

## An Expensive

The sinister bent of Stanford's social sciences makes one ask an important question about professional scholarship: Who defines it? The Trustees do not determine academic criteria in their Board meetings, and neither does the administration. Yet men of wealth and power like David Packard, John Gardner, and Stephen Bechtel are still the ones to blame for "education" at Stanford. They control it indirectly -- through their power to determine how the resources available to education are to be distributed. These resources are highly concentrated in a small number of institutions that decide which schools, disciplines, and individuals are to become wealthy and influential and which ones are to starve in oblivion. The most important of these ruling-class institutions are the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations, the National Institute of Health, the National Science Foundation, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

Harold Laski, former Professor at Harvard and director of the London School of Economics describes how the visible hand of the big foundations shapes the academic marketplace: "A university principal who wants his institution to expand has no alternative except to see it expand in the directions of which one or the other of the foundations happens to approve. There may be doubt, or even dissent among teachers in the institution, but what possible chance has doubt or dissent against a possible gift of, say, a hundred thousand dollars? And how, conceivably, can the teacher whose work fits in with the scheme of the prospective endowment fail to appear more important in the eyes of the principal or his trustees than the teacher for whose subject, or whose views the foundation has neither interest or liking? . . . What are his chances of promotion if he pursues a path of solitary inquiry in a world of colleges (a very small world -- 75% of the foundation money goes to ten ruling-class universities like Harvard and Stanford) competing for the substantial crumbs which fall from the foundation's table? And, observe, there is not a single point here in which there is the slightest control from, or interference by, the foundation itself. It is merely the fact that a fund is within reach which permeates everything and alters everything. The college develops along the lines the foundation approves. The dependence is merely implicit, but it is in fact quite final . . . where the real control lies no one who has watched the operation in process can possibly doubt."

# Marketplace of Ideas

A good example of this real control is the evolution of behavioral sciences. The Rockefeller Foundation, intrigued by behaviorism's "scientific" acceptance of the power elite and status quo, as well as its methodology of observing the behavior of the masses, set up the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1923 as a clearing-house for behavioral research in political science, sociology, anthropology, economics, psychology, history, and statistics. A Rockefeller representative (Beardsly Ruml) headed the Council along with an ambitious professor named Charles E. Merriam from the Rockefeller-financed University of Chicago. Over the years massive injections of government (including the Defense Department and the CIA), business, and foundation funds have built up the SSRC into such an important organization that early Merriam students like Gabriel Almond (Chairman of Stanford's political science department) are now rated the foremost political scientists of the century.

More important recently has been the Center for the Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences at Stanford (right behind the Stanford golf course). The Ford Foundation, sponsor of the Center, rewards 40 of its most dedicated academic servants with a year fellowship to write books and generally shape future studies for the nation's colleges and researchers. In keeping with the eyes-downward, palms-upward approach of fat-cat social scientists, the Center men have been leaders in the rush to study blacks (around 1963) and the "urban crisis" (around 1965). Now they are concerning themselves with the problem of fighting student disruption on campuses. Center "fellows" issued a call in 1968 which has resulted in test to find "potential dissidents" among entering freshmen. The test is now being administered by the National Institute of Mental Health and the American Council of Education.

The Ford Foundation, always quick to respond to instability among the ruled, is now attempting to develop an acceptable discipline of Black Studies and sponsor experimental university Black Studies departments. Stanford corporate leaders from Bechtel Co. and Shell Oil sit on the Ford Foundation's Board of Directors. Arjay Miller, Dean of the Business School and former President of Ford, is now associated with the Foundation through his Chairmanship of the Ford-sponsored Urban Institute (a RAND-like think-tank) and his trusteeships of big business' Committee for Economic Development and the Brookings Institution, both heavily funded by Ford.



