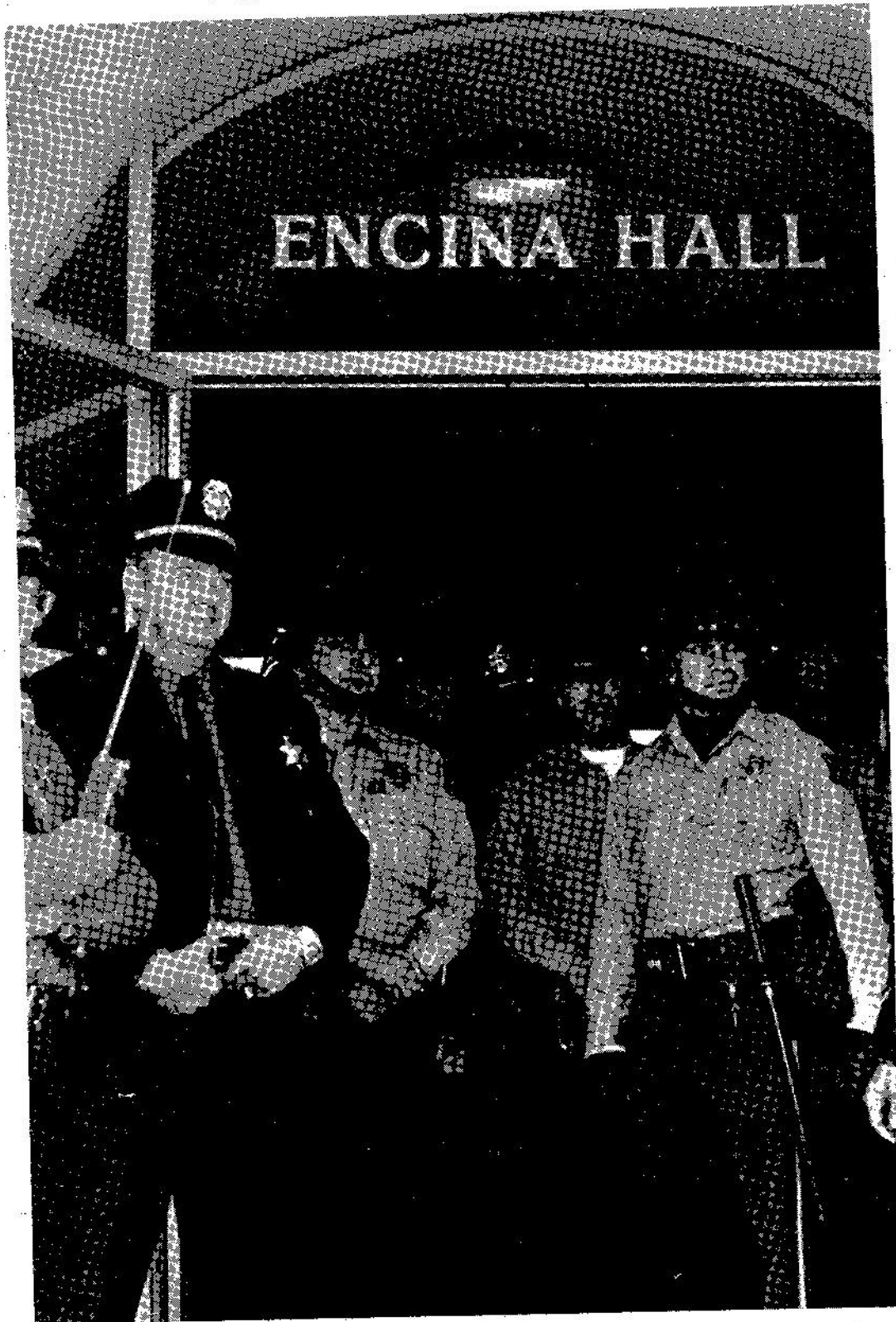


Maggie's Farm



A Radical Guide to Stanford

SOME WORDS ABOUT THE COVER:

I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more
I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more
Well, I try my best
To be just like I am
But everybody wants you
To be just like them
They say sing while you slave
And I just get bored
I ain't gonna work on Maggie's farm no more.

--Bob Dylan

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INTRODUCTION

The sandstone arches and the red tile roofs of Inner quad suggest the peace and quiet that must have ruled Stanford when it was, as its literature suggests, truly "The Farm." But those days have passed, and as any but the most sheltered humanities student must learn, the real guts and life of the university lie elsewhere: in the engineering and research labs, in the social science "think-tanks," and in the business school. There we find the home of the new "community of technical scholars" that has replaced the traditional university as the backbone of American higher education. But let Frederick E. Terman, the man who, more than any other individual, is responsible for Stanford's modern octopus, tell his own story:

"The growing importance of industries based on science and technology has given the university a new role in national life. . . . Universities are thus rapidly developing into more than mere places for learning. They are becoming a major influence in the nation's industrial life, affecting the location of industry, population growth, and the character of communities.

"This is the 20th and 21st century form of the

honored and ancient 'community of scholars'. It is a new and distinctive force in our society. Of particular importance is the fact that it is becoming one of the great economic forces for the future development of our national economy."

This booklet attempts to analyze what it means to live in and around a "community of technical scholars". It also offers hints about how to survive your stay here. Like the other guides to Stanford, this handbook presents a definite political line; our radical perspective leads us to see our problems arising out of a definite social context, an environment shaped, not by fate, but by the decisions of other men. Our perspective is also molded by our actions. Many of us are veterans of several years of intense political action against the Stanford complex, years in which the dry details of our analysis have come alive as Stanford's power has responded to our insurgent movement with injunctions, suspensions, tear gas, and police clubs. We invite you to survey our conclusions about Stanford, to question our perspective as well as your own, to engage us in dialogue, and finally, if you are convinced, to join us in our struggle. We did not bring politics here, we found it.

This guide was prepared by members and associates of the Stanford chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. It has been financed, in part, by donations from members of the Stanford Community. According to the tenets of Keynesian deficit spending, the remainder has not yet been financed. Contributions may be sent to SDS, P.O. Box 7333, Stanford, California.



Survival ...

----- Community -----

At Stanford "community" is a magic word which means many things to many people. It sends students, faculty, and administrators on an intensive, sometimes wholly academic quest for its discovery. Unfortunately, the community that they seek has proven to be elusive as the definition of the word itself.

The abstractions "community of scholars" and "community of discovery" are highly touted in many circles, but early in their stay at Stanford, most students find these Platonic ideals all too hollow and unreal. Stanford is not a community where people live and grow together. There is no collective identity.

Grades and competition, IBM cards, bureaucracies, artificial living arrangements, and a "Student Union" which closes at 10:00 p. m. are all barriers to the development of a Stanford "community." But the source of the problem is much deeper. The idea that students, staff, faculty, and administrators at Stanford can join together for a common purpose is, to say the least, ridiculous. It is hard to imagine real fellowship among people whose interests are so diverse. The priorities and social function of the university as a whole lie too far from the ideals and concerns of the majority of its student body.

To build "community" at Stanford, even on a smaller level, the geographical aloofness of the campus must be overcome. The competitive atmosphere which pervades everything, from athletics and social life to academic pursuits must be replaced. The occupation of the Applied Electronics Laboratory last spring provided a temporary community for many students, but following the sit-in, most of the participants returned to their fragmented existences.

In the past, several attempts have been made to establish permanent "community" at Stanford with varying success. Necessarily small in inception, these experiments have had difficulty reaching out beyond the cliques originally involved.

The most visible attempt at community for Stanford students has been the development of a counter-culture. Like young people around the country, they show their

discontent with the hypocritical value systems, the mass media, and the American consumer culture by wearing inexpensive, often shoddy clothing, long hair, and beards. Drugs and rock music are very much a part of this culture, and many communes have been created in attempts to build a cultural milieu based on participation and human cooperation. The Mid-Peninsula Free University is the local "organization" dedicated to building a community based around the youth culture, and offers many practical and cultural services.

Look magazine recently gave Stanford's co-ed living experiments higher billing than Joe Arjoto and the Mafia. Contrary to public relations, the co-ed residences have not eliminated the importance of sex, but more natural relationships have evolved within the context of co-ed houses. Many houses have themes structured around academic or creative endeavors, but have failed building the spirit once envisioned for the "experimental houses" of the last few years. The transformation has not been nearly so earthshaking as the press coverage might indicate, but co-ed housing, on the whole, represents a step towards developing "community" at Stanford.

And many of us see radical politics as an attempt to create community. Working and struggling together, campus radicals combine their political work with cultural rebellion to form a community of sorts. But the result can better be described as a "clique" than as a community. The radical movement has not created a liberated, cooperative life-style. Last year SDS was severely handicapped by this fact. The April Third Movement, however, began to find answers to the problem with the formation of affinity groups, which served as discussion groups and work-groups, while part of a larger identity.

During last spring's struggle to change Stanford, we began to see "community" as an intense and really cooperative long-range activity. Like a "public love affair," it changes and develops with experience and is continually being recreated and renewed.

Housing -----

Even a cursory glance at University publications reveals Stanford's proud claims about the "residential university." If you've been here more than a couple of days though, you've found out the bitter truth: that housing, whether on campus or off, is expensive, crowded, inconvenient, and ill-suited to the needs of an academic community. Administrators claim to be greatly upset by the fact that Stanford dumps 5,000 single students and 1,700 married students on an already glutted housing market, but Stanford's "deep concern" shouldn't arouse too much compassion when you consider its complicity in the housing crisis. The development of Palo Alto and the surrounding area into a regional employment center and the havoc it has played on housing is, after all, a direct result of Stanford's land management policies.

The transformation of Palo Alto from a suburban bedroom community into the Peninsula's major financial and employment center took place in the period around the beginning of 1950. Despite its alleged academic detachment, Stanford managed almost single handedly to mold that transformation. By the allocation of a potential 3,000 acres (out of a total 8,800) for industrial development, Stanford businessmen-scientists created the beginnings of the peninsula electronics industry. The Stanford Industrial Park which has been the focus for this industry currently employs 18,000 workers, and estimates project a potential 38,000. The Industrial Park alone generates a demand for 2/3 of Palo Alto's total number of living units. Conveniently enough, the median annual family income (before taxes) of industrial park workers is less than \$9,000. Since Palo Alto rentals are significantly higher than in the rest of Santa Clara County--Palo Alto accounts for 75% of the rentals over \$200 per month in the County--it is unlikely that industrial park workers could afford to live in or near Palo Alto. It's almost a joke to consider their chances of owning a home in Palo Alto; a worker making \$9,000 per year is restricted to 5% of the Palo Alto housing market.

Stanford bureaucrats would argue that they're not responsible for the exploitation of industrial park workers, they only rent the land. However, consider the plight of Stanford employees -- 12,000 faculty and staff which accounts for 20% of the jobs in Palo Alto and Stanford. Since Stanford is the largest employer in the area you might expect that the facts would be about the same, and indeed they are. The median staff income for Stanford University is under \$8,000 per year with 25% making under \$6,000. On these salaries you couldn't expect S. U. employees to be Palo Alto residents--in fact there is a direct correlation between the distance they live from Stanford and their salaries. Of all staff members who make under \$8,000, 75% live beyond the area bracketed by Redwood City on the North and Mountain View on the South. Even if they were able to afford it they wouldn't be able to find living units for the estimated demand of 5700 families. In fact, together with the industrial park workers there is a demand generated for at least 85% of the estimated 20,000 living units in Palo Alto. Of course Stanford isn't all bad, it is magnanimous enough to provide around 500 parcels of land for faculty and higher-echelon staff homes. The fact that homes which are built on this land are very seldom under \$45,000 must come as great consolation to the 3000 families making under \$8,000.

For once, Stanford's elite student body shares the plight of working people. Though the University has made available some on-campus housing, the majority of students must venture into the world to find a roof. And as most new students must have learned by now, that is

nearly an impossible task. Up and down the Peninsula vacancy rates are less than 1% (3% is considered normal).

On campus there are a minimal number of sterile, over-crowded dormitories and fraternities. Students living in the residence system pay \$33 a month for a small double room, a shower down the hall, and the dubious privilege of being required to eat dorm food. Life in Escondido Village is not much better. The Village is primarily housing for married students, renting at lower rates (\$123 for 2 bedrooms, \$139 for 3) than can be found in Palo Alto. (There is a 14-month long waiting list to get in.) Though the rent is low, the Village offers little in the way of community, as students focus their interest and time on their departments and their families.

Off-campus it's catch as catch can. The demand for off-campus housing is large enough that, if filled, it would take over 50% of Palo Alto's multiple dwelling units. Because few students can afford Palo Alto rentals, the surrounding areas are saturated with student rentals. By far the most heavily hit area is Nairobi (East Palo Alto) where students compete with blacks for low-cost housing. But nowhere is there a heavy concentration of students; Stanford does not have student neighborhoods like those found around the campuses of larger schools. Students are scattered up and down the Peninsula, living wherever space is available, braving the traffic on El Camino and the Bayshore, and cursing Stanford's hollow claims about the "residential university."

Shopping -----

Since January, 1969, inflation has pushed the cost of living up 7 percent nation-wide. The Bay area is not the place to come for relief from the money squeeze. Food, which is the student's greatest expense after he pays his debt to Stanford, is one of the items that has been priced out of the reach of student means.

The CO-OP Supermarkets, owned by their customers, are pleasant, low-pressure places to shop. CO-OP went discount last spring and is quite competitive with the big discount houses. CO-OP labeled goods are the best buy; you can also find kosher and other hard-to-get items there as well as sundries. There are three CO-OPs in the Stanford area: California Ave. near Park, (the closest), El Camino at San Antonio Rd. (Mountain View and Los Altos residents note), and Middlefield near Colorado (for those in south PA). The California location is closed on Sunday.

Escondido Villagers will find the JJ&F Market (520 College Ave. in College Terrace) handy for emergency shopping. The Open House (called the Chinaman's - 2325 El Camino Real, PA) is open until 12:30 a.m. It's the only late-night market in the area.

Three discount stores in the Stanford area give the lowest prices on food. For cut-rate everything try Alec (625 El Camino, Menlo Park), or GEMCO (2485 El Camino, Redwood City). A smaller selection of food and non-perishables can be found at MAXIMART (3200 Park Blvd., Palo Alto). You must be a "property owner" or ex-GI in order to qualify for a lifetime membership at GEMCO. If you own or are making payments on a car or similar property, GEMCO will gladly take your dollar "fee." ALEC sends weekly bulletins to its customers (as does GEMCO) and will cash checks for a dime.

This year the California grape strike is four years old. Safeway Stores, Inc., doesn't recognize the worker's problems. In support of the Delano strike, Stanford students and citizens of Palo Alto joined last fall in a militant, if gimmicky, demonstration at the local Safeways. They conducted "shop-ins", filling up the parking lots with cars, leafletting shoppers, and generally emphasizing the undesirable business practices of Safeway. This fall on September 16 and 17 a nationwide boycott of Safeway was organized by several Chicano organizations. The boycott goes on. Don't shop there until Safeway takes grapes off the counters.

Transportation -----

The planned isolation of Stanford University from the rest of the world creates all sorts of problems. It is very difficult for a student to get to where he is going, whether his destination is on- or off-campus. Students without cars are stranded on-campus; students with cars can reach the rest of the world, but can't find streets or parking places close to their on-campus destinations.

Bicycles are a healthy compromise between walking and driving for students who live on or near campus. Those who live far from campus or want to get away from it need cars. The shortage of housing near campus aggravates the problem, so an unusually large number of Stanford students own cars. Some also own bicycles to provide on-campus transportation, but anyone who parks his bike on-campus for any length of time risks theft.

Most parking lots close to where students want to go are reserved for administration and faculty. Other lots are reserved for staff; still others, like the Tresidder lot, carry time limits. Furthermore, a student must buy a \$10 parking sticker -- proceeds go to the Stanford police. Handing out parking tickets -- not to be confused with parking stickers -- gives the Stanford police their most active exercise outside of watching sit-ins, and they rarely miss a violation.

In the past Stanford roads have been clear of outside traffic cops, but two years ago the Santa Clara County Sheriff forced Stanford to accept a patrol.

Getting away:

The usual route to San Francisco is the Bayshore Freeway (US 101), but the inland windings of Skyline Drive provides an attractive and often relaxing alternative. The Junipero Serra Freeway, which relaxes the traffic load between here and San Jose, does not yet extend to San Francisco, construction having been delayed by controversy between "plural" economic interests in San Francisco and San Mateo County.

Some advice: If you have to buy a car, get a small one which will save you gas money and let you improvise parking spaces. With used cars, make sure the suspension is good -- you may be surprised by what heavy trucks and the rainy season will do to Stanford roads.

AIN'T GOT NO CAR

For the student without a car intelligent use of public transportation as well as one's thumb can help overcome some of the difficulties.

One of the routes of the Peninsula Transit bus line terminates on the Stanford campus on Serra Street in front of Hoover Tower. This line passes through the Medical Center and the Stanford Shopping Center. It ends at the Southern Pacific Terminal between El Camino and Alma (at the edge of campus) at University Ave. Other routes will take the rider from the SP station to almost anywhere in Palo Alto, East Palo Alto, and sections of Menlo Park, but the meandering routes and long waits for busses make the service inefficient. The busses do

not run at night. Palo Alto is a suburb and its solid citizens drive cars.

