

SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE



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ACTIONS AT PROFESSIONAL SOCIETY MEETINGS

Plan and participate in actions at the following meetings:

- *** National Science Teachers' Association
Washington, D.C. March 28
Contact: George Hein (617) 969-6527
Al Weinrub (617) 491-4837
NSTA Action Committee,
Box 59, Arlington Heights, Mass. 02175
- *** Institute of Electrical & Electronics
Engineers, New York City
March 22-25
Contact: IEEE Action Committee,
Box 59, Arlington Heights, Mass. 02175
- *** American Chemical Society
Los Angeles, March 28-April 2
Contact: Baz Gris (617) 547-0998
Chemists' Action Committee,
Box 59, Arlington Heights, Mass. 02175
- *** Spring Joint Computer Conference
Atlantic City, May 18-20
30,000 people expected to attend.
Action, demonstrations against war,
racism and the misuse of technology.
Contact: Computer People for Peace,
Dolphin Center, 137 W. 14th St.
New York, N.Y. 10011
or phone Paul (212) 675-8490

EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE: Alphabet, Britta Fischer,
Baz Gris, Jim Moore, Penelope, John Walsh.

CONTRIBUTORS: David Kotelchuck, Stuart Newman,
Chicago NUC People's Science Collective, Herb Fox,
Jane Contreas, The Boston Travellers.

ERRATUM: We apologize for having accidentally
omitted Al Weinrub's initials and for other typographic
errors in "A History of the AAAS" in *Science for the
People*, Vol. II, No. 2, Dec. 1970.

ABOUT THIS ISSUE

READ CAREFULLY! THIS MESSAGE MAY APPLY TO YOU. FROM HERE ON IN WE WILL HAVE TO START REMOVING FROM THE MAILING LIST PEOPLE WHO HAVE NOT SUBSCRIBED.

The AAA\$ meetings have come and gone. They received front-page coverage—usually with photos—in the establishment press largely because of our actions. The second-rate scientific talks and panel discussions—admitted to be second-rate even by AAA\$ organizers—certainly were nothing to write home about. But witches, stabbings and indictments were. So Science for the People received much mention, but statements of our purpose and the critical analysis which we presented was almost systematically left out. We are, of course, not surprised. That's objective journalism in the service of profit.

But many of you, members and readers, may be appalled at the caricature of Science for the People portrayed in the press. Therefore, we are devoting a major part of this issue to describing and analyzing the events and reprinting what we communicated to the AAA\$ audiences.

Since each issue is put out by a different collective, we don't know what is going to be in the April issue. But there are working groups on radical ecology, the teaching of science, income distribution among scientific workers, people's science as a strategic concept, organizing of scientific workers in St. Louis. We expect reports on actions at the American Physical Society and National Science Teachers' Association meetings. There are also papers and communications that we have already received and we would like to encourage all of our readers to submit more materials.

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SESPA MEMBER PERSECUTED FOR ANTI-WAR WORK

SESPA/Science for the People is proud that among those whose effectiveness in the antiwar movement was commended by the frame-up indictments for allegedly plotting to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up government buildings is William Davidon of Haverford College, Pa. Bill, a courageous anti-war activist and member of SESPA, was cited as co-conspirator in the outrageous and grotesque indictments that shocked the country when they were handed down on January 12, 1971. Bill is in good company with several of the most morally courageous activists of the antiwar movement, including nuns, Beverly Bell, and Marjorie Shuman, and priests, Daniel and Philip Berrigan. The indictment's objective was described by the Berrigan brothers as being "a simple but deadly one -- to destroy the American peace movement." Fear not brothers Berrigan, the movement doesn't depend on "leaders".

Davidon is among several SESPA people and other activist scientific workers whose effectiveness has been honored by harassment, indictments, or jailings. Clark Squire, computer programmer, and Curtis Powell, biochemist, presently awaiting trial in New York under indictments against the *Panther 21*, have appeared in the pages of *Science for the People*. John Froines, chemist, is one of the Chicago Conspiracy 8. A disciplinary pay docking was imposed on Charlie Schwartz, physicist of Berkeley SESPA. Deborah Solomon, biologist, and others of N.Y. SESPA were arrested in connection with actions at Riverside Research Institute. Many of our industrially employed members are being harassed and several have lost their jobs.

A resolution submitted to the AAA\$ in December calling for a defense fund for such persons was rejected with no discussion. But large numbers of scientific workers, by affirming their own commitment to action, are coming to the defense of these persons. The attempts at repression and the inaction of such unrepresentative groups as the AAA\$ council are only clarifying to these scientific workers and others that these are but the death rattles of decaying institutions.

We call on you SESPA members and all scientific workers to demonstrate your solidarity with our persecuted brothers by increasing your efforts in political struggle. Organize at the workplace. Have meetings to discuss the persecution of blacks, the persecution of the antiwar activists and of your own misuse, and the rise of unemployment among all workers. Encourage your fellow workers to participate in antiwar activities as a group. Demand the opportunity to make your science serve the people.

H.F.

MORE READINGS

Two excellent articles have come to our attention since the last issue:

1) Michael Reich and David Finkelhor, "Capitalism and the Military-Industrial Complex: The Obstacles to Conversion" in *URPE Review*, Vol.IV, No.2, Fall 1970, quarterly publication of the Union of Radical Political Economists. This article argues—with plenty of data—much the same position as that presented in "Unemployment of Scientists and Engineers" in *Science for the People*, Vol.II, No.4, December 1970.

2) Michael Wallace, "The Uses of Violence in American History" in *The American Scholar*, Vol.40, No.1, Winter 1970-71. This article is a very readable analysis of institutionalized violence and its patterned changes. It places the repressive role of the police in historical perspective.

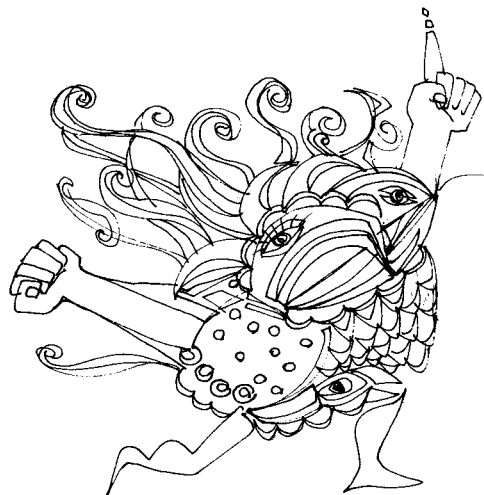
Racism is a fundamental fact of American life, both in the sense that it is an integral part of the structure that we privileged scientific workers have enjoyed and in the sense that the rising militant reaction to the long history of oppression has helped to reveal to us our own oppression and inspired us to struggle.

Black Reconstruction in America 1860-1880 by W.E.B. DuBois is a thorough study of the historical role of racism in American capitalism.

The *Autobiography* of Malcolm X is by now a classic work and a must for anyone who wants to understand the roots of black consciousness and actions today.

The Ideology of the Black Panther Party, a pamphlet by Eldridge Cleaver portrays the blacks as the vanguard of the vast mass of black and white unemployed who are cast out by an increasingly technological society and who are unable to be integrated because capitalism by its nature does not liberate workers by its technology but enslaves them.

B.F.



LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear Rita Arditti, Claire Huga and Cynthia Kneen,

Thank you ever so much for that brilliant article on "Birth Control in Amerikkka" but I've got to point out a couple of things from this end of the penis. Agreed that PPP has been bred into all males including me, it's a very tough thing to toss off; I'm trying and it's a slow battle. Therefore the women's battle against PPP would best be fought with massive education and propaganda.

Secondly, it's unfortunate that females were assigned the role of child bearer in this evolution, a better plan would be that man and wife alternate having the children - then there would never be more than two children in any one family. But since this alternative does not exist, we must look at the male spermicide and its role in society.

Agreed that the female should not bear all the burdens in the use of contraceptives, I cannot agree that females should stop using some form of contraceptive because as their use declines, the population grows and you all know that this planet can't afford any more people brought onto it.

The other problem is that if the male forgets to take his pill and the female is not protected from conception in any way, the female gets pregnant. How much more repressive can you get than that? Therefore the only logical solution is that both male and female take a contraceptive of some kind; thus responsibility is shared equally.

Shall we start such a campaign?

Joseph Lanza
Levittown, Pa.

Dear Sir,

I am presently studying geophysics at the University of Toronto and will be graduating from fourth year this spring. I am investigating the possible seismic effects of the large underground nuclear test blast that the American government is planning to detonate on Amchitka Island in the Aleutians in the autumn of 1971.

I understand there are some committees that have been set up to protest the test. If you have any information or references relating to this subject or could refer me to someone who might I would greatly appreciate it.

Norman Rogers
70 Beverly St.
Toronto 2B, Ontario
Canada

Dear SESPA,

I have recently returned from the AAAS meeting in Chicago where I was quite favorably impressed by Science for the People activities, to the extent that I found myself participating in several of the actions. I plan to see what I can do toward organizing SESPA activities in Detroit. If you have any leaflets that would help me in my organizational efforts (such as perhaps reprints of Herb Fox's "History" from the December issue of *Science for the People*, or for that matter a stack of the magazines themselves. I would really appreciate your sending them to me. Also if you have listings of other concerned scientists in the Detroit area I would appreciate your sending their names to me.

William J. Steffy
Detroit, Mich.

Dear Miss Fischer:

I have received your August issue and I am enclosing my subscription check.

Since in your form letter you write that you welcome critical analysis, I offer here a brief and incomplete critique of some aspects of your magazine, based on the one issue studied. While I think the analytic approach to social problems of your writers can be most useful indeed, I do not agree that the use of scatological language contributes anything at all to social criticism. Further, rather than enhance, this abuse of the language seriously distracts from effective argument. It seems to me both childish and hostile. While the rationale for its use may be that it intends to break down the cleanliness barriers of middle-class culture, it actually tends to bring about the opposite effect—it antagonizes and offends, as a letter from a subscriber cancelling his subscription published in the August issue shows. A direct assault on an entrenched human attitude tends to stiffen rather than loosen it. The result among more sensitive or aesthetically inclined people whom you might need as political allies will be rejection of your magazine and their chance to learn from it. Soon you will be only talking to yourselves—the fate of many a good radical group which mixes up interesting ideas with quite unnecessary crudeness. Besides such language is dreary, tiresome and deadening. Most people with any brains at all would tend to discard such bad writing, as they would any superfluous stereotype.

I would add that the magazine's rather condescending and disparaging attitude toward the journal *Science* could scarcely be expected to invite from its able and distinguished readership willingness to consider the ideas your magazine presumably would like to promulgate.

Samuel P. Hunt, M.D.
New Haven, Conn.

SESPA TELLS IT LIKE IT IS: OPENING STATEMENT

AAAS '70

The first major event at the AAAS was the Special Lecture to be delivered by Dr. Philip Handler, President of the National Academy of Sciences, on the "Obligations of the Scientific Community." The forty-some page text released in advance made it amply clear that we were going to be treated to one of those consensus-at-all-price speeches. This then provided immediate contrast to the Science for the People speech which exposed the true role of science in our society and the real conflicts which cannot be glossed over.

