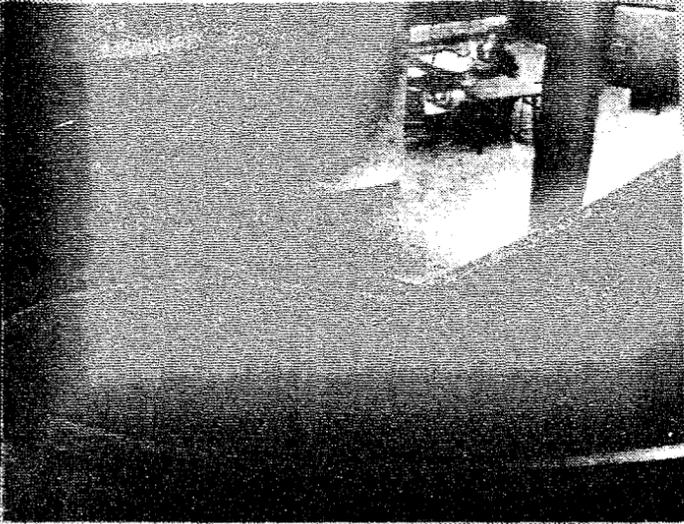


The *Stony Brook*

PRESS

Vol. II, No. 14 • University Community's Feature Newspaper • Thursday, February 12, 1981



Educating The Masses

Stony Brook Style

Part I

by Melissa Spielman

WARNING FROM THE AUTHOR: The issues in this series did not lend themselves to traditional objective reporting. I found myself debating with people I interviewed, undoubtedly influencing their answers. More importantly, I found that there is no authority on education—only opinion. These articles are intended not to provide the Truth, but to present some ideas and, I hope, to promote debate. The Press welcomes reaction.

Though it may have some drawbacks, the present system of education in the US is about as good as can be devised...Less than half (44%) of the students disagree with this statement; only 18% strongly disagree...We find no differences by gender, class level, academic major, race or religion. This is clearly another difference from the earlier critical disposition of college students.

—HUDEP report, "The Stony Brook

Experience: A Survey of 1,148 Undergraduates," 1978

It is late in the 60s. The Stony Brook campus is reeling from takeovers, rallies and angry speeches by a vocal minority of students and faculty. Many of the complaints are familiar—poor lighting, inadequate parking, tripling—but some deal with education. Nor merely the peripheral, technical aspects such as grading or the academic calendar, but questions of what should be taught, how and where classes should be held.

Since that time, serious questioning of education seems to have fallen by the wayside. The students who at present attempt to influence the University are primarily concerned with social and environmental "Quality of Life" issues. With the exception of a rally in 1980 for the preservation of the Africana Studies program, students have made no major effort to effect the course of education at Stony Brook for quite a few years.

The phenomenon is not unique to Stony Brook. Academic concerns, at present, seems to be fairly easily overshadowed. "My experience on other campuses," recalled President Marburger, "is that it's very hard to get students to react to these things." Reasons suggested around this campus fall roughly into two categories: the prominence of quality of life problems and the current general reluctance to question institutions on more than peripheral issues.

"It's easier to fight social issues," said Polity President Rich Zuckerman. "They're much more visible." And in general, he said, "Students put as little emphasis on academics as they can." This is evident at the Polity-sponsored Town Meetings; the grievances students express are almost exclusively related to the campus environment and services.

"Students are so dogged by the living conditions and social conditions that these can be very disruptive," suggested Vice President for Academic Affairs Sidney Gelber. Or, as Gerry Manginelli, Polity President during the mid-70s, put it, "If your RHD is kicking your ass every day, you're not going to think

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Here's Abbie!

An exclusive interview with former fugitive, Abbie Hoffman

Yippie. Hippie. Radical. Druggie. Flag-burner. Spokesman. Free man. Symbol. Communist. Instigator. Investigator. Genius. Cynic. Optimist. Famous. Infamous. manipulator. Organizer. Supporter. Leader. Fugitive. Comic. Hero. Abbie. Hoffman.

After years as America's pre-eminent dissident, Abbie Hoffman was arrested in 1973 for a drug charge that looked like it would stick. America thought it finally had this pain in its ass firmly in hand. But Hoffman slipped through its fingers and spent seven years underground, surfacing occasionally to sling his barbs at the "Establishment." Finally, tired of running, fearful of the consequences of capture during a Reagan administration and hopeful of a lenient sentence, he gave himself up to the New York District Attorney on September 5, 1980.

He now awaits the outcome of plea bargaining by his lawyer, writing articles, working on the movie being made of his latest book. **Soon to Be a Major Motion Picture**, visiting friends, and living with his "running mate," former model Johanna Lawrenson. Stony Brook Press Minister Without Portfolio Prakash Mishra ingeniously inveigled Hoffman's phone number from an anonymous personage, and was granted an interview. On the bright, frosty morning of January 23rd, Mishra and Press Editor Eric Brand made their way to Lawrenson's mid-town apartment, equipped with tape recorder, pads, pencils, Hoffman's books, and an ancient Yachica that might or might not work.

Hoffman's behavior during the interview reflected the manner in which he conducts his life: at times he would sink into a couch, his arm shading his eyes, subdued, quietly recalling a departed era; and then, suddenly, he would rise, his tone commanding, his words challenging, his fists swinging through the air at imagined foes.

The interview continued for three hours amidst walls of books and prints, a loft bed, a tiny kitchen with a full complement of spices, used coffee cups, and a New York Post announcing the split of Ted and Joan, against the backdrop of a picture window overlooking trees and surrounded by buildings.

The air was full of warmth, nostalgia and dissidence.

—Brand

Hoffman: I'm gonna put the finishing touches on my new book. It's gonna be called **Square Dancing in the Iceage**. It should be out in October, however. I left the manuscript in a suitcase on January 3 and Pan Am sent the suitcase to Newark and they sent me to Kennedy. I haven't seen it since. I keep on calling them, threatening to sue. I've been telling the, "Look, do you want me to tell this story—Pan Am steals Abbie Hoffman's book? Find the damn book!"



Hoffman is escorted out of court after an arraignment and a nose re-arrangement.

Press: They stole the book.

Hoffman: Yeah, they stole the book.

Press: Are there any copies of that around? [Hoffman's first book, **Steal This Book**.]

Hoffman: I don't have one. I don't save my books. But it's expensive. It's in rare books stores... \$10, \$20, \$30.

Press: I saw two of your books in a library in South Carolina but they were both stolen... the cards were there but the books weren't to be found.

Hoffman: I think I write for a motley group.

Press: have you ever met Jerry Falwell?

Hoffman: I did an article on the Christian National Broadcasting Committee which will be in this next book... I'm interested when something goes from being a cult to an acceptable religion. To me there's no cut-off.

Press: Do you think it's going to blow over?

