

Through the Looking Glass

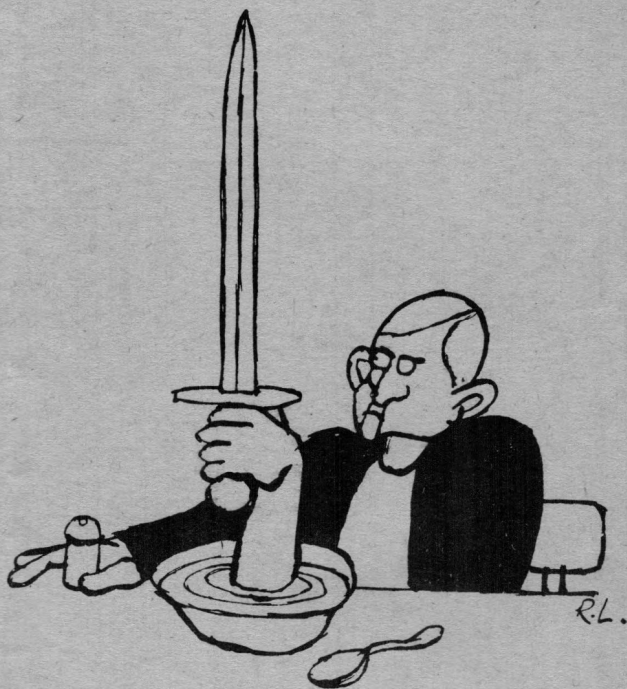
A Radical Guide to Stanford



By Stanford SDS

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INTRODUCTION

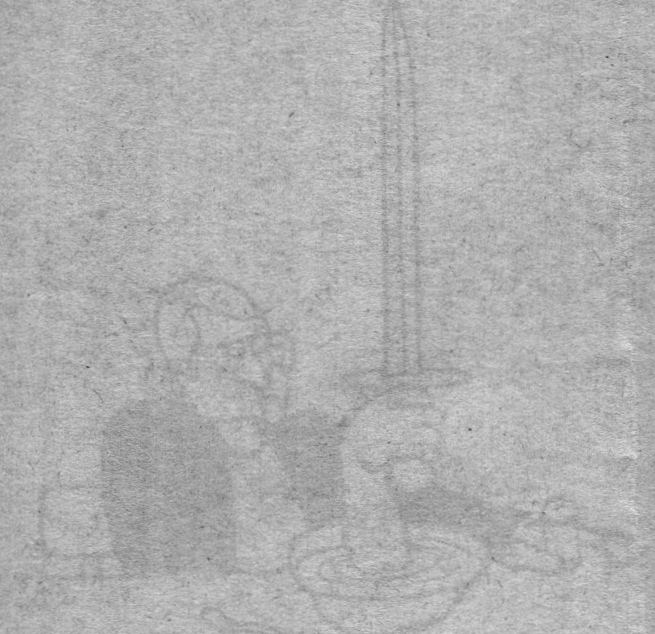


Neither Stanford University nor the Associated Students of Stanford University is responsible for this booklet. It was prepared by the Stanford chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. It is both a guide and a critique of Leland's farm. In describing Stanford we have attempted to view the university in its social context and tried to uncover the underlying causes of student problems. Our resources are limited, so we have concentrated on areas that never find their way into official publications.

The Associated Students sponsored a publication called the "Stanford Handbook," which provides a showcase view of Stanford and a liberal description of Stanford life. While claiming to be objective, it is pushing a definite political line. The handbook's discussion of last spring's sit-in is so candy-assed that we must make a selective reply. It portrayed the sit-in as the result of a breakdown in communications admitting no fundamental differences between students and the powers-that-be. For us, the confrontation was necessary to temporarily even the imbalance of power on the Stanford campus.

Some 700 of us sat-in at the Old Union last Spring, to prevent the suspension of seven students charged with obstructing a CIA recruiter. During the sit-in we shared a sense of community and an involvement in learning totally lacking in the "educational process" which we disrupted. We saw--some of us for the first time--that the confrontation was rooted not in shortage of dialogue, but in imbalance of power and conflict of interests between the administration and growing numbers of students and faculty. We began to understand the working partnership between Stanford and the Stanford Research Institute, the CIA, the Defense Department, and big business and its foundations. And we began to define the interests of the administrators, given their explicit responsibility to a Board of Trustees made up of bankers, corporate attorneys, aerospace industrialists, and internationally involved oilmen.