Shortly before the scheduled time, members of Science for the People asked Mina Rees, the chairperson, for permission to address the audience for fifteen minutes when most of the people were assembled. Permission was granted. When a minor fraction of the hall was filled, however, Mina Rees determined that it was time for us to start. Since that was not the agreement, several of us occupied the podium until the hall was nearly filled.

Unlike Handler's speech ours (prepared by Chicago SESPA) was short and to the point. Here are some major excerpts:

In 15 minutes Philip Handler is going to talk to you for an hour and a half about how procedures and practices in the Pentagon can be made more rational, and how the scientific community can help prop up the ruling class' corporate profit by distributing scarcity more effectively. We're here in the interest of the people upon whom the power of the ruling class is exercised, the people who are not interested in rationalizing their rule, but destroying it. The people of this country and the world did not select Handler to be head of the National Academy of Science or Seaborg to be president-elect of the AAAS, in fact, neither did the great majority of you, but you can be damned sure that the decisions of these men will affect all of us.

How did men like these get into positions from which they can control scientific resources and training, and speak to you tonight from the sanctified podium that we have temporarily usurped? Whose interests do they serve? Who will have the resources

to apply the new knowledge created and to what ends will these applications be directed?

. . . .As you go scrambling after grants and support from institutions like NSF, NIH, DoD, ONR, FART, etc., etc., it is, of course, more pleasant to imagine a government trying to help the poor and sick, and corporations funding billion-dollar foundations in order to improve the quality of people's lives. . . . But we don't have two governments, one which beneficently funds research and another which malevolently kills in the ghetto, in Latin America and in Southeast Asia. Nor do we have two corporate structures, manipulating for profit on the one hand, while desiring social equity and justice on the other. Rather there is a single government-corporate axis which supports research with the intention of acquiring powerful tools, of both the hard and soft-ware varieties, for the pursuit of exploitative and imperial goals.

One month ago the Black Panther Party tried to call the black and white revolutionary movement together in a convention in Washington, D. C. After arriving in the capital, the people discovered they had been deprived of all possible meeting places. Many never arrived in the first place because their chartered buses were cancelled less than 24 hours before departure. Why was that convention prevented from taking place, while this one is provided with all the cushy fluff and privilege that this city is capable of putting up? Right now in Chicago, Daley and his pigs are pushing legislation to block the free people's health clinics established by revolutionary groups like the Black Panther Party and the Young Lords Organization. Such science for the people they have to destroy, while this science for the ruling class is given three of the city's poshest brothels, and the protection of the same guns that murdered Fred Hampton and Mark Clark of the Panthers in their beds on Dec.4, 1969. You receive the benefits and are allowed to rub shoulders with the power merchants because you are their servants.

. . . . Who pays for our scientific work? The people pay for it, primarily the poorer people,

through the taxes they must pay, and through the profits that are ripped off from them by the corporations. The corporations don't pay much in the way of taxes. Instead they support the foundations which front for their interests. And then, of course, we get our money from the government and foundations. Now who benefits from our scientific work? Obviously, the same government-corporate axis that cheats the people—and we are the people—into paying for the system that oppresses us.

. . . . But what is to be done? Huey Newton said, "The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology." Too many of us have been involuntarily recruited into creating the man's technology. Our job now must be to shift our services away from the man and align ourselves with the spirit of the people. Traditional attempts to reform scientific activity, to disentangle it from its more destructive and vicious applications have failed. Actions designed to preserve the moral integrity of individuals without addressing themselves to the political and economic system which is at the root of the problem have been ineffective. The ruling class can always replace a Leo Szilard with an Edward Teller. What is needed now is not liberal reform or withdrawal, but a radical attack, a strategy of opposition. Scientific workers must develop ways to put their skills at the service of the people and against the oppressors.

This is what we are about, and this is why we are in attendance at this convention. There are perhaps many people here whom we would consider our brothers and sisters and with whom we wish to communicate and develop that strategy of opposition for scientific workers.

[At this point the speaker outlined the concept and examples of People's Science. See article "People's Science" on page 14 this issue.]

Finally, one brief word about free speech and the necessity for our insisting on this opportunity to address you. Men at the top of the scientific establishment can command at will the enormous audience the mass media provide access to, because their interests are congruent with those of the people who control the media. Similarly, scientists working within the accepted bounds of the AAA\$ establishment have easy access to the audience this organization can provide. We who are challenging the role science is playing in the United States today—that of serving ruling class interests—have to struggle for our supposed right of free speech. Speech, like the products of science, is freer for some than for others in a capitalist society. Of course the granting of equal time to opposition viewpoints does not create a climate of freedom when the two sides are not equally capable of putting what they have to say

into effect. Nevertheless, during the remainder of this convention, we will be insisting on some of your time and we intend to get it.

You still have the opportunity to work constructively with the movement for revolutionary change. There is still time to stop working for the man and start serving the people. But if scientists continue to provide the ruling class with more tools of oppression, people like us won't be standing here trying to communicate our ideas to you. Out of desperation and urgency, and because no other solution is available, we will be out in the streets, with all of those excluded from ruling-class privilege, doing everything we can to tear this racist, imperialist system to shreds.

The response of the audience was positive. They applauded extensively. They put down a heckler who shouted, "Why don't you go back to Russia?" and applauded again when someone answered the heckler, "Why don't you go back to Spain or Greece?"

Then Handler spoke. His talk was studded with quotes from establishment-party platforms, woeful cries about U.S. science losing world leadership and digs at women, students and dissenters. It merely ushered in the endless number of trite and boring presentations, to the extent that many looked forward to our activities at least to relieve the boredom.

B.F.





1970 CHICAGO A.A.A.S. ACTIONS: REVIEW AND CRITIQUE



Our major purpose was both critical and assertive -- critical of the technical and scientific obfuscation of the essentially political nature of the use, content, financial support and motivation of science in America and assertive of the need of a positive program of "people's science." (see "People's Science, page 14) We tried to sharpen our own critique and to raise critical awareness among our fellow scientific workers and we tried to elaborate the concept of people's science as a means for scientific workers to become part of liberation struggles and by organizing at the work place contribute to the revolutionary change which is the precondition for science that can truly serve the people. There were other secondary objectives; improving working relationships among ourselves, gathering new friends throughout the country, widening distribution of the magazine, etc. By a few examples we want to give an impression of the extent to which the major objectives were achieved.

Sharpening the critique and raising consciousness requires a situation which breaks down the silent compliance with the power structure that dominates the thinking of so many of our fellow scientists. The system depends on prohibiting dialogue on the most fundamental issues. Therefore, a setting had to be created in which scientific workers who have not adopted the competitive, aggressive "leadership" roles set up as the pattern for "success" are encouraged to express themselves. Their shared experience must be reinforced as the basis for an understanding of their role, the role of science and of the science establishment. This cannot happen in the usual structure of scientific meetings. So we had to change the structure.

If groups are to struggle against nonparticipatory, undemocratic structure, it is necessary that they don't replicate such structure in their own organizing. Hence, we were very sensitive to the need for exemplary behavior on our own part. In this we succeeded well. Rather than providing structure we provided the means for persons and groups to generate critical activities of all types in a participatory and democratic way. Chicago SESPA, with major support from University of Chicago New University Conference (NUC) People's Science Collective provided a logistic framework -- an activity center, meeting

rooms, projector, typewriter, mimeograph machine, sign-up lists, literature tables and breakdown of the AAAS program. Individuals could sell *Science for the People* magazine (1,200 sold), buttons or tend literature tables. Groups could put out leaflets, organize actions, guerilla theater, run workshops, show films. Workshops on radical ecology, unemployment, teaching science and people's science were organized by groups of persons from all over the country who had never met before. Coordinating meetings were scheduled every night, each was attended by 250-300 people. Responsibility was shared in a conscious effort to involve and encourage everyone in decision-making. Everyday there was a different group of persons to represent the coalition to the press. The press' usual practice of inventing leaders was thus largely thwarted. Many people found the comradeship and little services (free accommodations, messages, rider/driver matching, etc.) a refreshing contrast to the usual AAAS atmosphere. In this atmosphere great creativity and imagination was stimulated. We all learned.

AAAS meetings consist primarily of panels of 5 or so speakers delivering prepared talks of from 20 to 40 minutes on subjects that usually are stated in such a way as to establish premises that are not subjected to criticism. Passive audiences of 50-300 scientific workers and academics sit through the talks intimidated by the "expertise" of the speakers. Given the opportunity to raise questions after the speakers, they are, of course, unable to question premises or in any meaningful way participate -- an insidious spectator sport that sends them back to the work place or school primed full of the latest version of what the problems are, what science is about, and the whole mind-rotting bag of ideology that is needed to keep scientific workers, teachers and their students integrated into the system.

We will describe two panels at which we took action and thus illustrate the wide variety of techniques with which we experimented. At one of these, at which Edward Teller "the father of the H-bomb" appeared, we don't believe we were as successful as at the other, a panel on violence. The final event, the indictment of Glenn Seaborg has been widely publicized, but nowhere described fully. Since it is a good example of an action that combined elements of guerilla theater, confrontation, open discussion and a good analytical base, we will describe that also.

"Is there a Generation Gap in Science" is an example of how to frame a problem in such a way as to obscure the real issues. Margaret Mead chaired this panel of Albert Szent Gyorgi, Edward Teller, Richard Novick, and Fred Commoner with commentators Nancy Hicks and Stuart Newman. There was a gap alright -- a gap between the attitudes of everyone on the panel and most of the audience on the one side and Teller and his clique on the other.

As Teller began to speak two persons appeared on the platform with placards keyed to Teller's absurdities. They judiciously selected from among the placards to display quotes and descriptions that fit Teller's improvisations.

Teller stopped speaking; the placards distracted him. Someone yelled from the audience that the 10 bodyguards in the room distracted us all. Mead acknowledged the bodyguards with some inane comment, "a lot of Americans have guns too." Teller gave in and continued his talk while the placards continued to be displayed and the displayers pantomimed accusatory gestures at critical moments.

Szent Gyorgi, several years Teller's senior, had preceded him taking a critical and moralistic stand that acknowledged the widespread misuse of science. Novick, Commoner, Hicks and Newman followed; they were also critical. (Novick's and Newman's talks are excerpted in "Majority View" in this issue.) The press quoted Teller extensively and virtually ignored the fact of the panel's overwhelming disagreement with Teller.

In addition to the placards and the accusatory pantomime, there were two other actions. Novick followed his talk by presenting the second annual Dr. Strangelove Award to Teller in the name of SESPA (see next page). The presence of the bodyguards was ridiculed by a man with BODYGUARD printed across his T-shirt standing in mock guard behind Novick after the presentation. Both actions were in good fun and served the function of ridicule. But there was negligible audience participation and little analytic content to our actions. The moralistic tone of the Strangelove award helps us not at all to understand Teller as a product of society, as an exaggerated example of what so many of us and our colleagues are in part or might be. It provides no basis for scientists to immunize themselves against the appeal of Teller's attractive personality or his obvious capability as a physicist or his intelligence.