Hoffman: I think this sort of Fundamental-

ism, or monetarism, or Reaganomics—this kind of conservatism—it recently has happened in Canada, with Joe Clark, who was hounded out of office after eight months. It's happened in England with Margaret Thatcher, whose economy is in complete shambles, who threatened to break the back of the unions—the unions not only grew stronger, they've just taken over the entire Labor Party. It happened with Menachem Begin in Israel, so if you look at the strong Western allies, especially the English-speaking groups, it's happened and in the other three it didn't work. It fell apart. We're fond of portraying in the media the 100,000 Cuban exiles that come here to show that the Cuban economic situation doesn't work. But there are a million Israelis living here who've all come within the last four years, in the Menachem Begin regime, that's 20 percent of the population as a whole has deserted Israel to come and live in the United States because there are no jobs in Israel. The economy's falling apart, inflation has risen 130 percent since he took office, but that's not discussed because he's an ally. That doesn't mean anything about Israel so what. Cuba ooh, tisk, task. I'd like to punch holes in the media. I could even say a dozen remarks putting the whole hostage return in a whole other light, but I'll tell you right now it's dangerous. I comment on that and add five years on my sentence. I'm almost actually scared... because in a way the media is caught up in a refusal to admit what's already happened. So you have Jimmy Carter stand up there saying we only gave them \$3 billion, 24 hours before that \$8 to \$11 billion were transferred to the Bank of England. No one ever catches, no one ever sees the contradiction, the lie. No one can see the contradiction of the Wall Street Journal supporting the Polish workers all of a sudden. It's never supported the workers, it's never supported the ideas of the unions. All of

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Hoffman's Journey from

(Continued from page 1)

a sudden it's good for Poland. I say what's good for Poland is good for America. The danger with all this fervor is that at some point Reagan can't make his rhetoric become reality. And if that happens we might be in a really dangerous situation. We might not. He just might decide to take a nap. World events, I think, will swamp this administration. I think a lot of his 1950's simplistic decision-making is going to be swamped by world events. Third World countries don't give a fuck whether it's Carter or Reagan, or anyone, they're going to demand fuller participation in the decisions that affect their economic lives.

Press: Are you saying that the situation right now is so dangerous it might be better to pull punches than to poke holes?

Hoffman: Well, except in Latin America. In the Mideast and in Europe, and the Far East, the United States' options for military victory are increasingly becoming limited to nuclear capabilities. That's very dangerous. Because this country has a penchant for going to war. This country's sent military troops out to solve problems . . . close to 200 times in its history. It's invaded Mexico a dozen times . . . it erases its past in a certain way. We would like people to be left with the illusion that we fought two wars, the American Revolution against the British and the Second World War. There was a Boston Globe editorial on a survey recently of high school students in Boston and 25 percent didn't know the United States had been involved in Vietnam, and three out of four couldn't find Vietnam on a map. So just from that you can judge that that war is being shoved under the rug.

Press: You were talking about poking holes in the media, and sometimes that's dangerous. Is it dangerous because it's safer having the myth than poking the holes?

Hoffman: The myths serve the ruling class in the United States, a term, by the way, that's never used in the press. There is no class in America because people don't talk about class in the press—there's no analysis. So you have myths that serve a tiny interest . . . so of course to find out reality as it affects the vast number of people in this country, especially those who work for a living and are just getting by, you have to puncture those myths repeatedly. You take a regular newspaper and you take the issue of a strike. A strike is always caused by the union, whereas in reality a strike is a breakdown in communications between union and management. The myth that anybody can grow up to be President, or that anybody can grow up to be Chairman of the Board of Exxon or IBM is a myth disproven by small academic studies that show that there's a very small elite group. Their children inherit the power, and they go to the same colleges and prep schools, belong to the same country clubs, and they all look like Ronald Reagan's cabinet when they take over. You see, that's reality. Here's another myth: Andy Warhol's famous dictum that everybody's going to be famous for

Hoffman: It's not enough to talk about these kinds of things. One has to be in a situation where it directly affects your life. One has to be a young person who's sent off to die in a war he doesn't believe in. One has to be a small property owner up on a river like the St. Lawrence, who's conservative and believes the government is acting in his interest, basically, and flies the flag, and then he wakes up one morning and hears that the Army Corps of Engineers wants to blow his property up and destroy the river because it's important that U.S. Steel, in the national interest, has a way of getting its goods from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes. Young people have to have something else to study besides engineering and business administration in the universities. I couldn't find two bigger majors in which these myths are constantly reinforced; the myth that we're the Master Race.

Press: So do you see more working on the grass roots level, individuals becoming disillusioned with the myth and rethinking it.

Hoffman: Like I say they have to be in the situation where they're getting shit on every day. I can look in very small journals, or I can look in studies done in England, and I can find that the United States is about 26th in how much it spends on its citizens for medical care. That it's about 18th—I'm just being rough here—on how much it spends on education. Take education and medical care, two basic rights, I'd assume. Two basic rights for fighting the American revolution, you know, human rights were not that high. But the myth is that if you'd ask people they would say we're the greatest. We have more . . . you can get everything done, these basic rights are available only to a small percentage of the population; the rest of the population just sits there and says wow!

Press: Do you think it's going to change?

Hoffman: I think it has to change because the United States can not impose its will the way it did in, say, the 1950s, when there was an American Empire. I've always felt that America's greatest triumph was in its inability to govern the world. And so, it only lasted a dozen years, roughly from '48 to 1960. We're supposed to be a model for individual rights, for cultural institutions, fast food, blue jeans—there's lots of things good about this country. It's just that so much of it gets put to work for forces, essentially huge corporations—larger than most countries in the world—in terms of how much money they spend, and how much power they have, and those corporations are evil. It's not that they're evil in any kind of religious sense of the word. It's that their needs are antagonistic to the needs of the American people.

Press: I know a lot of people have said that Jerry Rubin sold out and I know that you and Jerry are still very close.

Hoffman: We don't get in bed together—I don't find it strange that somebody should have friends who don't share their political objectives.

Press: I agree with you on that; but do you think that



to adapt a certain ability to lie.

Press: I can see his point when he says that money is power and, "so as long as I'm signing the check I have [Rubin] power and I can change the system." I firmly believe that if you still have a clear vision and you're within the system I think it can do a lot of good.

Hoffman: Well, I suspect that the system is going to overwhelm Jerry's clear vision. The system is built in with protections to guard against idealists. Not many people ask me about Tom Hayden, who I could talk for hours about. Whatever Jerry's doing, it's a job. He's trying to survive in the business world. He's not making that much money and if it's any harm it's harm to people as a model. Tom Hayden is going to run for the Senate in 1982. He's expressing his political philosophies all the time, he's a symbol from the 60s as much as I am in a sense, and I think what he's doing is hypocritical, evil and I think it exemplifies everything I feel about politics in America.

Press: In the book, you came down on him twice.

Hoffman: That was a very difficult decision, because I'm not prone to attack people from the 60s just because it's done so easily in the media. But it's because he of all the people connected refused to help me, and his reasons were that it would not help his political career. He did some personal things that were real bad. My former wife went to him for a job and he told her to go work for Hustler. "Your husband is a common criminal," he said, he sent a letter on my behalf, cause he's nervous now, because I came out, the media is very supportive of me or something. I'm somewhat of a hero. It's very hard to refer to your self as a hero or something. You're beyond a celebrity because you stand for something; so he sent me a letter. Half the letter was an attack on drugs which is hypocritical for somebody that's been treated for alcoholism.

Press: Why is that hypocritical?

Hoffman: Because that's another drug.

Press: But if he's being treated . . .

Hoffman: It keeps coming back. He's had that problem for the last 15 years. You don't go around saying "I condemn all drugs." It's like saying, "We're living a simple life, Jane and I"—when you've got three servants living in the house. That's hypocritical. Because everybody thinks that Jane is a upperwoman. She's a good actress, a good mother; she works for political causes; she's an activist. Well, she's got a lot of servants. I'll show you [Hayden's] Wall Street Journal statement. Once again, vicious politics, blames the left for collapsing because it wasn't to the right enough. It didn't cry out about crime in the streets. It didn't embrace itself in the flag—didn't call out for a stronger national defense, and religion and everything, he attacks people who use cocaine, Perrier and drive Volvos. He drives a Volvo [much laughter]. He drives a Volvo, a gray Volvo; I've had my hand on it. I've felt it. It's very beautiful. I mean . . . it's a kind of sickness. It's not my sickness—mine is a kind of manic energy, outburst of energy. Him—you're gonna hear anal retentive, zero, bango lies . . . how [can] he attack the Volvo cult? He drives a Volvo! So he can get drunk and say to his friends, while he's posing as a grass roots organizer, "I'm gonna win the Senate [race] because I've got more money than anybody running."

