

and lack of national purpose, is not one that Israeli leaders imbued with their Socialist idealism, would wish to emulate.

Secondly, the Sephardim, Israel's Jews primarily from Oriental or Arab countries, who now comprise more than 50 per cent of the population, would justly demand their rightful place in society, particularly from an economic standpoint. I do not believe this problem will split Israeli society, as some have predicted—it is minute by comparison with the black revolt in the United States—but the Sephardic question is nonetheless serious and will have to be treated with care.

More potentially damaging in the event of peace will be the outbreak of a long-simmering battle among the religious, the ultra-religious and nonreligious factions in Israel. The entire definition of "Jewishness" and a Jewish state will have to be redefined, and there will be little room for compromise. The ultra-orthodox have recently been sending tremors through Israeli society by their bitter opposition to autopsies. Pathologists in selected hospitals have received letters warning that their performance

or autopsies is a desecration which will bring death to the perpetrators. The same zealots have also been denouncing Israel's conscription of women into the army, an act they believe in violation of Jewish law involving respect for women. The war among the Jews—when it breaks out—is likely to be far more harmful to Israel than the war between Jews and Arabs.

Peace, in other words, is a gamble. It is an essential gamble and Israel will take it when and if the opportunity arises. But there is much to be said for a gradual "easing-into" peace. If the balance of terror holds—if the Egyptians decide that, like the Israelis, they cannot afford war—then the present "no-peace, no-war" situation is preferable to many alternatives.

Israel is an idealistic society and the visions of utopia still abound. Israelis know that the Promised Land has yet to deliver on all its promises for all its citizens. The country may well need and prefer a transition to peace if it is to meet successfully the pent-up frustrations and inner conflicts that twenty-five years of statehood have engendered. □

IMPERIALISTS AND SCHOLARS

THE DISCONTENTS OF STANFORD

SHERMAN B. CHICKERING

During the 1960s Mr. Chickering edited Moderator, a national magazine for students. He has contributed to The New York Times, The American Scholar, Harper's and other publications.

In one week last January, two Stanford University Ph.D.s made news as revolutionaries accused of committing or fomenting criminal violence.

¶The FBI named Ronald Kaufman as the man suspected of planting bombs in nine banks; Kaufman is a Stanford Ph.D. who spent the early 1960s on that campus.

¶A Stanford faculty committee voted 5 to 2 to relieve H. Bruce Franklin of his tenured position as associate professor of English. Franklin, a self-proclaimed Maoist, was accused of inciting students to take over the university computation center last spring. In the period when the committee was deliberating the Franklin case, the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center was bombed. Though the committee did not link Franklin with the bombing, the incident may have influenced its verdict.

The relationship between these two events is undoubtedly coincidental, but the relationship between the deeds ascribed to the two men and their university bears further examination.

During the 1960s, Stanford rarely made headlines for campus disorders, being regularly upstaged by more spectacular uprisings at Columbia, Harvard, Cornell, Chicago, San Francisco State and of course the Berkeley campus of the University of California. But, year in and year out, this campus has provided the nation's most consistent barrage of protest activity.

In 1964 more students went to Mississippi for voter registration drives from Stanford than from any other single institution. A graduate of this experience, David Harris, later became the nation's most notorious draft resister when he was a Stanford student body president. In the late 1960s the campus was in a constant turmoil over the war, draft, defense industry recruiters, ROTC, Stanford "complicity" (its war-related research), and issues arising from Stanford's land use and hiring policies. Even in 1971, the supposedly quiet year on campus, Stanford students staged a sit-in at the university hospital over the ratio of black employment, disrupted a speech by Henry Cabot Lodge, and occupied the university computation center. And bomb threats, burnings, "trashing" and sit-ins were initiated by the Franklin case.

Why so much protest? To be sure, the rich, Ivy League-type schools have had more than their share of protest; students from the upper middle class tend to get involved in protest because of liberal parents, or guilt feelings about their money, or the seeming lack of other challenges. Stanford may enroll an unusually high percentage of such students, but that is not a sufficient explanation. So there must be other reasons.