The Teller clique, evident at the beginning, remained loyal. The largely hostile audience remained hostile. Teller substituted the facade of a warm personality, of a dedicated and concerned citizen, for an honest discussion of his political role and the role of his science. We substituted moralistic rhetoric and ridicule for a critical discussion of how and why our society makes men like Teller tools of a moribund and destructive capitalist system.

The panels on "Crime, Violence and Social Control" were another story. There we succeeded in changing the structure and stimulating participation. The press made much of "disruption" and violence with a knitting needle (see *N.Y. Times*, Dec. 30) by a person whom, in its characteristic male-chauvinist way, it identifies only by her husband Garrett Hardin, P.P.P. (see "Birth Control in Amerika" in *Science for the People*, Vol.II, Dec.1970); but of the real content and positive effect of our actions nothing was reported.

At one of these panels, that on "The Community and Violence" we undertook to restructure the sessions as follows: (1) Each panelist would be given up to 5 minutes to summarize his presentation insofar as mimeographed reprints were available. (2) Anyone (audience or panel) could interrupt the speaker at any time to question a statement or premise. (3) Anyone in the audience could also speak up to 5 minutes only. (4) The primary subject was

S.E.S.P.A. IS NAUSEATED TO PRESENT ITS
SECOND* ANNUAL DR. STRANGELOVE
AWARD TO EDWARD TELLER

in recognition of his ceaseless efforts to follow in the footsteps of the great Peter Sellers. Dr. Teller, not content to rest on his laurels as "Father of the H-Bomb", has ceaselessly promoted the rapid development of all feasible systems of nuclear destruction.

He has argued for the indefinite continuation of atmospheric nuclear tests.

He has fought for the development and production of the ABM and MIRV weapons systems.

He has consistently espoused the practical use of nuclear weapons, most strikingly in his contention that "we must prepare for limited warfare—limited in scope, limited in objectives, but not limited in weapons. A localized limited nuclear war."

He has sought to create an atmosphere in which nuclear war would be possible by publicly belittling the effects of such weapons, as for example, in his statement, "The great majority of our citizens could survive a nuclear attack."

The name Edward Teller is recognized everywhere as a symbol of science in the service of warmakers. Nothing better exemplifies the absurdity of a "disinterested search for truth" funded by the DoD than his own philosophy:

The duty of scientists, specifically, is to explore and to explain. This duty led to the invention of the principles that made the hydrogen bomb a practical reality. In the whole development I claim credit in one respect only: I believed in the possibility of developing the thermonuclear bomb. My scientific duty demanded exploration of that possibility.

*NOTE: presentation of First Annual Award to M. M. May of Livermore is reported in "Report from Berkeley SESP," *Science for the People* vol. II, No. 2, Aug. 1970, p. 12.

to be "institutionalized violence" since that is the most prevalent form of violence in America. To accomplish this it was necessary to prevent the chairman from running the meeting in the usual way. We decided to replace him.

The chairman hung around, apparently feeling some loss of status in our attempt to replace him, but eventually felt compelled by the audience and panel participation to ineffectually punctuate everything that seemed to go on quite well without him. One panelist, a criminal judge, left; the others were cooperative.

At first those who spoke up from the audience were our people, but soon a beautiful thing happened: persons, obviously unaccustomed to speaking up, rose to speak. One man, perhaps in his seventies, spoke of the violence of Chicago housing conditions first explaining how he had never before spoken up. Women spoke of institutionalized violence to them. The panelists were challenged; there was every evidence that having a response was more meaningful to them than the usual sterile reading of a paper. Issues were dealt with as they came up. A black man disagreed with a woman's statement that tended to identify them by a common bond of similar oppression and violence. The issue was joined. Many spoke. The meeting room filled to capacity. To emphasize the necessary relationship between thought and action if science is to be relevant, a member of the Panther defense committee spoke of needs in Chicago and asked the audience to participate in counteracting the violence of inadequate medical care to poor people and blacks by contributing to a Panther-sponsored health clinic. Money was collected. Films were then shown followed by heated discussion with wide participation. The whole experience made it ever so clear how institutional forms are the instruments of the suppression of critical discussion—a change in structure, some exemplary participation and long-constrained ordinary people full of life experience and the pent-up need to participate, to express themselves and to change the world opened up. Watch out mother country! We're going to talk to one another, analyze our experience together and that's downright subversive. For, who knows, we may figure out what's wrong together and together change it all.

Seaborg's indictment (see page 12) was described by most of the nation's newspapers as a "disruption" and an attempt to "prevent Seaborg from speaking". The truth is that Seaborg chose not to speak rather than hear his indictment. In this he was true to form; according to *Time* of Jan.4, p.49 "... he has become something of a legend in Washington for his ability to duck controversy." At the AAAS, he ducked out the side door. But the indictment stands. Unlike the Teller Panel, this time we had done our homework. Neither Seaborg's presence nor personality were relevant.

A most boring panel, a small room, television and film lights all contributed to the sighing, restless atmosphere of boredom as the speakers preceding Seaborg mouthed on. Seaborg's turn came, he split. *Science for the People* moved to the front and the indictment was intoned through a bullhorn in semi-legalistic irony hold-

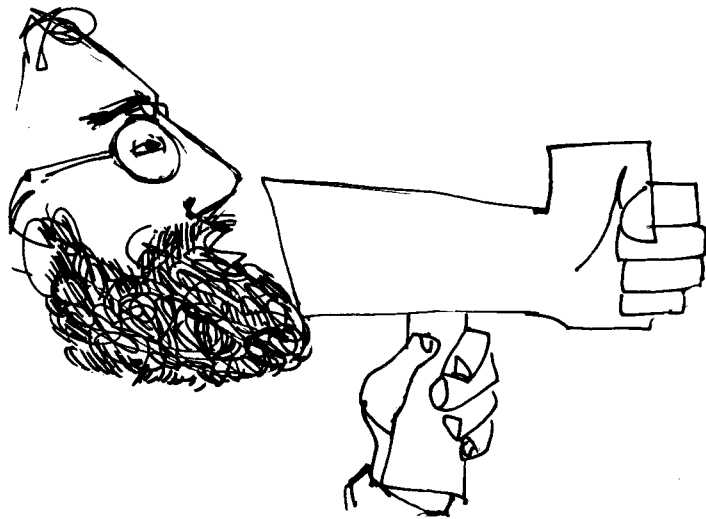
ing Seaborg up as the paradigm of ruling-class science coordinator. A group of women read a statement pointing out the duplicity in the council's failure to pass the resolutions (see *Science for the People*, Vol.II, Dec.1970, p.27) and the meaninglessness of the token resolution they did pass. Then it happened again. The room was alive. An old and a young woman sitting a few short minutes before in non-communication and bored now spoke animatedly. The newspaper said "bedlam"—yes, bedlam, the kind that occurs in a room full of people engaged in conversation

AAAS 1970 was an important experience for a lot of people. For us, for politically conscious activist scientific workers it was important both for the opportunities it presented and for what we learned. We learned how essential the given structures are to the maintenance of the uncritical thinking in which our brother and sister scientific workers (and ourselves) are imprisoned; we shall never again permit such structures to constrain us. We learned that moralistic *ad hominem* attacks are self-defeating; we must do our homework and analyze the institutional framework of science and the dynamics of integration and submission of scientists into capitalism. The enemy is the system, the complex interlocking social, economic and political structure that, having evolved, is reproduced, extended and adapted every day by most of us. This is the general schizophrenia: that we are extremely discontent in the very system in which we must participate to survive and to whose functioning we contribute by participating. Such a widespread ambiguity can only be resolved either by permanent self-hatred and cynicism or by a serious commitment to revolution. As revolutionary scientific workers we can empathize with our brothers and sisters standing confused in the wilderness. All of us can and must become aware through collective struggles of the contradictions of a system that breeds competition and hatred and which suppresses solidarity and love. This leads us of necessity to despise the grotesque exaggerations of the ugliest potential of the human spirit on the part of those who consciously identify with the system and who are at the same time its most dehumanized products.

The lines are clearly drawn. The polarization into those who unqualifiedly support this system and those who fight it at all levels progresses as more and more people become conscious of the inherent contradictions of capitalism.

We shall in time, make, by any means necessary, a world in which the noblest potential of the human spirit prevails.

The Boston Travellers



■ INDICTMENT OF GLENN T. SEABORG FOR THE CRIME OF SCIENCE AGAINST THE PEOPLE

We, scientific workers and students, here in Chicago at the annual meeting of the A.A.A.\$., do hereby on this, the 30th of December, 1970, indict you, Glenn T. Seaborg, for the crime of *SCIENCE AGAINST THE PEOPLE*.

SCIENCE AGAINST THE PEOPLE is a crime that in today's world has reached a scale unprecedented in history. For never before has the confluence of technological capability and the need to dominate affected so many people in so many parts of the world. You are guilty, Glenn T. Seaborg, of a conscious, major, self-serving and ruthless role in establishing, organizing, maintaining and developing institutions of science and government for effective use by the ruling class.

WE INDICT YOU FOR THE CRIME OF SCIENCE AGAINST ALL PEOPLE. You have been instrumental in the maintenance and aggressive extension of the American empire at the cost of untold human lives.

WE INDICT YOU FOR THE CRIME OF SCIENCE AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. You have been instrumental in channeling their goals and resources into the huge bureaucracies of waste and war.

In the maintenance of world hegemony for the profit-making, people-exploiting American empire such men as Seaborg are essential to create and adapt the institutional structures, to coordinate the complex interlocking parts of this monster of history, contemporary American imperialism. The mutually dependent Pentagon, Big Science, University System, and Federal Government plan and fund research and development of science against the people, for the use and profit of corporate America. In this, Glenn T. Seaborg has been instrumental as administrator, coordinator, and manager for the ruling class as a whole. He has performed this function, of coordinating and strengthening the dependence of science and universities on war and profit in a unique criminal history of holding key positions of responsibility in many of these institutions, for example:

Livermore Radiation Labs – where the U.S. nuclear strategy and hardware are developed.

University of California – where the minds of students are bent to the needs of the Empire.

Atomic Energy Commission – where megadeath development and radiation pollution development are directed.

Department of Defense – the primary institution for genocidal application of science against the people.

National Aeronautics and Space Administration – where the most outrageous forms of waste for profit are perpetuated in dishonest appeals to the noblest traditions of science and used to divert attention from the obvious neglect of peoples' needs.

The President's Science Advisory Committee – where the budget is manipulated for the support of this structure.

Today, Glenn T. Seaborg, already culpable in wholesale application of *SCIENCE AGAINST THE PEOPLE*, continues his criminal history. The ruling class, concerned about the diminishing support of science and the rising protest against the misuse of science, moves its loyal coordinator into the presidency of America's prime public relations agency of the Military, Industrial, Government, Big Science, University Complex -- The American Association for the Advancement of Science. The AAA\$ serves this function well because its undemocratic structure immunizes it against criticism by its disenfranchised scientific-worker membership, yet it is in a position to influence the public.