Press: What do you think of Jane Fonda?

'The myth that anybody can grow up to be President...is a myth disproven...

15 minutes and we're all going to be on television. Well, the reality is—again I saw a survey, about a week ago—that one out of 4,000 people ever get on TV. Take the myth that's fed the black kid in the ghetto—that he can grow up and be center for the New York Knickerbockers, that this is the way for us, us black kids, so black kids have sports heroes at the center of their whole existence. But again, there's like a thousand athletes and there's millions and millions of black kids. So they can't make it. At the point at which they can't make it there's an incredible amount of disillusionment with the entire society, and more often than not that kind of competitiveness translates itself into violence and crime. So it is dangerous, that maintaining these democratic myths when there is no democracy, is extremely dangerous—what leads to war, what leads to crime in the streets. You wanna poll the vets from Vietnam now in terms of how they feel about the Vietnam war, about the way they feel about the way American society treated them and compare those to before they went? They're much more sophisticated now. That's why you don't hear from them.

Press: Obviously, it's important to break down the myths. Do you think that's going to happen? If it can, how is it going to be done?

Jerry Rubin has sold out?

Hoffman: No. Not in terms of what his job is. His job is not what the media portrays. He's not a stockbroker on Wall Street. It isn't even on Wall Street. He's working for a maverick type firm that tries to get money to invest in alternative energy systems. The present project he's involved with is trying to get together black businessmen to invest in the revitalization of a section of the South Bronx, that's a kind of work that I can accept. I know a lot of people who are doing that who don't glorify the capitalist system or money or creative finance. But Jerry's a sort of faddist, if you read *Growing Up at 37* you'll see that every year he's changing something. I'm not saying this to put him down, it's an American tendency to walk out of a picture and "That's the greatest movie I ever saw in my life," and next week you'll say it again. I'm way far away from him in terms of that, you're never going to see me with a job on Wall Street. The only way I believe you can go from the outside to the inside, maintaining your integrity, is with a gun in your hand . . . the only Statesman-heroes that I respect have come to power through revolutions. There are not many people who can enter the American electoral process and maintain certain ideals. . . In order to enter that kind of system you have

Protest to Prosecution

Hoffman: She's confused at this point.

Press: Do you feel that Hayden just converted or was he always this conservative?

Hoffman: He had a very . . . as I point to many instances, where he would say, "We've got to sit in this room." Then he would go out the back door. He always saw himself as the general who had to be preserved and the troops could be sacrificed.

Press: What happened to your former wife Anita, and why and how did you divorce her while you were underground?

Hoffman: She works as a production assistant for Jon Voigt out in California. As for the divorce, we did that real late. Just a few weeks before we came up. We really wouldn't have gotten divorced 'cause we're real good friends, but Johanna—this woman I've been living with for the last seven years while underground—we thought it would sit better than if I came up with a third woman. So how do you go about filing for divorce while underground? You file an uncontested divorce. She filed for an uncontested in California. It's like getting a driver's license; up there it's nothing big. The government in a real sense broke up our marriage. It was broken up and you're out there and you meet and in a couple of years a love relationship formed, as you will see in the movie. Anita and I weren't exactly Ted and Joan [pointing to NY Post headline—much laughter].

I've asked Johanna to marry a lot of times. I thought it would look good . . . this way I wouldn't go to prison, I don't know. And she won't, she won't marry me, she won't marry me. She says marriage is meaningless. Go figure it out. Ask me about Afghanistan. I'll do a lot better.

Press: How did you and Johanna meet?

Hoffman: If I tell you, then you won't go see the movie. (Laughter.) When will this be out?

Press: This copy—in a couple of weeks. We'll mail you a copy of it.

Hoffman: I'll be halfway to prison by then.

Press: Is the trial coming up?

Hoffman: There is no trial. There's never a trial in these type of cases. There's so much misconception: look at the question you're asking me. "When is the trial? Is that when the trial is gonna be?" There is no trial. This is a class A felony, even though it's a victimless crime. Conspiracy to sell cocaine. That means that a group of us got together and we decided that we wanted to sell some cocaine. My role was minimal, as the other people will testify to at some point, but you're facing life imprisonment, life imprisonment! When you're facing life imprisonment you have a chance to bargain and this was a case before the Rockefeller laws, so it allows bargaining. You really forfeit the right to a trial. That doesn't mean you can't have one. But if you lose it then you can go to jail for life. So if somebody says, "Go to prison for a year," you go to prison.

Press: So how long are you going to prison for?

Hoffman: When the judge takes everything in to account. It depends if she reads the New York Post. It's a very public trial, a very media-oriented trial.

Press: I haven't seen anything in the papers about it.

Hoffman: If you look at the papers around the country you'll find more than New York City. . . 'cause I don't talk to the New York City press.

Press: Why?

Hoffman: Because it's not helpful to the case. I gave an interview to two different people from the New York Post and they were too favorable so the editors ripped 'em up.

Press: How nice.

Hoffman: It's true.

Press: Abbie, how much does this place cost?

Hoffman: That's a good question. Seven or eight years ago I lived on the lower East Side, 2½ room rail road flat; paid \$109, \$110 a month and Anita and I and America lived there. It was one of the worst blocks in Manhattan. The FBI put out a story that we lived in an East Side Manhattan penthouse. That story was printed in more than 3,000 publications in the U.S. Newsweek, Time, every major publication you can name. I went to the Associated Press, which is sort of cool, you know, and I said, "Here's some pictures of the place/ here's my rent coupon." They sent it out and no one would print it. O.K. now I didn't know that the FBI had instigated that until I saw my Freedom of Information Act files from Washington. Johanna and I live on the river. It's an old house her family has owned for about 100 years. It's on less than a third of an acre. If she was to sell it today she would get less than \$25,000

for it tops. I pick up the Daily News and I read about our river front estate with acres upon acres of rolling hills. Now that stuff goes on all the time. I don't have a checking account. I don't own any property. I don't own any bonds and securities, any stocks. All the money I've made since I've come out, the IRS takes the checks. They take the book royalties; they've taken everything. Press: Why?

Hoffman: A lot was taken because I gave most of the money from the book I wrote before to organizations that were a part of the 1960s, and they didn't allow them to be tax deductions and interests built up. the

Hoffman: I go out and rob a couple of banks, or throw a rock at a window. I don't know. When I get angry I change my name and go underground, that's what. When it gets too hot, I change my name and take-off. That's what I do. I don't get too angry. I get to a point when I can't deal with it so I go away. there is not much you can do. All you can do is lead a more private life. Press: When you look back you've obviously left your mark . . .

Hoffman: I prefer the life of Barry to Abbie.

Press: Why? Is it because it's easier?

Hoffman: His friends are more authentic. The issues

'Fast food, blue jeans - There's lots of good things about this country.'

only speeches that I've been able to get away with is the ones I did for the "Save the River Committee" and a couple to some organizations in the city. That story just isn't told. The three kids that I've got, all three have lived huge hunks of their lives on welfare. You might not exactly say that I was poor, but you might say that I was a worker, a member of the working class. I don't like it when they write a character assassination story. These stories come out of their desire to prove that I'm corrupt. I don't like it, I mean, I'm not corrupt. You don't spend eight years of your life alone. This was even before anyone knew there was an Abbie Hoffman working in Mississippi and Alabama for nothing, running voter registration and freedom rides in the ghettos. You don't fight the Vietnam war for six years. You don't risk your life as a fugitive and your safety to save a river, the place you live, your community. I mean, how can people say that person is corrupt?



Busted once again, this time in San Francisco by two particularly affable police officers.

attack on idealism. It's not really a personal attack on me. What can they do to me? I've got 75 stitches in my head. I've been shot at three times. I've been arrested 42, 43 times. I've been in prison at least 11 times. What else are they gonna do? They can't do anything to me, to society. There are at least a dozen societies, including Poland, that consider me the American dissident.