Stanford University is surrounded by an industrial park that houses many of the nation's most important defense contractors in aerospace, electronics and systems analysis. Prime defense contracts total \$140 million in Palo Alto and nearly \$1 billion within Santa Clara County. This concentration is not accidental. Frederick Terman, the university provost during the late 1940s and 1950s, built Stanford's academic program with the neigh-

borhood in mind. He called it a "community of technical scholars." That he succeeded in building it is beyond question. *The Times* of London quotes a Lockheed research director on why the company moved him to the Stanford Industrial Park: "We moved to get better access to the right sort of manpower and so that we could establish a working environment with the right intellectual atmosphere." The cross-breeding is evident. There is a busy swapping of resources and information between industry and the university, and nearly half of the university's trustees are directors or officers of companies in the industrial parks.

The proximity breeds discontent. "With all these firms around," says student editor Robert Litterman, "it's easier for students here to make the connection between the war and other problems. So when Stanford students protest they don't march to change public opinion, they go out and attack an institution."

The Stanford Research Institute (SRI) is the holiest of holies within the Stanford industrial-academic garrison. Seven SRI directors double as Stanford University trustees. This "think tank," with an annual budget of some \$60 million, thus tends to set the tone for the entire complex. The tone is expansive: Weldon Gibson, SRI executive vice president, is on record as strongly favoring a "Pacific Basin" development strategy; he anticipates "high yield" from the nations ranging the Pacific Ocean. SRI adviser Rudolph Peterson is more specific: "Were we California businessmen to play a more dynamic role in helping trade development in the Pacific Rim, we would have giant, hungry new markets for our products and vast new potentials for our firms."

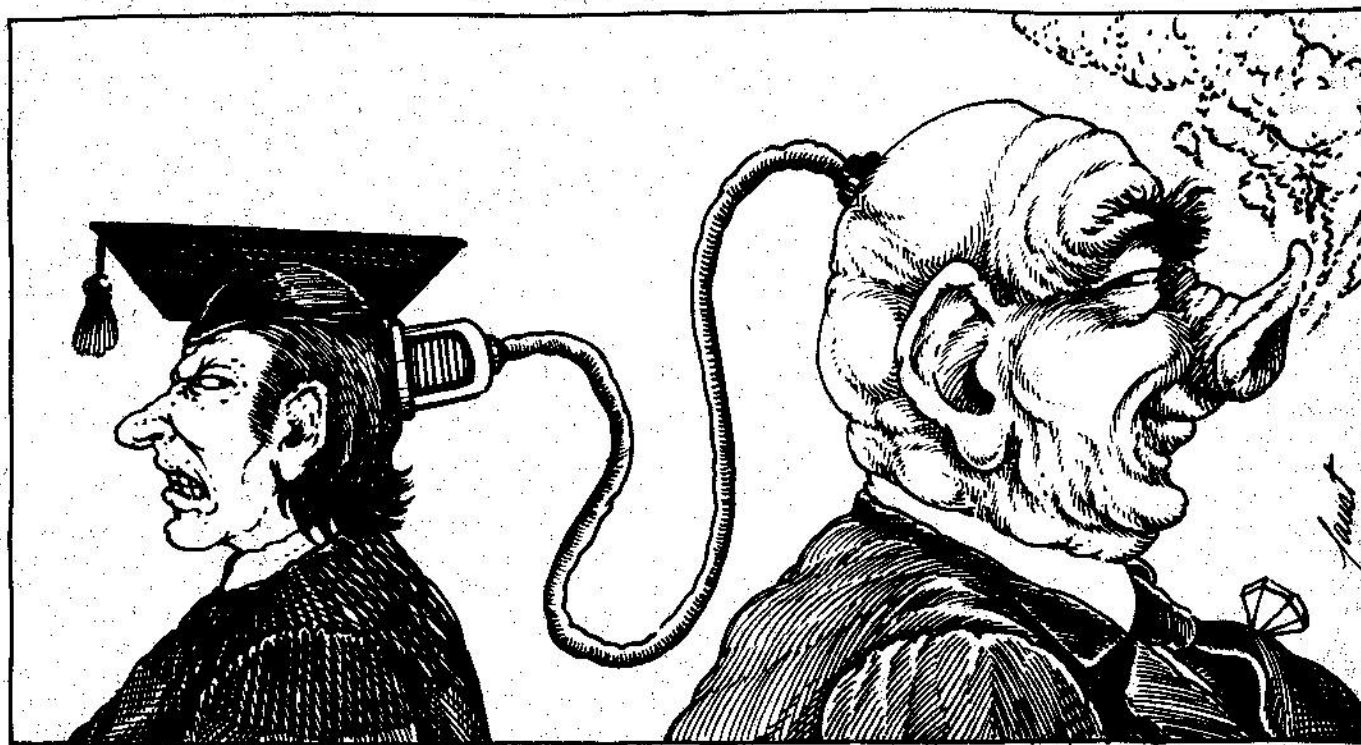
To campus radicals, a "Pacific Rim" strategy is what lies behind the war in Southeast Asia. They regard Stanford as a launching pad for the "empire." SRI does its

