough oceans and enough skies to get at all the submarines and bombers also simultaneously. Even if none of our weapons were launched the results would surely be annihilation -- not just of us but of much of the rest of the world. Only vindictive satisfaction in launching our own weapons would prohibit the Russians from inheriting a ghastly world.

Some think the only way to prevent nuclear holocaust is to make sure that the Russians know we can retaliate with more than 200 one-megaton bombs. We have already decided to increase our offensive warheads to between 10,000 and 11,000 over the next few years. Even with that number, the administration thinks we must build an ABM system to "save" 200 of our ICBMs.

We have tried to build defensive systems for nuclear weapons in our submarines and bombers -- neither has been successful. The latest ABM is for our land based Minute-

men. It comes in three components--long range Spartan missiles designed to intercept missiles outside the atmosphere, short range Sprint missiles to intercept missiles in the atmosphere, and radar to guide both of these. The radar can not distinguish between real and dummy missiles outside the atmosphere. If dummy missiles were sent the Spartan missiles would be useless. Once inside the atmosphere, the radar can differentiate real from dummy missiles. Sprint missiles would then be launched and, in about 80 per cent of the cases, would knock out the incoming warhead causing a nuclear explosion in the atmosphere. Such an explosion creates a cloud of ionized gas which radar waves can not read through. As Sen. George S. McGovern said in an article in the February *Progressive*: "In a light or medium attack, the attacker could use the explosion of one warhead, or of the ABM sent to destroy it, to blind the defensive radar to another warhead following close behind. In a light attack, the defender could possibly counter by tracking each incoming warhead from several directions with different radars. In a heavy attack, however, involving hundreds of offensive and defensive detonations within a short period, an effective defense is inconceivable."

If the Russians decide to attack us, they and we will have proven ourselves equally unsuccessful in solving our problems, with or without the ABM. To increase our nuclear arsenal seems a strange way to search for peace especially since it is likely that the Russians would counter our ABM with increases in their offensive weapons. Surely nuclear disarmament, presumably through conferences, makes much more sense.

On April 29th, Gerald Ford, in great heat and indignant at the thought of anyone being against the ABM, proclaimed: "It looks as if some people want to unilaterally disarm the United States." Merriam Smith in the April 27th *Lansing State Journal* told us that many people oppose the ABM "but Nixon refuses to surrender" because he believes it's "essential to the security of the country."

A warning picture to see the President refusing to surrender when most arguments demonstrate that the ABM in no ways adds to the security of this country. A warning picture to see, the House minority leader yelling traitor.

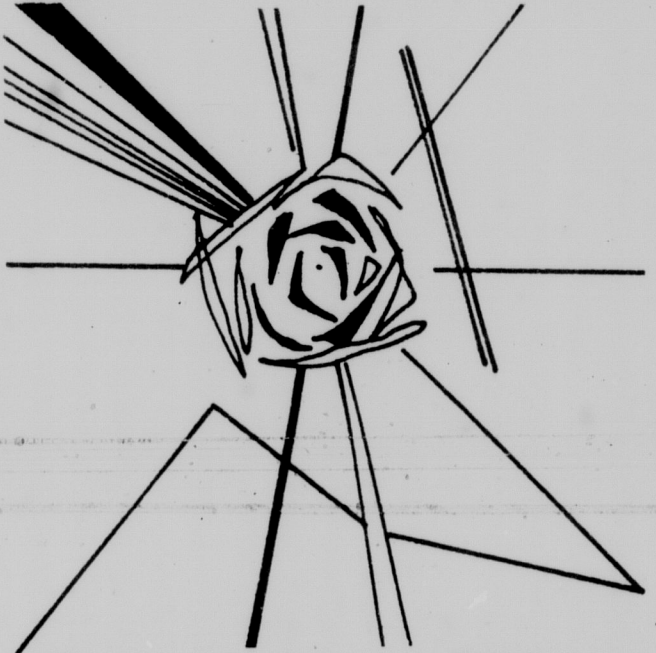
Maybe, after all the rhetoric, President Nixon means something more obscure. Maybe he senses an inherent emasculation in doing what the alternative to annihilation is -- restructuring our economy so that it is based not on military hardware but on health, education, and welfare. In time our appropriations could go 66 per cent to HEW, 15 per cent to international aid, and 2 per cent to the military. That is surely far more representative of the needs of this country and the world than the 66 per cent to the military, 15 per cent to HEW, and 2 per cent to international aid allocated in 1968.