You can get to and from San Francisco, the San Francisco Airport, and San Jose on either Southern Pacific commuter trains or via Greyhound. Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART), even if it is finished, will not come this way.

Commuter trains are what their name implies. They take passengers to San Francisco in the morning and bring them back at night faster and more comfortably than an auto at rush hour. Greyhound takes about an hour to get to SF, a little less to San Jose. On weekends, holidays, and especially week-end nights, service is curtailed, often requiring transfers in Redwood City. The Greyhound station in Palo Alto is across from the SP station on Alma.

Local transit in San Francisco is good but not getting better. You now need correct change to ride the Muni system. To travel to the East Bay (Berkeley and Oakland), you go to the AC Transit depot, a good walk from the SF Greyhound station.

Many students shun public transportation for either financial reasons or a desire to meet people and hitch-hike. It is easy to catch a ride on the Stanford campus, University Avenue, or El Camino Real near campus. A lot of Stanford students pick up hitch-hikers, as do many older people, who assume thumbers are Stanford students and must have upper-class origins or destinies despite their appearance.

When hitching long distances it helps to carry a sign and stand at the University Avenue entrances to the Bayshore Freeway. Thoroughfares like El Camino carry people who can only take hikers a few miles, so it is difficult to go far except by the freeway.

Birth Control -----

You may obtain contraceptives (which should rightly be provided free at Cowell Health Center) through Planned Parenthood in San Jose (price according to need), at no cost from the Bay Road Clinic in East Palo Alto (if you reside in San Mateo County and are able to show financial need), by prescription from private physicians (who charge) about \$15 to \$25 for a check-up and pap smear, and \$2 to \$3 for pills), or at the Stanford Hospital (make an appointment for a pelvic examination in the Ob.-Gyn. Clinic and request a prescription following the exam. Costs about \$9.). Take your prescriptions for pills to Aicc, a discount store at 625 El Camino in Menlo Park, or to Walgreen's Drugstore, 300 University Ave. (about \$16 for 12 months). Other drugstores charge up to twice as much for identical products. Walgreen's, incidentally, under-sells the Tresidder Union store, and has a much bigger selection of products.

Legal, therapeutic abortions may be arranged, with some difficulty to be sure, through Cowell Health Center. They can refer you to a doctor who will require reports from three psychiatrists who stipulate that physical or emotional harm will come to the mother if an abortion is not performed. Then the case must be approved by the Stanford Abortion Committee, composed of local doctors. For more information call the Free University.

If you think you are pregnant, Cowell Health Center will administer estrogen to induce menstruation. If this fails, they will administer the urine test for pregnancy one month later. Cowell also provides confidential treatment for V.D. and heavy drug trips.

A Hip Hiker's Guide ----- ----- to the Stanford Turf

If you like land and can bear to observe what rich men are continuously doing to it, you'll love Stanford land. But get out and see it fast. The rich men -- the Trustees -- are using it fast, and, not untypically for capitalists, for their own interests.

Stanford land covers 8,400 acres or 13 square miles. That's one of the largest chunks of land north of San Jose controlled by only 23 people. It's also a big piece of turf for you to get to know. But it's worth it, especially by foot. Watch out for poison oak and 10 different kinds of cops. Stanford is private property and it is well-guarded.

Visit Felt Lake. Drive up Alpine to the baseball diamond across from Westridge Road. Park and walk away from the road. Hop the fences, cross the creek, and walk up the hill to the lake. If you keep clear of cows and Santa Clara deputies, who have been hassling like mad up there recently, you can have a fine time reveling in the water and meadows.

Navigate through Ladera to the end of Minosa Way and take the road to the right. Park by the gate across the road and enjoy the view. Take binoculars and count the horses on Stanford land.

Make a friend in the Biology department and talk that friend into showing you Jaspar Ridge, the ecological preserve. Go to bat for ecological preserves. More roads and industry threaten them.

To see Stanford land as it changes, drive Willow Road west from the Medical School stoplight and stop at the Oak Creek Apartments. Look them over and then inquire what your \$150-a-month will get you. Hang around a bit and scare the inhabitants by waving your hair and snarling.

Inspect the big meadow on the corner of El Camino and Page Mill. But do it fast; the bulldozers are due soon to rip that meadow up for a financial center. More investment capitalists will move onto Stanford land. The project is itself an investment of Dillingham Corp. (and Stanford University.) Two ten-story office buildings and a 17-story hotel will spire up in the smog.

Climb Coyote Hill which rises behind Applied Technology off Hillview Ave. From the top you can see the Industrial Park. Now turn around and see the ridge to the west toward the freeway, which is how Stanford used to look before the industrial park was a gleam in Dean Terman's eye. Now look down the hill. The Trustees have paid over \$1 million to blast through those roads, and they're currently inviting their corporate friends to settle in the meadows.

To see Stanford as it will look:

Drive through the Industrial Park. Take Hanover from California to Hillview, then turn left on the expressway. Just after the Veterans' hospital, look sharp for Fairchild Semiconductor. Drive in and look around. Fairchild is a small part of the Park, but it's important nowadays because it's expanding onto Coyote Hill, provided the bulldozers remain healthy and unimpeded in the future.

Drive out Sand Hill Road to the blinking stoplight just past the Sharon Heights shopping area. Turn left and you're in Stanford Heights. Drive around and estimate the cost of the homes. Look at the cars in the driveways and don't bother counting black faces. Stanford Heights is Stanford land, incorporated Menlo Park, and anybody can live there. If he's got the bread.

Walk along Welsh Road which bends from the Stanford Barn toward the Medical School entrance boulevard. Count the doctors, lawyers, investment counselors, and marketing outlets for defense companies that live along Welsh Road. Don't rely on your primary digits, even if you're barefoot. The Trustees have many vassals. Don't get caught snooping here though; after all, you're just a serf.

If you're new here and take your land seriously, soon you'll learn to love it like those of us who have been around awhile. And that's more and for better reasons than Leland Stanford ever loved it, even though it's changed a lot recently, for the trustees have given much of it to their friends and the U.S. government in the last twenty years. The people who love the land have watched it disappear; we will learn to fight for it.

The Draft -----

For some strange reason the U.S. military has a manpower shortage. None of the services can recruit sufficient cannon fodder, and they are having great difficulty maintaining a competent officer corps. For many of us this means the draft. For others it means intensive pressure to join ROTC.

DRAFT

Even if President Nixon orders the drafting of 19 year olds first, graduate students (who have held II-S's) will still be at the top of the order of call. And any undergraduate who decided to quit school can face the same. We suggest that any young man who is considering--even for the distant future--dodging or resisting the draft visit a competent draft counselor now. Counselling on technical matters is available in the Special Services office in the Old Union from Alan Strain. If you are interested in more direct political counselling, call Palo Alto Resistance (424 Lytton Ave.) at 327-3108.

Most young men oppose the draft because they don't want to be in the army--or at least Vietnam. What most don't realize is that the draft can dampen their plans outside the military. Still others will be forced into special occupations. Many of these men will react without understanding the cause of their uneasiness. Those of us who have read the Selective Service document, "Channeling," know that the government has planned it that way. According to "Channeling," "The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is the American or

indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not permitted."

Students who have never held II-S deferments are requesting them now, unaware of liabilities they thus incur. Order of call and age limit are affected, and according to the 1967 draft law, a man cannot receive a fatherhood deferment subsequent to requesting and receiving a II-S. It makes sense for new students to consult draft counselors before they commit themselves to a II-S.

ROTC

On many university campuses last year ROTC was a major target of SDS and other activist groups. The anti-military April Third Movement bypassed ROTC as one of the lesser examples of the U.S. military on the Stanford campus. Nevertheless, ROTC does provide an important source of leadership for the military services, and we were pleased when young faculty members were able to push through basic reforms of the ROTC program. The Academic Senate later backed in a close vote by the Academic Council, voted to withdraw academic credit

from each ROTC freshman course. The premise of the faculty in doing this was that ROTC--especially when its curriculum is determined by the non-academic military--is not a valid course of study. SDS disagrees with this reasoning. We feel that ROTC should be excluded on political grounds; what the American military is doing in Vietnam and elsewhere.

But the withdrawal of credit will not eliminate Army ROTC from the Stanford campus. Rather, the Pentagon has negotiated with universities to offer a new, chameleon ROTC, where the level of military bravado is adjusted to fit the level of protest movements on the campuses. At Stanford, where anti-ROTC feeling is high, ROTC will not wear uniforms or take drill. To circumvent the absence of academic credit for ROTC, the ROTC program will include selected university courses which will provide essentially the same education. In other words, though curtailed, ROTC will continue at Stanford.

Of course it is hard to produce good officers on a campus actively working to end the war.

----- Student Government -----

Stanford's student government has traditionally been known for its impotence, irrelevance, and incompetence. Consequently, many students are cynical of ASSU and the "politician" ego trips which have grown up around the student legislature. Though SDS considers this cynicism healthy, the ASSU and associated institutions must be understood by the Stanford community.

Most student politicians these days consider "student power" a primary goal. Students, they argue, must be given a greater voice in their affairs. We agree, but "student power" has too often come to mean procedural reforms and half-assed change aimed at easing the life of upper-middle class students, often at the expense of others. SDS feels that University reform must be placed in a broad social context, and that University students should begin to function as class allies of the oppressed peoples of the world.

Student government is often the haven for "moderate" leaders. These leaders will try to win concessions from Trustees and administrators by warning them about what SDS might do if something doesn't change. However, the concessions requested by student leaders are usually compromised before presented, so as not to insult the interests of those with power, and compromised again, if granted at all. The most general characteristic of "moderate" student body leaders is their steadfast opposition to direct action. In times of crisis they counsel extreme patience while they negotiate or while the faculty babbles.

For the fourth time in as many years Stanford has elected a student government which claims it will deliver ASSU, once and for all, from the irrelevance and ineptitude which has characterized it in the past. With the new 40 member student senate to be elected and an

active "Council of Presidents" we can hope for an improvement in the social and cultural programs offered by ASSU. But that's about all. If the past accomplishments of the members of the Council of Presidents are any measure, we can expect them to take stands on procedural issues. For instance SDS predicts that they will win the appointment of a Negro and a student (or a recent graduate) to the Board of Trustees.

Most of the real work of student government takes place in a myriad of committees. Under student pressure, most of these committees have been integrated into Committees of the Academic Senate and of the administration. SDS members know a lot about these committees for many used to serve or still serve as members of them. The function of these committees is to generate new ideas and provide for communication between the different constituencies on campus (except the staff). As such they are sometimes effective. But, because the committees only provide for information flow within the University hierarchy, they usually delay action and produce reports. When it comes to decision making, the Trustees and the administration and sometimes the faculty, have unchallenged power.

The student legislature has control of a \$140,000 budget, raised from student fees. A major expense in this budget is student publications. The ASSU also maintains services for student and residence organizations. Unfortunately, the services are tied into volumes of University regulations which restrict their use and prohibit many legitimate activities on campus. Several times a year SDS comes into conflict with these regulations, within the course of normal activity. (This doesn't include demonstrations.) If bureaucratic insensitivity--or outright repression--continues, one can expect conflicts to develop.

----- Media, Movies and Music -----

If American media is a wasteland, then the Bay Area is an oasis. We can enjoy the fruits of a struggle that began in the early 60's with the founding of the BERKELEY BARB. Now there are newspapers, magazines, and radio stations in the Bay Area that can be relied upon to cut through the endemic lies of American life and present the truth. Only a minority of the people in the Bay Area actually read or listen to media which honestly report ongoing struggles for liberation. But at least such media are available, and growing.

Here's a rundown of the media you will probably encounter:

MOVEMENT PRESS

The Bay Area has the best underground publications in the country. THE PENINSULA OBSERVER, a radical newspaper, is published biweekly in Palo Alto. The OBSERVER mixes national and international movement news with top-rate local muckraking.

THE BERKELEY TRIBE, founded last summer by the disenchanted staff of the old BERKELEY BARB, appears weekly with good coverage of the Berkeley-San Francisco cultural scene. Forget about the old BARB--it has decided that sex is more important than life.

DOCK OF THE BAY is a new weekly in San Francisco with strong political reporting; the San Francisco GOOD TIMES has an acid-rock-cultural emphasis.

The Palo Alto Resistance publishes THE PLAIN RAPPER every month or so, with nationwide anti-draft news and analysis.

Most Movement publications are sold at Tresidder Union, and the Plowshare and Kepler's bookstores.

DAILY NEWSPAPERS

Northern California is fortunate to have the SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE as the major morning daily. The CHRONICLE, like most liberals, sounds very leftist when it reports on Vietnam, Ronald Reagan, or the police. (The Napa County sheriff has even honored the CHRONICLE by blasting it as "anti-Establishment.") But any capitalist publication has its limits, of course. If you criticize the CHRONICLE for its tight little monopoly setup with the SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, or if you question the CHRONICLE's ownership of a major San Francisco TV station (KRON), you'll find that the CHRON is progressive only when it doesn't conflict with making profits.

Other daily newspapers in the Bay Area are grim. The SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER (afternoon) and the SAN JOSE MERCURY (morning) are faithfully pro-Reagan, pro-Nixon, and pro-War. The monopoly paper for the Stanford area, the PALO ALTO TIMES, is autocratically run by a strange old man named Alexander Bodi, who is badly hung up on sex-dope-anarchy. His afternoon daily can be counted on to systematically distort the news in the interests of the clique of developers who want to turn Palo Alto into a plastic suburb of high-rise office buildings and \$100,000 homes.

TELEVISION

KQED, channel 9, is a noncommercial station with some worthwhile shows. Check out their long news program, weekday evenings at 7:00.

RADIO

Our exceptional listener-supported station in the Bay Area is KPFA (94.1 mc, FM) in Berkeley. Students can support the station by contributing \$10 membership. In return you receive the monthly program folio. KPFA has serious classical music, long interview shows, on-the-spot reporting of revolution, and a great news program at 6:30 p.m.

Good rock music can be found at KSAN (95.0 mc, FM) and KMPX (107 mc, FM). Try KSAN news, a mind-blowing experience. The hit parade blasts away on three AM stations: KFRC (610), KYA (1260) and KLIV (about 1580).

KKHI (1550 AM, 95.7 FM) broadcasts light classical music. KCBS (740 AM, 98.9 FM) gives continuous news; tomorrow's headlines today, but not much more.

ON CAMPUS

THE STANFORD DAILY, the student newspaper, comes out Monday through Friday with the usual hum-drum announcements. Movement activities get fair coverage. Editorial policy is erratic. Sometimes the letters and columns sparkle.

THE STANFORD CHAPARRAL, the student magazine, appears every other Thursday with a turned-on mixture of features, politics, photos and entertainment reviews. Don't miss it. Free on campus.

THE ARENA has appeared as a weekly journal for the past two years, published by the far-right Young Americans for Freedom. It is supported by donations from rich alumni.

Once upon a time, the DAILY was the only news medium at Stanford. When politics became serious, the University administration realized that it could never again rely upon the student publications as a docile outlet for their managed news and sugar-coated press releases. At great cost, the administration has filled the breach with a number of "house" publications. All of them originated in the News and Publications Office, directed by Bob Beyers, nicknamed "Bobby Bias" by students who learned the hard way. Beyers is clever. He sends out voluminous press releases to the outside media, reporting good news and bad, and giving some coverage to dissenting points of view. In this way he gains the confidence and trust of the outside media. But in times of crisis Beyers will resort to any manner of distortion, suppression and one-sided reporting to do his public relations job for the University's owners. Beyers showed his true colors during the May 1968 sit-in and again during the April-May demonstrations this year.

As well as a continuous stream of press releases Beyers puts out:

CAMPUS REPORT, a weekly newsletter and reliable mouthpiece for top administration.

THE STANFORD OBSERVER, a monthly newspaper that is sent to every Stanford alumnus and parent, and distributed on campus. THE OBSERVER is intended to encourage the alumni to give money to the University by reassuring them that things aren't really so bad, or, if they are, by softening them up for the bad news.

Movies

You can, if you want, categorize certain films as either cinema or movies. There's not much reason to do it, and film critics have bored each other for years with distinctions between art films and entertainment. However, the distinction matters to distributors in this area and that's why you usually have a better chance of seeing a Doris Day snickerer or an Italian western than a film by Jean-Luc Goddard.

Most of the local theatres are owned by chains like Fox-West Coast and West Side Valley Theatres, and show the diminishing Hollywood product. This is not to say that all American films are bad, as fans of Bonnie and Clyde and The Graduate will tell you. What it means is that our theatres show all of what is often a mediocre lot, and hold the pictures as long as they make money. Romeo and Juliet played the Guild Theatre for eight months, then moved to the Altos International for a second run. Cinerama movies like 2001 or The Sound of Music play at the Century theatres in San Jose. Tickets are \$4 each on weekends; reservations and a car are necessary.

No theatre caters exclusively to Stanford's trade and there is no equivalent of the famous Brattle in famous Cambridge. There aren't as many Stanford people as locals, and anyone's \$2.50 is \$2.50. The best theatres in the Bay Area are in San Francisco and Berkeley.