We don't expect the entering student, or even the returning student, to believe everything that we say, but we hope that he will begin to question some of his assumptions. We hope that he will participate in radical dialogue if he disagrees, and that when he finds our arguments convincing and analysis correct, that he will not hesitate to act.



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Student Body

Perhaps the clearest indication of Stanford's social function is the make-up of the student body. Stanford has close to twelve thousand students, half graduates and half undergraduates.

Many Stanford undergraduates are very rich. Very few come from poor families. Graduate students tend to be in a worse financial position, but some have wealthy families. Most Stanford students are middle class, but many are on their way up, aided by the prestige of a Stanford diploma.

Because they lack money and the necessary preparatory training, blacks and Mexican-Americans rarely get into Stanford. Stanford, like other educational institutions, has not been willing to use its resources to educate minority groups. Thus, at Stanford, most students continue their lifelong isolation from the poor and oppressed. The new Black Student Union has forced Stanford to finally come to grips with part of the problem. But it will take more than scholarships for a middle- and upper-middle-class university to change enough to meet the needs of black people and other minority groups.

Since Stanford's major function is training students to assume "socially productive" roles, it has developed strong schools of engineering, medicine, business, and law, as well as strong departments in the sciences. American society makes it difficult for women to perform in these areas of work. Thus, Stanford does not admit many women. The ratio of men to women is about three to one. As a consequence, there are a large number of horny men and a smaller number of confused women roaming the campus.

Student Government

Some two months after the Berkeley sit-ins of December, 1964, Stanford's tranquility was ruffled by the Dean Allen Affair. The "Affair" marked, in its own stylized way, the beginning of progress toward social and political awareness at Stanford. The focus of events was the then Dean of Women, Lucille Allen, who asked members of the women's Judicial Council to take notes on lectures by English Professors who allegedly used erotic materials in their courses with the intent of seducing freshmen girls. Its historical importance lies in the LASSU resolution stating that "the ASSU shall have sole jurisdiction over student affairs and conduct" which was passed in the scandal's turbulent wake. This resolution was pivotal in the students' on-going struggle against overt and covert administration encroachments on the students' power to make fundamental decisions affecting their education and their lives. Instrumental in the passage of this resolution was the newly formed Graduate Co-ordinating Committee. GCC actions made possible an influx of radical graduate students into the legislature, signalling the advent of autonomous student organizations at Stanford, and prefigured their importance in future political activities.

If Stanford students benefitted from Berkeley because it inspired the GCC,

Stanford's administration learned that the best way to guard their interests, and those of the people they represented, was to initiate a pattern of superficial accommodation with the purpose of "involving students more in the affairs of the university and opening up the channels of communication". As was to be expected, the administration decided to respond to the challenge of student activism by setting into motion the time-proven principle of divide-and-rule and by opening up the channels of co-optation.

The following school year, 1965-66, was animated by two general types of issues: actions taken by the administration without prior consultation of students, and abolition of archaic rules and regulations about matters like liquor and open-house hours. Two major issues of the first type involved conflicts between centers of student activists, namely the Wilbur sponsors and the Old Union women, and the Committee of Undergraduate Education, led by the now departed Dean Robert Wert. The sponsors were, in the end, successful in defending their previously held prerogative of selecting their successors against the maneuvers of Dean Wert and his "colonial administrator" in Wilbur, Dr. Eric Hutchinson, who were apprehensive that the sponsors might shed too many scales from freshman eyes. But in the process, a year was wasted and much precious work was trdden underfoot, due largely to the administration's unrelenting bad faith. The Old Union was at the time perhaps the only hall on campus with any sense of being a coherent community dedicated to intellectual pursuits. However, the residents were removed to Hoskins, even though they had great support in trying to stay, and were replaced with the administration's bureaucrats. The loss of the Old Union symbolized the priority of mechanistic procedures against creative intellectual activity, and underscored the students' impotence in the face of arbitrary administrative decisions.

LIQUOR AND SEX

In the issues of liquor and sex, the university went through contortions in order to reconcile the formal legal system with substantive reality, the end result being the liberalization of drinking rules in May and motions towards undertaking a study of Women's Social Regulations. At the year's end, LASSU passed a resolution liberalizing Open House Rules and thus created a conflict of law between the ASSU and the administration.