A man who expressed his opinion at the STOP ABM booth in the MSU Union, was probably being basically more honest than President Nixon and Sec. Laird have been in their public statements. He said he didn't want to stop the ABM because he owned too many shares of stock in defense industries, and he wanted to see them get the contracts. He added, parenthetically, that he thought nuclear war was inevitable.

Is the experiment of intelligent life on this planet so dismal that we assume there will be and even wish for nuclear annihilation?

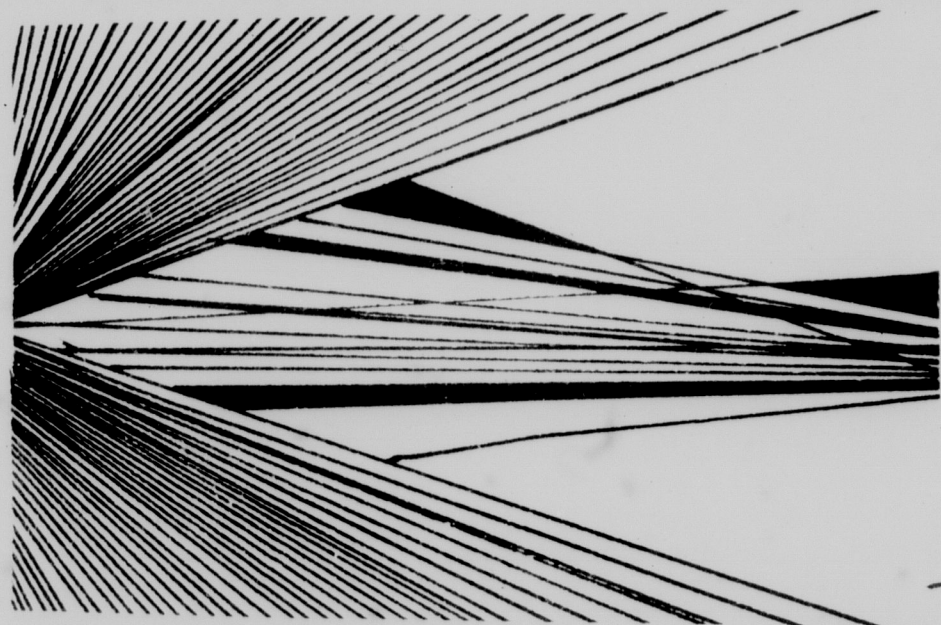
Do we have any justification for what the premier of Italy calls "annihilation without representation"? Would it not be more profitable for all of us, including industries for whom defense contracts are so important to enact the "National Economic Conversion Act." Sen. McGovern described his bill as "comprehensive study and planning to assist in converting excess military production ability and military funds to civilian needs." That's a civilian argument -- the industrial part of the complex. On these grounds industry might one day be convinced.

The military reason for wanting the ABM is finally made clear by a retired general, Leon W. Johnson, in a Special Report from the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions called *Anti-ballistic Missile: Yes or No?* Gen. Johnson says that he wants the ABM because it would bring us back to the old style of war. How dull a game it is if, in the first move A wipes out B and B wipes out A simultaneously. With the ABM we could have A shooting at B and B stopping the shot in mid-air with one hand and with the other shooting A. That's the old kind of war. Remember? We all played it as children. Shoot a guy and he has to count to 500. For some apparently nuclear war is still a count to 500. But to die having refused to surrender something ridiculous, to die having purposely poisoned ourselves, to die because we have refused to reorder our lives, is total nonsense.