The best films are shown on campus in different series, most of them excellent. The registration packet will list them. The Sunday Flicks have improved--noise level down, price up (50¢). Last year they showed some almost-first-run movies like Bonnie and Clyde and A Man and A Woman. Tresidder Union's series is the cheapest and often the best, but the seats are hard, the screen is a wall, and the Union pioneered the radical techniques of hand-held projection and elliptical film-breaking and rethreading.

All the local theatres sell popcorn. Some distinguish themselves as art houses by giving out free coffee in styrofoam cups. Many local theatres advertise in the Stanford Daily.

MUSIC

If you're wondering where to go to hear something you like, you might have a long journey ahead of you. For live music, the best that's available may be found at the Family Dog (on the Great Highway by Playland next to the ocean) and at the Fillmore West (at the corner of Market and Van Ness in the City, also). Politically, the Dog is socialistic while the Fillmore is capitalistic. But if music is more important, then you probably will spend more time at the Fillmore because it has better shows (it can afford to spend more in order to make more.)

In the immediate area there's music at the Poppycock (at University and High Streets in beautiful downtown Palo Alto) and at the Tangent (near the Poppycock). The Underground in Menlo Park also has live shows. These, however, are not concert halls; they serve food.

For recorded music there are record stores and record sections in stores everywhere. For atmosphere and a lot of interesting people to look at, there is Discount Records in Menlo Park on El Camino. The City has many interesting record stores--especially Lower Records on Columbus, down from North Beach and near Fisherman's Wharf. In North Beach itself, there is a fascinating store on Grant near Green Street. It has a big neon sign in front which says, "Discount Records," but that's not the name of the store. Inside there are lots of fluorescent lights and posters which glow wildly and brightly under the lights and lots of music coming out and usually a strange crew of customers and browsers. If you're in the mood, you'll fit right in.

Then there's always radio. Forget the AM stations. You can always get good music on KSAN (93.6), KMPX (107.3) and KSJO (92.3).

Perhaps you're adventurous--you want to do-it-yourself. Draper's (on California Ave.) and Dana Morgan (on Bryant) have a wide selection of musical instruments. Good Luck.

----- Bookstores -----

Last year we recommended KEPLER'S as the finest youth-oriented bookstore in the Stanford area. We've changed our mind. Since then a group of Stanford graduates has set up the PLOWSHARE (162 University Ave., PA). Calling themselves the Community Booksellers, they live communally on the premises and keep the store open from 10:00 a.m. until midnight daily. They provide by far the friendliest and most pleasant service to the young Palo Alto community, and offer a wide selection of standard college reading materials as well as movement literature. We strongly urge Stanford students to join us there.

Pornography freaks are more likely to find their thrills at Kepler's (on El Camino in Menlo Park and the Village Corner at San Antonio and El Camino in Los Altos). Run by pacifist capitalist Roy Kepler, the stores offer posters, buttons and some left literature in addition to a good selection of paperback books. Try the Plowshare first.

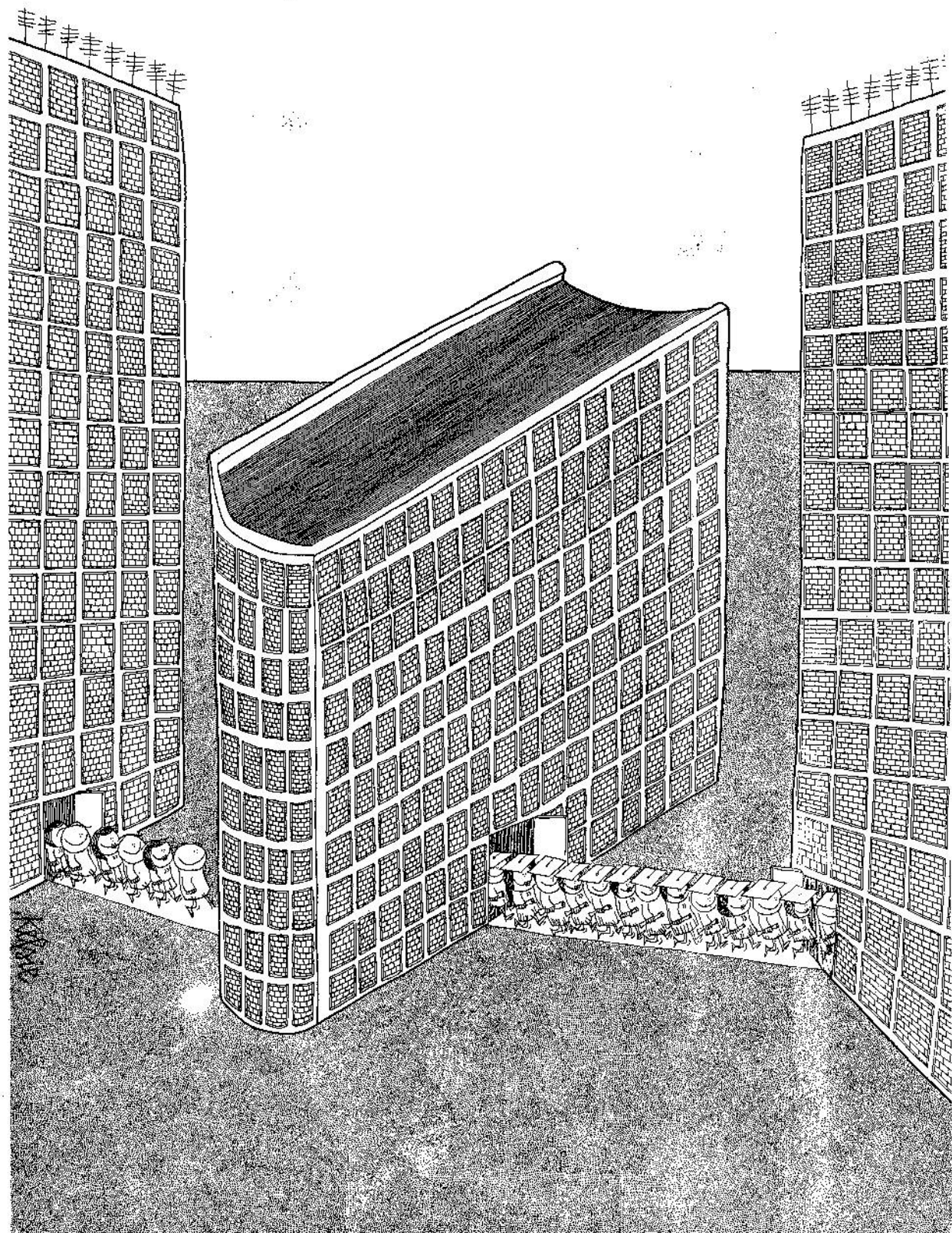
BELL'S bookstore on Emerson St. in Palo Alto reputedly has the best collection of books on music in

the country. Be careful, though: if you look hip it can be a hassle to shop there.

The TOWN & COUNTRY BOOKSTORE (El Camino and Embarcadero) and BOOKS, INC. (Stanford Shopping Center) cater to the upper middle-class citizens of the mid-peninsula. But then, you may like to spend as if you were making \$30,000 a year.

If you can't find a book around here try Berkeley: (Incidentally, the U.C. Library makes Stanford's look sick) Cody's, Shakespeare & Co., etc., are all cool places. For hard-to-get Leftist books, try GRANMA, run by the Young Socialist Alliance or CHINA BOOKS & PERIODICALS, 2929 24th St. in S.F. China Books also provides subscription service to mainland Chinese publications.

If you are without a car or you're short of time, you might try the Stanford Bookstore. But stay away from the windows.



Welcome to the Power Elite

Stanford. It is a big place, with many buildings, lots of money, and thousands of people. Usually the people walk from place to place very quickly, with their eyes fixed to the ground.

Soak it up for a while. Then freak out on this question: "What do they want from ME?"

They must want a great deal. After all, our \$2,145 tuition only covers one-third of what they claim to spend on us. Many of us don't even pay full tuition, either, because we get a scholarship from the government, a corporation, or the university itself. Each of us was admitted because Stanford thinks we can give them something that the four or five other rejected applicants would not. We are highly privileged; we belong to the super-elite of American education: the top 1% of the Meritocracy.

What does Stanford want? What is the meaning of all that lies ahead -- classes, grade points, graduation? Stanford University is, by its own admission, an instrument of the American nation, and Stanford depends on the managers of that nation for its sustenance. What Stanford wants from you must ultimately match what the managers want--if it didn't, then corporations, foundations and the government would not continue to support Stanford at the rate of \$100 million per year. Throughout history, ruling classes of all nations have demanded that the intellectual elite of their youth fit themselves into the social structure in such a way as to contribute their talents and energies into the perpetuation of the system. In America, this channeling function is assigned to our "Institutions of Higher Learning."

Your sojourn amid the sandstone and palm trees, therefore, is intended to enhance your usefulness to the American system. Arjay Miller, Dean of the Business School and past president of Ford Motor Co., tells this fall's entering business students that "If we are successful in our labors, you will at the conclusion of your program have acquired talents which should make you eminently useful not only in private business, but in the public sector as well."* As Miller says, Stanford wants to make its students "eminently useful." And not only business students, but all of us. American society needs its quota of philosophy professors and political scientists, too.

*Arjay Miller, article in Business School Reporter, Summer, 1969.

The Useful Specialist

The most "useful" people in the American economy -- managers and workers alike -- are specialists. The specialist achieves a high efficiency in the performance of a narrow task, yet he depends upon others for the coordination and guidance of his overall activities. This sort of person is ideal for the American system, which relies upon the willingness of highly skilled but docile citizens to submit to impersonal guidance of all aspects of their lives.

Turning out such people is the triumph of our educational system. We see them all around us: the ROTC cadet who hates the war but feels he should take advantage of a soft deal to discharge his "military obligation;" the political science professor who feels that he must support and reform our corrupt system, rather than risk his professional objectivity by challenging it; the SRI researcher who frowns upon his colleague's chemical warfare work but feels he should not condemn it openly; and our parents.

Graduate Study

How does Stanford perpetuate these values? The process is crystal-clear for the 6,000 students in graduate and professional study. To be admitted to Stanford, these students have survived 16 years of fierce competition. Their minds are rigorously trained to accept theories and analyze masses of empirical data, usually with mathematical methods. The student's education has become more and more specialized as he grows older, culminating with his acceptance into an intense graduate program in just one discipline -- or one sub-discipline. His time and energy are consumed by mimicking the jargon, research interests, and values of his professors. He succeeds if he becomes a smoothly functioning cog in the business of his department. The business of his department -- research, analysis, and publication -- is shaped by the needs of corporations, foundations and the government. After all, they pay the bills.

Professional schools in law, business, education and engineering maintain extraordinarily close contacts with the institutions that hire their graduates. The course material is continually adjusted to the needs of the outside employers. Many faculty from the professional schools serve as paid consultants to outside firms, and some start their own corporations. (See the story of the Stanford Industrial Park) The engineering school transmits its classes to the employees of nearby firms via closed circuit TV, and the business school invites top managers to refresh their skills through a year's study. Each year the campus is deluged by recruiters who are anxious to hire the finished products of Stanford's professional schools. The Daily is filled with huge recruiting ads from IBM and Hughes Aircraft. A top law or business graduate is offered a starting salary of \$15,000.

Graduate students in other fields undergo a more subtle, but no less effective, process of channeling into "useful" endeavors. The economics student, for instance, is drawn into the study of overseas investment because such research is important to government and business, and, consequently, to his professors. The sociology student is drawn into government-funded research on the behavior of minority groups, since the manipulation of that behavior is of high priority. The graduate student works hard to master the "methodolo-

gy" of his discipline, and gradually acquires a self-identity as a specialist in that discipline. Certain beliefs are impressed upon him. He sees himself as a more valuable person because he has painstakingly learned the rituals taught him by his superiors. Simultaneously, he is conditioned to think of his "area of competence" as covering only his specialty or sub-specialty. And finally, he comes to revere the academic dogma that he must be "objective" and "empirical," so that he can keep "values" from tainting his "findings." When the researcher claims to ignore the bias of values in his work, he really means he will structure his research in complete acceptance of the existing American values of capitalism and individual competition.

undergraduates "participate" in the governance of the university through a proliferation of joint faculty-student committees (always with a faculty majority, naturally).

Undergraduates, The Raw Material

Why has this been done? Partly, of course, these reforms have been intended to head off an explosion of student dissent. More importantly, the reforms are an updating of the undergraduate program to make it function more efficiently as a prelude to specialized graduate study. Fewer requirements and less hard study are needed for Stanford undergraduates now, because fully 90 per cent of them go on to specialized graduate study. The system wants you to have a Ph.D., not just a B.A.

The elite must have specialized skills that only graduate training can impart. The undergraduate years have no value in themselves; they serve only to let the student mature and give him time to make the all-important choice of his future specialty. While the undergraduate samples different disciplines, the universities determine from his grades and recommendations whether or not he will make a good graduate student.

The grades and evaluations are essential. Significantly, SES steadfastly refused to recommend that the grading system be eliminated for undergraduates. The reason?

"Grades are supposed to inform others of a student's ability and potential, thus influencing entry into graduate school and future employment." (SES booklet #2, p. 46) SES, by the way, suggested no real reforms whatsoever for graduate education. It works fine.

The new freedom for undergraduates is also new freedom for professors. Now they have to waste less valuable time teaching those huge, dull lecture courses that were required for undergraduates. The faculty can disengage themselves from the embarrassing necessity of speaking to a class of generalists, the non-specialists, and concentrate on their majors, the pre-specialists. As SES puts it,

"We believe that the time has come . . . to place upon the students a greater share of the responsibility for profiting from the University's educational resources. A freer market for both teacher and student is likely to lead, we think, to better teaching and better learning." (SES Booklet #2, p. 18)

This flowery rhetoric fails to conceal the ugly truth about Stanford's faculty: the great majority of them don't give a damn about teaching, let alone teaching undergraduates. It's hard to blame them for this atti-

"BESIDES...JUST HOW FAR DO YOU THINK YOU CAN GET IN TODAY'S WORLD WITHOUT A GOOD EDUCATION?"



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Graduate study has grown enormously at Stanford since World War II -- from 2,000 to 6,000 students. The lion's share of faculty time and scholarship money are invested in this highly productive training activity. But Stanford has 6,000 undergraduates, too, and we must seek an answer to the same question -- What does Stanford (and the system) want from them? There is no rigid program of undergraduate study, such as in graduate school. On the contrary, the reforms enacted last year by the Study of Education at Stanford (SES) swept away practically all of the so-called "General Studies Requirements" and urged a lightening of the requirements for department majors. Now undergraduates are encouraged to sample courses from many different departments, and, if they want to, design their own program of study. The conditions of student life are being improved too -- in the past two years nearly all of Stanford's undergraduate dormitories have been made coeducational. A few more women have been admitted, and so have several hundred black and chicano students. Efforts have been made to let

tude, of course. Never in their professional careers have they been taught how to teach, nor has teaching undergraduates ever been considered as a criterion for hiring, promotion, or pay raises. What IS important to the professor? A study of political science faculty showed that they rated these factors as important in "getting ahead" in their profession:*

<u>Attribute</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Volume of publication	1
School at which doctorate was taken	2
Having the right connections	3
Ability to get research support	4
Quality of publication	5
Textbook authorship	6
Luck or chance	7
School of first full-time appointment	8
Self-promotion ("brass")	9
Teaching ability	10

*Responses of members of the American Political Science Association, from American Political Science, A Profile of a Discipline, by Albert Somit and Joseph Tanenhaus (1964, The Atherton Press, New York).

A Time For Choice

So SES has rationalized the undergraduate years. Each September 1,400 freshmen, the super-elite of American youth, begin four years of considerable freedom during which no professors will pay much attention to them. If the undergraduate is highly motivated, energetic, egotistical, or especially fearful, he will seek out the professors in his chosen major, perform the games and tricks that will please them, and ensure himself of admission to a top graduate school. If the student won't voluntarily do the games and tricks, nobody cares. He has only himself to blame, and hopefully enough guilt over poor grades and fear of failure (and possibly the threat of the draft) will persuade the student to buckle down to the games and tricks. This sort of motivational strategy won't work at the usual cruddy American college, but it is ideal for an elite school like Stanford. We are the future managers of the American system, and someday there won't be anyone standing over our heads making us do games and tricks. Somehow we must voluntarily acquire the internal motivation to do the kinds of work desired by the system. The Selective Service System describes a similar strategy in its pamphlet, "Channeling:"

"The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure to take action is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not allowed. Here, choice is limited but not denied, and it is fundamental that an individual generally applies himself better to something he has decided to do rather than something he has been told to do."

Compare this strategy with that of SES: "There is, we believe, a middle ground between requirements (with the authoritarian connotation of that term) and complete laissez-faire. It is appropriate for the faculty to state guidelines or policies that it strongly believes students would be well-advised to follow, while stopping short of rigidifying those policies into requirements." (SES booklet #2, p. 19).

As long as America's ruling class exercises indirect control over the general content and final outcome of undergraduate education at Stanford, it will tolerate all manner of oddities and dissent. Thus, Stanford may have a Maoist English professor, student-led courses, and an SDS chapter. None of it makes any difference to the system, as long as the great majority of male undergraduates are prepared in mind and spirit to go on to specialized training, and the great majority of female undergraduates are prepared to be their wives.