With his new tool, Seaborg will try to further dupe the American people into believing that science policies that serve the implementation of war and profit are part of a "human enterprise". Thus he also adds to his crimes the continuing development of collective schizophrenia among scientific workers who in five days of *talk* about "social responsibility" and participation in oblique discussion tacitly endorse the legitimacy of Seaborg, his nefarious role, and the whole criminal superstructure. For this last, we scientific workers are outraged. We indict you therefore, Glenn T. Seaborg, not only for the crime of *SCIENCE AGAINST ALL THE PEOPLE* and *AGAINST THE AMERICAN PEOPLE*, but also for your crimes against us, for your *SCIENCE AGAINST THE SCIENTIST*. Traitors have always been considered the most despised of criminals by the group they betray, and so it is with us, the scientific workers.



HERBICIDE OR GENOCIDE – WHICH CIDE ARE THEY ON

The destruction and distortion of all forms of life as a result of deliberate policies of the U.S. government were genially discussed by six panelists at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science on December 29, in Chicago.

In a panel entitled "Implications of Continued Military Use of Herbicides in South East Asia" the growing desperation of the U.S. cause in Vietnam was made clear to all objective observers. Those present also witnessed a graphic demonstration of the hideous mental derangement that arises as a reflex to the attempt to justify biocide.

Fred H. Tschirley, a biologist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture spoke about the birth defects resulting from the use of herbicide 2,4,5T in large areas of Vietnam. The issue of scientific concern was whether the mutations were caused by the herbicide itself or the contaminant dioxane. Dioxane has definitely been linked to these effects in both Vietnamese and laboratory animals, while 2,4,5T only produces them when given to animals

at a higher dose than that given to Vietnamese. Thus Dr. Tschirley.

Brigadier General William Stone, former Director of Chemical and Nuclear Operations, U.S. Army, assured those present that the chemicals were "starving out the V.C.," and thus a military boon, while Harvard liberals Professors Matthew Messelson and Samuel Popkin expressed the gentlemanly disagreement that civilians were also being harmed and thus "the enemy" would gain support as long as the U.S. continued these policies.

George Bunn, a professor of law at the University of Wisconsin, said that the North Vietnamese would "probably be within their rights" if they were to try American soldiers as war criminals for carrying out policies in violation of international law. When questioned from the audience on the possibilities of initiating similar proceedings against other members of the panel, Professor Bunn replied that he knew of no way in which this could be done.

Fortunately there are others more imaginative.

S.N.

■ *The following article which elaborates the concept of People's Science was widely distributed at the AAA\$ meetings in Chicago, December 26-30, 1970.*

The 1969 meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (A.A.A.S.) was attended by radical scientific workers wearing buttons emblazoned with red fists and the inscription "Science for the People". They chastized the scientific establishment for uncritically creating knowledge, technology, and hardware which promoted military and corporate interests through the impoverishment and oppression of people here in America and around the world. We are here in Chicago to continue that struggle, and to drive home the point that scientific work has become inevitably political.

One very basic connection between scientific research and politics is that the former has come to be funded almost exclusively by the government and the large corporations (if not directly, then through various tax-exempt foundations). Thus, the goals of government and business, as well as their interactions, typically dominate the politics of scientific research. Common interests unite the various levels of government and corporations into an interconnected and interdependent network. This network is comprised of a very small minority of the population which exercises an inordinate amount of control over the majority. Under corporate capitalism, this minority constitutes a small ruling class with the achieved purpose of highly efficient domestic exploitation of human and material resources and even more efficient imperial robbery in our foreign economic preserves. This ruling class has made no secret of its willingness to use anything, including scientific research, to achieve its primary and overriding objective: the maintenance and enhancement of its own power.

This criticism of the scientific establishment increasingly comes from within as scientific workers themselves begin to evaluate their work in terms of the uses to which it is put. This is neither surprising nor avoidable at a time when so many oppressive and exploitive institutions in our society are finding it more difficult to function because of increasingly vigorous political opposition. However, the infusion of politics into scientific activities raises perplexing, but critical, questions. Is it possible for a scientific worker who desires meaningful social change in our society to put his talents to work for a movement capable of achieving that change, or must his politics remain split off from his work? What kinds of scientific work would be capable of furthering such a movement, i.e., what exactly would be the content of a true "Science for the People?"

To answer these questions we must grasp the extent to which scientific work affects our lives. The most obviously malevolent application of science is to military technology, as can be seen in nuclear weapons, chemical and biological warfare agents, and sophisticated counter-insurgency technology now in use in Vietnam.

PEOPLE'S SCIENCE

These perversions of science have not occurred without opposition. Several of the early atomic researchers tried unsuccessfully to prevent an A-bomb detonation over humans.¹ In the 1950's, scientific workers and laymen combined in a movement opposed to nuclear weapons tests because of the harmful effects of radioactive fallout. In the 1960's, widespread public criticism was directed against the Army's stockpiling and research activities in the area of chemical and biological warfare.

After the onset of the American war in Vietnam, a surge of protest grew within the universities against the Department of Defense research being conducted there. Individual campus actions, such as those directed against Operation Spicerack at the University of Pennsylvania or against the Stanford Research Institute, were accompanied by nationally coordinated efforts such as those opposed to the research of the Institute for Defense Analysis or the recruitment by the Dow Chemical Co. During the past year, radical caucuses have been organized in the American Physical Society, the American Medical Association, the American Sociological Association, and many other professional organizations.

While all of this is encouraging, it falls far short of

¹ These scientists succeeded in lobbying for civilian management of nuclear energy (Atomic Energy Commission); but in failing to realize how well the government had integrated civilian and military interests, their original vision of the AEC was lost. And now in 1970 we see the final integration of military, public sector and private sector science as Glenn Seaborg, current chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission and ex-chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, takes over the presidency of the AAA\$.

what is required. Hit and miss opposition may achieve short range goals, but it is impotent in the long run. As far back as the 15th Century, Da Vinci refused to publish plans for a submarine because he anticipated that it would be used as a weapon. In the 17th Century, for similar reasons, Boyle kept secret a poison he developed. Such individual actions, however, are eventually outflanked by the work and cooperation of other researchers. Now especially, scientific knowledge is accumulating so rapidly that opposition to any specific project is often obsolete before the struggle against it has run its course. Questioning the "humanity" of individual scientific projects is not enough. Scientific workers themselves are seriously wrong in assuming that personal prostitution to the rich and powerful can be avoided simply by refusing to participate in only that work which is narrowly useful to those in power, such as weapons, counterinsurgency, or technological research. For these reasons we need an analysis of the role of science in our society which will enable us to act collectively against socially destructive uses of science.

It is not surprising to find the ruling class funding applied research which is narrowly beneficial to them. Because their goal is to increase their own power (and/or wealth), this work is counter to the real interests of those upon whom that power is exercised, that is, the majority of the people. We are all aware of examples of this type of research: developing guidance systems for intercontinental ballistic missiles, inventing weapons like chemical Mace, designing new techniques of drilling for oil, etc. Applied research of this kind because it is clearly war-related or exploitative requires no further discussion.

But this same ruling class also supports almost all of our basic or, to use the euphemism, "pure" research; it is called pure because it is ostensibly performed not for specific applications but only to seek the truth. Many scientific workers engaged in some form of basic research do not envision any applications of their work, and thus believe themselves absolved of any responsibility for such applications. Others perform basic research in hopes that it will lead to the betterment of mankind. In either case, these scientific workers have failed to understand the contemporary situation.

Basic research is closely followed by those in a position to reap the benefits of its application—the government and the corporations and their tax-exempt foundations. Since these are the institutions which fund the work in the first place, all research proposals must be submitted to them. Thus, they are not only able to determine which research gets done and which does not, but they also have first access to the scientific workers' ideas and judgments of the potential gain in pursuing various investigations. Furthermore, only the government and the corporations have the resources and staff to keep abreast of as much of the research in the scientific community as they wish to and to mount the technology necessary for its application. This is easily accomplished given the openness of professional meetings, as well as the individual scientific workers incentives to publish the results of

their work.

As the attention paid by government and corporations to scientific research has increased, the amount of time required to apply it has decreased. In the last century, fifty years elapsed between Faraday's demonstration that an electric current could be generated by moving a magnet near a piece of wire and Edison's construction of the first central power station. Only seven years passed between the recognition that the atomic bomb was theoretically possible and its detonation over Hiroshima. The transistor went from invention to sale in a mere three years. More recently, research on the laser beam was barely completed when engineers began using it to design new weapons for the government and new long distance transmission systems for the telephone company.

The result is that in many ways discovery and application, scientific research and engineering, can no longer be distinguished from each other. Our technological society has brought them so close together that they can only be considered part of the same process. Consequently, while most scientific workers are motivated by humane considerations, or a detached pursuit of truth for truth's sake, their discoveries cannot be separated from applications which all too frequently destroy or debase human life.

Theoretical and experimental physicists provided the knowledge out of which hydrogen bombs were made. Mathematicians, geophysicists, metallurgists, astrophysicists, and others wittingly or unwittingly made the discoveries necessary to construct ballistic missiles. Physicists working in the areas of optics and infrared spectroscopy enabled government and corporate engineers to build detection and surveillance devices currently in use in Vietnam. Anthropologists studying social systems of mountain tribes in Southeast Asia did work for the Central Intelligence Agency, even if unwittingly. The basic research of molecular biologists, biochemists, cellular physiologists, neuropsychologists, and physicians was essential for the creation of chemical and biological weapons, defoliants, herbicides, DDT, and gaseous crowd control devices. Findings in the social psychology of attitude change have helped the advertising industry to manipulate public taste and buying habits for the benefit of the corporate profit-makers. Methodology developed in the area of psychometric testing and evaluation enabled the Selective Service System to pick, channel, and train men for war. The work of sociologists and anthropologists on the Third World has been used by the U.S. government to help maintain ruling elites in power. This list is hardly exhaustive. Indeed it barely scratches the surface.

If we are to take seriously the observations that discovery and application are practically inseparable, it follows that basic researchers have more than a casual responsibility for the widespread ruling-class application of their work, despite their predictable inability to prevent or control these applications. The economic and political ruling class which funds research and sponsors

its applications, systematically functions in a manner geared to enhance and maintain its own power. For this reason, most discoveries lead first to exploitive and weapons applications and only much later to uses which entail at least some peripheral benefits for most of the people, providing, of course, that there is a profit to be made by distributing such benefits. For this reason the possible consequences of research in progress or planned for the future must be subjected to careful scrutiny. This is not always easy. The following few examples might indicate, perhaps, the scope of the job.

Basic research in meteorology and geophysics gives rise to the hope that man might one day be capable of exerting a high level of control over the weather. However, such techniques could easily be used to produce massively destructive typhoons or droughts over "enemy" countries like North Vietnam or China. As far back as 1960 the U.S. Navy published a paper on just this possibility and the need to develop the requisite techniques before the Russians did. Physicists working in the areas of optics and planetary orbits have provided knowledge which the American military was, and might still be, considering for the development of satellites in stationary orbit over Vietnam equipped with gigantic mirrors capable of reflecting the sun and illuminating the countryside at night. While scientific workers perform experiments on the verbal communication of dolphins, the Navy for years has been investigating the possibility of training them to carry torpedoes and underwater cameras strapped to their backs. Not surprisingly, much of the support for basic research on dolphins comes from the Office of Naval Research. Neurophysiologists are developing a technique called Electric Brain Stimulation in which microelectrodes capable of receiving radio signals are permanently implanted in areas of the brain known to control certain gross behaviors. Thus, radio signals selectively transmitted to electrodes in various parts of the brain are capable of eliciting behaviors like rage or fear or of stimulating appetites for food or sex. The possibilities of implanting these electrodes in the brains of mental patients or prisoners (even welfare recipients or professional soldiers) should not be underestimated, especially since such uses might be proposed for the most humane reasons. Again, the list of examples could be extended indefinitely.