We as a nation have spent \$20 billion trying to build an air defense system which was scrapped because it became obviously useless. \$20 billion would have given \$1,000 outright to each of the 20 million poor people in this country. Not much to be sure--but it could have bought some food, purchased some building materials -- not poured down the drain. That we should consider throwing away an initial \$7 billion on the ABM is a national disgrace.

The battle lines are drawn in the Senate and, once more, the direction of the country will be determined by the outcome. Probably the battle lines are not drawn because of the merit of the arguments. Probably they are drawn because the President and the administration consider as their constituents those who advocate continued military buildup. Those people in this country who want to change proportions in our national allocations must make themselves heard. Forty-seven senators will vote against the ABM, 43 for it. Ten have not yet committed themselves and four of these, I hope, will be convinced by their constituents to vote against it. After all, we could buy Russia for \$400 billion.





Fiction

Master, thou knowest that I sit waiting for the moon to turn back for me, that I may return to my place, that I may listen again.

--Xhabbo

It was a dark and damp night. The sky was alive though it was clogged with stilling sweeps of smog. A palid moon found the steps of a man walking in the streets below. His feet were numb from the chill seeping through his shoes so he hardly knew them as they went. He shivered and hugged his clothes to himself, the muted chatter of his teeth sounding an occasional vague companion for his footsteps. The chill hung over the earth and the city and through him. It made him aware of itself and the night.

The day had ceased to separate itself from the night. Past and future had left him stranded in the howling, empty all-present. Here was the awareness forever of his face in the chill night. He didn't like it.

As he walked the buildings squatted, hunched, with their backs toward him, iron claws digging into the earth. Above, the patches of smog began to shift unsteadily around their anchors. Their movement casted shadows of wobbling, great-beaked heads down below. For a moment the man watched as a head slid to the edge of a sidewalk. It stopped just short of the curb, with a scratchy neck stretched out behind and its huge beak hanging flabbily over the edge. It ventured no further. The time of the chill was upon the earth.

The man himself would never have ventured into the street if it hadn't been for his feet. They were unreasonable. But the man had passed the forgotten beginning which had left him discontented; and the hate, tended so carefully, which he unwillingly found turned to fear and nausea. Everything he had known had not known him. But his feet in their numbness and rejection now knew him and led him out of the city.

The moon shone palely down on a chill, misty field. A small wind was blowing. A



BOOKMARKS

SUMAC, No. 1 & No. 2 (Box 29, Fremont, Michigan 49412.). \$1.00 Available at Paramount News.

Of the legions of little magazines, Sumac is surely one of the nicest; what a surprise then to learn that it emerges not from NYC or SF but from Fremont, Mich. Although that address might point toward the literary backwaters, the magazine is certainly not provincial, nor even regional; edited by Dan Gerber and Jim Harrison, both MSU graduates, and both publishing poets, Sumac publishes only the best contemporary poetry and articles on contemporary poetry.

In the first issue, for example, were poems by Nicanor Parra, a Chilean poet, Denise Levertov, James Tate, Louis Simpson, and others of similar reputation, and a long critical article by Robert Duncan. The second issue has--find of finds!--a new Canto by Ezra Pound, plus poems by many hands. The third issue, forthcoming, will survey the current British poetry scene. All this is printed in a beautiful, and very readable, format, which results in a distinguished and relevant publication.

A.D.D.

# A Time Past

man came barefoot with jerky strides through the cutting grasses. His feet were raw and bleeding since he had taken his shoes off where the concrete ended and the grasses began. Behind him the sky bulged with a huge ugly bruise over the distant city. A fitful wind sprang up, swirling over the field and about the man. He became aware of the pulsating noise sent by the city on the wind. The land began to rise, slowly the chill night and the emptiness and his face before him began to dance. Outright panic trickled up from his toes. They joined hands and danced faster. His chest heaved and he ran with all his might. The rise became a hill. The city's noise rose with a shriek, ripping him with



the wind. The dancers whirled. The man's eyes, wild with the fear of the dance, raced the wind to the bushes of the hilltop. They were too late. The wind was blasting its world-gathered derision from gaping mouths shaped by leaf and shadow. His frantic blood-covered feet found the top of the hill. Bony hands clawed the air in a desperate attempt to separate the merciless dancers. It was no use. He stopped, swaying in his tracks. The dancers became one. The wind gathered itself and smashed through him, vanishing beyond with his heart in its possession.