Press: Really?

Hoffman: That's right.

Press: Perhaps individuals see you as bucking the system they're oppressed by. They're envy may be perverted into hatred towards you.

Hoffman: That's manipulated again by those people that have that certain view. For example the New York Post sent two reporters up to the river where I've been living for the past four years as Barry Freed. They were on assignment to find people who would say something bad. Well, they couldn't. They just couldn't. They talked to hundreds of people and they couldn't find anybody who would say anything bad about me. How could they say anything bad about me? I did this without any thought of remuneration. They had heard that I had brought senators there; went to Congress to testify. They knew what I was doing. I was saving their community and river; so what's bad? So I'm saying that they didn't find out the story of the hero returned; let's find out about how Abbie Hoffman conned the governor—the con artist at work. Again, it has to do with trying to destroy certain symbols of idealism and change, specific kind of change.

Press: When you get angry at this, what do you do to release this anger?

he is dealing with are more concrete. They mean more to him and the people around him than some abstract issues.

Press: Do you believe in the philosophy that there isn't any less activism now as compared to the 60s, but rather that the larger movement has given way to smaller movements?

Hoffman: Yeah, one of the difficulties about talking about the 60s is that people have an image of 100,000 young people with army surplus jackets and buttons all over, marching in the streets with their fists up crying "Hell no, we won't go," storming the Pentagon; the swirling battles with the police. Those were in the latter stages of the Anti-war movement. At the beginning there were teach-ins at Universities. There were small meetings. There were picnics, there were rallies with very small numbers of people. It didn't have that kind of image. It was only with an issue that built up that got more intense as the years and years went by, and the frustration level got higher and higher. Also, the Vietnam War was an issue that people saw as having a direct relevance to their lives; they didn't want to go and die. You're gonna need two or three Three Mile Island's (before) people can feel it could be them. People don't feel that New York City, here, it could be them if Indian Point goes. They don't feel that it could be them when the nuclear wastes from Brookhaven Lab are transported across Manhattan; it's not real. So the issues are not the same that we face, but the activism is to me, it's a lot of times . . . see for me the 60s began in the 1960s. If you read my book you see it began in 1967 or 1968 and it was a lot of campaigning for independent candidates who favored arms control. It was door to door stuff. It was the kind of stuff that I'm involved with now to an extent in "Save the River." We're gonna have a conference there this summer. There will be a lot of people coming up there. I go to campuses and there are huge crowds, they're just enormous crowds. I don't say this to brag or anything. I say this in response to the question. I don't think you can find a speaker who's getting larger crowds on campuses right now. I spoke at Queens. It was close to 3,000. The people there said that they hadn't gotten two thousand in 10 years. So the crowds are big, and what the students want to talk about is the 60s, they want to talk about their own activist struggles that they've got going.

Press: A friend of ours does particularly care for NYPIRG because what NYPIRG does is use "stop gap" measures, and he feels that there has to be a complete reworking of everything. Starting from zero because otherwise it's just little things and they keep popping up.

Hoffman: Well . . . yeah, his problem—and you can tell 'em that I said so—is that he has created a false dichotomy that you can go to the patchwork approach in terms of well, we've got to starve this river because this river is gonna be ruined so let's save it, or we've got to deal with this chemical dump site or we've got to deal with the draft because it's affecting young people in our community right now, or we have to deal with women's rights or with the KKK cause they're taking over the city council and the school board. That's the patch-work approach. The issues are whatever the community generates. those are the issues. You have to deal with them and at the same time you can have an overall picture of how you feel. How American foreign policy is going; your attitude towards the distribution of wealth in this country, towards the big issues. I don't see the dichotomy. I've never found that as a handicapp. I've found that you have to have both, in fact. I've

(Continued on page 10)

Dancin' and Romancin' at Whitman College

PLACE: Whitman College
WHEN: Thursday, February 12, 1981
WHAT: Double Decker Valentine's Party

**LIVE D.J. - LIGHTS - KISSING BOOTH
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Welcomes students either of Haitian decent or Haitian born, to its community regenification meeting on Thursday the 12th of February. On the priority one will be the planning of programs and activities that will insure and promote a respectable and viable presence of a Haitian community on this campus. We urge you to come, participate, and contribute to this event.

The "BRIDGE TO SOMEWHERE"

Is a student run, professionally supervised peer counseling center offering crisis intervention and referral services for the entire student body. We are located in the Union Basement, Rm. 061; Come downstairs and talk to us!

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From Activism To Apathy on Campus

(Continued from page 1)

about how your teacher is teaching your class."

Speaking of the students active in Polity during his terms, Manganelli recalled, "We were always frustrated with the amount of time we could not spend on academic matters, and we probably spent more time on them than any administration of the 1970s. We were overwhelmed by the physical problems."

"In social matters," explained Vice President for Student Affairs Elizabeth Wadsworth, "students are more closely in touch. This society says to children very early, 'you are in a peer group, and you are an expert in your lifestyle.'" As a result, students "don't feel as expert about academic matters as they do about social matters," and if they are active, tend to focus on social concerns. Education is left to the faculty—"They think the faculty know what they're doing," said Wadsworth, "and don't think very much about that question."

Marburger agreed, "They have more experience with social activities and they don't have a great deal of experience with college education—that's why they're here." "Students," said Sociology Professor Norm Goodman, are "somewhat more willing to say that faculty presumably know something about education than administrators know how [they] should organize [their] social life," and thus are more willing to clash with administrators over policy.

Students' willingness (or eagerness) to focus on social issues may be exacerbated, said Gelber, by their sudden immersion in a new social environment. "The opportunity for personal development has always been there but pushed aside... [the high school] situation is not equipped to deal with it."

Students' present reluctance to protest has been a source of consternation to student leaders for several years. The reluctance is not just media myth—of the students surveyed in "The Stony Brook Experience," 91 percent reported that in the past few months they had spent little or no time at campus protests, 95 percent, little or no time at off-campus protests. Thirty percent approved of student political activity (while 39% approved of the U.S. Government); 13 percent strongly disapproved of the former while only six percent strongly disapproved of the latter.

Whether student activism is at a low point or whether it is just more difficult to identify (less media attention; the replacement of a unified and visible anti-war effort by splintered action against nuclear power, sexism and other issues; a shift to tactics less blatant than takeovers and rallies; are among the causes suggested by various activists on and off campus), students are showing less interest in affecting their education. Ten years ago, said Gelber, "We would almost regularly have to set up mechanisms for open discussion of education. Now, says Zuckerman, students active in Polity show little interest or influence in educational matters. Numerous Statesman editorials of the late 60s called for serious attention to the curriculum and for an integrated body for University governance. In recent years, says Physics Professor Al Goldhaber, President of the SUSB Senate (the University's major body for debating and recommending academic policy) the student representatives to the Senate have exhibited a tendency for absenteeism from meetings. Junior Babak Movahedi, one of Polity's representatives to the Senate, complained

that even when students have academic complaints, "they don't do anything about it. It's left for a few to do everything—and that's impossible."

The phenomenon is more difficult to explain than to identify. Goldhaber suggested the increase in college enrollments, especially an increase of students who may not be ready for college, as a cause. "We have a lot of people in college who don't know why they're here," he remarked. "The truth is that not every individual at the age of 18 is that interested in higher education. Maybe the same individual at the age of 30 would be very interested, but our society isn't arranged for him to come back." Goldhaber suggested that a combination of raising admission standards and facilitating the return of students who don't make it when they're ready, might upgrade education.