Unfortunately, the problem of evaluating basic research does not end with such obscene misapplications as these. There is another major problem. Our economic system of corporate capitalism demands that the products of scientific research are not equally distributed to, equally available to, or equally useable by, all of the people. These products, like any other products and services in a corporate capitalistic society, are marketed for profit. They are channeled through an organization and distribution of scarcity that is inhuman in its inequity and at the same time perpetuates the system itself. For to make the products and services inaccessible to poor and low-income people while making them the prerogative of the more privileged workers serves to

keep these groups in antagonism to one another and thus unable to unite against the system that exploits and denies the humanity of them all.

For example, research in comparative and developmental psychology has shown that enriching the experience of infants and young children, by increasing the variety and complexity of shapes, colors, and patterns in their environment might increase their intelligence as it is conventionally defined. As these techniques become more standardized, manufacturers are beginning to mar-



ket their versions of them in the form of toys at a price prohibitive to the poor. Or, many hundreds of millions of dollars are currently being spent for basic research in aerodynamics, metallurgy, radiation chemistry, and other sciences so that a supersonic transport (SST) aircraft can be built. This is tax money which the government spends on *subsidies to corporations* and research grants. Thus, the development costs of the SST have been socialized; that is, we all help pay for them. Obviously, the profit derived from the planes will belong only to a few persons. In the end a product that everyone deserves to share will be used only by an elite (estimates of the percent of Americans who have ever been up in an airplane

run as low as 10%). The distribution of the products of science in a capitalist economy enhances the already existing oppression.

On a larger scale, nearly all of the people and most organizations of people lack the financial resources to avail themselves of some of the most advanced technology that arises out of basic research. Computers, satellites, and advertising, to name only a few, all rely on the findings of basic research. These techniques are not owned by, utilized by, or operated for, the mass of the



people, but instead function in the interests of the government and the large corporations. The people are not only deprived of the potential benefits of scientific research, but corporate capitalism is given new tools with which to extract profit from them. For example, the telephone company's utilization of the basic research on laser beams will enable it to create superior communications devices. This, in turn, will contribute toward binding together and extending the American empire commercially, militarily, and culturally.

The thrust of these examples, which could easily be elaborated and multiplied, is that the potentially beneficial achievements of scientific technology do not es-

cape the political and economic context. Rather, they emerge as products which are distributed by the system in an inequitable way, thus insuring the continued fragmentation of working people into competing and antagonistic groups. Unhappily, in a highly developed capitalist economy the best one can hope for is that scientific research be merely maldistributed rather than misapplied in ways which directly threaten life. New knowledge capable of application in ways which would alleviate the many injustices of capitalism and imperialism is either not created in the first place or is made worthless by the limited resources of the victims.

An analysis of scientific research merely begins with a description of how it is misapplied and maldistributed. The next step must be an unequivocal statement that scientific activity in a technological society is not, and cannot be, politically neutral or value-free. Some people, after Hiroshima and Nuremberg, have accepted this. Others still argue that science should be an unbridled search for truth not subject to a political or a moral critique. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man in charge of the Los Alamos project which built and tested the first atomic bombs, said in 1967 that "our work has changed the conditions in which men live, but the use made of these changes is the problem of governments, not of scientists." A pathetic comment from a man so alienated from his best creative efforts that he felt no responsibility for the uses to which they are put. But also a ridiculous comment, like a claim of innocence and disinterest from someone who has just left a loaded gun on a table between two others he found locked in a passionate and irrational argument.

Oppenheimer's attitude, justified by the slogan of truth for truth's sake, is fostered in our society and has prevailed. It was first advanced centuries ago by people who assumed that an increase in available knowledge would automatically lead to a better world. This was a time when the results of scientific research would not easily be anticipated. Today, in a modern technological society, this analysis is a rationalization for socially destructive behavior, put forth by people who at best are motivated by a desire for the intelligent pleasure of research, and often are merely after money, status, and soft jobs. It would be lame indeed to continue to argue that the possible unforeseen benefits which may arise from scientific research in a capitalist society will inevitably outweigh the clearly foreseeable harm.

No particularly nasty trick of scientific application was visited upon the nuclear physicists who did the research which resulted in the bomb. They simply assumed a somewhat notorious vanguard role. We don't have two governments, one which beneficently funds research and another which malevolently kills in the ghetto, in Latin America, and in Southeast Asia. Nor do we have two corporate structures manipulating for profit on the one hand while desiring social equity and justice on the other. Rather, there is a single government-corporate axis which supports research with the intention of acquiring powerful tools, of both the hard and software varieties, for the

pursuit of exploitative and imperial goals.

In this society, at this time, it is not possible to escape the political implications of scientific work. In 1946, Leo Szilard, who had been wartime co-director of the University of Chicago experiments which led to the first self-sustaining chain reaction, quit physics in disillusion over the manner in which the government had used his work. He devoted the rest of his life to research in molecular biology. In subsequent years other physicists followed Szilard's lead into biology, including Donald Glaser, the 1960 recipient of the Nobel Prize in physics. Yet in 1969, James Shapiro, one of the group of microbiologists who first isolated a pure gene, announced that for *political* reasons he was going to stop doing *any* research. Shapiro's decision points up the inadequacy of Szilard's, but is no less inadequate itself. The damage was done. The research was complete and published and therefore is now in the 'wrong' hands.

What is to be done? Traditional attempts to reform scientific activity, to disentangle from its more malevolent and vicious applications have failed. Actions designed to preserve the moral integrity of individuals without addressing themselves to the political and economic system which is at the root of the problem have been ineffective. The ruling class can always replace a Szilard with a Teller. What is needed now is not liberal reform or withdrawal, but a radical attack, a strategy of opposition. Scientific workers must develop ways to put their skills at the service of the people and against the oppressors.

There are actions we can take immediately which do not demand a high degree of organization or preparation. For example, we can contribute scientific services very publically to nations with revolutionary regimes, following the lead of many who have volunteered for work in Cuba. We can begin to move away from that kind of professionalism which leads to scientific elitism, the creation of hierarchical authority relationships in classrooms and laboratories, and the fragmenting of scientific work off from the political and economic context in which it is performed.

It is impossible to escape the contradictions inherent in operating within establishment institutions. To a greater or lesser extent one is forced to do what the institutions require, and to that extent one serves the institution's goals. Nevertheless, some radical objectives can be achieved, especially if they are treated as personal priorities. Science and technology, with their accompanying machines, jargon, and ways of conceptualizing things, exert a powerful influence over people's lives, the more so when they are only barely understood. One thing scientific workers can do is to explain and demystify science so that it can be brought within the people's understanding. Those in teaching positions have a unique opportunity to begin doing this. For example, courses in any of the biological sciences should be considered incomplete if they do not deal with the political reasons why our society is committing ecological murder/suicide. Courses in psychopathology should spend at least as much time on our government officials and our insanely competitive ec-

onomic system as they do on the tortured souls incarcerated in our mental hospitals, many of whom would not be there in the first place if they lived in a society where normality and sanity were synonymous. Within these and other disciplines, individuals can prepare reading lists and syllabi to assist colleagues interested in teaching such courses.

However, the most significant and exciting alternative available to radical scientists is participation in the creation of what might be called a "People's Science." Ideally, the task of building a movement for radical social change should enable the participant to perform work which is both individually satisfying and socially meaningful. In this regard, scientists have a unique opportunity. The movement which is gradually taking shape all around us will require certain kinds of new knowledge which can be developed out of scientific research. Both the potentiality of radical science and the complexity of developing it can be illustrated by considering what a people's medicine could be.

The illustration must begin with an understanding of how existing medical research and practice does not serve the health needs of the people. The discovery of

SCIENCE FOR VIETNAM

Disassociate yourself from Nixon's war and express your solidarity with the people of Vietnam. Join a growing coalition to help the Vietnamese in problems of development and reconstruction by direct scientific collaboration with the University of Hanoi, the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and other institutions. Projects include biomedical technology, especially relating to pellet bomb injuries, rehabilitation of poisoned soils and devastated forests, development in computer sciences, obtaining seed varieties for agriculture, and collecting books and reprints for special courses in basic sciences in Vietnamese universities.

The help of both scientists and nonscientists is needed. Contact: Levins/Lewontin, Biology Dept., Univ. Chicago, Chicago, Ill., 60637

LET YOUR SCIENCE SERVE THE PEOPLE

a specific disease cure or preventive measure invariably depends upon prior basic research which is frequently linked to nonmedical misapplications, often before it is used to produce disease cures. For example, the work of microbiologists who are decoding the DNA molecule gives hope for the genetic control of a wide variety of birth defects. Already this research has been used by government and military technicians to breed mutant strains of virulent microbes for germ warfare. Further, it is not unreasonable to expect that some day this research will lead to genetic engineering capable of producing various human subpopulations for the use of those who are in technological control. These might include especially aggressive soldiers for a professional army, strong drones to perform unpleasant physical labor, or 'philosopher kings' to inherit control from those already possessed of it.

Applied medical research, as well as the more basic variety typified by DNA work, is no less free of the possibility of misapplication. More than purely humane consequences could emerge from one of the latest dramatic medical advances, organ transplantation. Christian Barnard has publically urged that people be educated to "donate" their organs. It is not overly visionary to imagine that society's underclass, whose labor is decreasingly in demand, might be nourished as a collective 'organ bank.' If this occurred, it would most probably be on a *de facto* rather than *de jure* basis, as is the case with other forms of class and racial oppression. That is, monetary and other incentives would be instituted to encourage 'volunteers' so that direct coercion would be unnecessary. Models for the poor selling parts of their bodies already exist in the very old personage of the wet nurse and the more modern indigent professional blood donors.

The misapplication of medical or premedical knowledge is, however, only half of the problem. The tragically overcrowded and understaffed city and county hospitals of our large metropolitan areas testify to the inequities and class biases in the distribution of medical knowledge as well. People here and throughout the world needlessly suffer and die because the money to pay for, the education with which to understand, or the physical proximity to modern medicine has been denied them. By virtue of this, much of medical research has taken place for exclusive or primary use by the affluent.

Some medical discoveries have been equitably and, at least in our society, almost universally distributed. The Salk and Sabin vaccines are one example. Yet, one is forced to wonder if this would have occurred had polio been less contagious. If the people who are in charge of our public health services could have protected their own children without totally eradicating polio, would they have moved as fast and as effectively? Witness their *ability* to prevent or reverse malnutrition, while thousands of children suffer from it within our borders alone. In fact, while the polio vaccine may have been an exception, the gravest problem we face in terms of disease is not discovering new cures



or preventive measures. Rather it is discovering ways of equitably distributing the medical knowledge we already possess, and that, ultimately, is a political problem.