The man stood trembling on shaking feet planted firmly in the earth. Sweat poured from his body and his blood dripped down into the ground. He looked down and saw the blood of his feet. He looked out and saw his emptiness looking back out of the chill night of his eyes. The man slowly turned his face up toward the moon in the clearness of the night. The moon looked down into the empty eyes and the aloneness. He filled them with his cool light. A fly flew down out of the moonbeam and lit on a bush next to the man.

"Where are you?"

He turned his gaze upon her. His knees buckled beneath him. He did not speak but stretched out on the ground, every muscle straining into the earth. The earth became part of him and fashioned his heart. The earth knew him and he knew the earth. In the cool dawn he heard voices speaking in each other. A strong steady wind returned to the bushes above. They quivered in the stirring air and chanted in unison:

"Tiger, tiger, burning bright  
In the forest of the night..."

# Human Vitae

By JIM BLACKISTON

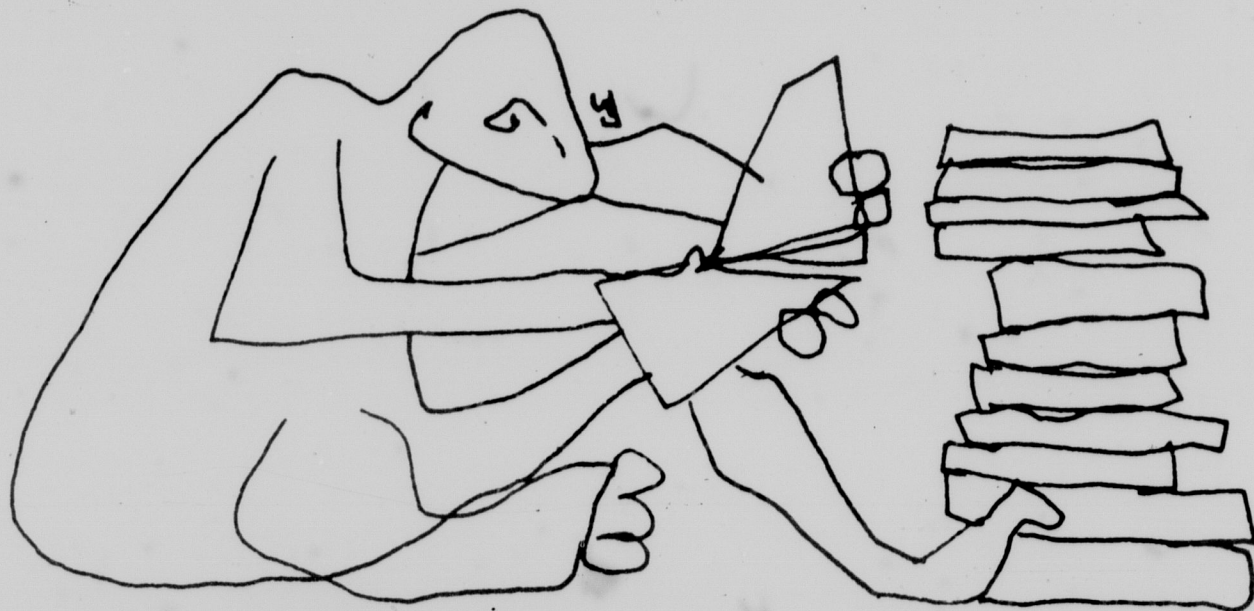
I, the scholar, finish my nightly toilette and adding one final cup of water to my already distended stomach, exit the bathroom in my robe and turn out the light, listening to the laughing and constantly new voices cresting on the sound waves arriving from the basement and backyard. Brother's voice snaps in jest at some guest or other of his, and I climb the stairway in the dark and the tide of talking subsides, with only an occasional voice reaching my ears from below. The kids come and go from den to patio, the often-slamming door an index of their traffic running up the steps, spilling into the kitchen with help for the host, and out the back door.