...has a better idea

The development of the international studies institutes after World War II is another example of the Foundation's efforts in subordinating academia to the interests of the multi-national corporation. Stanford trustee John Gardner was a leading figure in the international studies story. Spurred on by Wall Street lawyer and Carnegie Corp. President Devereaux Josephs, Carnegie-man Gardner traveled around the country offering wealth and prestige to scholars willing to contribute to the Cold War effort. The Carnegie Foundation under Gardner sponsored the Harvard Center for International Affairs which involved such distinguished foreign policy leaders as John Foster Dulles and Dean Rusk (both former Presidents of the Rockefeller Foundation) and produced McGeorge Bundy and Henry Kissinger as later Presidential advisers (the third of the famous advisers, Walt Rostow, came from the neighboring M.I.T. international center). As rebellion and American investment in Latin America both increased, the Ford Foundation set up the Latin American Studies center at Stanford with a grant of 75 million dollars. Professor Ronald Hilton, despite his popularity as a teacher and outstanding reputation as one of the finest and most objective Latin American scholars for over 20 years, was excluded from the grant because of his "pro-Cuba" leanings and had to leave Stanford. More Latin American study money can be expected from Ford in the future. Little of it will go to anti-imperialists in Latin America or in the U.S.A.



*"Please, Madame Binh . . . can't we hurry along?"*

# Women

Women make up a large part of the American reserve labor force. They are 51% of the total population--yet only 34% of the paid labor force. Women are the maids, factory girls, bank tellers, phone operators, salesgirls, schoolteachers, nurses, and social workers, without which this society couldn't function. Yet they are consistently paid less than men, and they have lower job security. They are also the housekeepers, cooks, seamstresses, laundresses, and childraisers for families. And for this they are not paid at all.

Women are the objects and the tools of an artificially created demand. In a consumer-oriented America, they do 80% of the consuming--they are counted on to spend millions each year keeping up with advertising's image of what is fashionable. In advertising itself, women are seen everywhere as conscious and unconscious tools--on billboards selling liquor, in magazines swooning over after-shave lotion, or on TV slithering gracefully out of a Bryll-Cream tube.

Women are the victims of a sexual code which doesn't allow them control of their own bodies. The double standard makes it reprehensible to express themselves sexually. 80% of all women are technically "frigid," never experiencing orgasm. This is caused both by the lack of knowledge about the physiology of their bodies and the belief that the purpose of intercourse is satisfaction for the man. Abortion laws reinforce the notion that the woman's only function is to reproduce. A stereotype image of femininity ensures passivity and dependence on men for protection. Constant sexual objectification makes physical fulfillment difficult, if not rare. And yet, women are taught to capitalize on sexiness, to emulate the Playboy foldout, to play the seductive siren.

Women are expected to react rather than to initiate action. They are channeled into the supportive roles that allow others to act upon society. These roles are important, but they are limited to them and damaged by them. They can only relate to the outside world indirectly, through other people. They are supposed to be sensitive, intuitive--to respond to the needs of others, to smooth the way, to be the oil in the gears. But women are not taught to think critically or act creatively in the whole machinery.

Women are status quo-supporters in a society that is increasingly alienating. Their role in the home is comforter and supporter to their men. They allow men to avoid confronting their alienation in the outside world--on the job, etc.--by being pacifiers. And at the same time, women depend on men for financial and emotional security--effectively ruling out the possibility that the men might take risks to effect some change.

It may seem that at Stanford, women really have it good. And, in fact, Stanford women students are in a very privileged position--they probably have more freedom at Stanford than they will ever have again. Yet:

1) The admission of women students is maintained at a three-to-one ratio--more men than women because education for women is "not as important" as it is for men.

2) Most women major in the humanities, while men enroll in the social science, natural sciences, and professional schools.

3) Women comprise only 5% of the faculty. In 1967, thirty-one of the forty-nine women were assistant professors--the lowest ranking faculty.

4) There are only a handful of courses that deal with the problems and history of women.

5) It is the University's policy that no contraceptives may be obtained at Cowell Health Center--the student's clinic.

6) There is no provision for child care. Consequently, young mothers cannot stay in school.

The moment a woman arrives at Stanford as a freshman, the process of "preferential treatment" begins. Despite the advent of co-ed residences, the phone calls based upon Froshbook pictures, the crowded dorm "lobbies," fraternity rosebuds, and intense pressure among women for having a date every night, all contribute to creating false roles for both women and men. Women begin to believe that this isolated and unique situation is indeed the reality. And for men, the inherent frustrations become obvious.

But the women who work for Stanford face even worse conditions. Beyond the "normal" working conditions faces by all employees (described in the section about Stanford employees), many women face discrimination in salary range and job classification, despite the fact that many are the sole supporters of their families. Furthermore, the absence of child-care centers forces women to spend part of their paychecks on babysitters or leave their children with babysitters. Some probably even leave their children unattended.