It's not by accident that the first groups to deal with the problem of the people's health needs have been political organizations. The free people's health center movement arose from the initiative of the Black Panther Party and was picked up quickly by other peoples groups such as the Young Lords Organization. This sparked the mobilization of health and scientific workers into groups like the Student Health Organization and the Medical Committee for Human Rights which are among the most highly developed efforts to provide Science for the People.

It is through organizations like these that health science workers can begin to provide real medical service for the people. However, in a free people's health center one can provide more than simply diagnosis and treatment. One can begin to think of medical problems as social problems and through medical education begin to loosen the dependency of people on medical 'expertise.' Furthermore, medical research can be oriented to the immediate and perceived needs of the people. For example, a simple way of detecting lead paint poisoning was developed by health workers in New York for the Young Lords. This enabled the Young Lords to serve their people and to organize them to struggle against their oppression.

It is this type of scientific practice that most clearly characterizes People's Science. It directly serves the most oppressed and impoverished classes and strengthens their ability to struggle. The development of People's Science will depend upon achieving these and other characteristics. For example, any discoveries or emergent technology would have to be easily within the people's means. This would also mitigate against their use as a method of generating individual or corporate profit. Finally, we must carefully avoid developing anything which can be used as weapons against the people, whether in the natural or social sciences. Programs posing as meeting the needs of the people but which in fact strengthen the existing political system and defuse their ability to struggle are the opposite of People's Science. Thus, the liberal panacea of pouring funds into social science research and creating Oak Ridge type institutions for the social sciences (as discussed in the pages of *Science*) is no more likely to serve the people than the namesake institution has. The social sciences are not performed in a political vacuum any more than the natural sciences are. They all serve the same masters.

A good deal of creative imagination will be necessary to develop People's Science projects. Nonetheless, many opportunities do exist. Workers in the medical and social sciences could help design a program for client-controlled day care centers which would serve the women's liberation movement, and which would explain how to educate young people into the rich humanity and non-competitive spirit of socialist men and women who are dedicated to fighting for socialism. Political scientists and sociologists could research ruling elites and power struc-

tures. Groups like the North American Congress for Latin America have already done exemplary work in this area. Biologists and chemists could develop an all-purpose gas mask for which the necessary materials are simple, easy to assemble, readily available, and cheap. Physiologists and others could perform definitive research in nutrition which would enable the people to nourish themselves most effectively at the least cost. Ecologists could design and distribute simple kits for the detection of environmental poisoning. People's Science for self-defense has been developed and used in liberation struggles in World War II France, the Warsaw Ghetto, in colonial America, in Algeria, in Vietnam, in the U.S. These combine the qualities of being readily available to the people, and useless to their highly technological opposition. Many other examples can be imagined, such as creating a body of nontechnical medical knowledge useable by sensible laymen, developing organizing methodology for the movement, performing economic research for consumer unions.

If projects like these are to constitute a real People's Science, they will have to achieve more than the straightforward research objectives. The specific solutions which emerge through research should provide issues of techniques around which people can be organized to act in their own self-interest. Serious radical political work of any character demands ties both to community organizations and to political groupings with broad and long-range perspectives; People's Science is no exception. Projects must flow out of both the needs and demands of the people and be related to the political priorities of the movement as a whole. In practice this means consulting with and relying on the experience of community and movement groups, and taking seriously the criticisms and suggestions that they put forth. If they are serious, each People's Science group must develop means of financially supporting themselves and their work, and also must see that an important part of their task lies in the dissemination and utilization of what they produce.

The notion of a People's Science is not proposed lightly. The time has come for scientific workers to begin meeting in small groups and discussing People's Science, initially from a general political perspective, but soon afterwards from the perspective of developing specific projects they might undertake. Scientific workers must succeed in redirecting their professional activities away from services to the forces and institutions they oppose and toward a movement they wish to build. Short of this, no matter how much they desire to contribute to the solution, they remain part of the problem.

People's Science Collective
New University Conference

MAJORITY VIEW

Newspapers and TV throughout the country blazoned reports of "disruption" at the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) panel entitled "Is there a Generation Gap in Science." Edward Teller, "father of the H-bomb" was extensively quoted. What they did not say was that the "gap" at the panel was between Teller and all the rest of the panel, who, from somewhat different points of view, were critical of Teller's role and the present relationship of science to society. We are not clear as to what the press meant by "disruption" but no speaker was prevented from delivering his or her entire presentation. Representative remarks from the majority position are presented here.

Albert Szent Gyorgi, Nobel prize winner and senior member of the panel bemoaned the immoral use of science and, referring to science as "a cogwheel in the machinery of the modern state", implicitly condemned the misuse of science to which Teller is so avidly dedicated.

Teller followed with remarks that departed from his original text and which, in some sense, were more political than he had originally intended—this clearly a result of our actions [see "1970 Chicago AAAS Actions: Review and Critique" p. 8.]

Richard Novick, geneticist from N.Y. Public Health Institute followed with a discussion of the growing awareness of scientific workers and others of the pervasive utilization of scientific knowledge and technological development for private use of a government/industrial/military complex in neglect of, and against, the common people. As evidence of this awareness, Novick offered,

"... many young and not-so-young people are finding it more and more difficult to continue their chosen careers within the social and political context of present-day America; scientists are renouncing their profession, students are dropping out of their studies, and teachers are urging their students to do likewise. A great many others are contemplating leaving science because of deep conscientious misgivings over the consequence of their work."

With respect to the nature of the growing aware-

ness, he pointed out that,

"... the image of freedom, brotherhood, equality, and goodwill upon which, we are told, this nation was founded and by which it has heretofore succeeded in portraying itself has been demolished by its exposure as a sham."

Novick then elaborated some of the many reasons for the failure of the American ideology. He cited as an example the contradiction between the ideology of individual freedom and the reality:

"The land and natural resources of our country are public property; their private ownership and unrestricted exploitation for private profit are anathema to the needs of the people."

In addition to citing examples of the anti-people nature of the system in the category of the well-known destructive consequences of war activity, he also described the more-prevalent systemic consequences of American capitalism; for example:

"The pharmaceutical industry has consistently shown the highest profit margins of any industrial group in the country and this situation has been unaffected by the current business recession and by restrictions on the marketing of drugs imposed by legislation—hardly a record to be proud of for an industry whose primary concern is supposed to be serving the health needs of the people. How is this managed? By exorbitant profits, by price fixing, and by a promotion campaign that eats up 25% of gross income. This campaign, in order to promote unneeded drugs and to encourage the massive overuse of useful ones falsifies expectations, plays down side effects and creates a self-serving mass market by "educating" doctors and by publicizing prescription drugs in the lay press. A simple calculation based on advertising budgets shows that pharmaceutical companies spend approximately \$5,000 per year per prescribing physician in this campaign. For example, I picked up a popular medical magazine the other day and found 28 drug ads: 11 for antibiotics, 7 for tranquilizers, and 10 for all other products combined. Is it any wonder that the overuse of psychoactive drugs is sweeping the country? Recent investigations have shown that half of the young people on psychoactive drugs come from families where the mother has been a long term user of tranquilizers."

That the problems are systemic and not simply the consequence of evil people doing evil things is also brought out in his description of the dilemma of the researcher. What is

"... difficult to deal with is the realization by a scientist that even the most innocent and fundamental of his discoveries are likely to be exploited for private gain, forged into weapons, or used for other unsavory purposes, possibly far in the future."

As an example he cited the "universal desirability of understanding the functional relationships between different parts of the human brain" or perhaps even "... of discovering where in the brain centers for the control of different kinds of behavior are located, . . ." and yet

"The fact that these studies are financed heavily by the U.S. Navy and Air Force, and the existence of colonies of monkeys with brain electrodes at Holloman Air Force Base and Edgewood Arsenal, would I feel certain, strike terror into the heart of any sensitive scientist who has had a hand in the basic discoveries . . ."

Novick, unlike so many speakers at the AAAS, did not hesitate to draw the obvious conclusion from his analysis:

"While we as scientists must endeavor vigorously to make known our feeling on the uses of the results of our research, history shows that much more is required if we are to have a significant voice. It seems to me that if we as scientific workers were to join with other workers and organize ourselves at our places of work, we could be an effective social force to resist the subordination of technological progress to the purposes of private profit and war—could use our knowledge to support demands that the fruits of our research be used to serve real human needs.

Not only scientific workers but other workers also must learn to use their organizational power to prevent misuse of the end product of their labors—must learn to demand more of their employers than just increase in wages and benefits. It is high time, for example, that workers in automobile factories demanded that their companies produce safe, long-lasting, inexpensive cars and worked to create economic conditions such that the fulfillment of these demands would not cost them their jobs. It is high time workers in war plants demanded an end to the manufacture of bombs, tanks and missiles. It is about time that workers in paper mills and power plants demanded an end to the despoliation of water and air caused by their factories, and it is about time that workers in chemical plants refuse to produce napalm and phosphorus and herbicides."

Fred Commoner, Harvard freshman, and Nancy Hicks, N.Y. Times science writer followed Novick. They were also generally critical of Teller's position.

Stuart Newman of the University of Chicago began his talk by pointing out that the panel title "Is there a Generation Gap in Science"

"... is a misleading question that encourages misguided answers. There is certainly some kind of gap in science, but it is a gap between those whom science is used for and those whom it is used against, between those who can appropriate the product of science to increase their profit and those from whom the profit is extracted, between those who get to participate in science and those who are ex-

cluded. This gap is based on concrete social relations, not in anything as transitory as age.

Nevertheless, the question is there to occupy our efforts, decreed from above, as are many other questions in scholarly and scientific circles. Problem for physics: how can we best design a nuclear bomb? Problem for chemistry: what is the most efficient defoliant for jungles, or herbicides for rice paddies? Problem for economics: assuming profits remain untouched, how much unemployment is necessary to combat x amount of inflation? Problem for sociology: assuming the sanctity of private ownership of industry, how can you best give laborers a sense of participation in their work?

The problems for establishment scientific research don't just fall from the sky. They are part and parcel of a social and economic system fraught with irreconcilable antagonisms and contradictions. They are not the problems of the majority of the people, but those who want to keep the majority in line."

Newman also referred to the quandry of concentration on basic research.

"Those who think they can avoid these quandries by concentrating on basic research should reflect on how even this has been degraded by the technological, cost efficient cast all U.S. science has taken on during the years of the peak and decline of the American Empire. Dr. Teller in his prepared statement mentioned that our real understanding of nature has not appreciably increased in the last 25 years, but he has obscured the causes by not placing this fact in a proper context. We have no theory of the atomic nucleus, but we can certainly meddle with it enough to make great bombs. We have no theory of biological organization or development, but we're on the verge of genetic engineering. Quantum mechanics has no consistent realistic interpretation, but who cares, as long as we can build lasers for communication and counterinsurgency. If we can manipulate and technologize, to hell with the understanding, or so the funding would indicate, and so the students are taught."