Although the social and physical environment of Stony Brook is an

to deemphasize liberal education in favor of vocational education. I believe that by far the most important function of the University is to produce a liberalized, educated mind—a mind that recognizes prejudice when it sees it, and a mind that recognizes ignorance when it sees it." He added, "You do not overcome prejudice and ignorance by studying techniques of a career."

Although the surveys conflict they do show that education is not at present the overwhelming concern of students. In all fairness it seems that students are not unconsciously materialistic—according to "The Stony Brook Experience" 42 percent listed "Developing a meaningful philosophy of life" as a goal essential to achieve, 30 percent "Helping others who are in difficulty." "Being well off financially" came in fifth at 23 percent. (Interestingly, the lowest response was "Influencing the political structure," with eight percent consider-

ing this essential and 28 percent listing it as not important—most students are choosing to help people through existing structure, another sign that activism is not rampant.)

Manganelli and Zuckerman agree that once the social and physical state of the University stabilizes, students may begin to place more emphasis on education. But if the country's economy is distracting students from the non-financial benefits of college, the changes of imminent change seem small. Asked how interest in education could be encouraged, Gelber replied, "I don't know." If the problem is economic, "Nothing short of a major change in the socio-economic climate would be helpful," although he commented that if small groups of faculty and students would "begin to probe" some academic questions, others might follow.

Zuckerman said he is "trying to get Polity to increase its emphasis on academic affairs." He recently reinstated the position of Polity academic affairs coordinator. The coordinator's job, he said, is to facilitate communication between faculty and students—to let students know their "academic rights" and to inform faculty of "students' different needs." But the seeds of broad educational change do not seem to be forthcoming from the student government.

Students' attitudes, of course, reflect those of the entire society, but they also have the potential to affect them. What remains to be seen is what will the catalyst be that prods that cycle into movement—and is that catalyst necessary or desirable.



Stony Brook students boycott classes in 1969, calling for the implementation of alternative education programs.

extremely common topic of debate, it seems to be unrelated to the decline of interest in education. The quality of life is no more dismal now than when education was a more popular subject. Although Zuckerman suggested a reason for the lopsided stress on social concerns might be that "with the increasing emphasis by the University on academic [requirements] outlets for studying have been more important," the present distribution requirements are unchanged from those of a decade ago.

Far more pressing than the University's stricter requirements are the requirements of the job market. Students may simply be too concerned with getting through college to challenge the curriculum, at least in any visible, collective fashion. Senior Owen Rumelt noted that, "Students care mostly about how the academic problems affect them personally."

"Jobs After College: The Experience of Stony Brook Alumni," a 1978 HUDEP working paper, reported "Throughout the 1960s, most college graduates were able to find good jobs. By 1970 however, the unstable economic situation and the abundance of college graduates in the labor market seriously reduced the once-assured economic payoff of a college education."

The consequences of this are increasing specialization in college programs and increasing attention to the nonacademic purposes of education in this society. "Students tend to see college as an integral step in their struggle for a career," related "The Stony Brook Experience." "College is still seen, to a great extent, as an institution whose purpose is to provide job training."

One of the concerns I have," commented Larry DeBoer, "is that the economic crunch, as related to the axiom, 'There needs to be a leisure class in order to have the time to become involved in cultural and social activities,' has led us

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The Fourth Estate: Editorial

Endorsements

Natural it is to express one's opinion. A campaign for election elicits much strong opinion, as people become partisan, and partisanship demands action—an attempt to influence others' opinions. Certainly that tendency exists at the Press. But after much discussion and debate, the overwhelming consensus is to offer no endorsements, save one.

Statesman, as far as is known, has never endorsed a campus candidate. A major rationale behind this was that though it would be hoped the editorial board would have the wisdom to choose wisely, regardless of their choice the enormous power of the preeminent communications outlet would unduly influence an election. Two papers, though they might now have opposing political viewpoints, are not guaranteed to always be so. (In the general public, newspapers, radio and tv stations can endorse candidates without jeopardizing the fairness of the election simply because there are so many of them.) The power of the press (small p) on campus is great, and safeguards against its abuse are not unreasonable.

Politics makes for strange bedfellows, and this is no less true at Stony Brook. Perhaps no more than 100 students here make up a "power elite" that run the papers, the student government and the Faculty Student Association. Invariably, both because they live and interact here socially and because that is the nature of the beast, they form alliances—"friendships"—and are often involved in several areas at once. This leads to conflicts of interest, back-stabbing, collusion, excitement, the works—but is unavoidable, first, because there is a limited number of willing, able students, and second, because, again, that is the nature of the beast. The point

is, there is no guarantee that an endorsement will not be tainted with political underpinnings. The road to Hell is paved with good intentions, or something like that.

Additionally, public relations must be taken into account, and a strong argument exists that it would just look bad to endorse a candidate. For a newspaper that struggles to provide accurate, complete information, doubts as to its credibility should not be instigated.

Though it may seem obvious whom the Press might endorse in the upcoming treasurer election, it was felt by a majority of the staff that the dangerous precedent, the damaging effect on credibility and other possible negative effects outweighed any benefits to be gained.

However...

The election this Tuesday takes place after a ridiculous period of four months. The various shenanigans perpetrated over that time would impress Donald Segretti. After the bitterness, the frustration, the boredom, after the name-calling and thumb-twiddling, it is very possible that the turnout at the polls this Tuesday might be a sad parody of the original showing. It would be sad if this were the case, for the election is no less important—and may be more so.

At stake are the Polity Treasurer's seat, three judiciary seats, several commuter and residential senatorial seats, the freshman representative seat, and several referenda. According to the Polity constitution, the Treasurer "shall be responsible for all Polity monies subject to the policies and procedures of the Student Polity...shall be a voting member of the Student Council...shall be responsible for the preparation of a Polity budget." Since Polity's

most important function is that of doling out the dough to the campus organizations and services, the treasurer's job is the key—if not the most important—position.

The other positions open are important in their own right, but an underplayed aspect of this polling is the referenda. Students may cast opinions on the plus/minus grading system and the shortened semester; it is a terrific opportunity to let the University know how the undergraduate body feels about these issues. Don't let it pass. Most important of the referenda is one that reads: No referendum shall be run concerning the specific ear-marking of student activity fees. In other words, the students would not be allowed to vote for specific allocations to specific groups. This is contrary to good judgement, tradition and the ideals of democracy. Referenda are the only recourse for those who feel their representatives do not represent them, or that an issue which affects the campus at large is too important to be left to a small group of people. This is an unwise referendum: its portents are ominous. Student activity fees should be allowed to go where the students want them. Vote NO on this one.

As for that one endorsement: though the Press will not endorse a candidate for office, we heartily endorse voting. Do it. Take a minute. It can't hurt. It might help.

Viewpoints and letters do not necessarily reflect the editorial policy of this publication. Feedback is constantly encouraged.

Letters

To the Editor:

In response to your "Fight for Your Country" editorial of your February 5 issue, a few remarks pertaining to your unfortunate white-washing of America—its values and its role in world politics—are in order.

By starting the editorial with an emphatic affirmation of the need to fight for our country, the Press creates a dangerous atmosphere of confrontation that must be settled in a fashion of armed battle. You also employed, as other John Birch and Moral Majority propagandists constantly do, the question of how soon and how fast the Russians will take over the world, propagating the neurotic fear of a world communist takeover. Not wishing to delve on the issue of whether the Soviet's ambitions are to destroy the forces of capitalism, it is dangerous for a publication such as yours, dedicated to reporting in a logical and liberal fashion, to print such suggestions as: "...presented with Russia's Goal of World Domination, and given the opportunity to stem the Red Tide, we have no choice but to fight for our country." Has the Press forgotten the McCarthy-era? Is this the start of a new repressive age where one has to go to battle against forces that aim to destroy our moral and godly lives?