Survival Tactics

How can we survive and grow in this wasteland? Eventually, perhaps, we must drop out of the system, freeing ourselves completely to do meaningful work, to love those around us rather than compete with them, and to study man and nature in a framework based on humanistic values, rather than the values of exploitive, militaristic America.

But most of us at Stanford are not ready for that daring, somewhat frightening adventure. First, we must overcome 18 or more years of socialization in American values. While passing the time here, Stanford undergraduates can take advantage of their new scholastic freedom to create a worthwhile education. In this effort they need the help of the handful of professors and larger number of graduate students who understand that we are entrapped in a heap of academic bullshit.

It is well worth the undergraduate's effort to seek these people out. Gradually, they are creating a sub-structure of department seminars, "undergraduate specials" and residence seminars (all for credit) that provide an alternative to the standard lecture classes. This movement has encountered opposition from the more reactionary faculty groups. Last year political science undergraduates organized a caucus, denounced the bullshit "behavioralist" courses offered by the faculty, and demanded academic credit for student led seminars on subjects they cared about. The political science faculty first rejected their demands, but later compromised by setting up a faculty board to pass on requests for such seminars, provided they are led by approved graduate students.

Elsewhere, in subjects ranging from psychology to biology, undergraduates can choose a topic of inquiry and find a professor to "sponsor" it and a graduate student to help guide their study. But Stanford, of course, can be expected to bend only a little bit. The Midpeninsula Free University, now in its third year, offers courses ranging from politics to encounter to craftsmanship that Stanford won't sponsor.

With a little help from our friends, undergraduates can create an education that is relevant to our personal liberation. Graduate students have less freedom. They have to keep on playing the games and doing the tricks month-to-month or their fellowships will be cancelled. It is a stultifying grind, but it can pay off. Once the student is awarded his union card into the professor racket, he has a chance of resisting the authoritarian academic system enough to help students in their own struggles for liberation. But it is not easy, and the graduate student who feels that the tricks and games are taking over his mind would be wise to quit now . . . or make revolution until they fire you.

Welcome to Stanford. We're rooting for you.

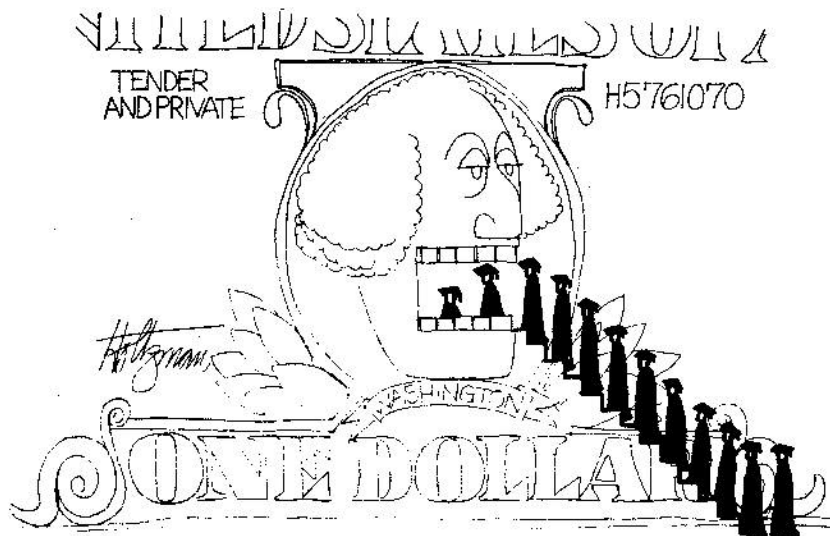
Political Science (?) at Stanford

There is little disagreement over the fact that one of Stanford's principal functions is to train skilled personnel--both scientific and managerial--for the great American corporations. Each year, the Schools of Engineering and Business crank out hundreds of future corporate technicians and executives.

What is less obvious is the way in which the social sciences serve the interests of American capitalists. The Political Science Department provides an instructive example.

Stanford's highly respected political scientists create and perpetuate an ideology--an ideology that supports every aspect of corporate capitalism and the political institutions that it spawns. In the Stanford Political Science Department, the emphasis is decidedly on "Science." Stanford's eminent scholars are diligently attempting to make the study of politics a value-free science. An analysis that judges the ability of political institutions to serve the needs of the mass of the people is considered emotional, unscientific, and hence, invalid. As a result, the only criterion for evaluating a political system is whether power is preserved, i. e. whether power is used and transferred in an orderly manner.

This is the "pluralist" view of American society. Every American belongs to an interest group - a corporation, a labor union, a consumer's union, or a conservation group. These organizations are controlled by elites who compete for political influence by financing elections, lobbying, and engaging in collective bargaining. The power of each elite is limited by the counterbalancing or "countervailing" power of the other elites. Pluralists see politics as confrontation and compromise between these elites, with each group (and hence, each American) getting something from the process. Stanford's political scientists look to the various elites to make wise and responsible decisions for the rest of the population. The ideal of true participatory democracy is thoroughly vitiated.



This supposedly objective approach to the study of politics actually produces value-laden conclusions. Using this analysis, these conclusions are, in fact, conservative and anti-democratic. Political scientists attack mass participation in politics because this could lead to mass movements, accompanied by riots and perhaps, open revolution. Stanford's political scientists conclude that political "stability" requires an apathetic population ruled by several responsible competing elites who serve as checks upon each other.

Besides justifying the rule of a few elites, there are other serious problems with this interpretation of American politics. Most important: it's simply incorrect; there is, in fact, only one elite.

Stanford's scholars study only the observable behavior of individuals and organizations. This "behavioralist" methodology leads naturally to the "pluralist" interpretation. Because all interest groups participate visibly in the political process, pluralists assume that all have sufficient power to check the power of the other groups. In fact, this is simply untrue. American corporations are more powerful than any other interest group.

The pluralist analysis ignores the economy, where the giant corporations clearly exert unchallenged authority. It forgets that the leaders of these corporations usually don't bother to participate in decisions not directly concerning them, assuming instead that any political victory for the little man is a defeat for business. It ignores the social background of government officials, men who are often major corporate stockholders, directors, and executives. It ignores the important policy decisions that are made in closed-door sessions where corporate-minded government leaders confer privately with their brethren from the business world. Because these sessions produce no public records, they are not included in the scholar's data on political decision-making. In this way, the covert influence of the corporations on both domestic and foreign policy is ignored. Last year, a well-known behavioralist, ardent supporter of the Stanford Political Science Department, and zealous faculty pig, declared that, if Stanford students want to learn about the influence of corporations on American policy-making. "We send them to the Economics Department."

The Economics Department sends the students right back.

At Stanford, the behavioralist orientation means that we cannot study the economic basis of power in America. We can't learn how the American ruling class keeps its personal income and corporate taxes so low. We can't learn how the corporations formulate plans to fight the inflation they create by raising unemployment, throwing thousand of blacks, chicanos, and poor whites out of work. We can't learn how the corporations create a permanent war-time economy to keep their defense profits rolling in. We can't learn how corporate leaders use the arms they produce, as well as the lives of American youth, to defend their foreign investments in the Third World from revolutionary movements.

The Stanford Political Science Department perpetuates the myth of American pluralism, and keeps us from learning about the true nature of wealth and power in this country.

Last winter, in an attempt to make the Political Science Department more relevant to the realities of present-day America, a group of undergraduates and graduate students in the department tried to set up several seminars dealing with such topics as black power, American corporate capitalism, imperialism, Marxism, and others. These courses were to be led by graduate students, but "led" only in the formal sense. Tired of the traditional hierarchical teacher-student relationship, the students were attempting to create mutual learning

experiences, in which the graduate student "leader" would in fact be a real participant in the course, learning along with the students. Political Science professors turned down the proposed courses. They rejected some on technical grounds. Others were labeled unscholarly and un-professional. It was another case of "teacher" knows best."

Students have challenged the competence and authority of the men who have bored and misled them. While they did manage to get a few courses accepted in the spring, no formal structure was set up to ensure that students would have some voice in future curriculum decisions. This year, Political Science students may organize more effectively, so they can make their department relevant to their lives.



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.

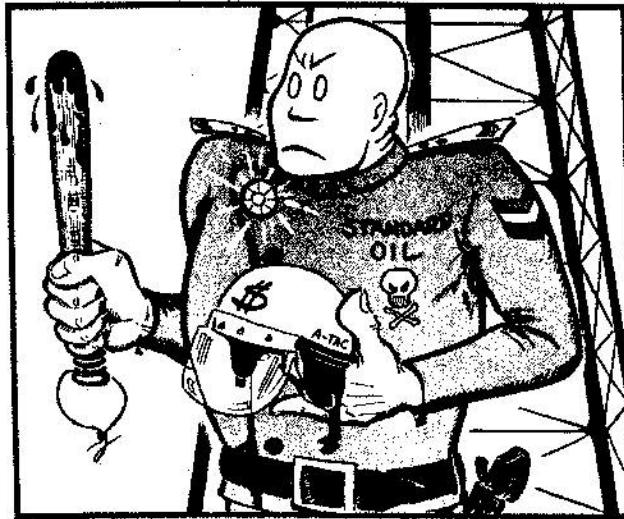
But the women who work for Stanford face even worse conditions. Beyond the "normal" working conditions faces by all employees (described in the section about Stanford employees), many women face discrimination in salary range and job classification, despite the fact that many are the sole supporters 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!



SDS and the Labor Movement

Last year marked the first time students on campuses around the Bay Area organized to support striking workers. When workers went out on strike against two of the world's mightiest corporations -- Standard Oil and Dow Chemical -- SDS people from Stanford, Berkeley and S. F. State were up at the East Bay plants walking the picket lines, rapping with the workers, and fighting the management's many attempts to squash the strike.

It is not unexpected that workers and students should be getting together -- we share a common enemy. The same big businessmen that are running Stanford University for their own class interests (and who are controlling the state educational system through such "politicians" as Reagan and Hayakawa) are enforcing poor working conditions and low pay on working people in order to increase their own profits and power. The directors of Standard Oil, for example, whose profit-making interests are in opposition to the needs of most workers, sit on the Board of Stanford Research Institute, target of student demonstrations here at Stanford.

Because of their direct relationship to the production process, workers are in a position of influencing and bringing about social change through their collective bargaining power. Students, being non-productive, are not in the same position to cripple the economy and cut the profits of these big businessmen. A good example of the strength of organized workers is the napalm contract at Dow. Before we had even become aware that there was a strike at the Dow plant last July, the workers had caused the cancellation of Dow's napalm contract -- the object of years of student demonstrations.

The first strike we joined began in early January when Local 1-561 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) walked out of the Standard Oil refinery and the Chevron Chemical plant in Richmond. The union demands were a 72-cent wage increase over two years plus retirement and medical benefits. As the strike went on it became clear in negotiations that the company wanted to crush the union by hiring non-union people in the plant, breaking the union shop.

Although the "violence" at S. F. State was getting full coverage by the press at this time, there was a news blackout on events in Richmond. Police, encouraged by the company, beat, maced, and arrested oil workers, their wives and kids, on the picket line. Richard Jones a union picket, was run down by a Standard truck and killed. No news of this was ever made public and the Richmond D. A.'s office has refused to prosecute.

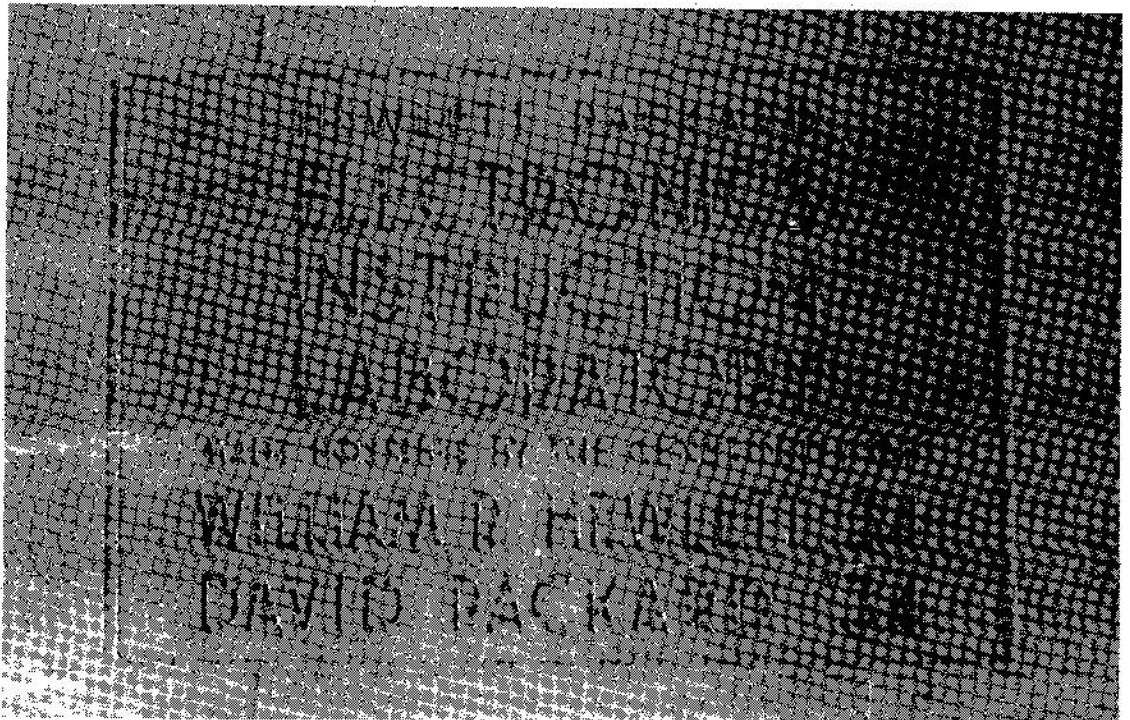
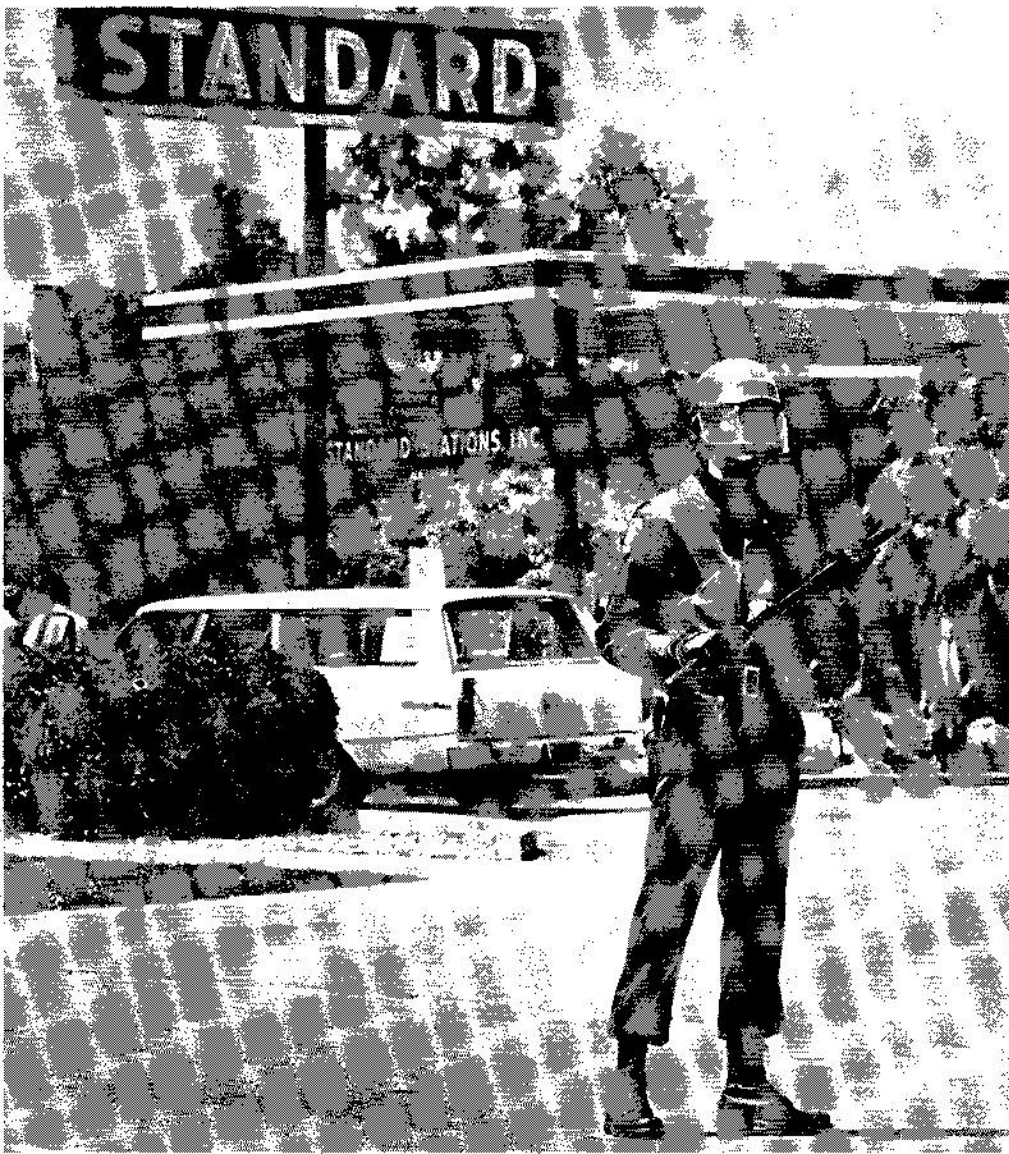
Along the winding road around the refinery students joined workers in a series of street battles against tear gas and clubs, in addition to day-by-day picketing. Standard recruiters were chased off campuses and students began boycotting and picketing Standard oil outlets. In return oil workers began to appear on the S. F. State picket lines, and the union came out 2 to 1 in favor of both the student and the AFT demands.