best, moreover, to validate the radical charges by grabbing up all the war-related research it can get. At least, that's the impression conveyed by Paul Dickson's book, *Think Tank*. Dickson characterizes SRI as the most venal and opportunistic of them all. Weldon Gibson sustains the impression. When students accuse him of being an "economic imperialist," he replies, "I am, and I try to be a good one."

SRI was once a part of the university itself, but in 1969 Stanford spun it off as a "subsidiary" in response to student protest. However, SRI remains a major target of the radicals. "With people like Gibson around," says Bruce Franklin, "it's easy to 'bring the war home.'"

Stanford owns more than 8,000 acres of lush rolling land in the picturesque peninsula foothills south of San Francisco. On this land Stanford has developed luxurious housing for faculty members and constructed a campus that resembles nothing so much as a country club. This domain is bordered by substantial pockets of low-income black and Chicano families, living in sub-standard housing. The contrast is graphic and has led to well-documented demands that Stanford increase its commitment to build low-cost housing. The Urban Coalition contends that the area needs an average of 4,000 new low-cost housing units a year. Stanford's own studies (The Moulton Committee, The Wright Committee) call for the university's share to be anywhere from 400 to 2,000 units. The university is currently committed to build 225. Radicals point to the university's industrial rentals, which earn some \$2 million a year, and chant, "House people not profits!"

Stanford has attracted over the years students and teachers who blend comfortably with the regal setting. Its schools of law and business and its departments of



The Academic-Industrial Complex

electrical engineering, aeronautics and astronautics are among the leaders in their fields and tend to attract people determined to be among the nation's technocratic elite. The "master race" atmosphere is further bolstered by William B. Shockley, a prize-winning physicist on the faculty, whose implicitly racist views on genetic engineering have made him notorious. The setting and the objective isolate many students and most faculty members from the concerns of the nonwealthy and nonwhite—and even from one another. "There is a curious sense of isolation among Stanford faculty members," says Stanford news director, Robert Beyers. "If there's a bomb threat on campus, the feeling tends to be 'Oh well, it's the other guy that got threatened, not me.'"

Litterman believes that the vivid contrast between campus and community polarizes Stanford University. "Students who are about to go into the big institutions think everything's just fine, whereas other students think Stanford is the best place to attack those institutions." Bruce Franklin agrees. "It only takes a short time for people to see the contradictions around here. Columbia University, for example, doesn't dominate New York City. But Stanford dominates the entire socioeconomic scene in the peninsula area. Any oppression in the area has got to relate to Stanford."