While the administration showed signs of recognizing the need to overhaul the network of demeaning social regs, little was done to transform Stanford into a university in which students could acquire and develop the maturity and insightfulness necessary to live a fully responsible life. Indeed, the university seemed destined to continue Xeroxing professionals, long on systematically learned facts and the orthodox theories of academe, but drastically lacking in the ability to make critical, self-conscious judgements. This issue was raised by David Harris, the iconoclast who surprised everyone, himself included, by winning the ASSU student body elections in 1966. To use his words, "Stanford sees the student as recipient rather than actor, as someone to be directed, to be filled, and to be manipulated."

The following year brought piecemeal changes: primarily the initiation of a largely insignificant pass-fail system; the revamping of Women's Social Regs to bring ASSU and administration laws back into harmony; and the rise of student participation on committees. But, all told, it was a frustrating year, due largely to the failure of liberal and radical students to carry through the commitment that they had made the previous spring in electing David Harris. He articulated the important issues and asked that the community respond. But what in the spring of 1966 had seemed the rosy dawn of a new era in academe, by the winter of 1967 was hopelessly lost in the impenetrable fogs of administrative obscurantism arising from the innumerable channels in the swamp of a labyrinthine bureaucracy. The administration found occasion to give the emerging elite glimpses of the wheels of power spinning, and launched what they saw to be a new period of enlightened management at the Knowledge Factory. Radical students had rudimentary visions of what the university

should be, but little foresight of the obstacles they were to face, and had no incisive analysis as to why those obstacles were there. Their frustrations were capped by Harris' resignation in February, after he had done what he could to bring about the realization of his ideals. Stanford was not ready to accept and understand his visions, nor were his supporters prepared to do battle with the all too well-entrenched university-foundation-government-corporation Goliath, although they had fought a few successful skirmishes with Goliath's advance guard, Campus Apathy and Professionalistic Objectivism, smiting several mighty rents in their protective armor of false consciousness.

RELUCTANT CANDIDATE

In the spring of 1967, Peter Lyman, a Poli-Sci grad student, and somewhat reluctant candidate of campus liberals and radicals, was easily elected to the ASSU presidency. The next fall, after three disappointing months in office, he resigned, calling the ASSU "a hollow bureaucratic process that is incapable of representing or contributing to an intellectual community". The existing apparatus of student government had once again proven ineffective in implementing far-ranging reforms or in doing much of anything. In his parting statement, Lyman predicted that conflict would be the only way to get anything done to change the structures of the university or its relation to society.

His remarks were prophetic. Following the murder of Martin Luther King in April, the Black Student Union invoked the threat of conflict and the administration made provisions for admitting more blacks and Mexican-Americans. Then there came the massive Old Union sit-in in May. Over the past three years, a crisis had been simmering in the judicial structure at Stanford which had been operating under a temporary arrangement of an ASSU sanctioned student judicial council and a faculty appellate board, appointed by President Sterling and packed with conservative Law School faculty. An SDS sponsored demonstration against a CIA recruiter in early November precipitated the crisis. After 40 hours of testimony, the Judicial Council ruled that the demonstration was not a violation of the Fundamental Stanford Standard and that as a student body it would not take responsibility for enforcing any university regulations, especially such an unenforceable one. After much haggling with the Council, Dean Joel Smith took the case to the axmen on the Interim Judicial Board who meted out suspensions to seven of the offenders, after only two hours of deliberation. The ASSU had passed a specific resolution some time before that it did not recognize the IJB because it was in violation of the original agreement which set it up two years earlier. The students, having learned from long years of frustration and humiliation in dealing with those who hide behind closed doors, took to direct action after a weekend of deliberations and seized the Old Union, historic symbol of administrative intransigence. On the third day of the sit-in, the Academic Senate rebuked the administration's stand by voting amnesty for all involved and for adoption of a new judicial system which, having been tied up for months in the tripartite Committee of Fifteen, was hastily put into final form.