In spite of the company's use of court injunctions, bribed scabs, police clubs and murder, the strike was settled with a partial victory for the workers -- a 58-cent increase and the rehiring of several militant workers that Standard wanted to fire.

The second strike that Stanford SDS concentrated on was the strike against Dow Chemical by Local 23 of the International Chemical Workers Union in Pittsburg, California. The key demand of Local 23 was working-class solidarity. The wage and benefits issues had been pretty much settled early in the strike -- although the increases amounted to less than the predicted 5 percent cost of living rise. The main concern of the Dow workers -- which kept them out for 2 months in the face of company cameras and mortgage payments demanded by the Bank of America -- was the issue of solidarity with their brothers in other Dow plants in California. Much like Standard's attack on the Chevron union shop, Dow was trying to write a paragraph into the contract banning sympathy strikes in support of other striking Dow locals. Both the company and the workers realized the potential strength of such concrete solidarity.

We went to the picket lines and talked with the workers about their experiences, about our feelings about Dow and about our experience with student strikes. By the end of the strike, when the company basically gave in on the solidarity issue, rank and file acceptance of SDS had reached a level such that when the company negotiator asked the union leadership to hold a joint press conference to "denounce SDS for interfering in our labor dispute", the union president told the company to forget it, that the union "knows who its friends are."

Some of us feel that we must join the working class by dropping out of school and getting factory or industrial jobs. We hope to gain a better understanding of the working world and the kind of oppression working people in America face by our own first hand experiences. And by working together with people, we feel we can better communicate our feelings about the war, about racism, about imperialism, and share the political understanding we have accumulated.



The Stanford Empire

Home-style Economic Development

Without great difficulty, it is still possible to find people who remember the days when Stanford lived in the provincial aloofness implied by the nickname "The Farm." But any dreams of reclaiming the pastoral past are pure fantasy. Stanford is now a "great" university. As Frederick Terman, the architect of the Stanford complex, is fond of pointing out, "The developments that have taken place in Palo Alto and its environs in the twenty years since World War II are inextricably bound up with the transformation of Stanford from a respected but essentially regional institution to one of the great universities in this country." Let us explore this transformation more closely and investigate its implications for the people of the world.

The new Stanford octopus started out as a gleam in Frederick Terman's eye. At the end of WWII, he returned to a position as Dean of the School of Engineering with a vision of the possibilities of a unique new partnership between business, government, and knowledge that could yield enormous wealth and influence for himself, his students, and his university. He wasn't slow in trying to turn his dream into reality. He encouraged students like Bill Hewlett, David Packard, and the Varian brothers to leave the campus, and with his advice and support, to set themselves up in business turning their new electronic discoveries into products that would prove valuable in the growing defense market. At the same time, he drew a group of bright, young electrical engineers into his department, men like Wm. Rambo, Allan Peterson, and Joseph Pettit, (many of whom had worked with him designing radar countermeasures during the war) men who would draw the best graduate students to the department. And once here, where else would the new degree-holders go but to the burgeoning new defense industries like SRI, Varian, Lockheed, and Hewlett-Packard, firms that had conveniently found homes in the new Stanford Industrial Park. The fit was almost too perfect to believe, so perfect in fact that it pleased even its creator:

"In engineering and applied science Stanford has emerged as a pace-setter in a new and expanding pattern involving research-oriented industry and a university under conditions where extensive interaction exists between the two. It is not just a coincidence that most of this type industry in the Bay Area lies within a 15-mile circle centered on Stanford, and that Stanford with 1400 graduate students in engineering is, after MIT, the largest producer (1) of advanced engineering degrees in the country.

"Stanford serves as a beacon that attracts the brightest graduates of schools located all over the nation. Once here, these young people naturalize easily. This is of real significance in the research-oriented industries, whose success in the market-place is a function of technological competence. On the average, the local companies have been able to recruit better brains than their competitors in other areas, and have been more successful as a result.

"We have been pioneers in creating a new type of community--one that I have called a 'community of technical scholars.' Such a community is composed of industries utilizing

highly sophisticated technologies, together with a strong university that is sensitive to the creative activities of the surrounding industry. This pattern appears to be the wave of the future."

A number of important changes had to take place in the university, however, before it became appropriately sensitive to the surrounding industries.

Terman and his protegees were moving too fast for the Board of Trustees, a group dominated by Herbert Hoover and older San Francisco industrialists in railroads, banking, and shipping. So in 1954, Stanford went to court to increase the size of the Board from 15 to 23, citing the necessity of handling "real estate development projects now in the planning stages" (read Industrial Park). The new spots on the Board were taken by young businessmen like Packard, Ernest Arbuckle (later Dean of the Business School), Arthur Stewart of Union Oil, and Edmund Littlefield of Utah Mining and Construction. Things began to happen immediately: Terman was appointed Provost in 1955 and Vice-President in 1959, the Industrial Park grew rapidly with Hewlett-Packard taking several big chunks. Internally, the university accepted more and more federal money; in 1948 Stanford received \$700,000 or 7% of its income from Washington, while last year this figure (including SLAC) reached \$72.5 million (almost 50%). And Industrial Park firms found it in their best interests to chip in too, as Hewlett-Packard donated the money to build the Applied Electronics Laboratories (site of the A3M sit-in) and joined other corporations in sponsoring scholarships and basic research in engineering.

By now, the integration of the university and the new defense complex is virtually complete.



William Rambo
Head, EE Research

"But a small, hard core of extremists with the greatest arrogance and the least faith in their country have escalated . . . from the legal range to the level of kidnap and blackmail. Unfortunately, in a few cases, substantial numbers of other students and faculty have supported these extremists or have opposed the feasible means of dealing with them."

Kenneth S. Pitzer
May 17, 1968

The Men Who Run the University

Few people would dispute the statement that the Stanford Trustees include many of the wealthiest and most powerful men in America. Yet many of the same people have been reluctant to admit that this fact has any significance for their life, the condition of the University, or the plight of the world.

Faculty liberals and student politicians generally see the Trustees as stodgy old men who rubber-stamp administration proposals and travel to Southern California to squeeze money out of upper-class friends. Any restraints that professors feel in their work come more often from tight-fisted bureaucrats in Washington than the Trustees, partly because the Trustees couldn't care less what some assistant professor in classics is doing and mostly because Stanford faculty members share the same outlook and values as the Trustees (though most of them would never admit it). Students, being younger and more adventurous, find many more restraints, but they usually blame these on professors and half-assed administrators. The apparent lack of conflict between the businessmen and scholars results more from the near-sightedness of students and faculty than from the Trustees' benevolence. While professors research and students play, the Trustees and their hired friends run Stanford.

The Trustees exert little control over the day-to-day decisions on University operations; such matters are left up to the good judgment of the Administration and the faculty. Their influence over Stanford results from their power to set priorities on campus, in their corporations, and in Washington. Thus, professors are free to pursue their research within the limits of the marketplace, an arena fairly well regulated by the needs of the Federal government and the big corporations. Likewise, students find their choice of career and major limited by a labor market which puts a premium on specialized technicians and scorns women and independent creativity. Again, as the men who direct the nation's economy, corporation leaders like the Trustees must accept the blame.

In a more direct way, the Trustees (along with Pitzer and his cronies) shape the University according to their interests. The pattern of construction in recent years reveals this nicely; new buildings for business, physics, earth sciences, operations research, engineering, and space sciences fit in conveniently with the needs of highly technological industry. At the same time, we have been provided with new art and psychology buildings and an eyesore trailer park. But where is the low income housing for students and staff or the institute for studying ecology, imperialism, the military-industrial complex? Could it be that the Trustees decisions are affected by their class interests? A look at who the Trustees are might answer that question.

Ernest Arbuckle first became a Trustee in 1954 while he was vice-president in charge of Central American operations for W.R. Grace & Co. In 1958, he quit the Board to become Dean of the Graduate School of Business. Last year he resigned to rejoin the Board and become Chairman of Wells Fargo Bank. Arbuckle is also chairman of the board of Stanford Research Institute (SRI) and director of Aetna Life and Casualty Company, Castle & Cooke, Inc., Hewlett-Packard Company, Owens-Illinois, Inc., Safeway Stores, and Utah Mining & Construction. He is also the member of two ruling class organizations pushing for the rationalization of local government to meet the needs of big business, the Committee for Economic Development and the Bay Area Council.

Robert Minge Brown has been Stanford Trustee since 1965. He is a corporate lawyer with McCutchen, Doyle, Brown & Enersen, San Francisco's second largest law firm. Last spring he was kept busy writing injunctions against the April Third Movement. Brown is chairman of the board and director of the California Water Service Company and is a director of Hewlett-Packard, the San Jose Water Works, and is trustee of Mills College.

Mrs. Allan E. Charles, a Trustee since 1954, is the wife of a San Francisco corporate lawyer. Like all good ladies of her class, she is active in civic affairs, most prominently as a member of the board of T.V. station KQED, San Francisco's educational station.

Morris M. Doyle is also a member of the law firm McCutchen, Doyle, Brown, & Enersen. When he is not writing injunctions against students, he sits on the board of SRI. Doyle has been a Trustee since 1959.

Charles E. Ducommun, a Trustee since 1961, gets by on taxpayers' money. He is president and director of Ducommun, Inc., a heavy defense and space contractor. He also sits as a director of Lockheed, Pacific Telephone & Telegraph, and the Security Pacific National Bank. He sees Arbuckle at meetings of the Committee for Economic Development and sometimes runs into Pitzer when he is in Claremont to attend trustee meetings of Claremont Men's College.

Ben C. Duniway is a U.S. Circuit Court Judge. He has been a Trustee since 1962.

W. Parmer Fuller III is Chairman of the Board of Trustees. He succeeded his father, who was on the Board from 1933 to 1958. The family business was bought up

recently by Pittsburgh Plate Glass, so Fuller is now vice-president, western region, of PPG Industries. He is also a director of Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, Wells Fargo Bank, Western Pacific Railroad, and Yosemite Park & Curry Co.

John W. Gardner is Stanford's newest and best-known Trustee; in an article in Harper's this summer, David Halberstam called Gardner the head of the Establishment. Though ruling class is a more useful term than Establishment, there can be no disputing the fact that Gardner is a powerful man. From 1955 to 1967, he was president of the Carnegie Foundation. There he led the effort to create and expand centers for international education in American universities so as to be better able to train managers for America's far-flung Empire. As Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from 1965-1968, he continued that effort as well as getting involved in the urban crisis. He now devotes full-time to the problem of cities as Chairman of the Urban Coalition, a corporate front that is trying to cool the ghettos through co-optation, black capitalism, and increased corporation control. Gardner is the intellectual on the Board; therefore he understands better than most that the student and black movements in this country, if not contained, represent a threat to the established centers of privilege and power. This explains why Gardner, though billed by the Daily as the most liberal trustee, condemns student radicals in rhetoric worthy of George Wallace or Strom Thurmond. Gardner is a director of American Airlines and TIME, Inc.

Richard E. Guggenheim is a corporate lawyer from San Francisco. He is a director of Union Sugar, USP Corp., California State Chamber of Commerce, and SRI, and has been a Stanford Trustee since 1958.

William R. Hewlett is a familiar face at Stanford even though he has only been a Trustee since 1963. He is President and chief executive officer of Hewlett-Packard; also, he is a director of Chrysler, FMC Corp., and Kern County Land Company. He is a trustee of the RAND Corporation, the Air Force's Cold War think-tank, and a member of the President's Scientific Advisory Council where he undoubtedly spent hours telling Nixon what prosperity ABM would bring to Industrial Park corporations.

Thomas V. Jones is another of Stanford's defense-minded Trustees. He is president and chairman of Northrop Corporation, a huge defense contractor which makes almost every weapon under the sun. Jones is also a director of SRI and The Times-Mirror Company. He keeps up with things in the defense industry as a member of the Board of Governors of the Aerospace Industries Association, the Industry Advisory Council of the Secretary of Defense, the Board of Visitors of the Air Force Systems Command, and the Board of Advisors of the Industrial College of the Air Force. When he gets tired of the military-industrial complex, he goes out to talk about the beauties of a liberal education at trustee meetings of the California Institute of Technology.

Lawrence A. Kimpton has been a Trustee since 1961. He is vice-president and director of Standard Oil Company (Indiana) and the Standard Oil (Indiana) Foundation.

Roger Lewis is America's #1 defense industrialist. He serves as Chairman and president of General Dynamics, the nation's largest defense contractor. His company makes combat aircraft (including the boondoggle F-111), nuclear submarines, surface ships, and strategic and tactical missiles, plus communications and data processing equipment. Lewis

formerly served as Assistant Secretary of the Air Force under the Eisenhower administration, so he understands the military machine from both sides of the fence. He has been getting acquainted with the Stanford end of things since 1964.

Edmund W. Littlefield has been on the Board since 1956. He is president and general manager of Utah Construction & Mining (which builds B-52 bases in Thailand) and chairman of Marcona Mining, the fifth largest firm in Peru. In addition, Littlefield is a director of Del Monte, First Security Corp., General Electric, Hewlett-Packard, Industrial Indemnity Corp., Pima Mining, SRI, and Wells Fargo Bank.

Richard C. McCurdy is the chief executive officer and director of Shell Oil Company. In 1965, McCurdy succeeded Morris Spaght as a Stanford Trustee. Spaght ran Shell before McCurdy did; could it be that Shell has its name on one of the chairs around the Board table?

Fred H. Merrill, a Trustee since 1964, is big in the financial world. He is chairman and chief executive officer of Fireman's Fund American Insurance, Fund American Investment Management, SSI Computer Corp., Commonwealth Group of Mutual Funds, and Shaw & Begg Begg, Ltd., Toronto. Among other things, the Fund American conglomerate handles Stanford's investment portfolio and most of its insurance. Merrill is also director and chairman of the executive committee of American Express Company and a director of American Factors, Ltd., and Middle South Utilities Co.

Mrs. Jesse E. Nichols has been a Trustee since 1963. She is also a trustee of the California College of Arts and Crafts.

Thomas P. Pike came to the Stanford board in 1957 while he was Assistant Secretary of Defense and Special Assistant to President Eisenhower. Presently, he is vice-chairman and director of Fluor Corp., a conglomerate in engineering and construction. He is also a director of Hewlett-Packard and SRI.

William Lister Rogers is a clinical professor of surgery at the University of California Medical School and chief of staff of French Hospital in San Francisco. He is also a director of California Canadian Bank, New England Fish Company, and Union Sugar Company. Mrs. Rogers was the director of social events for the recent International Industrial Conference. Dr. Rogers has been a Trustee since 1966.

Arthur C. Stewart has been a Trustee since 1954. He is president of the Union Oil of California Foundation and a director of Union Oil of California. When Union isn't busy polluting the beaches of Santa Barbara, it's pumping oil out of Thailand and Indonesia.

Gardiner Symonds, a Trustee since 1960, is chairman of the board and director of Tenneco Inc., a huge conglomerate which is the 39th largest corporation in America. In addition, he is a director of J. I. Case, General Telephone and Electronics (its subsidiary, Sylvania, has a site in the Industrial Park), Houston National Bank, Midwestern Gas Transmission, Petro-Tex Chemical Corp., Philadelphia Life Insurance Co., Southern Pacific, SRI, and Tenneco Corporation. As a trustee of Rice University, he had a good chance to see Pitzer in action when he worked down Texas way. Symonds serves his class as a councillor of the National Industrial Conference Board (co-sponsors of the recent International Industrial Conference) and as an honorary trustee of the Committee for Economic Development. He is also a member of the

Association of Reserve City Bankers, the Business Council, the Business Leadership Advisory Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Committee to Visit the Department of Business Administration of Harvard College, the Industry Advisory Council of the Department of Defense, and the Rice University Advisory Council in Economics and Accounting.

Dean A. Watkins is Stanford's success story. A Terman protegee, Watkins received his Ph.D. in Electrical Engineering in 1951. In 1953, he was appointed to a tenured position as a professor of engineering. However, he didn't last long in his new job, because in 1963 he had to quit to devote full-time to his position as chairman and chief executive officer of Watkins-Johnson Company, an Industrial Park firm that does 60% of its business with the Defense Department. Watkins didn't stay away from the campus for long: in 1967 he returned as a member of the Board of Trustees. Last year Watkins joined Glenn Campbell, director of the right-wing Hoover Institution, as Stanford's second Reagan appointee to the Board of Regents of the University of California. Watkins is also a director of the Stanford Bank.