With the closed door and the air-conditioner on, my room is undisturbed. I'm too full from my refrigerator visitation to contemplate what culinary marvel the self-appointed chefs had been engaged in preparing. Too full yet to feel deeply curious, or deeply anything else. I guess I'll read... Shelves of books, mine. Though I'm sated, soon another hunger drives me to ravish them with my eyes. I must open one up and devour it with my eyes. They are all mine, to keep and to know. Exotic tales, and English classics, poetry... psychology and a couple copies of Playboy in the middle shelf--it's a well-rounded library. I lean forward under the slant-

ing ceiling to ogle at the books in the dimmer corner. My eyes caress them, delicately yet firmly reading the titles, and dilating from the dimness... Astronomy (it's hard to understand that the stars are really burning suns).

Indian Philosophy--good, this could be interesting; after all, to act in unison with Nature should not be an unapproachable doctrine. I will try to understand it, and to learn those unpronounceable names. And to accompany the mood, I light the candle and burn some incense in my room. And now for me my room is India at night. With my library and the dark, my room is Achilles' dissident quarters, or Epicurean heaven. My room is the world.

An hour, and the bloated feeling in my stomach has subsided; my mind is awake now. (I've read it takes boa constrictors longer). I know that downstairs the kids are dancing to the rhythm of modern music; shaking in the bustling cellar, slowing strolling with the trembling night breeze slipping past the leaves of the trees in the backyard. (Laughing in the light and loving in the dark). Disturbed, restless, I arise and open the door to the unfinished room here upstairs and I walk to the window in the darkness and look out at and beyond the leaves. Sincerely, beseechingly, with half-understanding emotions, to the thousands of stars in the night sky I would speak of human life.





All hail across the wooden board of battle,  
My peg is in, and yours, and the fellow who lives next door.  
Dead, a few I can remember barely; only shadows now.  
Test-takers, book-bearers, smooth-eyed lovers of the sun-tanned limb,  
Marching away in a file; filed away in a box; boxed with a  
marker in your memory; will you cry?

But fight the battle for my lords; the rules, whatever,  
Are written inside the lid for any number of players, for all ages.  
Christ, the patterns, diagonal or straight, do we move?  
Or stay, and if we go the draft will blow upon our eyes  
And we shall read new pages, and we will make new chapters,  
And youth will be the forgotten footnote.

On I will go and leave a tearful couple behind; and more.  
A misty night or a stilling day; the bus will stop as  
scheduled; probably late, to show me to the swamp.  
"How do you do?" I will say.  
And then these feet, which once crept soft in your parklands,  
Will know the wet kiss of change in the emerald vermin pools.

We are all learning, feet, we are marching, we three,  
Into the clouds, full of grace, the sword is with me, and thee.  
Key-punched cards no more my boys; the tags which  
Swing in sweat from our thin veined necks are all that is left.

Digit, digit, here walks a soldier, here stands a weapon-bearer  
(salute),  
Digit, (oh my Jesus, it won't stop coming) here lies (the light  
gets dimmer) a boy in a man's shell.

Yes, I guess the bugle now. Fold the flag and send it to them.

--Mark McPherson

Toward a Molten West

Toward a molten west we go,  
Toward incandescent lava  
That will later blacken:  
Cool already,  
The edges gray already.

In this night  
Will fires, hotter,  
Stranger glow ...

--Kathy Ingley

**BOOKMARKS**

**LOSERS WEEPERS**, George Hitchcock, Editor. Kayak Press (2808 Laguna St., S. F. California, 94123), 1969. \$2.00 Available at Paramount News.