Like Novick, Newman didn't hesitate to follow his own analysis. He introduced *The People's Peace Treaty* with these remarks:

"At this point, since radicals are often accused of criticizing and offering no programs, I will read an example of an experimental proposal for a social scientific problem which is one that the majority of the American people want solved, but which a minority want to keep them from solving. This problem is being worked on by many people, some younger, some older, and to solve it it is necessary to have a scientific understanding of how our society operates. The problem is: how do we end the war in Vietnam?"

H. F.

PEOPLES PEACE TREATY

The People's Peace Treaty is a national program to end the war in Southeast Asia. By firmly dissociating themselves from the aggression against the Vietnamese, and working to impede the U.S. government's warmaking efforts, opponents of the war in all sectors of American society can for once focus their energies on a single but multileveled strategy that could ultimately render its continuation impossible.

The National Liberation Front has already won the war in the countryside. U.S. officials admit the NLF controls most of rural Vietnam, and even in the cities or regions the U.S. claims are under Saigon's control, Washington has never alleged that the population is politically loyal to Saigon's cause. In fact, many instances have been reported of villages not contesting nominal U.S. - Saigon domination to avoid the common fate of being "destroyed in order to be saved." (For instance, Gabriel Kolko, *Three Documents on the National Liberation Front*, p.9.)

The U.S. and Saigon forces have been driven back into a few city and coastal enclaves swollen with bitter refugees forced from their village homes by U.S. bombing and "pacification" missions. During the past year, these refugees have been joined by large sections of the urban population who previously showed little open resistance to the war, in coalitions demanding total U.S. withdrawal and the ouster of the Thieu-Ky-Khiem regime. Even those people in the cities who up until now have escaped the full brunt of the bombing and massacres of the countryside have had their lives devastated by the conscription of all young men, the increasing political censorship and repression by the Saigon government, rampant inflation, and wholesale prostitution. (There are now at least 400,000 prostitutes in Vietnam.) All this has been the consequence of the continuation of the war through "Vietnamization" which Nixon has proposed as a cheap way to win a military victory for the U.S. government through the expenditure of Vietnamese lives. Last spring's joining of forces of the NLF and a broad range of previously unaligned groups into a provisional revolutionary government (PRG) represented a new and thoroughgoing unity of the majority of Vietnamese in the face of U.S. aggression. With these developments, the Thieu-Ky government -- never popular -- has lost virtually all support outside of the White House and Pentagon. Even their own administrative bureaucracy, according to CIA reports, includes at least 30,000 NLF supporters.

Within the United States, the largely war-caused inflation is increasingly cutting into the real incomes of all wage earners. It is the rare exception when a labor union can gain a settlement for its members which does not lag too far behind the cost of living. Funds for the more "frivolous" aspects of scientific research, such as graduate student support, health research, and work not directly applicable, are being cut back so that the dollar efficiency of science consonant with the government's aims is increased. Only the wealthy and powerful can avoid paying for the war in terms of lives, inflation, taxes, and job loss. The poor, black, and brown have no such advantages.

Americans have voted for two successive presidents on solemn promises to end the war. No nationwide poll in the past five years can be interpreted as favoring a continued U.S. presence in Vietnam. Nevertheless, Nixon and Agnew cynically invoke a mythical silent majority which never fails to endorse their deceptive maneuverings for a military victory at any cost. (For example, the withdrawal with much fanfare of demoralized and resisting ground troops while stepping up air attacks, or calling for a cease-fire that would leave the Thieu-Ky government in uncontested control of South Vietnam, a solution obviously unacceptable to the Vietnamese.) Under conditions of a healthy, prospering economy, foreign adventures against the popular grain can be sustained to a certain extent by rhetoric and flag waving. As times get harder and deception wears thinner, direct intimidation and terror must increasingly be resorted to. The events at Kent State and Jackson State, the gunning down of popular leaders such as Fred Hampton, are evidence that this is already beginning. Only a broadly based repudiation by the American people of the war and the warmakers can turn it back.

The acceptability to the anti-U.S. forces in South Vietnam of free and democratic elections, supervised by an interim coalition of all tendencies in that country standing for peace, independence, neutrality and democracy, has already been enunciated by the PRG representatives in Paris. Along with this, assurances have been given of safety of withdrawing U.S. troops, exchange of prisoners of war, and a cease fire, conditional on agreement to total U.S. withdrawal by a negotiable early date. The People's Peace Treaty consists of a campaign to get these conditions widely publicized and understood, to gain acceptance of the conditions by as many anti-war Americans as can be reached, and to begin programs of implementation of the people's treaty that this acceptance would constitute. Implementation could include demonstrations, tax refusals, referenda taking various regions out of the war, strikes--all tactics that the various participating constituencies see fit to carry out. The dates of May 1 - 3, 1971 are seen as a time for a convergence of such activities, with a sense that activities will also continue beyond those dates, as long as the war continues.

If you are interested in finding out more about the People's Peace Treaty write Chicago People's Peace Treaty, c/o S. Newman, 939 E. 57th. St., Chicago, Illinois, 60637.

For the past six years, the question of Polaroid's economic involvement in South Africa has been discussed by that company's white corporate managers. Polaroid, as a relatively new corporation, has established a liberal reputation in view of its hiring of blacks and its relations with the black community. It is the contention of this article that, in fact, behind all the farcical, liberal rhetoric is a corporation bent on profit through exploitation of the Third World. Specifically, Polaroid through its economic dealings in South Africa has supported and legitimized a system of apartheid -- i.e. institutionalized inhumanity.

This fact has not gone unnoticed by an informed group of workers at Polaroid called the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers Movement, who responded to Polaroid's participation in the economy of South Africa by issuing these three demands on October 8, 1970:

- (1) that Polaroid announce a policy of complete disengagement from South Africa. We believe that all American companies doing business in South Africa reinforce that racist system.
- (2) that Polaroid announce its position publicly in the U.S. and South Africa simultaneously.
- (3) that Polaroid contribute profits earned in South Africa to the recognized African liberation groups.

In support of these demands, the PRWM has called for a boycott of *all* Polaroid products until the demands are met.

The specific incident which triggered these demands was the knowledge that Polaroid supplied a computerized system of identification (ID-2) to its distributor in South Africa. The importance of such an identification system must be viewed in terms of its function for the maintenance of the apartheid system--i.e. every black in South Africa must carry a passbook with him at all times which contains his complete personal history. The passbook is used by the South African government to restrict the movements, impose curfews and control the place of residence of all blacks--because of the 'help' of Polaroid, no one can, or is allowed to pass for white.

To counter these charges before they were made public, G.R.Dicker, Assistant Secretary of the Polaroid Corporation, issued a memorandum which stated that "There is absolutely no indication whatsoever of the Polaroid ID-2 system being utilized by the government of South Africa in implementing its apartheid program" However, the memo goes on to note that: "All sales of the ID-2 system have been made to the independently owned and operated local distributor" (Frank and Hirsch, Ltd.) "for resale to industrial users in South Africa, for employee identification purposes and to the South African Army and Air Force solely for identifying military personnel." This memo of October 6 is compelling for two reasons: (1) it is able to see no relationship whatsoever between these identification programs described and the system of apartheid--which needs these identification programs in order to function; and, (2) it implements the often used device of 'passing the buck'--we don't support

ACTIONS AT POLAROID

apartheid, we merely sell to our distributor. However, the distributor is able to control the use of the product from there. In describing the distributor, Mr. Dicker referred to it as a company "unique in South Africa in its adoption of full, equal employment practice for blacks". Even Polaroid's distributor couldn't and wouldn't buy that line --Frank and Hirsch responded through the Johannesburg Star on November 21 by stating:

"I do not know where they could have obtained such a statement. We are governed by the laws of the country. Would they allow the existence of such a policy? It is not possible."

Polaroid then contradicted its own memo of October 6 when it issued another memorandum on October 21:

"Polaroid has in the past prohibited the sale of its identification system to the South African government for use in the apartheid passbook program. We are now discontinuing sale of any Polaroid products, including film, directly or indirectly, which might be used in this identification program."

So, two memoranda directly contradict each other: the first stating no implication whatever in the apartheid identification program, the second, directly implicating the company - a classic example of liberal double talk.

In order to improve their public relations, Polaroid delivered a public statement in an ad form to the major Boston newspapers on November 25:

"We abhor apartheid, the national policy of South Africa, that divides the races and denies even the most fundamental individual rights to the Blacks.

So, what is Polaroid doing in South Africa? Is it going to stop business there?

We don't know.

That may seem an unusual answer for an American corporation to make. But we feel the question of South Africa is too important and too complex for a hasty decision.

The "complexity" of which the corporation speaks can

only be in the minds of the liberals who run Polaroid. Of course it is very complex to hide behind a liberal facade and continue to exploit the blacks of South Africa through racist policies. From a moral point of view, the complexity of apartheid does not exist—it is a matter of white vs. black—a system which assures the supremacy of the white power structure. From a corporate point of view, apartheid is also not complex; liberal rhetoric aside, Polaroid's profits necessitate foreign investments, of which South Africa is an integral part.

In order to further justify the description of the problem as complex, Polaroid sent a task force of four employees to South Africa for investigation. No one from the PRWM was asked to go.

As a result of the furor over South Africa, Polaroid's relations with the black community in Cambridge and the surrounding area have also degenerated. Immediately after the demands were issued, PRWM received support from the Boston chapter of the NAACP and the African National Congress—the largest anti-apartheid organization in South Africa. On December 30, the Boston Globe carried a story indicating that Polaroid Corporation "was shocked to learn that its \$20,000 contribution to Boston's United Black Appeal had been divided between a black group in Cairo, Illinois and an undisclosed number of organizations working for the liberation of blacks in South Africa." This decision on distribution of funds by the United Front Foundation was interrelated with the controversy over Polaroid's business in South Africa. The action was taken to show support of the three demands of the PRWM. Polaroid's response showed clearly that it, like other liberal corporations, has no intention of letting blacks make decisions for themselves especially when it concerns disbursement of their donations. Appearing in Roxbury's *Bay State Banner* on December 24, 1970 it read:

"...it is unlikely that Polaroid will contribute next year. In fact, after such irresponsible conduct over Polaroid's donation, it seems unlikely that any major corporation will risk a contribution next year."

Maybe their donation was really an investment to buy off the black community? Polaroid categorically rejected a show of support by the black community of Polaroid's own workers.

The newest installment in the situation is Polaroid's response to its fact finding team. The statement was issued in the form of an ad on January 14, 1971: "... Polaroid will undertake an experiment in relation to its business activities in South Africa." This "experiment" includes a commitment from Polaroid to work with its distributors to increase salaries and benefits of their black employees. Contrary to Polaroid's pronouncement, this will not alter significantly the quality of life of South African blacks since housing, voting, and education procedures of the apartheid system will still be maintained. The next step in Polaroid's reform movement is to increase job training programs of blacks within their companies (i.e.distributors).

This will not qualitatively change the status of blacks either since positions of leadership in an interracial situation would be maintained by whites in order to hold onto their supremacist position. This training would only be up to certain job levels, since all of the prime control or power-related jobs are held by whites—the system of apartheid functions in this way.