There is currently a vacancy on the Board, caused by the departure of David Packard. Packard is now Deputy Secretary of Defense, a position which allows him to serve the people by promoting ABM and directing the Defense Department's efforts to tie the welfare of black people to the survival of the war machine by encouraging major defense contractors to locate in ghettos. Before his appointment, he was director and chairman of Hewlett-Packard and a director of General Dynamics and SRI, and a Trustee since 1954.

The man who works full-time to make the Stanford compound tick smoothly is Stanford's President, Kenneth S. Pitzer. He came to campus on December 1, 1968, bringing with him all the experience and administrative skills necessary for the maintenance of Stanford's reputation as a "community of technical scholars."

Born the son of a Southern California land baron, Pitzer started his climb to the high echelons of corporate America at the very bottom of the ladder, as a professor of chemistry at Berkeley. In 1943 he left Cal to serve his country as scientific director of the Maryland Research Laboratory where he studied gas cloud formation resulting from large chemical bomb bursts for the OSS, a precursor of the CIA. After the war, he returned to Berkeley as head of the Chemistry College. But Pitzer's government days weren't over yet. From 1949-1951 he was director of research for the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), where he was influential in the decision to develop the H-bomb. In 1958, Pitzer rejoined the AEC as a member and, later, chairman of the General Advisory Committee of AEC.

Pitzer knows well the interplay between politics and science. In 1954, he testified against J. Robert Oppenheimer when Oppenheimer was denied security clearance because of his opposition to the H-bomb. He also testified against Linus Pauling's 1957 petition to halt nuclear testing.

Pitzer was appointed President of Rice University in 1960. But being in Texas didn't mean an end to politics. In 1964, Pitzer helped organize Scientists and Engineers for Johnson, and for his efforts, he was awarded with an appointment to the President's Scientific Advisory Council. Nor did his close co-operation with the White House hurt the interests of Texas's oil and aerospace industrialists. He established the nation's first department of aerospace engineering to compliment NASA's \$173 million Manned Space Flight Center which was built on lands owned by Rice University and the Humble Oil & Refining Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil (N.J.)

It should be clear that Pitzer's close connections with AEC and NASA make him an ideal director for the Stanford complex which depends heavily on funds from those two agencies. Though Pitzer will continue to wait that we need to change our national priorities, he will use his enormous power to serve the interests of the corporate elite of which he is a member. Stanford's budding Aero-Astro Department will boom, the Engineering Department will prosper, and more and more Stanford land will be turned over to the profit-hungry technological industries. And Pitzer will use all the resources at his disposal to smash any movement which seeks genuine social change in America.

Pitzer is a director of Owens-Illinois (with Arbuckle), a trustee of the RAND Corporation (with Hewlett), and a trustee of Pitzer College.



Change from the Top Down . . .

Way back when the Stanford Trustees were students, no one gave much of a damn about the Board. Now the greying businessmen and lawyers probably yearn for the old days. The campus community's new interest in the Board of Trustees has put them squarely in the spotlight -- an uncomfortable position for men who have traditionally prospered in the anonymity of their executive suites.

Unfortunately neither SDS nor the April Third Movement clearly communicated their analysis of the Board of Trustees. Most liberals, among both students and faculty, still see confrontation as the result of a huge "communication gap" between those who study and learn, and those who manage and invest. The liberals assert that if communication is restored -- perhaps by restructuring the Board of Trustees -- students, faculty, and Trustees can solve their problems peacefully, together.

SDS, on the other hand, feels that the Trustees have class interests which govern their decisions. Communication, we feel, is best during confrontation, for our interests, and the interests of those with whom we identify, are contradictory to those of the Trustees.

"The restructuring of the Board of Trustees will solve the student crisis at Stanford."

John Gardner
April 28, 1969, during
the height of the A3M

John Gardner is the Board's leading advocate of the liberal analysis. On September 18, while this booklet is at press, he is expected to announce plans for restructuring the Board. Gardner sincerely believes that the proposed reform will answer the complaints of discontented groups. Like many other liberals, he interprets the militant action of blacks and students as a bold assertion of their desire to participate. He responds by offering minimal participation at the higher levels of decision-making.

In practice, this will mean more dialogue, as the Trustees integrate students and minorities into their elite. The contradictions between the Trustees and the campus community will not be so clear, but the results will be the same. Anyone who becomes a Trustee will be forced to work in a framework which severely limits decision-making. Financial priorities of the American ruling class will still determine what is possible. Whether or not the Board remains exclusive, it will have to function within the reality of the American system. Within these restrictions, a total replacement of the Board of Trustees could bring more flexibility. But as long as the balance of power favors the elite now in control, the Trustees will not even explore the limits of practicality.

The "increased participation" Gardner is sure to recommend will not increase democracy. The co-optation of closed-door "representatives" may actually widen the gulf between the Trustees and the average student. But more important, the reforms up Gardner's sleeves may confuse students, who will think that they finally have a voice setting the priorities of Stanford. Everyone may cheer, but nothing will have changed.

The Stanford Empire Architects

"This nation occupies 6% of the land area of the world, has 7% of the world's population, but now produces 50% of the world's goods and possesses 67% of the world's wealth. . . . Research must be the heart, the foundation, the life blood of our present defense economy if we are to maintain this position."

-- Jesse Hobson, 1951
then President of SRI, speaking to the
American Institute of Engineers

Stanford pioneered the lucrative research and development field by founding the Stanford Research Institute in 1946, as a wholly-owned subsidiary of the University doing applied research. Three groups were primarily responsible for the Institute: a university triumvirate led by Chemistry professors Robert Swain and Phillip Leighton, a research group from Lockheed in L. A., and a group of California industrialists led by Standard Oil of California director Atholl MacBean. Though each group had its own perspective on the value of the new institute, all found the idea delightful. The University people saw SRI as an important source of income (especially for government money), a stimulus for research, and a vehicle by which the University could lead the regional and industrial development of the Pacific Coast. Industry leaders wanted a center to handle the technical and research tasks necessary to keep California industry competitive with the rest of the nation. The wishes of both groups came true on Dec. 13, 1946 when the Stanford Trustees elected the Board of Directors of SRI, consist-

ing of three members from their own ranks plus corporate leaders from such major California corporations as Standard Oil, Pacific Power and Light, Southern Pacific, Union Oil, and Crown-Zellerbach.

In its early years, SRI concentrated on serving California industry, but not even a \$600,000 loan from the Stanford Trustees could keep the Institute's financial problems from pushing the new organization into the field of government sponsored research. The Korean War gave SRI the final push into the Cold War arena: the volume of government research doubled during the year 1950, reaching 45% of SRI's revenue. Not only did SRI take on contracts in the areas of strategic and military studies, but SRI officials became vociferous advocates of America's duty to cleanse the world of the Communist menace, a stance that, not coincidentally, encouraged public acceptance of Cold War mythologies and thereby assured a continuous flow of defense funds into the rapidly growing Peninsula complex. SRI became completely integrated into the new military-industrial

complex as Stanford's garrison state executives took control of the institute: Terman became vice-chairman of executive board in 1955, preceding the appearance of new directors David Packard (1958), Arnold Beckman (1956), Edgar Kaiser (1957), Tom Jones (1961), and former Eisenhower defense advisors Thomas Pike (1961) and General William Draper (1961). SRI defense revenues reached 60% in 1960 and an all-time high of 65% in 1965.

In addition to its role as supplier of techniques for the defense sector, SRI in the mid-fifties took on the task of coordinating industrial expansion, both on the West Coast and, increasingly, in Western Europe and the Pacific Basin. SRI officials have continually emphasized two objectives in their international program: "economic progress, and the strengthening of private business on an international scale. These are good and noble causes and we are proud to stand with international companies the world over in pursuit of the fundamentals involved. Our objective is to do everything in our power to develop the private sector as the basic factor in economic strength and progress." To support these ends, SRI has pursued a two-pronged program of co-ordinating business penetration of Third World nations, and of co-operating with the Defense Department in counter-insurgency research designed to maintain a stable climate of investment in areas where the natives do not share SRI's appreciation of American imperialism.

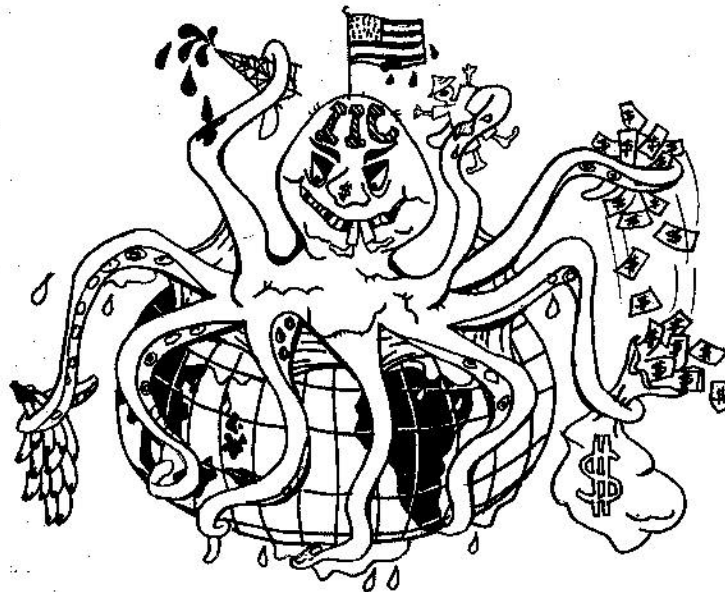
Beginning in 1957, SRI has sponsored a series of gatherings where corporate leaders have discussed and planned international expansion. The International Industrial Development Conference in 1957 brought together 500 of the world's top business executives to find ways of relieving international business of the burdens of competition. In recent years, the Pacific Basin has received the bulk of SRI's attention, as industrial development planners have articulated a Pacific Basin strategy in which business interests will rationalize and control the overall Pacific economy through the use of government funds and military might. Stanford Trustee and SRI Board Chairman Ernest Arbuckle opened an SRI business conference in Sydney, Australia last year with the statement that the vision of an integrated Pacific economy was an ideal "that remains today in principle and practice within both Stanford University and Stanford Research Institute." At a recent conference, SRI vice-president H. E. Robison praised the slaughter of half a million alleged communists during Indonesia's

1965 coup as a victory for freedom and private enterprise over the horrors of socialism, and followed up his rhetoric by leading 200 executives into Djakarta to arrange economic co-operation with the newest government of the "free world." The recent International Industrial Conference was SRI's latest effort in its continuing service to the multi-national corporations.

"It's a very nice thing to view the university as an open place where I do my thing and you do your thing, only your thing happens to be doing research on weapons of destruction and death in the name of this University...."

-- Jeanne Friedman
at the March 11 Forum

SRI is careful, however, not to let its idealistic vision of the Pacific as an American Lake obscure its view of reality. When local insurgents question the benevolence of American domination, SRI is ready to trot out a whole array of counter-revolutionary techniques. In 1961, SRI Senior Economist Eugene Staley returned from Vietnam with suggestions for President Kennedy about quashing the annoying guerilla movement there. The strategic hamlet program which he recommended was supposed to restore security in 18 months; it didn't. But the defense department didn't lose faith in SRI; researchers there have continued to receive contracts to research anti-guerilla surveillance, jungle communications, helicopter warfare, optimal bombing routes over North Vietnam, in addition to maintaining a 43 man center in Bangkok, Thailand, aimed at stopping the Thai guerilla movement. Nor does SRI hesitate to bring its counter-insurgency projects home to use on local dissidents. It was SRI that developed the techniques used when a National Guard helicopter spread CS tear gas on People's Park demonstrators and hospital patients on the Berkeley campus last May. A malfunctioning nozzle of SRI design killed 6,000 insurgent sheep near Dugway, Utah in 1967. In addition, SRI researchers have been increasingly active in helping the corporate elite implement its strategy for controlling the explosive potential of discontented groups in the American cities.



Stanford-in-Peru

Stanford's family of ruling-class Trustees, research industries, and faculty mandarins work together beautifully. There is no better example of this active cooperation than Stanford's services to American Imperialism in Peru.

Peru, like most Latin American countries, is an economic colony of the United States. American investment there totals 450 million dollars and the total goods and services supplied by American corporations comprise 45% of Peru's GNP. But it is misleading to include American investments as part of the Peruvian economy, because U.S. corporations there are concentrated heavily in extractive industries such as mining, petroleum, cash-crop agricultural industries in which raw materials and profits are shipped to established industrial giants like Japan, West Germany and, of course, the U.S. Last fall's military coup has done little to change the dynamics of foreign investment in Peru. For a fuller discussion of the coup and Peru's political economy, see the August, 1969 issue of *Leviathan*. Peru's abundant raw materials are potentially the basis of independent industrialization in that country; rich deposits of silver, bismuth, zinc, lead, vanadium, copper, tin, gold, and iron ore would supply extensive metal industry, and large cotton growing areas would supply textile industries. However, at the present time, corporations ship these materials to be processed elsewhere and the Peruvian people are left jobless and without the profit from their own resources. Recent American investment has concentrated more on developing manufacturing plants to turn out luxury items and consumer goods for the small upper and middle classes. Even with these new industries, American firms employ only 3% of the economically active population of the country; the great mass of the Peruvian population is left in below-subsistence conditions.

In corporate and government circles (and in most economics departments), this passes for economic development. The fact of the matter is, however, that American investment in Peru means nothing but plunder. Foreign investment in underdeveloped countries usually goes into the extraction of raw materials, an operation which assures huge profits and continual flow of resources to the mother country. Little foreign capital goes into the capital goods sector (machinery, etc.)--after all, why would American corporations want to subsidize a competitor when they already have a captive market? Yet without heavy industry planned to suit the needs and resources of the region, under-

developed countries can never hope to achieve balanced, self-sustained industrial growth. At the present time, the heavy emphasis on extractive industries makes it necessary for Peru to import manufactured goods, causing balance-of-payments deficits. Corporate domination of Peru's fertile river valleys results in large crops of sugar and cotton but few food items; consequently, Peru must import food to feed its people, further aggravating balance-of-payments problems. Recent investments in consumer manufactures, though, have done nothing to ease the dilemma. American firms make consumer products on the spot instead of shipping them from the mother country, a process which eliminates shipping costs, avoids import duties, lowers labor costs, and further ties Peru to the American economy. In addition, many of these firms import foreign parts and materials, thus making trade deficits unmanageable. It is little wonder that inflation has been rampant, causing starvation and malnutrition among the great mass of Peruvians.

Given this ledger of the consequences of American domination of Peru, we would expect to see our great, liberal university in the foreground of those battling American imperialism. Wrong again. The Stanford octopus eagerly serves the multi-national corporations in their domination of Peru, helping to make the exploitation more rational and efficient. Such efforts are understandable when we remember who runs the University: Trustee Ernest Arbuckle, dean of the Graduate School of Business (GSB) from 1958-1968, came to Stanford from W.R. Grace & Co. where he was Vice-President in charge of Central American operations. Grace controls five-eighths of Peru's cotton output and owns its second largest sugar mill, in addition to Utah Mining and Construction, along with Stanford's Vice-President of Business Affairs Alf Brandin and Trustee Edmund Littlefield, who is Utah's president and general manager. Utah does some of its construction work in Peru, but its principal investment there is a subsidiary, Marcona Mining, which is Peru's fifth largest business enterprise. When Littlefield finds time off from running Marcona Mining, he sits on the board of SRI (along with Arbuckle, who is chairman) and serves as a member of the advisory council of the GSB. Another Stanford/Peru leader is Edgar Kaiser, president and chairman of the board of Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Corporation. Kaiser is a member of the board of SRI (along with Kaiser director Harold Quinton) and sits on the GSB advisory

council. In 1967, Kaiser Corp. acquired 80% interests in the phosphate deposits in Peru's Sechura Desert and announced plans for a \$100 million investment to extract the minerals. Former Stanford President Wallace Sterling joined Kaiser's board last year.

With these connections, who would doubt that Stanford involvement in Peru was inevitable. SRI received a 5 year contract in May of 1963 from AID for "a program of industrial development and promotion, and regional development" in Peru. SRI, always proud of its services to American Imperialism, described the program somewhat more truthfully as "projects for private enterprise in Peru." SRI concentrated its efforts on rationalizing foreign domination in Peru by providing the industries with technical and financial information, and by working with Peruvian government officials to promote the service infrastructure needed by foreign firms.

Two weeks after SRI received its initial contract, Stanford got into the act too. Stanford signed a \$1.1 million contract with AID to set up a graduate school of business in Peru. Professor Gail Oxley, the Graduate Business School's director of overseas development and former vice-president of W. R. Grace's South American operations, drew up the preliminary feasibility study. The new school is designed to train native managers for employment in American firms. To do this properly, the GSB located the new facility in a quiet suburb of Lima and carefully isolated it from existing Peruvian universities. This was done "to eliminate the kind of 'politics' which had seriously disrupted some Latin American universities." It seems that the Stanford managers would like to see the same sort of passivity among Peruvian students that has long been a tradition in this country. In the last five years, one-fourth of the Business School faculty has taught at the Peruvian school. Perhaps the best record of their effectiveness is the fact that far more of the school's graduates have gone to work for W. R. Grace and Marcona Mining than any other firms. The GSB also has a second program in Peru. It trains its own graduates for Peace Corps service as technical assistants to Peruvian industry. Not surprisingly, many of the volunteers end up working with SRI's development corporations in Southern Peru.