Hopefully, the Press can clarify their very ambiguous clarification call to fight for these basic freedoms instead of scapegoat-

Mini Editorial

For those of you who didn't understand last week's editorial, here it is in a nutshell:

In this day and age, military adventurism is insane and deadly. The elements in our country which seek to whip up nationalistic fervor, blind hatred for foreign countries and blind obedience to our own are the real enemy. The United States is a fine country gone slightly awry; but the ideals upon which it is predicated are worth preserving and fighting for. Not physical, military fighting, but ideological, social debating, law suits, elections, etc. That's the kind of fighting we're talking about. Far better to fight fascism on the homefront, than to succumb to it by fighting overseas.

Got it? Good.

ing the Soviet Union as the evil force that lurks behind a veil of deceit and evil seeking to destroy these rights.

—Mark Masciarelli

To the Editor:

I seek supporters and promoters for a "Peace Party" to be a political party that will come to office in the U.S.A.

This could be considered complete lunacy — then again, the only real answer for this world. I send this to you in the belief young people are activists. But I also have my doubts. Such is my experience with the young members of "Safe and Sound" — an anti-nuclear group. After a period of time, the members slowly faded away.

Nevertheless, being an idealist, I can envision young people seeing what their future offers, would fight to safeguard it.

There are only two choices — survival or obliteration on this mad nuclear world. Therefore, I believe a political "Peace Party" can be formed. But due to the very nature of man, it could have a rocky time. Only under strong leadership will the Peace Party stay together. Even though it's the best in this world today and it's all past history.

I believe once the media takes hold and promotes it, the popularity is bound to spread widely. I ask you, can you see this movement take hold? If you can, then you yourself will want to push it. This is a cause for everyone, but especially the young who have the most stake in it.

Looking forward to getting this idea off the ground — so why not the college people?

Mr. Paul S. Tribble
Senior Citizen Activist

The Stony Brook Press

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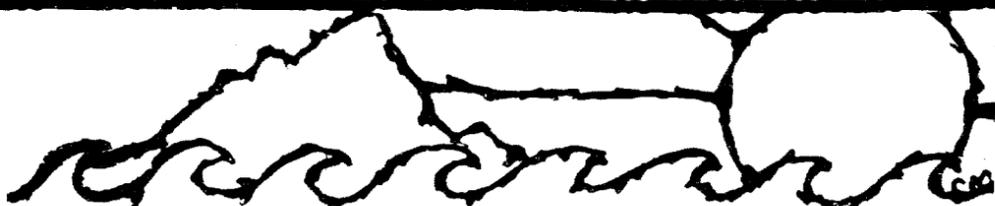
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THE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL VOLUNTEER PROGRAM

*Will be holding its first organizational meeting for the
Spring Semester on Monday, Feb. 16 at 8:00 p.m. in
Lecture Hall 100. Everyone is welcome to attend.
Speakers will explain the various aspects of the
program. A question and answer period will follow.
Take advantage of this priceless educational
opportunity!!*

Organization for Alteration

Firstly, a grand hello to many friends at the Press who have successfully made a go of keeping Stony Brook's first multiperspective newspaper alive, challenging and relevant.

A few practical comments on Mitchel's 'Viewpoint' ("Reagan May Breathe Fire Into Leftists", 11/20). While Mitch is right about the need for the Left to unite, put aside the pettiness and their little causes (un)celebre, he gives an impression that only traditional leftists can be effective at putting together an anti-fascist activism. It is my view, one that Clamshell Alliance organizes around, that a much wider range of folks need get involved, not as the folks who turn out once or twice for demonstrations, but as the organizers of anti-fascist and pro-progressive issues.

That puts a perhaps unrealized burden upon many at Stony Brook. For now, when Klan activities are suspected, when a response to the Greensboro verdict is necessitated, when Marxists are victimized by the Amoral Majority, it is incumbent upon e.g. Stony Brook Press folks, individual community members, etc. not to wait until e.g. Red Balloon sponsors a direct action, but to draw upon all community strengths — including leftists who have much experience, but equally upon the vigorous energy and new perspectives of those never before involved — and DO IT. It is of the utmost importance that the grass-roots community organizations, on campus and off campus, educate, organize, activate, and propound a winnable strategy that will stop nuclear power stop Reagan sabre-rattling,

prevent a new somestic cold war, and participate in the myriad of economic issues that directly affect our communities. In the same vein as we can't find meaningful propulsion in these directions from the Republicratic sham, neither can we afford to let the left, as commonly defined, organize for us. The results have been historically proved to be too unsatisfactory.

From what I hear, a large ad hoc coalition of leftists, grass-roots organizations, individuals, as well as ex-Commoner supporters, etc. will be congregating in Wash., D.C. on Inauguration day (this letter was dated December 2), not just to impotently

protest against Ray-gun, but to come together, to share concerns, strategies, etc. and start building a nationwide front against fascism. A delegation from Clamshell is having a scuba-diver swim from Seabrook, New Hampshire to Washington to deliver a bushel of red clams to Reagan, to tell him that we anti-nuke activists are neither goin away, nor limiting our organizing to the

Anti-Nuke front. Other activities are planned in coming months. Things are going on; but there is much room for creative, effective new strategies, including direct action, symbolic activity, community organizing, etc. It may be of further interest to SBP readers that Clam

is beginning to organize an 'emergency response' network where, in case of a major nuclear accident (as defined by an evacuation; we'll never hear TMI-type press coverage again) or Ray-gun war moves, the progressive groups of New England and New York will gather for direct action at suitable targets in the Northeast, and not allow people to feel as though there's nothing we can do, nor allow government to think they act in our behalf.

As Mitch correctly points out, there can be no bystanders when fascism knocks. Don't wait around for that old "Knock, on the door, knock on the door. Here they come to take one more..."

Fred Friedman



Can't write for the Harvard Crimson? Too peppy? Is the New York Times a little too conservative for your taste? Then join the Stony Brook Press. Be creative and expressive. Voice your opinions. Monday night, 8 pm, 042, Old Bio. Aloha.



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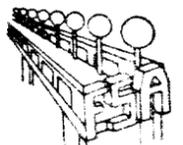
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found that having some well-grounded feeling about how the world was put together in terms of power, how society was put together, all helped when it came to stopping the Army Corps of Engineers from destroying the river because it gave you a framework in which to operate in terms of reaching the power structure. What we did in the 60s was we shot through the power structure from the street. That's not something you're taught to do in a school in the Thousand Islands.

Press: To teach people to organize?

Hoffman: "Abbie Hoffman's School for Protest." I'll probably call it something else.



Press: What about "Abbie's Academy?"

Hoffman: Naw, probably something like the "Catholic Church." This way I can get my tax exemption: call it the "Catholic Church Part Two." You think the name is copyrighted?

Press: I don't think they'll go down without a fight. [Much laughter.]

Press: You knew John Lennon . . .

Hoffman: We were very good friends.

Press: He didn't exactly have the kindest things to say about the 60s and the whole 60's movement. . .

Hoffman: I've heard that he was sort of sorry for making all those statements. I read the one in *Playboy*. "Abbie Hoffman, Nixon and I see them on TV and it seems all so silly, it's like seeing John Lennon on TV." he put in all the symbols of the 60s. With Nixon as president, me in a flag shirt and him as a Beatle, and it's surprising and a little silly to see all of us. He wasn't saying anything bad about me or Nixon for that matter. He was saying something about himself, how he felt how this was a little silly. That everybody tends to put people in terms of symbols or categories and then when they come around 10 years later and then they're not, people get upset.

Press: What did you think about his comments?

Hoffman: John was a little loose, although he had the highest level of political development of any singer I've met, which is not high. You don't have to have too well of a developed level. Very few singers . . . if you could find 10 singers who could name the Vice-President, not counting Donny and Marie Osmond.

Press: How about folk singers?