The last definitive statement on Polaroid's experiment exhibits Polaroid's dilemma in trying to reconcile the corporate manager's liberal rhetoric with the necessities of a capitalist corporation. "We believe education for Blacks, in combination with the opportunities now being afforded by the expanding economy, is a key to change in South Africa." The educational system of South Africa is hardly separate from the political and economic system. The entire educational structure is designed to perpetuate the black population as a cheap labor force and it does not and cannot provide opportunities for real advancement. In fact, the laws and the ideology of South Africa explicitly deny this. This type of education does not liberate, it imprisons. Neither money nor liberal intentions can change that system from within.

Polaroid has rationalized its way out of its moral commitment to equality by way of this benevolent and totally ineffective method of working within a particular repressive social system—and Polaroid still gets to keep the profits.

THE DEMANDS OF THE POLAROID REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' MOVEMENT HAVE NOT BEEN MET. BOYCOTT ALL POLAROID PRODUCTS.

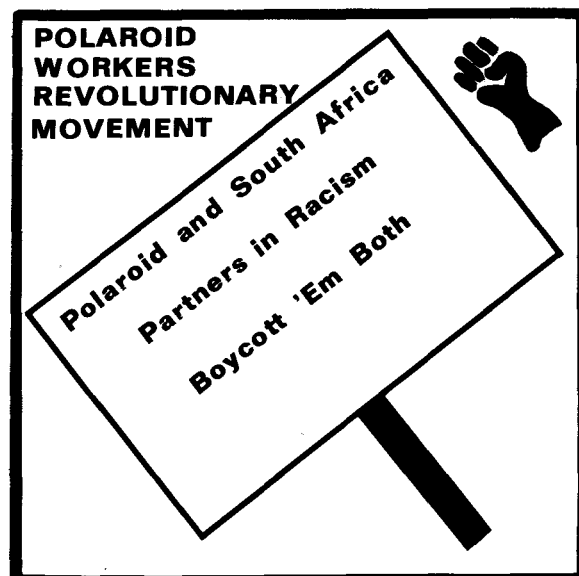
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

J.C.

For background reading we suggest :

Pierre van den Berghe, *South Africa, A Study in Conflict*

Govan Mbeki, *South Africa: The Peasants Revolt*



BLACK REVOLUTIONARY SCIENTIFIC WORKER JAILED WITHOUT BAIL

In December, following a four-month effort, Computer People for Peace (CPP) succeeded in raising \$50,000 bail for Clark Squire, computer programmer and co-defendant in the New York Panther conspiracy trial. When the New York-based group (see *Science for the People*, Vol.II, No.2, August 1970, p.17) presented the money in court, Judge John Murtagh first doubled the bail to \$100,000, overruling a May 1969 court decision setting it at \$50,000.

Then the judge went on, "Whatever his bail was, it does not matter, it's now NO BAIL." Because of "information in possession of the court" relating "not only to the defendant Squire but to all the defendants present," the judge revoked bail for the remainder of the trial for nine defendants, who have been in jail for 22 months! However, the judge said he would consider reinstating the bail if the defendants and their lawyers "behave". (Reported in *The New York Times*, Dec.29,1970).

CPP called a protest demonstration the next day in front of the courthouse, in which about 100 people participated. The steering committee then released a statement saying, "What is the meaning of democratic process when even after the money for bail is raised the bail is revoked? People are told to play by the rules, and when they do the rules are changed." CPP also protested the use of bail as blackmail, not only against the defendants, but against defense counsel for its handling of the trial. Further actions by the group are being planned.

Clark Squire, since graduating from Prairie View (Texas) College in 1956, worked first for NASA, then recently for a number of private computer companies in New York City. In November 1968 he joined the newly-formed Harlem branch of the Black Panther Party and soon became the branch's Lieutenant for Finance. Soon after he was visited by the FBI and offered money to become an informer. He refused and the harassment began. The following is an account that Squire gave in the trade journal *Computers and Automation*, Nov.1970:

"I had been in the party for less than three months when the reign of terror began." On Jan. 18, 1969, seven police 'kicked in my door at 5:30 in the morning, guns drawn and cocked, stuck them to my head, pinned me against the wall and commenced to beat me almost into unconsciousness.' The night before a car rented by Squire's company and used by him to commute to his job

in New Jersey was involved in a shootout with the police. Squire was not in the car, but he was arrested as part of an alleged conspiracy, involving those in the car, to use high-powered rifles to kill policemen. Squire was held in jail for two weeks before the charge was dismissed for lack of evidence.

But Squire did not get out of jail. After the charge was dismissed, but before he could leave the courtroom, Squire was arrested on a charge of armed robbery of a subway change booth. As Squire noted, 'This was really absurd, because at that time my annual salary was exceeding \$17,000 a year.' Furthermore, Squire's employer said that Squire was at work at the time the robbery occurred. Nevertheless, Squire was held in jail for an additional two weeks before being released on \$5,000 bail. The robbery charge is still pending."

Squire returned to his computer job, as well as his Panther activities, until the pre-dawn hours of April 2, 1969, when he and 20 other New York Panther leaders were arrested. They were charged with conspiracy to blow up railroad tracks, department stores, police stations, and the Bronx Botanical Gardens (in that order), as well as attempted murder of two policemen and arson in the bombing of two police stations and a Board of Education building. Bail was set at \$100,000 per person.

This bail, so enormous that it is essentially no bail at all, belies the government's assertion that this is just another criminal case. In a so-called normal criminal case, defendants with no previous criminal record or of middle and upper-class background (!) are given only such bail as is necessary to guarantee their appearance in court. Here, despite the variety of personal circumstances and criminal charges, reduced bail was not set for any defendant. This denial of reasonable bail has become customary recently in political cases. If viewed from a political context such actions are not unreasonable, they are quite understandable, to be expected, and utterly unjust. They are simply a tactic used by the elite of a technically advanced society to remove from the public arena those political opponents who bring into question the structure by which the elite rule.

One peculiarity of this tactic, noteworthy in the United States, is the racism with which it is compounded. In a number of political cases throughout the country, black radicals have had much higher bail set than whites for the same charges. For

example, in New York city two white radicals accused at about the same time as the Panthers of bombing buildings were released on \$25,000 bail, a huge sum but much less than that for the Panthers. Also in 1966 a New York judge granted \$20,000 bail to a group of white Minute Men charged with conspiracy to murder 260 civil rights workers.

Virtually all legal efforts to reduce the Panther bail have failed. Intensive drives in New York city to raise the \$100,000 bail for various individuals have succeeded in freeing three prisoners. Also in May, 1969 a Queens judge lowered the bail of two defendants in his jurisdiction, Squire and Michael Tabor, to \$50,000. Money was raised for Tabor and he is now out of prison. As noted before, this ruling was ignored in Squire's case, so he and eight other defendants remain in jail for their twenty-second month.

In this they share the lot of many other prisoners, poor, mostly black and Puerto Rican, who cannot make bail. Without bail a prisoner cannot adequately

gather witnesses and evidence which are crucial for the defense, or counteract prejudicial pre-trial publicity.

For those who cannot raise bail, the notion of a trial whose purpose is to determine guilt or innocence has always been a liberal myth. The purpose of such a trial, as in the Panther case, is to determine how long a sentence the prisoner must serve. If the verdict is innocent the defendant serves six months to three years, depending on the delay in getting to trial. If the verdict is guilty, a further jail sentence is added to that already served.

This has led many to understand what Clark Squire said in a recent letter to the CPP, "If there is one lesson learned that stands above all others in being a Panther, it is that, it is inherently right for a people to revolt against a train of injustices. Once you have taken that step to scratch the surface, unveiling a massive hulk of hypocrisy, deceit and rot, you will cease to wonder how you got started, but why you waited so long!"

D.K.

MORE EXCERPTS FROM CLARK SQUIRE'S LETTER

I am sure that most of you are familiar with the terror and hostility generated among affected personnel when they learn that "a computer" is being installed to "assist in" or replace many of the manual functions they currently perform. This terror and hostility stems mainly from the fact that those affected by the computer feel insecure and threatened. They feel that they may be replaced, fired or lose seniority and rank by having to learn a new job. Now the peculiar thing is that these persons fear the very thought of a computer displacing them even though they may be doing the most menial, monotonous and distasteful type of work. So now we have a situation where a computer, which frees scores of people from the drudgery of performing a monotonous task, in reality neither frees or benefits them. It more often penalizes them with the additional hardship of being without a means of livelihood or at best unleashes a mad scramble to secure another menial or equally distasteful type of job. One can more fully appreciate what I am trying to bring out if one extends the concept of the computer to cover the entire field of machines and automation, and adds a liberal dose of racism so that the people performing the menial labor are always nonwhite and/or poor. Then one comes up with a close approximation to this society and some of its serious flaws. Even though the model is not exact, it is sufficient to expose those serious defects, namely racism, exploitation and oppression. In other words, the introduction of automation does not benefit the people it frees but discards them back

upon the heap of ignorance and poverty, into a life of unemployment, welfare or another menial job. There is something fundamentally wrong with a society when you can introduce a machine—that could relieve thousands of people from menial, distasteful tasks, increasing efficiency and production—for an end result which leaves a great number of people unaffected and benefits only a few people, mostly those that own the machine. This is exploitation pure and simple, stemming mainly from the fact that people themselves do not own the machines and have no say in determining how these machines are to be used.

The issue of racism is self evident. Its widespread existence needs no substantiation, other than each of us examining his own experience in American society. Now a computer, a machine, or automation in itself is neither good nor bad but is simply a tool. Its use and relation to people determines its character. This is where the issue of political prisoners and repression comes in.

Those people who call into contention the way society is laid out in relation to all the people, who challenge racism, exploitation and who benefits from this use, the way the wealth is distributed—and are arrested for this — are political prisoners. Political prisoners are those people arrested for seeking to change a society that needs changing and is going to be changed. Because of their views they are subjected to all types of repression, under the smokescreens of "conspiracy" charges, frame-ups, mass predawn raids, complete with "shoot-outs", and annihilation campaigns.

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SESPA is defined by its activities. People who participate in the (mostly local) activities consider themselves members. Of course, there are people who through a variety of circumstances are not in a position to be active but would like to maintain contact. They also consider themselves members.

The magazine keeps us all in touch. It encourages people who may be isolated, presents examples of activities that are useful to local groups, brings issues and information to the attention of the readers, presents analytical articles and offers a forum for discussion. Hence it is a vital activity of SESPA. It is also the only regular national activity.

We need to know who the members are in order to continue to send *SCIENCE FOR THE PEOPLE* to them. Please supply the following information:

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2. Local SESPA chapter or other group in which I'm active:
3. I am enclosing money according to the following scheme: (a) regular membership—\$10, (b) indigent membership—less than \$10, (c) affluent or sacrifice membership—more than \$10, (d) completely impoverished—nothing, (e) I have paid already.
4. I will sell _____ magazines. This can be done on consignment to bookstores and newsstands, to your colleagues, at meetings. (If you want to give some away free because you are organizing and can't pay for them, let us know)
5. I am attaching a list of names and addresses of people who I believe would be interested in the magazine. Please send them complimentary copies.

Please add any comments on the magazine or SESPA or your own circumstances. We welcome criticism, advice, and would like to get to know you.

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