These crises over, it was clear to all that the ASSU can do little more than provide a rubber stamp for decisions that are made elsewhere. For instance, the position of Financial Manager was an exclusive fief under the control of the Dean of Students. Every quarter, clockwork fashion, three dollars per student came in and went out to support such activities as football pep rallies and parties for the Cardinals Board (the self-perpetuating group which organizes rallies); the Debating Society, the functions of which are totally irrelevant to all except its members; the Institute of International Relations, a holdover from those bygone days of liberalism when it was "left" to take a condescending, benevolent attitude towards those nations less fortunate than we; and the Daily, Stanford's self-censoring liberal rag which operates under the dictum, "Add up all the opposing views and you get objectivity". The Legislature itself is a conglomeration of living group representatives, at all times subject to fluctuation in attendance. It rarely got above the level of acrimonious name-calling and whenever it did get to the point of actually taking care of some

serious business, there were inevitably accusations of "undemocratic tactics". To put matters briefly, the ASSU was a sleepy, conservative, primarily undergraduate institution. In the last four years, the contents have changed greatly, and the archaic structure, unable to adapt itself, is progressively disintegrating.

Those who still consider student government a viable agency for change will probably consider the adoption of a new ASSU charter and the question of the selection of the President to be important. The issue of student participation in the Presidential selection has been effectively finessed before it could be brought into the open. The selection of Dr. Kenneth S. Pitzer to replace Dr. Sterling confirms the growing knowledge that, in matters that relate to the university's position in the political economy, students will run into a stone wall. Students, as far as the trustees are concerned can drink all night and sleep all day, but they cannot be allowed any say in determining what interests should be served by the university president.

The movement which will culminate this fall in the final report of the Study of Education at Stanford began with a shaggy-headed bespectacled rebel named David Harris who expostulated utopian visions of a community of scholars. His visions cannot be realized because of the inherent limitations in the viewpoints of those conducting the study (i.e. Vice-Provost Packer). The study is merely searching for piecemeal alterations in a structure that needs a total overhaul. SES cannot succeed because it is designed to perpetuate the very type of mentality which a community of critical scholars must eradicate. It is not a study of the relation of the university, and the people who comprise it, to the society in which they exist. Nor could SES, in all probability, have been the appropriate place for such a study. It recommends a few changes in detail while it neglects to consider structures and purposes in more than superficial platitudes. It will leave us with the same old problem which is at the root of so many of our discontents: that is, instead of honestly searching out the union of critical thought and critical practice, the would-be community of scholars merely looks to ways of reinforcing its own intellectual pride. That body must of necessity betray its responsibility to itself and to the society in which it exists.

Housing

The 1600 Stanford undergraduates and 5200 grad students who live off-campus face a housing shortage of crisis proportions. The crunch is so widespread that many people wind up in overpriced motels or state parks when they arrive here. Housing is more scarce than ever this fall--the area vacancy rate is presently 0.4%, or one rental in 250--and there are no signs that it will improve soon. Those lucky enough to have found a house have also discovered that the low vacancy rate has caused rent increases of up to 10% since last spring.

Yet this is not an isolated student problem. The housing market is just as tight for the poor and the lower-middle class workers brought to the Peninsula to work in the electronics, aerospace, and other war-based industries. Encouraged by both Stanford and the Palo Alto Chamber of Commerce, companies profiting from the war have increased their building programs in the area, but low-cost housing for workers hasn't drummed up the same interest. The home-building mortgage market has tightened and interest rates have sky-rocketed with the escalation of the war, and this serves as an added inducement for Stanford to build only expensive homes on its land and for the Palo Alto City Council to freeze out minority groups and low-cost housing.

At first glance it might seem that Stanford has not slumlorded as Columbia

has on Morningside Heights and in Harlem. But the fact remains that both universities are huge landlords seeking to maximize profits, invariably at the expense of the poor. Faced with a teeming city ghetto, Columbia turns down the heat in the winter. Rolling in the vast expanses of the Farm, Stanford finds it in its interests to keep the poor on the other side of Bayshore Freeway. The University then reaps higher profits and enhances the value of its land by building high-cost housing and setting up industrial parks.

The pattern is clear. Industrial and retail workers are being forced into the ghettos of East Palo Alto, East Menlo Park, and even San Francisco. Others may find a cell and concrete patio in one of those ticky-tack boxes that surround the Bayshore. Green areas are reserved for the corporate rich, Stanford faculty and administrators, and highly paid technical personnel who staff the rapidly expanding Stanford Industrial Park. According to Professor Catherine Wurster of Berkeley, the end result will be "a monumental two-way commute problem". The rich will work in the city and commute back home to their predominantly white, one-class suburban abodes, while laborers and domestics will commute from the high-rent city ghettos to their jobs in the suburbs.