Despite the best efforts of Stanford, foreign corporations cannot always maintain the kind of political stability that they would like to see. In 1965, it was necessary for the Peruvian government, with the help of American bombers and napalm, to put down a guerrilla movement that had arisen among the peasants of Southern Peru. Stanford imperialists have long since learned that it is necessary to wield both the carrot and the stick, and they were eager to see that the wishes of Peru's population did not get in the way of their development schemes: in 1966, SRI made a contract with the Department of Defense to consider "the advantages and disadvantages of providing U.S. operational assistance to the armed forces of the Government of Peru engaged in counterinsurgency operations, as well as alternative courses of actions to the provision of operational assistance which would enable the U.S. to favorably influence the outcome of such operations." At home and abroad, "on the campus or in the ghetto, "law and order" has replaced "peace and freedom" as the watchword of the hour. Nobody understands this better than the liberals who run Stanford's octopus here and in Peru.



"Suppose one were an artist and asked to portray a business leader in his proper posture, how would one go about it. I believe I would do it by showing him standing on a podium, a baton in his hand, confronting a hypothetical orchestra comprising all of the various talents that he must effectively bring together if his presumably large and complex business were to pursue a harmonious and successful course."

—Crawford H. Greenwelt
1965, IIC

More Managers for the Empire

"PROFIT IS THE MONETARY MEASUREMENT OF OUR CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY"

-- David Packard

Probably the most obvious example of Stanford education-for-empire is the Graduate School of Business. Founded by Herbert Hoover in 1925, the business school has grown rapidly in size and importance to the multi-national corporations of the Bay Area and elsewhere.

Under Dean Ernest Arbuckle, the Business School Advisory Board was founded in order to cement ties and improve communication between the big businessmen and their faculty-consultants and future junior executives. The BSAC reads like a who's who of the West Coast ruling class, including almost every corporation on either the Stanford Board of Trustees or the SRI Board of Directors, and then some. Most of them are the same men who attended the recent International Industrial Conference in San Francisco. BSAC members include: Safeway, SRI, IBM, American Standard, Bank of America, Wells Fargo Bank, Kaiser Industries, Pacific Gas and Electric, FMC, Lockheed, Levi Strauss, TWA, Standard Oil of California, General Foods, Pfizer, General Electric, and Hewlett-Packard.

For those corporations who were not important enough to become Advisers, Dean Arbuckle established the Affiliate Program. Corporations make contributions (Affiliate contributions total \$300,000 a year) and in return are kept up to date on new developments in "the state of the art." This money is also helpful in maintaining and expanding the large number of Business School programs "of interest" to the multi-national corporations. Most important and well-known of these is ESAN in Peru (see above), but there are a number of others which contribute to the Stanford Empire.

The Ford Foundation

In 1962, the Ford Foundation gave a large grant to the Stanford school to establish the International Center for the Advancement of Management Education. In 1967 the program cost Ford one-and-a-half million dollars a year. The ICAME brings business teachers and researchers from Asia, South America, Africa, and Europe (257 to date) to Stanford for a year of study in multi-national business techniques. Many subsequently go to work for U.S. businesses or universities. According to the GSB's Long-Range Planning Report of 1967, "The success of the ICAME in training teachers of business from all over the world has been so marked," that a "program in international administration with emphasis on management of economic development" is being recommended.

"European and North American companies, competing actively in the same markets, seek new ways to organize their international operations" (ruling-class solidarity - ed.) says a GSB pamphlet. Stanford is doing its part by sponsoring an Advanced Management Program at the European Institute of Business Administration in France every summer for European and American executives (although most of the "European" executives are actually executives for European branches or subsidiaries of American companies).

Other programs include a school for Yugoslavian executives, seeking to convince them of the values of "Free World" membership, namely U.S. investment in

the economy. This profitable teach-in is also sponsored by the Ford Foundation. (Altogether the Ford Foundation has invested almost two million a year in the "Biz" school, with over \$800,000 in faculty salaries and research grants.) Another program is the Peace Corps project in Peru and Colombia, which serves the Empire in a fashion similar to the ESAN.

Stanford Business School also has a generous contributor in the Alfred Sloan Foundation. (Alfred Sloan was President of General Motors during the 1930's when GM was investing heavily in the economy of Nazi Germany. As late as 1939, GM's Opel division, along with Ford, was making most of the tanks for the Wehrmacht. When asked by a reporter about the ethics of this investment, Sloan replied that businessmen were interested in profits wherever they could be found, ethics aside. Which is not to say that GM is apolitical -- it breaks strikes frequently.) The Stanford-Sloan Program brings budding young executives to Stanford for a year and trains them to be top executives.

Other training programs come under the general heading of Continuing Education for Biz school alumni. Many times a year, seminars and courses are held for former business students who return from their jobs to get new tips on managing the Empire. Also important is the annual Business Conference, which tries to impress on executives the importance of the business-government partnership in both defense and the burgeoning "social-industrial complex" of highly profitable urban programs. Dean Arjay Miller, former President of Ford, spoke at the last Conference on urban problems and business' "social conscience."

Business School faculty act as consultants for outside corporations and for the Stanford Complex itself. An example is Ezra Solomon, who holds an endowed chair as the Dean Witter Professor of Finance (Dean Witter & Co. is one of the largest stock brokerage houses in the country and especially on the West Coast. Presumably they profit from the security of having Mr. Solomon's advice close at hand -- they have an office on El Camino and California.) Last year, Solomon sat on the SRI-Study Committee. He did a very professional cost-benefit analysis for the Trustees, recommending along with Provost Lyman that SRI be sold without restrictions.

Of course, the faculty's other valuable service is training the future managers -- the MBA candidates. Average starting salaries for MBA's in 1969 was \$13,887. "Student reports of bonuses, stock options, and profit sharing were more numerous than in past years." New graduates have shown increased interest in the high paying fields like international affairs, consulting, and investment banking, although 38% still go into manufacturing. One-third of the graduates even accepted overseas posts in the American international empire. The students in the Biz School are the only ones at Stanford who get to take courses on imperialism. In fact, they're required.



Insurgents

"Will You Lay Down Your Arms?"

The following is the opening statement made by Paul Rupert (of United Campus Ministry) at the March 11th confrontation with the Trustees in Mem Aud:

"Ladies and gentlemen of the board of trustees, we are here today because of who you are and what you do.-- both in this community and in the outside world. You are wealthy white businessmen, bankers, or lawyers, or the wives of such men. You have ultimate control over this university, which men of your choosing staff and run. You help run a variety of commercial empires in which you dictate basic policy. In both cases, your power is immense, and your right to that power is seldom questioned. You would probably argue that you make decisions in the best interests of the people you touch: we are here to challenge that assumption.

Ultimately, you control the finances of this university; you allocate the resources. Today you reviewed the budget prepared by your president. Over the years you have created a university in which engineering, aerospace, chemistry, business and electronics are emphasized. You have not created a university in which critical analysis of society and its goals is encouraged. You can decide which strata of society you will serve by setting admissions standards and providing financial aid. On the land you hold in trust for the community's use, you have built an industrial park, luxurious homes, and SRI. You are now building luxury apartments, and preparing to build a new industrial park. Clearly, such decisions largely determine the context and limits of our education.

The well-trained graduates of this university will enter your corporations or those of your associates, they will enter your university or one like it, they will work for your department of defense. And their work, like their education, will be in your interest. If that work is the planning of the Thai economy, the annihilation of Vietnamese who want to plan their own society; if it is the pacification of the demands of urban ghetto-dwellers who feel a need not for pacification, but for change; if it is the development of your industrial parks in a misshapen Peruvian economy, the creation of more lethal forms of chemical and biological warfare; if it is the development of a sociology or a political science which studies primarily the defense and expansion of your ideology and power, without challenging its basic assumptions--then Stanford graduates will do that work.

Or at least, many Stanford graduates. But a growing number of us look upon a different world, a world in which your interests--those of the corporations and the university--are in fact not the interests of a majority of the world's people: the poor and the black at home, the underfed, the undereducated, and the overpoliced of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We came to this university

to learn about that world, to discover how we and other men can best live in it. We found not an institution dedicated to finding the truth, to doing research on fundamental human problems, to teaching democracy through its practice, but rather a research and training institute which processes men and women to fill hierarchical social roles. In the face of Vietnam and the American ghettos, the intrusion of daily news, the overwhelming fact of human suffering and squandered resources, we have had to mold our own education. And that education has led us to you: we are asking that you justify your inordinate power over the lives of men.

We recognize that you have the power to remain silent and to evade our questions. We have seen you meet in closed session for years, inaccessible to us and our inquiries. And recently, when a group of SDS members attempted to open the door to air the question of your individual and collective activities in Southeast Asia, they were met with your adjournment and their subsequent punishment. An SDS request for an open meeting with all the trustees was apparently rejected; in its place we have this meeting, with selected participants, at a time and place of your choosing. There is no question that you have the power. If we do not like the university, we are told we should go elsewhere--in much the same way the Vietnamese or Thai or Bolivian guerrillas are told that things shall be a certain American way--or else.

We cannot accept your principles of exclusion: we demand that our politics be inclusive, that we involve all those affected by the university and corporation in their decisions. You have decried the use of force on campus; we insist that you abandon your weapons of control and coercion on campus, and your weaponry of death and oppression around the world, and thus demonstrate your faith in the ability of the world's people, and the people of this community to create a democracy. Then as advisors, as men dedicated to open, democratic decision-making, we ask you to join us in the creation and direction of a real community.

Essentially I am asking that you transform your lives and your businesses; that you share your power. I am saying that such faith and such willingness are prerequisites for participation in an educational community. If you cannot show that faith, if you do not lay down your weapons, then I can only predict a steady erosion of the hope of non-violent change. Ghettos will burn again, guerrilla strength will grow, your campus will be torn apart. In the face of growing militarization, revolutionaries will study and steal your weaponry, and you will have lost your chance.

I urge you to lay down your weapons and your defensiveness: if you will not, then please resign and let the community replace you with men who will lead by the strength of their vision and not by their power.

Mr. Ducommun, as a trustee and a director of Lockheed, will you lay down your weapons?"



Countering Counter-insurgency

October 9: Acting President Glaser announces student-faculty committee to study SRI question.

November 7: As part of election-day protest, SDS exorcises demon research done at AEL and holds sit-down discussion in front of AEL doorway.

November 14: Student government representatives urge open trustees meeting. Trustees refuse. SDS members engage Trustees in dialogue in student residences.

January 13, 1969: SDS passes ten specific demands, elucidating general demand of October 7.

January 14: SDS presents demands to Trustees, breaking into and opening a closed meeting.

Late January: President Nixon selects David Packard, Stanford Trustee, as Assistant Secretary of Defense.

February: 29 participants in Trustee meeting tried by Stanford Judicial Council. Defendants treat trial as educational event, explaining why the Trustees should have been on trial.

Late February: Judicial Council finds 29 guilty. Sentences consist of fines to be paid to the Martin Luther King Scholarship Fund. Defendants announce that they refuse to pay. Instead, SDS raises money for the Black Panther Party.

March 3: SDS demands open Trustee meeting for March 11.

March 11: 1500 people attend Trustee forum, as Trustees put feet in their mouths. Student body loses faith in goodwill of Trustees.

May, 1966: The issue of classified research is raised by Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam. Resulting in the Academic Council leads to the formation of the "watchdog" Committee on Research Policy. Most classified and military work continues.

April, 1967: "We Accuse" posters and Resistance newspaper raise issues of SRI research, military work in the industrial park, and the connections of the Stanford Trustees.

October 7, 1968: Stanford SDS demands that Stanford and SRI get out of Southeast Asia. Demand includes non-military projects. SDS begins dorm discussion program.



"I say that if the university gets into taking political positions, it will be destroyed."

Judge Benjamin Duniway
March 11, 1969

Spring vacation; SDS members prepare pamphlet on SRI and Stanford, which is widely read in early April.

April 3: Fourteen liberal/radical groups sponsor meeting in Dink Auditorium. 800 pass demands calling for an end to CBW, classified, Vietnam-related, and counter-insurgency research at SRI and Stanford; closer control of SRI by Stanford community; and an open decision-making meeting of Trustees by April 30. This group is to become the April 3rd Movement.

April 8: Trustees meet. They decide to refuse new CBW contracts, but refuse to speak to demands or issues. Response is read to 2500 students at SDS-Resistance film: "Battle of Algiers."

April 9: Despite pleas from President Pitzer, liberal student leaders, and faculty members, a strong majority of 900 students voted to immediately occupy the Applied Electronics Laboratory and halt the research. Guidelines passed: No violence against people; no destruction of property; no breaking into classified files; doors would be kept open.

April 9-18: AEL sit-in--Research was stopped in AEL by continued presence of demonstrators. Liberated print shop produced daily newspaper, leaflets, and pamphlets. Small task groups began campus and community education, including discussion with SRI scientists. General meetings were held almost every day. Support grew constantly.

1400 signed Solidarity Statement of participation. Judicial Council threatened but didn't act. Documents found by A3M show that titles of military contracts were doctored to make them appear more acceptable. AEL researcher speaks out verifying A3M charges. A3M Research Review Board established to implement research guidelines passed by A3M. No AEL researchers are willing to submit work, so none are allowed to continue research. Faculty promises to end on-campus classified research. Bobby Seale, Chairman of Black Panther Party speaks to sit-in assembly.

April 15: SRI committee produces long-awaited report. Majority recommends sale of SRI with restrictive covenant banning CBW and maybe counterinsurgency. One minority report calls for sale without covenant. Another backs A3M demands.

April 17: President Pitzer assumes emergency powers. AEL ordered closed for a week. Demonstrators threatened with expulsion.

April 18: With faculty promises to end classified research, upcoming meetings of faculty and students, and Pitzer's order (which stops research for one week anyway), A3M votes to leave AEL.

April 18: Faculty meets and does nothing. Thousands of students attend general meeting of student body. 3000 students vote in referendum. Results endorse A3M demands.

Trustee William Hewlett is president of Hewlett-Packard Co., and a director of the FMC and Chrysler corporations. At the March 11 Forum he gave this description of Stanford's political "neutrality" to 1400 Stanford students.

Floor: It was stated before by Hewlett and Ducommun, less than two minutes ago, in fact, that they would not make these resources available to either the North Vietnamese or the National Liberation Front, and you stated yourself that the university shouldn't take a political stand. Now, would these people up here on the stage suggest that the resources of the university--meaning its faculty, meaning its laboratories, meaning its students--not be made available to the Department of Defense or for any actions taking place in Southeast Asia.

Hewlett: Stanford University is an organization in the United States . . . (applause) . . . supported by the laws of the United States and financed primarily through United States funds. It is not a North Vietnamese organization. It is not a South Vietnamese Organization. It is not a Chinese organization. It's an organization of the United States, and these services are performed for the United States of America. I hardly call that a political decision. (Roar from the audience) Now if the university chooses to teach in its courses what the issues are between North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the United States, I think this is a most appropriate function to be doing because this is an educational function. But, one must not forget that this university is an institution of the United States.

Floor: So, the policy that you would take for the university, if it's an institution of the United States, is the policy which is chosen by the United States government? Am I correct?

Hewlett: As far as I'm concerned, it is.