Stanford radicals have accumulated research, technical knowledge and even some continuity of leadership over the years. Unlike most campus radicals, Stanford activists include people who can slug it out fact for fact with any professor or industry representative. Recently, when a Hewlett-Packard representative denied that the company engaged in a war-related program, a radical rebutted him by citing contract details.

Much of the leadership, research and continuity comes from the Pacific Studies Center (PSC) in East Palo Alto, an enclave which might be called "The Research Stanford Institute." Funded by a "left-wing inventor," PSC puts out magazines and leaflets to supply Stanford students with a coherent and continuing opposition viewpoint. "We expose people to the real relationships," says PSC's Leonard Siegel. "We show then how, for example, the trustees determine the priorities which make the Stanford hospital research-oriented rather than health-oriented. We get them to see how such priorities in turn affect manpower needs, and how this has a 'channeling' effect on the student body. We continually tie the big picture to personal matters like vocational choice. And we show how women are being exploited by these priorities. The 2-to-1 male-female ratio at Stanford clearly shows that the university is really only interested in putting men into the typical ruling elite type jobs."

Those are some of the characteristics which, while not unique to Stanford, are so accentuated there that they provide fertile ground for continual campus ferment. These same characteristics may have provided a radicalizing environment for Ronald Kaufman, the accused bomber, who received his master's in psychology from Stanford in 1962 and his Ph.D. in 1966. Beyers knew Kaufman well because they had worked for civil rights together in the South. "Kaufman presented as early as 1964 or 1965 what would be called now a radical analysis

of Vietnam," says Beyers. "He did not view it merely as an accident of American policy, and he saw a relationship between what was happening there and what was happening in this country."

At Stanford it is apparently easy for some people to see these relationships. How they act on the information is something else again. The vast majority of students seem to have chosen to work for change within the system—if they're concerned about change at all. Stanford is apparently doing its best to keep them in that frame of mind. Complains Siegel: "The admissions office is really working overtime. The entire freshman class is a bunch of Jesus freaks and pre-meds." Whether that has to do with the times or the selection process is anybody's guess. The fact remains, however, that there continue to be those few who are driven to violent opposition by the visibility of Stanford's extracurricular commitments. □

LETTERS

(Continued from page 322)

invade Laos and Cambodia. And it was he who favored mining Haiphong harbor. Mr. Nixon may like to think it matters that the critic is a candidate for President rather than just a "public citizen" (Nixon's favorite and most humble description of himself between 1960 and 1968). But it's a curious logic that permits any public figure to press for escalation of a war and yet does not allow others to seek better means of ending that war.

Rick Lohmeyer

Lifting the heart

Topeka, Kans.

DEAR SIR: That was a fine pair of articles you published in your issue of Jan. 24, "Buckley: Sheriff from Middlesex" by James Higgins, and "Dunne: Senator from Long Island" by Paul Wilkes. I have just sent letters to Mr. Higgins, Mr. Wilkes, Sheriff John Buckley and Sen. John Dunne.

Such articles lift the hearts of those who sometimes feel they are fighting a losing battle in this matter of corrections. They are not, though. The conscience of the public has turned, or awakened, or whatever you want to call it, and the facts are out before them and can't be put away or stuck under the rug any more. The new generation is not going to permit it, and our generation ought to be ashamed for having done so.

Karl Menninger, M.D.

traveler's warning

Madrid, Spain

DEAR SIR: Thank you for bringing to our attention the article, "Getting Busted Abroad" by Bernard Weiner [*The Nation*, Feb. 14]. Mr. Weiner provides singularly interesting reading, and I have distributed copies of it to key officials of the embassy and our consular section for their information.

We, along with other U.S. embassies, are doing our utmost to help alleviate the possibility of detainment of American travelers who may be in the dark about strict drug laws overseas. I can assure you that we are exerting all effort possible to help those unfortunates who are apprehended.

It is articles such as Mr. Weiner's which aid in the pivotal task of warning U.S. travelers beforehand of the dangers which drug use may expose them to abroad.

Arthur V. Diggle, Press Attaché