*Losers Weepers* is an anthology of found poems--that is, poems which were written unconsciously or unintentionally; they are often the results of journalism or advertising. Found by the alert reader, one who is sensitive to the nature of language and poetry, that which had passed as simple copy suddenly becomes a poem.

But can an accident become Art? Can a newspaper piece become a poem by taking it from the column inch and putting it into stanzas? It surely can; the art depends greatly upon the finding--for not everything results in found poetry--and sometimes further shaping and selecting is necessary. I think that it is a matter of intention, and often this is reversed when the writing becomes poetry. For example, a found poem called "Why?" was originally an advertisement from Daphne's San Francisco Funeral Service; as poetry this is one of the strongest anti-war poems I've read:

your country no longer has space in national  
cemeteries

for burial of veterans and families. No plans are being made to create new space. Why? ...

Once upon a time your government promised every man who fought in service of his country that he and his immediate family could be buried in a national cemetery.  
ALL THIS SPACE, EXCEPT FOR A HANDFUL OF GRAVES, HAS NOW BEEN USED UP.  
WHY? ...

The question that the poems asks is clearly not the one that the advertiser wanted to ask--the message has shifted with the medium!

A.D.D.

So soon as  
i touch  
you creeping  
Longingly  
Sallow  
Undone in my arms  
i  
Supping the lacteal gold from  
Your breasts  
i  
Am Jealous

--David E. Alkire

Winter Shells

When the angels fell  
crushed  
To dazzled shards,  
brine  
Boiled to vapor  
and whining  
Fled.

To a long icy beach  
to certain gray afternoon dawns  
Is offered up  
an ossified wing fragment  
Cold stiff feathers  
seaweed strained.  
A hardened bleached curl  
or  
on foam fingers  
to the minnowed moon  
A smooth stoney tear.

--Jennifer Lee

Christmas night 1967

Emptied it is from gone away: going  
away to where now is.  
touching close the negress coat.

Exit Mama's Christmas warm.  
Swung down a slide, it shoved off  
straight from a schoolyard merry go round.

Striding black leathers damn the miles home,  
where walls now thick with incense  
flow past smoke-streamed faces. Heels stab  
pavestone, pulsing a cool Christmas blackout.

--Cathy Hoven

reconciliation

the focus of the broken  
rusted gloom is altered:

the moonlight falters,  
shining thinly on the  
two impatient predators  
desecrating an elaborate  
parabola of hate ...

--Sharron Marks

# Palestine

(continued from page 6)

countries followed a more brotherly course towards their own acclaimed brothers. The tragedy of the Palestinian people is that they were swindled of their right for self-determination by the Hashemite Kingdom--the puppet institution of the British Empire and by the military dictatorships of Syria, Iraq and Egypt who took their cut from the Soviet Union. These very same regimes also decimated the most alive and progressive forces of their own people by barbaric repression.

A Look at the Solution

Since 1949, the Palestinians had by and large been a pawn in the hands of the Arab governments, each state using them for its own purposes. They changed allegiances and switched ideologies in accordance with the support--or lack of it--given them by the Arab rulers. Some of these Palestinian clandestine groups degenerated into glorified mercenaries, employed by their masters to engage in subversive activities in rival Arab countries as well as in Israel. They served regimes which were bent on a destructive course of action and who promoted the militant excitement which engulfed most of the Arab world before the six-day war. Its outcome proved to be calamitous not only to the Arab terrorists and their paymasters but to the Arab people as a whole.

Despite this, the Arab countries, led by President Nasser of Egypt, continue with their policies of total rejection of any form of reproachment. They continue to support indiscriminate terror activities against civilian population. The Arab countries and the terror organizations fail to realize that a continued terror can only postpone or eliminate any chances for settlement. They fail to realize that Arab terror is a two-pronged plague. Terror is a corrosive, destructive force which tends to backfire and erupt into actual violence in the Arab states themselves. In November, 1968, Arab blood was shed in a wild confrontation between government forces and terror groups in Amman, Jordan (more than 50 persons were killed), and only last week 16 persons were killed in similar street clashes in Lebanon.