- April 22: Academic Senate votes to phase out classified research at Stanford.
- April 22, 23: Days of Concern. Many classes suspended as forum discusses issues raised by A3M.
- April 28: Results of official University referendum back A3M demands. 2/3 back control of SRI research. 15% more back restrictive covenant.
- April 30: Students walk out of closed-circuit t.v. Trustee hearing, where 5 trustees listened but refused to answer. After 2 long, heated, divided meetings, A3M votes to occupy Encina Hall with maximum humanity and commonsense to enter building.
- May 1, 1 a.m.: 300 students occupy Encina Hall. Others were alienated by broken glass and scuffles. Pitzer calls in police. 135 demonstrators vote to leave at 7:00 in the morning. Campus pronounces A3M dead. University obtains court
- May 15: Injunction prohibiting disruptions on campus becomes permanent.
- May 16: 500 students, organized into affinity groups, blockade Page Mill Road and Hanover St., and surround SRI Industrial Park office. Demonstrators had agreed not to initiate violence (the right to self-defense was reserved) and agreed not to destroy property unless police took action. When police threw tear gas, canisters were thrown into building. Rocks smashed windows on the Page Mill Road side of the building. 16 arrested.
- May 18: SRI gets injunction preventing demonstrations.
- May: SJC holds individual and group hearings on Encina sit-in. Members of 29 are suspended one



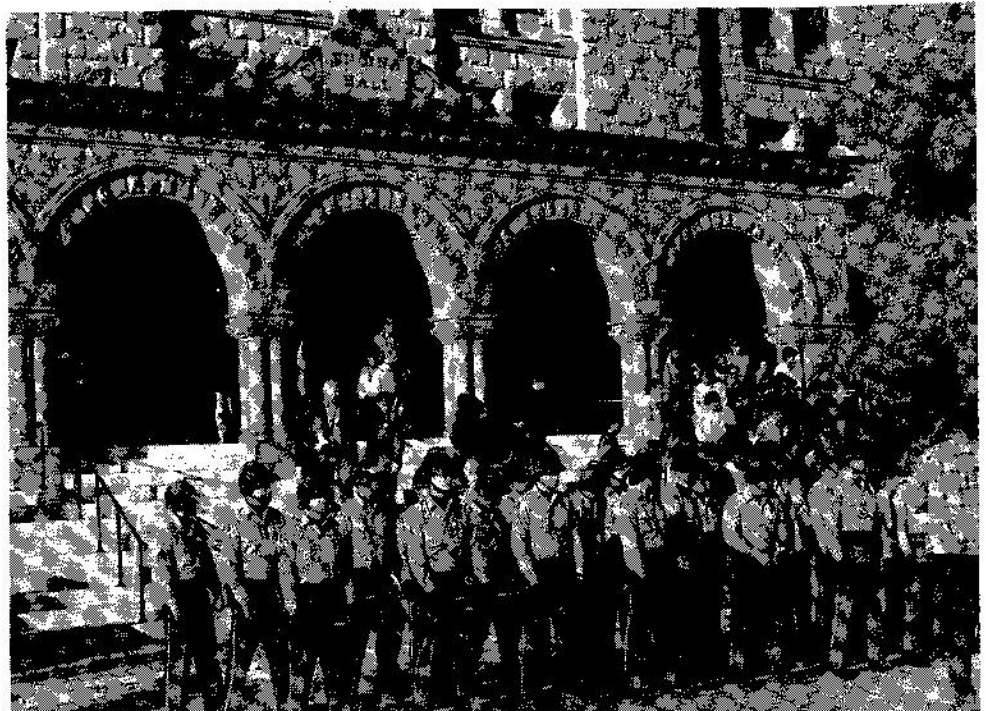
- injunction prohibiting further demonstrations and banning many A3M members and 500 John Does from campus.
- May 2: A3M meeting called to try to rebuild movement. Announcement of the injunction by a University official draws the movement back together. Affinity groups are formed for political discussion and class boycott is threatened.
- May 3: Injunction modified to permit the enjoined to come onto campus, but not enter classrooms, libraries, etc.
- May 12: First day of class boycott effective in Humanities and Sciences and amongst undergraduates. Political carnival in White Plaza is fun and educational.
- May 13: Second day of class boycott. Trustees vote to sell SRI with no restrictions.
- May 14: A3M meets in Mem Aud. 1300 vote to reject Trustee decision. Meeting is moved to Mem Chu, where a decision is made to plan demon-
- or two quarters for second offense. Others are fined and put on probation.
- May 19: Outnumbered by police, A3M gives up attempt to repeat Friday demonstration. 5 arrested. Instead, 600 students move to SRI-Menlo Park for peaceful picket.
- May 22-23: Pickets at SRI-Hanover draw fewer pickets, and finals near.
- End of May: McClellan Committee subpoenas information on A3M members convicted for Encina sit-in. Pitzer includes all those convicted of opening January trustee meeting, whether convicted for Encina or not.
- Summer, '69: 90 more warrants issued for May 16 demonstration, with help of Stanford's YAF. SRI announces that AEL scientists and engineers will move to SRI. Meanwhile, SRI has difficulty getting contracts. Many employees are laid off or leave. Morale is low. Stanford not yet able to sell SRI.
- August 18, 1969: Hanover demonstration trials begin in municipal courts.



"I would be glad to see police and other civil officials bring charges against more individuals than have actually been arrested. Further steps in this direction can be taken by civil officials. Most of the key people are under suspension already."

Kenneth S. Pitzer
May 20, 1969

(Ed.: Pitzer was referring to the A3M and the May 16 demonstration at Hanover-SRI)



The April 3rd Movement

When, in early October, SDS first raised the demand that Stanford and SRI "get out of Southeast Asia" few on campus took us seriously. We found it hard to interest many students in our discussion groups or get anyone to read our information. Some of our members, disappointed, suggested that we find some other issue around which we could more easily mobilize the student body. But the dominant trend in SDS was that the War in Vietnam--and the entire imperialist system--was the most important issue that Stanford students could pursue. Our expectations were low, but we were determined.

The strategy with which we began our drive to get Stanford out of Southeast Asia was simple. We would use direct action to focus on the issues, and we would use our educational activities to involve more people in action. Fall quarter this meant symbolic, non-confrontation demonstrations and dorm discussion groups. In January, when hardly anyone at Stanford seemed to care about the War and Stanford's involvement, it meant disrupting the Board of Trustees meeting.

To most on campus--including many members of SDS--the Trustee confrontation seemed to destroy SDS. We had taken action which angered most of the community. But we didn't give up. We used this anger to engage people in discussions, or attract them to educational programs. The 29 who were disciplined by the Judicial Council used their hearings to publicize much of the information SDS had collected about Stanford and SRI. Though SDS was in no position to force its demands, the campus became aware of the issues.

The problem was that despite our documented analysis most members of the Stanford community trusted the men responsible for making the major decisions governing the University--the Stanford Trustees. We demanded an open meeting of the Trustees at which they would discuss Stanford and Southeast Asia, and hinted that we would repeat the January 14 disruption--bigger--if the Trustees refused. So, in the interests of "rational dialogue" five trustees met 1400 students in Memorial Auditorium for an open forum. Although many students were sympathetic with SDS for its anti-war stand, most of the audience wanted to hear the trustees answer SDS charges. The lying arrogance and the narrow political vision that the Trustees demonstrated that afternoon angered almost all of those present and created the spirit which was to become the April Third Movement.

Fourteen organizations from Stanford and Palo Alto got together to call a community meeting April 3, but most of the people who responded to the call had no organizational affiliation. There were SDS members and other radicals who saw Stanford and SRI as critical to the maintenance and extension of U. S. imperialism. There were pacifists and others upset by America's growing militarism. And there were liberals who considered the Vietnam War an unfortunate mistake. But there was a surprising unity. Nearly unanimously, 800 members of the Stanford Community put forward the demands which were to define the A3M:

1. That SRI not be sold or severed, but brought under closer control by the University community;
2. That Stanford and SRI halt on April 8 research in the areas of:

- a. Chemical and Biological Warfare
- b. Counterinsurgency
- c. Southeast Asia War
- d. Classified research

3. That the Trustees hold an open decision-making meeting to consider these questions before April 30.

"An open meeting of the Board is the silliest suggestion I've heard in years."

John Gardner
before 150 students
at the Faculty Club
April 29, 1969

A committee was set up to clarify these demands, and to present a positive program for University research. Some radicals were disappointed that the demands did not call for a halt to studies supporting U. S. corporate expansion, and that nothing was said about the consultancies held by many science and engineering professors. But most of us were enthusiastic. We felt that the first demand was crucial. We were not merely demanding that the university expurgate "foul research" because of a medieval conception of the university. Rather, because of what Stanford's and SRI's research was doing to the Vietnamese people, we wanted it to stop.

Within the movement there were, from the beginning, many different assessments of the demands and their relationship to the interest of the Trustees and faculty. Consequently, strategic proposals varied. Some wanted an educational campaign aimed at the whole community (with the expectation of its cooperation). Others argued for a series of militant student actions designed to force an unwilling community to cut its academic and industrial ties with the war and imperialism.

Among radical students, few thought the demands would be won easily, if at all. The general understanding of our strategy might be called "revolutionary reformism." The demands seemed reasonable, and it was conceivable that they be implemented, but we believed that they clashed with the real interests of the Trustees and many of the faculty.

We had concluded that the Board of Trustees is involved in American expansion. We suspected that they would not put significant restrictions on the Institute which serves them well. We also believed that the science and engineering faculties were so strong and so dependent on government research that the faculty would not, on its own, curb counterinsurgency or war research on campus. Furthermore, as we were to verify, the rest of the faculty seemed afraid to rock the boat--lest it get wet.

If this were true, most students, despite their initial naivety about the nature of the faculty and Trustee interests, would learn quickly the serious implications of our struggle. When normal channels did not work, students would have to decide what personal risk they would make to win the demands. These decisions would depend on the degree to which our critical analysis

of the University and SRI was understood and accepted.

In the movement as a whole, there was confusion. We did not have clear and common expectations. It was not decided at any point whether we were providing the community with a radicalizing experience or whether we were going to push for victory at any cost to the movement. Because of this uncertainty, inexperience, and the difficulty of "winning," we had no clear sense of whether we could really gain the demands. The trustees were inaccessible. For all we knew, they would let the University perish rather than change.

When the Trustees rejected the April 3rd demands at their meeting on April 8, seven hundred students--and supporters from outside Stanford who were just as concerned--voted to occupy the Applied Electronics Laboratory, which was largely devoted to classified electronics warfare research. The appeal of this tactic was that it actually implemented the demands by stopping research. Furthermore, as we occupied AEL, we established a "liberated zone"--a real community--within the research bowels of the University. Utilizing the printing facilities of the building and the energy of the movement, we regarded the AEL as a base for educational forays into Stanford and the surrounding communities.

"Non-violent" guidelines were accepted with little opposition. Some regarded the guidelines as moral imperatives. Others saw them as tactical exigencies. While this tension eventually led to division within the movement, the style with which we occupied the building appealed to the bulk of Stanford's upper middle-class student body.

Support for the sit-in was strong and immediate. Hundreds of people were involved in the small working committees (newspaper, research, dorm organizing, etc.), for in seizing AEL they had made a real commitment to the success of the movement. About a thousand people attended the general meetings, which were also broadcast over KZSU. Political positions evolved in small group discussions. Participants developed their understanding of the action by defending it to hostile faculty and students.

The sit-in lasted nine days. From the beginning there were internal doubts about our rights to be there. Long meetings debated the question "When do we leave?" The faculty asked us to leave so they could "solve problems reasonably," yet it was clear that any action they took was a direct result of pressure exerted by the A3M. Despite growing support for our demands, many people wanted to leave before our action looked "coercive."

By the ninth day the sit-in reached an impasse. It was clear that we could force no more than a phase-out of classified research--and the faculty had promised that. Fears of arrest were growing. So when Pitzer announced the closing of the building, many welcomed the excuse to leave. We threatened to return if the faculty backed down on its stand against classified research, but most of us hoped that we would not have to.

We left AEL confidently. But our confidence was misplaced. In our concern and excitement about on-campus research, we underestimated the difficulty of transforming SRI into the type of institution we thought it had to be.

Through the Days of Concern we continued our educational campaign. But our pace weakened. Without the base at AEL, we had little to keep us together.

Our most successful political work was with students. Two-thirds of the student body, according to an official university poll, backed the A3M demand for closer ties with SRI and a regulation of the institute's research.

The faculty was split between severance, severance with restrictions, and control. Many faculty members resented our intrusion into their prerogatives when we demanded a new research policy for Stanford. Yet they

were looking for solutions which would bring peace and quiet back to their academic cloister. Others saw SRI as a blemish on their professional records, and saw severance with or without restrictions, as a solution

Around this time we expanded our work with SRI employees. Though many SRI researchers support SRI policies, a large number don't, and are engaged in socially creative research. Others are trapped by the priorities of government and industry funding. But we were asking too much. Fed with scare propaganda by the SRI administration, SRI employees already concerned about the source of their livelihood were unwilling to make any sacrifices. We received, in the end, very little support from within SRI.

But we weren't conducting a public opinion poll of students, faculty, and researchers. And neither were the trustees. To us, many more people were affected than just members of our community. The people dying in Vietnam, the peasants whose villages are bombed and crops defoliated have much more right to control SRI's research--at least vis-a-vis Vietnam--than the researchers, trustees, or students. We felt we were acting for the people of Vietnam. The Trustees on the other hand were judging SRI from the perspective of maintaining a strong, profitable empire. Public opinion polls, to them, were important only inasmuch as they evaluated the strength of a social force threatening their power.

Radicals, who believed the Trustees would act in such a fashion, sought to create a situation which would cost the Trustees for not meeting the demand. The educational campaign had reached about as many as it could. Radicals, including the SDS members in A3M, felt the need to resort to "coercion."



Thousands had endorsed our demands, yet clearly Stanford students dislike the use of force. We did not know how many would go along. We knew only that we had to exercise power to win the demands. For us, power consisted of people in motion; support in a referendum doesn't really count.

The sit-in at Encina Hall was proposed as such an exercise of power. But the meeting which voted to sit-in what was perhaps the worst during the spring. Radicals did not adequately explain the reasons for the sit-in, and tensions were high. The question of physical violence was sidestepped in such a way that many who had agreed to sit-in left when they heard scuffles and saw broken glass. The movement lost its popularity. It was divided.

Only three hundred students had entered Encina Hall the morning of May 1. Many went home, as they had done nights during the AEL sit-in. In a stroke of tactical genius, Provost Lyman called in three busloads of Santa Clara County police at 7:00 am. The hundred or more students present voted to leave.

The April Third Movement was declared dead by its critics. But spurred on by the extremity of the court injunction against it, the movement resolved to rebuild, learning the lessons of the Encina debacle.

Ever since the first mass meetings, the April Third Movement had a major organizational flaw. Most business and discussion was conducted in large meetings. Most people were afraid to speak at these meetings, or could not express themselves well. The more militant and radical students dominated the meetings, both through experienced leadership and exuberant, intimidating shouting. During AEL we had broken up into small discussion groups during large meetings, but we had merely scratched the surface of creating our own democracy.

The most important result of the Encina sit-in, in terms of the development of the movement, was the formation of affinity groups: small groups of ten to twenty people who met together and worked together on a continuing basis. We slowly rebuilt our strength by talking out the questions which had divided us. And, working on the class boycott and political carnival, we recreated much of the community which had bound us together at AEL.

On May 13 the Trustees were to make a decision. The faculty and administration were pushing for delay -- until summer, when students have gone home. And we worried that the student body would go for this. But the Trustees, the owners and governors of Stanford University, felt they had to exert their power forcefully. Evidently they were willing to accept the disruption that President Pitzer feared for Stanford. SRI and the empire were more important. They announced, May 13, their unanimous intent to sell. To top it off, they rejected the SRI Study Committee recommendation for a restrictive covenant.

This decision not only went against the demands of the A3M, it directly countered a Faculty Senate resolution. Throughout the Spring, many liberal faculty members--and their student friends--had touted the power of the faculty. Faculty inaction, at this point, exposed the bullshit that many liberal faculty members had been peddling throughout the Spring. These faculty were merely trying to prevent confrontation to protect themselves. They had no desire to resolve the issues.

In contrast to the hurried, tense atmosphere at the April 30 meeting which preceded Encina, A3M took its time. Meeting the day after the Trustees' decision, we surprised a lot of people by not voting to destroy the University. Instead, we decided to prevent objectionable research directly. Direct action at SRI, we felt, would not only prevent research for a short time, but it would lower morale for war researchers (not just at SRI, but the whole local military complex) and make it difficult

to sell SRI. (Insurgency is bad for the investment climate.) We selected the Hanover facility of SRI because it was small, and because none of SRI's "good" research was mixed in here with the bad, as it was at the main SRI facility in Menlo Park.

500 demonstrators went to SRI Hanover the morning of May 16. Most were organized into affinity groups, and were guided by the policy of not initiating violence against people and not destroying property unless or until police took action. Many demonstrators were there just to picket. Others blocked traffic or kept researchers from entering the building. A massive traffic jam hampered work throughout the industrial park, and those SRI employees that made it through the lines were greeted with police tear gas canisters relayed into SRI by demonstrators. By the time Palo Alto could collect enough police (many had been tied up at the Battle for People's Park) to disperse the demonstration, it was starting to fade away. The demonstrators, having risen early, were tired and hungry, and were lounging in the SRI environs. The arrival of police and tear gas, however, sparked the demonstration to life. As police moved in, the demonstrators calmly--no panic whatsoever--dispersed. Barricades caught fire and rocks were hurled through windows as we retreated.

Thirteen or so were arrested that day, but with the aid of right-wing photographs and identifications, a total of 100 warrants have been issued since.

The Hanover demonstration, despite its success, was the turning point of A3M. As finals approached, and students realized that they hadn't studied much during Spring quarter, active support fell. Following an abortive attempt May 19 to repeat the Friday Han-



over demonstration, several hundred students picketed the Menlo Park SRI, bringing it all home to the rest of SRI's 4,000 employees. But a few more rallies and picket lines were all A3M could muster, and the movement withered away into the final examinations of uptight academia and the promises of California summer.

The April Third Movement was an important, largely successful experiment in political action. Masses of middle and upper class college students were united around issues which directly threatened the maintenance of the American empire.

Together with other student anti-war actions, A3M helped build the public clamor against the power of the American military. The federal CBW cutback is a small change, but if it's just a beginning, then we can hope that our efforts contributed to that beginning.

The A3M also catalyzed discontent within the research industry. Young scientists are beginning to get together in questioning the priorities of scientific research. We have driven classified research from the com-

fortable seclusion of the college campus. Across the country plans are being made to move campus research to industry and institutes like SRI--the AEL team is moving to SRI--but the researchers prefer the campus, the way it used to be. We must attack this research wherever it goes, for a "pure campus" doesn't keep them from killing or robbing Vietnamese.

And SRI itself is hurting. We do not know who will want to buy it. Morale is low and contracts are hard to come by. SRI may face the fate of all institutions which refuse to change with the times.

But most important, we have built a movement. Students who may easily have been channeled into the niches of corporate anonymity now see social purpose in radical politics. We have found community. We are questioning the whole nature of the society in which we live. And we will never forget the lessons we learned during the April Third Movement.