Hoffman: Pete Seeger, Woodie Guthrie, you mean people like that. Yeah, I'm talking about people like, well, I can't name them 'cause they're my friends. [Laughter] They wouldn't know Ronald Reagan from a light bulb.

Press: In the *Newsweek* interview Lennon sounded very bitter when he commented to the following question: "How do you look back on your political radicalism in the early 70s," and Lennon's reply was ". . . when you stop and think about it, what the hell was I doing fighting the American government, just because Jerry Rubin couldn't get what he always wanted, a nice cushy job." he sounds very bitter.

Hoffman: Well, you'll have to ask Jerry about that. You know, John went out with a \$235 million estate and to whack a guy who makes \$35,000 a year. . . Lennon was the type of person who would say to Jerry, "No, I didn't mean that; that's not what I meant, I meant something else." Maybe he meant something else. Sometimes it was hard to figure out what he meant by certain statements because he was often just playing with the way certain things sounded. It's wise to remember that Jerry Rubin and myself were the first people John and Yoko looked up when they came to America. They made that a public phenomenon. I mean, they insisted that we appear with them in public. We sat and planned for hours about demonstrations against the bombing of Cambodia, and they used to tell of their firm support for a guy named Michael X, who was a sort of a Malcolm X, in the West Indies, and was executed by the British government, so they had political stance that went way beyond bed-ins. It was for this

Ex-Yippie Confronts

reason that John Lennon was hounded for six years by the government, by the immigration department. Something that's not talked about a lot in those glossy books that are put together by those DJs in memory of John Lennon. They don't want to touch on that aspect, but that is a fact. Lennon was hounded by the U.S. government. Using the immigration servide . . . so what, so he was busted for marijuana? There are people who come into this country who have murdered—God—miles, acres of people, stolen, robbed, crooks, thieves, hundreds a week come here . . . if he had any resentment about that period, in a sense, it was because he was feeling bitter about having been persecuted by the government.

Press: What was your friendship with John Lennon like?

Hoffman: He was probably the most creative person I ever met. And it's always a pleasure to be around creative people. He wrote a song while I was sitting there. I forget which one it was, but it was on some album. He just wrote it. Just took three minutes. It was awkward being with them in public, but sometimes that fame helped. The firehouse next to my apartment in the lower East Side . . . there were all these firemen there and I would tip-toe by there because they may take a whack at me or something. But when I brought over John Lennon and Candy Bergen, they said, "You're cool man; go say whatever you want about the government, we don't care if you're a Russian spy." (Laughter.) They don't care, they don't care once I've brought over a Beatle.

Press: Did you see him at all while you were underground?

Hoffman: I couldn't. It was hard. He never answered the phone. John never answered the phone. I don't think he ever answered the phone in his life. He was scared of phones; he hated phones. I once tried to call him. I told him that I was Elvis Presley. I hadn't known that he was dead. (Much laughter.) I had been slightly out of touch.

Press: Have you seen Yoko since his death?

Hoffman: I've called her up. I've sent a little token . . . we'll see each other soon. I'm a big fan of hers. Much bigger than the general public, the kind that sees her as the dragon-lady that broke up the Beatles.

Press: I think the *Playboy* interview goes a long way towards dispelling that image.

Hoffman: She's the next Jackie Kennedy . . . what are ya gonna . . . oh, it's just an awful tragedy, shit. I was more moved by Lennon's death than by the death of anyone in my family, including my father's. I couldn't, I was just so close. You just say, "There but by the grace of the Angels go I." Definitely. Because anybody could

ce I said, shit, somebody's gonna get me right here in the airport, to even the score. Why don't you ask me about the time we raided Stony Brook?

Press: I didn't realize that you had visited the campus.

Hoffman: The Stony Brook dorms had just been raided by the police and . . .

Press: yeah, by the Suffolk County Police, that's what put Stony Brook on the map.

Hoffman: About 30 or 40 people had been arrested. We went out there the next night, about five in the morning, dressed as Keystone cops (laughter) in cars, strewed with crepe paper, signs in day-glow paint and tried to raid the campus. They had hoards and hoards of police and security trying to block us off and chasing us into the woods. Oh, God! (Laughter.) we had brought a truck and we played rock and roll music on the outside all night long.

We've got to start rounding this up 'cause I've got to start working on my piece, then I've got to start to cook and everything.

Press: Well, then let me ask one or two more questions before I let you go . . .

Hoffman: Two more. Look at this: I'm crying—I've got tears in my eyes talking about the 60s . . .

Press: What do you think of the Anti-Nuke movement? Where do you think it's going? What did you think of the two major rallies and the MUSE concerts?

Hoffman: I was active in the scenes. I saw you a couple of times. I went to two nights . . . I thought that they were more professional than anything we did in the 60s. They probably raised more money than all the events in the 60s put together. We really did not have the money. I would say that all the demonstrations in Chicago at the convention cost less than \$50,000. I was impressed by how much money they raised; I was impressed by the professional proficiency; I was impressed by the numbers of name musicians that would identify with the cause. There is this feeling that there was this great 60s music. But the musicians never, never helped movement groups. It's a joke, a hoax. Those groups might have identified but for the most part, no! no! You get a magazine like *Rolling Stone* which used every minute it could to turn musicians against people organizing rallies and demonstrations. . .

Press: I'm really surprised.

Hoffman: Oh yeah, you got to go back and read that era a little better in terms of what really happened. I mean, we'd stand up and say Mick Jagger is with us but I . . . I'd just say it because . . . Yeah Mick Jagger, all right, far out (laughter) . . . Mick Jagger was in the fuckin' Riviera! It was as I said in the book—that music was revolutionary because we said it was. We put a

'I was more moved by Lennon's death than by the death of anyone in my family, including my father!'

get it. I could get it. I was with David Bowie a couple of days after it happened and man we were just . . .

Press: It just left you speechless. At least that was true for me.

Hoffman: That's right. See, if you could attribute some kind of political motives or something, you feel a little better, but when you can't attribute any motive . . .

Press: Except that the guy was really sick.

Hoffman: He was real sick. I remember when I was flying back . . . I was organizing demonstrations in Miami, this was at the Republican convention, and I flew back to Atlanta on my way to Ohio to give a speech, and they announced on the loud speaker that George Wallace had been shot. Now, I had hair about to here (demonstrating), so I was very recognizable. I was a very public person. . . Nobody says bad things, nobody said bad things back then, but you always had the feeling that some thing could happen and you also had the feeling that it was always gonna be some fan that was gonna get you. Lennon had that feeling, Woody Allen had that feeling in his movie. They get disappointed: "What do you mean you wouldn't come to my house!" You can't fulfill all their expectation of someone who is engaged in hero-worship, the only way you can fulfill it is if you're dead. Then they can control you, but if you're alive you can't fulfill the expectations. Look at Lennon: he scribbled the autograph—that wasn't good enough. Shit! We talked about that: Walla-

label on it, we identified with it and said it was us. I'll tell ya, I probably organized 100 rallies throughout the 60s and I got one hundredth the name musicians come and sing for anything that I was involved with, as Jimmy Carter got. I'm sure he got more . . . it just didn't happen. We got the Fugs, Phil Ochs, Pete Seeger. Odetta was a good singer who came out. Not even my good friends, the Jefferson Airplane, Country Joe and Fish, but that's it.

Press: Do you think the movement is growing? After all the Referendum was shot down in Maine. . .

Hoffman: No, I don't think it's growing.

Press: What do you think is the problem?

Hoffman: It needs another Three Mile Island. I don't think it's in the control of anything that the organizers can do. It's very hard to make people feel the sense of urgency so that they want to act on something. It's really hard.

Press: This is it—the last question. I know that Nader was really disappointed with the way Jimmy Carter turned out and I've heard that you were really disappointed with him.