We strongly feel that the Arab countries with 80 per cent of their people illiterate, millions without jobs and hundreds of thousands disease-stricken, need peace as much as Israel does. Peace is the only real solution to the problem of the Arab masses. It will put them for the first time in 20 years on a constructive path. It will enable them to spend their vast resources (in 1968 they received over \$2.5 billion for oil alone) on schools, hospitals, homes and industry for their own people rather than to spend it on ammunition and terror activities.

Peace is the solution proposed by the State of Israel. It depends on the willingness of the Arab countries to **negotiate an agreement** with Israel. In negotiation, Israel will strive towards mutual agreement compatible with the legitimate interests and honor of all parties.



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# Calendar of Events: May 20-June 6



TIM  
YOUSLING

**TUESDAY, MAY 20**

"Little Mary Sunshine" (PAC, 8:00, Fair-child)  
Senior Recital, William Schuck, violin (8:15, 103 Music Practice)

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 21**

"Cyrano de Bergerac" (7&9, 106 Wells)  
"Little Mary Sunshine" (PAC, 8:00, Fair-child)  
Outdoor Concert, Concert Band and Activity Band (7:00, Landon Field)

**THURSDAY, MAY 22**

"Mad Hatter's Midway" (Shaw and Abrams parking lots)  
"The Great Dictator" (7&9, 106 Wells)  
"Not With My Wife You Don't" (7&9, Brody)  
"Little Mary Sunshine" (PAC, 8:00, Fair-child)

**FRIDAY, MAY 23**

"Cartouche" (7&8, 109 Anthony)  
"Comedy of Terrors" (11 p.m., 109 Anthony)  
"The Great Dictator" (7&9, 106 Wells)  
"Not With My Wife You Don't" (7&9, Wilson)  
"Little Mary Sunshine" (PAC, 8:00, Fair-child)  
"Winter Light" (7&9, 108 Wells)  
"Time Lost--Time Remembered" (7 and 9, 104 Wells)  
"Mad Hatter's Midway" (Shaw and Abrams parking lots)  
Parents and Alumni Weekend  
Baseball, MSU vs. Iowa, doubleheader (2:00, Kobs Field)

**SATURDAY, MAY 24**

"Winter Light" (7&9, 108 Wells)  
"Time Lost -- Time remembered" (7&9, 104 Wells)  
"Cartouche" (7&9, 109 Anthony)  
"Comedy of Terrors" (11 p.m., 109 Anthony)  
"Little May Sunshine" (PAC, 8:00, Fair-child)  
"Mad Hatter's Midway" (Shaw and Abrams parking lots)  
"Not With My Wife You Don't" (7&9, Conrad)  
Parents and Alumni Weekend  
Baseball, MSU vs. Minnesota, doubleheader (1:00, Kobs Field)

**SUNDAY, MAY 25**

Last Day, Graduate Exhibition (2-5 p.m., Kresge Gallery)  
Parents and Alumni Weekend  
Concert, MSU Chamber Orchestra (8:15, Auditorium)  
"Little Mary Sunshine" (PAC, 8:00, Fair-child)

**MONDAY, MAY 26**

Senior Recital, Tim Topolewski, clarinet (8:15, Music Aud.)

**TUESDAY, MAY 27**

Student String Ensembles (8:15, 103 Music Practice)

Conference on Nutrition and Human Development (Kellogg Center, through May 29)

**WEDNESDAY, MAY 28**

"On the Waterfront" (7&9, 106 Wells)  
Faculty Recital, Walter Verdehr, violin (8:15, Music Aud.)

**FRIDAY, MAY 30**

Memorial Day  
"You Can't Cheat an Honest Man" (7&9, 106 Wells)

**SATURDAY, MAY 31**

"You Can't Cheat an Honest Man" (7&9, 106 Wells)

**SUNDAY, JUNE 1**

Undergraduate Exhibition (Kresge Gallery, through June 29)

**SUNDAY, JUNE 8**

Commencement  
Goodbye