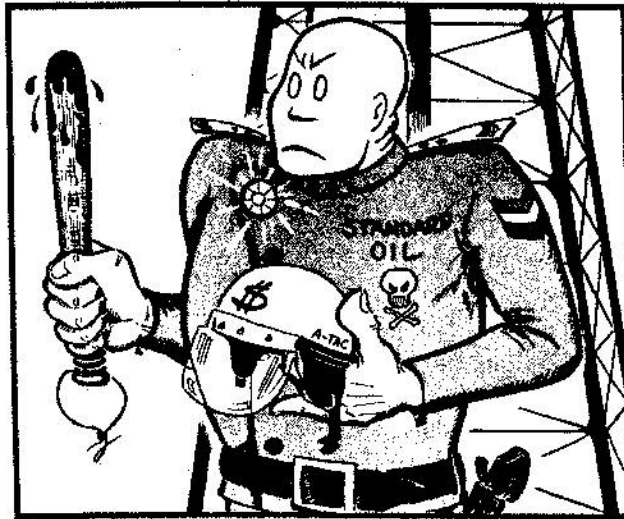
It is not an easy thing to confront and deal with the oppression of women, for it exists on many levels--from sex and psychology to economic and politics. But there are women at Stanford who have rejected their traditional roles and have chosen to create radical alternatives. They have organized into small women's groups, called Women's Liberation Groups, to explore the common basis of their oppression and the possibilities for personal and collective liberation.

These groups are part of a nationwide Women's Liberation Movement, centered primarily on the college campuses, but including working women, welfare mothers, and housewives. The all-women groups form an atmosphere of participation not found in the male-dominated institutions of the Establishment or the Movement.

The oppression of women in society serves a function similar to the oppression of black people. Men, in their privileged position, spend more time fighting to keep women from sharing their "privileges" than working to build a society where all would live better. The radical movement is beginning to realize that the liberation of women is a requisite to the liberation of men.



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# Labor

## Stanford Employees

Despite the impressive growth of the Stanford complex, Stanford's orientation toward progress does not extend to its relations with its employees. Many of the University's employees are among the lowest paid in the county. The median staff income in 1968 was under \$8000, with 25% of the total faculty and staff earning less than \$6000. Pay increases are not standardized, and so-called "merit raises" for most workers do not keep pace with the rising cost of living. From September 1968 to September 1969, the cost of living in the Bay Area rose 5.6%, while Stanford employees' wages rose only 3.8%. The lowest paid workers at Stanford were granted only a 2.9% increase. As a result of their low wages, few Stanford employees can afford to live in the immediate area. 45% live beyond the Redwood City-Mountain View area, and another 7% live outside the San Carlos-San Jose area. Many of the remaining 48% live in East Palo Alto.

The shortage of low-cost housing in the area means that Stanford employees are forced to live miles from their work. Increased transportation costs eat into already meager wages. Public transportation is practically non-existent, nor is any planned for the future. Consequently, one of the first questions asked prospective employees is, "Do you have a car?" In general, those who cannot afford private transportation cannot find employment at Stanford.

Stanford employees can seldom get accurate job classifications and pay ranges for their jobs. The University deals with each employee individually, a practice which results in wage inequity while at the same time inhibiting the development of worker solidarity. Despite the fact that Stanford has a well-financed Department of Community Health, there is no adequate health care plan for employees, except for a token subsidy recently instituted for employee-purchased health insurance. The cost of the insurance was announced as \$10 per employee, but increased rates have brought the actual cost closer to \$5 a month.

But high hospitalization costs do nothing for Stanford hospital workers. The Housekeeping Department at the hospital employs about 160 workers--mostly blacks from East Palo Alto. Last spring the take-home pay averaged \$310 a month. Stanford, under the guise of being an "equal opportunity employer," has long used the black community as a source of cheap labor. Working conditions in the Housekeeping Department are among the worst at Stanford. Because housekeeping jobs are the least skilled, the workers are liable to exploitation and intimidation. They are told that they are here at the "good will" of Stanford University. Furthermore, every effort is made to prevent them from organizing together. Dissatisfied workers who understand their oppression are labeled as troublemakers, isolated from other workers, told not to talk to students, and threatened with firing.