Hoffman: Who, when . . . ?

Press: I saw some where that you saw him as the people's president. . .

Hoffman: Oh God, yeah, I wrote an article in '76 about the inauguration. I covered the inauguration for *Oui* magazine, a French journal.

Conservative America

Press: A very distinguished French journal I might add.

Hoffman: A very distinguished journal. Carter gave us Reagan. I'll bring it right up to date. Bring it up to the future. Carter gave us Reagan. He was as outside the system as you're gonna see. he wasn't a part of the good ole boy system that much. Of course, he was Trilateral. All I can now say about him is that he gave us Reagan so I'm pissed. I think he was so bad in terms of mismanagement, in terms of not being able to deal with the issues of the times, in terms of not being inventive, not being creative, not inspiring anything—that the country was ready for anybody, so he gave us Reagan. Reagan was elected on a very small minority. I don't see the Moral Majority as a real entity. They're going to go back to mowing their lawns as soon as the spring comes and that'll be it. reagan was elected by half the voters who turned out for the polls. Half of them voted for Reagan; little more than half, about 27 percent. Half of that in my opinion just voted against Carter—would have voted for anybody. So your talking about 13 percent of the electorate perhaps that says we're with Reagan, he's our champion, we want him. I call that a selfish minority.

Press: You don't think that the Moral Majority is as strong as they appear to be? I remember when all the progressive senators lost. I cried.

Hoffman: McGovern lost and cried. When Castro loses, that's when I'm gonna cry. If you look around the world: Canada, Israel, England, you can see that the conservative movement didn't work. I'd be willing to bet right now, \$1,000—that's a big bet, that's more than I bet on the Philadelphia Eagles—I'd bet \$1,000 that Reagan serves four years or less. I'll bet \$1,000 on that right now.

Press: You heard it: right now.

Hoffman: The chances of an incumbent being elected are pretty high. I'll put that up. Get that Moral Majority money up. In fact, if they find some more I'll go up to \$5,000!

Press: Do I hear 10? Do I hear \$10,000

Hoffman: Reaganomics. Come up with your fuckin' money. You wanna vote for that asshole, put some money on 'im. (Laughter fills the room.) Naw, I bet that he would win. I came out because I didn't want him to sign my fate.

Press: When you talk about the 60s you talk with great affection.

Hoffman: I also liked the 50s. I like it all. But go ahead . . .

Press: The energy level seemed to be much higher back then. There was more support for someone who was going to go out and scream the truths.

Hoffman: The first war demonstration against the

Vietnam war was in my home town—Worcester—about 1964. There were 200 of us, which was an enormous amount of people. We marched down Main Street and we got down two blocks and then we were attacked by 2,000 students with brass knuckles, clubs, rotten eggs. I wish that they had been more apathetic then. There is really never much support for going out and opposing your government's policy at a time of war. That's never a popular cause. Later on the movement grew, but there was no support. After Kent State. I think it was the Wall Street Journal, the first newspaper—you have to remember, of the 4,000 newspapers there wasn't one that was against the war in Vietnam for all those years; not a single TV station, not a single radio station. This is the joy of having a free press in America. That's why we had to find our news by having to read Le Monde, The Observer from England, that's why we had to listen to CBC from Canada. You couldn't get it here. So in that period the press wasn't supportive, the police weren't supportive. They took sides; they took sides with hawks. We were the enemy—that's why they beat the shit out of us. We were not supported. That's a myth. Near the end, when the Wall Street Journal and the New York Times—around '71—the people started saying: "Hey it's not working out so good." Now, most people would say that they were against the war in Vietnam back then. Back then it ws 25 percent. They're just bullshitting, they now know it wasn't popular. They ask how could it have been popular? I think in the end the best thing about the 60s is that it left the legacy that a person could fight city hall.

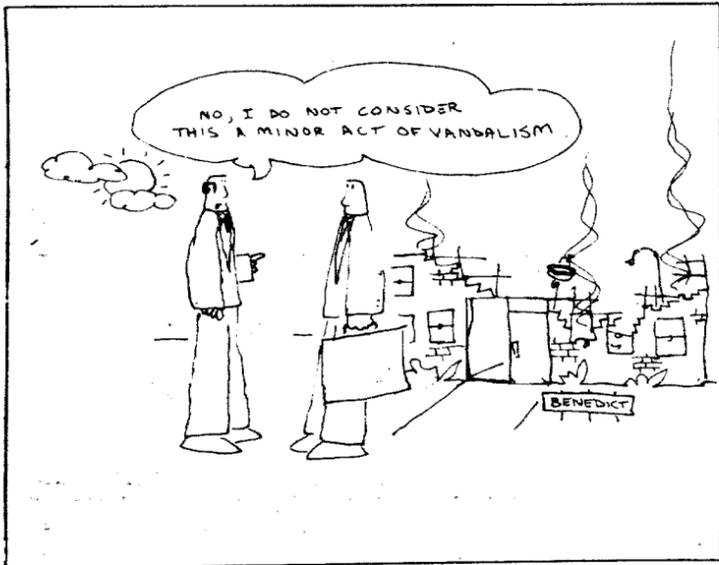
Press: Abbie, we thank you for your time and now for the question we've been all waiting for: Did you ever go to bed with Agnew's daughter?

Hoffman: [Shaking his head and laughing] I knew I shouldn't have written that. That was silly, she's probably getting harassed for that. I haven't gone to bed with anyone: that's how I maintain my idealism. That stuff saps your energy, your vital life fluids.

Press: Well, it's time to hit the road.

In closing we'd like to thank Abbie for granting me this interview. I would like to inform the readers that if they would like to write on behalf of Abbie's defense they can to the following address, all letters should be addressed to Judge Brenda Soloff, Abbie Hoffman Legal Defense fund, 44 Greenwich Avenue, New York, NY 10014.

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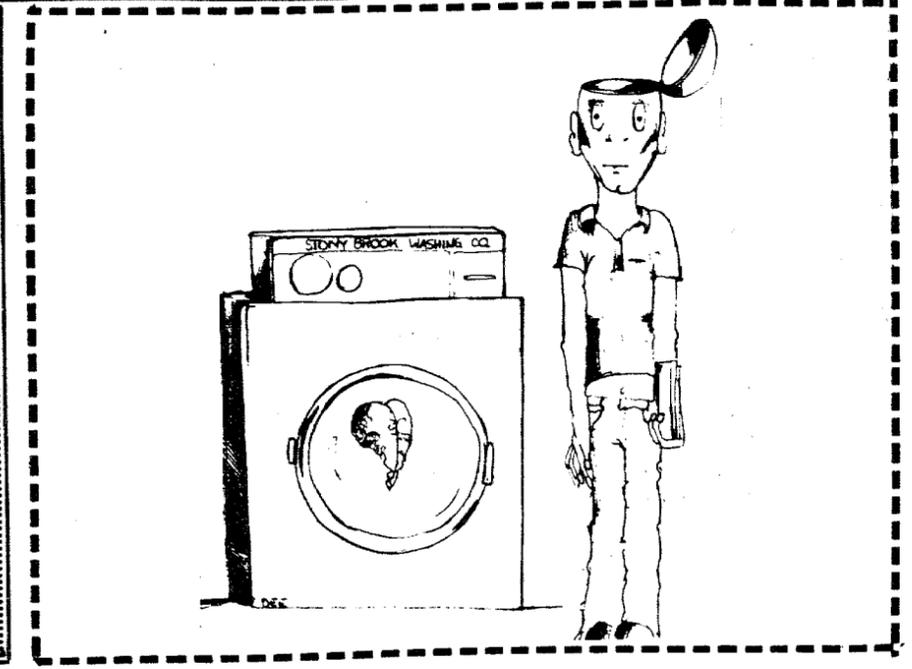
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