Despite the difficulties presented by their work situation, employees in the Housekeeping Department united last spring behind a set of fourteen demands designed to improve their wages and working conditions. Workers demanded the right to organize themselves into a Workers Association, a clear statement of the true take-

home pay and raise schedule, comprehensive health care for workers and their families, and the election of supervisors by the employees. The workers explained their demand for a living wage as follows:

If an increase in any measure to relieve the financial pressure we are now subject to, it must be sufficiently substantial to provide a "take-home" check that would accomplish the following:

- 1) Preclude the necessity of working two jobs which would allow us time to adequately function as a "father figure" in the home, and to provide time for rest and relaxation.
- 2) Permit the mothers of the household to stay in the home and provide guidance and care for the children.
- 3) Adequately meet living expenses at today's inflated prices.
- 4) Have sufficient funds to keep our community from being called "slum."

As a result of workers' activity, the base pay level was raised to \$450 (before taxes) in the Housekeeping Department, marking a concrete victory for organized workers, despite the fact the hospital wiped out "merit raises" this year and raised prices in the Med School cafeteria by an average of fifteen percent.

The maids and janitors at the hospital were not the first group to benefit from the potential strength of organized activity. Two years ago, with the formation of the Stanford AFT (local 1816 of the American Federation of Teachers), teaching assistant salaries were immediately increased by \$200, and increases of \$400 to \$600 were won for the following year. Inequities in TA salaries, such as the interdepartmental salary differential, were not corrected, however, and there may be further AFT activity in this area during the coming year.

Attempts at University-wide employee organizing have occurred at Stanford in the recent past. In the summer of 1968, many workers joined together to form the Stanford Employees Association (SEA), which quickly grew to a membership of over 500. The leadership, however, did not seem to be serving the interests of the employees. Rather than building a strong rank-and-file organization, it attempted to impress the administration. The leaders even invited President Pitzer (a \$60,000 a year "employee") to become an honorary member of SEA--an honor which he declined. They overturned a membership decision not to affiliate with the California School Employees Association (CSEA).

SEA now pays \$1.75 of each member's \$2,00-a-months dues to CSEA. In return, SEA members get newsletters and magazines which have little relevance to Stanford, for SEA is the only college or university employees' organization in CSEA. The primary objection put forward by the membership, however, was that the CSEA-sponsored constitution would formalize the transformation of SEA into a company union. Furthermore, many members objected to CSEA's political stance. CSEA favors legislation which seeks to expand the scope of loyalty oaths for public employees.

The final ploy came last spring when SEA's president, Mike Fineo, published an attack on the April Third Movement in the staff newsletter, warning workers that "your jobs are at stake this time." When a group of employees sent in a letter correcting his distortions (a letter which was apparently never printed), they were immediately suspended from SEA at a closed meeting. Later the thirteen suspended employees and their supporters met and decided to build a new employees' organization, which we expect to be called United Stanford Employees (USE)--a group serving its members, not the employer. USE has been meeting throughout the summer, researching and discussing issues of concern to employees: child care centers, publication of job classification and wage schedules, pay raises to compensate for inflation, low-cost on-campus housing, health benefits, self-determination of work schedule, and shorter work-days. One USE member has offered an apt summary of the objectives of the new employees union:

The university administration is trying to solve its problems at our expense. They and our liberal-minded bleeding-heart bosses are asking us to share the poverty with our fellow worker. Let us say to

them that we shall not share the poverty with our fellow worker. Rather, we shall share the wealth of this nation--we shall share the wealth of this university.

It has been estimated that this university has over \$250 million in endowment funds. This I cannot prove. But I do know--this university has just spent \$20 million on buildings at this campus. I do know that Stanford derives a substantial income from the Stanford Shopping Center; it derives a substantial income from the Stanford Industrial Complex; that Stanford plans on building a large financial center on Page Mill Road; that Stanford is building a commercial, income producing research center in the foothills; that Stanford has millions of dollars invested in this country, that it has millions invested throughout the world. This I do know: that tens of millions of dollars are invested by Stanford in business stock. When Stanford claims poverty, don't you believe it.

Let us say to Stanford: Increase your investments in the human stock which makes our university function! Let us unite!