HOMES FOR THE RICH

While industrial parks, shopping centers, and Howard Johnsons sprout up in the Mid-peninsula's lowlying areas, Stanford builds gracious homes for the rich and their privileged servants in the hills behind campus. The University's residential development plan calls for housing for 9,000 people on home sites ranging from a 1/4 acre minimum up to 4 acre estates. The first pilot area was leased for 99 years to Peninsula Pacific Construction Co. at \$5,000 an acre. So far Peninsula Pacific has thrown up 45 houses in the \$20,000 to \$45,000 price range. The rest of the residential area is to be developed into 9 self-contained neighborhoods of 750 families each and a 100-acre open-park apartment district. It is clear for whom this area is reserved--neither workers who twist wires for Lockheed, students, nor cooks who ladle out food at the Faculty Club, but highly paid technicians, teachers, and administrators who get this woody inducement to settle near Stanford.

With an annual net income of \$7.8 million collected through property taxes, sales taxes, and sale of utilities from the commercial-industrial developments on Stanford land, the City of Palo Alto has little incentive to challenge the University's housing priorities. It is hardly surprising to find these financial bonds tightened by Palo Alto City Councilman Frank Gallagher, who is also employed full-time by Stanford as director of married student housing.

As Palo Alto moves to reap the tax benefits of commercial and light industrial development while preserving upper-class housing enclaves, it becomes increasingly clear that the interests of the City and Stanford dovetail. High-rise office buildings and commercial redevelopment downtown, private medical facilities, homes for the elderly rich, shopping centers, light industries, and middle and upper class housing dominate the priorities of the city planning department. Small merchants and low income people get squeezed out in the scramble for higher property revenues and by campaigns to "raise neighborhood standards". And in a recent recall election financed to the tune of \$22,000 by vested commercial interests led by Stanford trustee William Hewlett, control of the City Council was wrested away from the residentialists. Even the middle-class homeowners are finding themselves without a voice in the future development of the Palo Alto area.

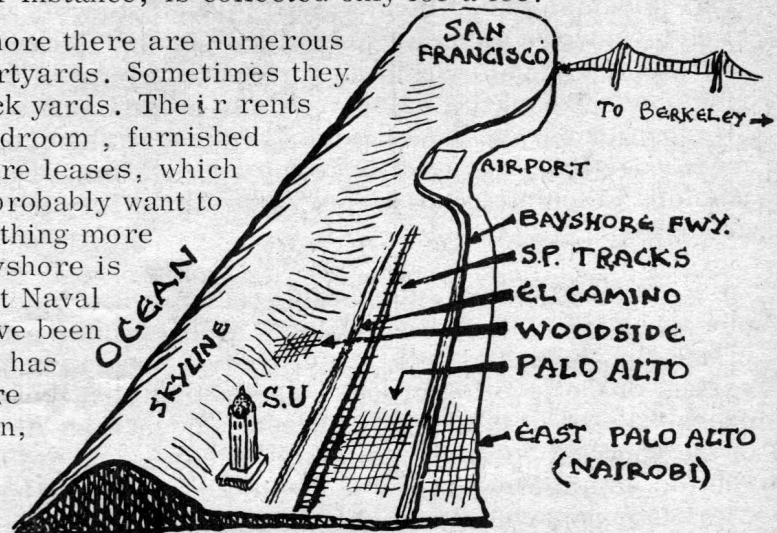
While the rulers of the Stanford and Palo Alto roosts must take primary responsibility for the housing crisis, the San Mateo and Santa Clara County Housing Authorities have been sitting on their collective asses for years. This isn't surprising since real estate agents and local businessmen dominate both boards. A San Jose slumlord chairs the Santa Clara board, Dodge dealer Gaston Periat has just resigned from the San Mateo board after a grand jury found that he had rented and sold his cars to the Authority over the years. While the hacks sitting on the San Mateo board have been keeping a sharp lookout for their private interests, the Authority has under taken a grand total of three

projects in the last 27 years. In the early fifties in bought 430 units of wartime housing from the Navy and later built a 60-unit development in Half Moon Bay for the elderly with profits from the Navy housing. Half Moon Village had no minority residents at last report, and there is as little discrimination in the Daly City housing as there is in the Navy. Only after large doses of pressure from citizen groups did the Authority apply for federal funds to set up just 150 units of public housing this year. These same citizen groups have demanded that representatives of local Community Action Councils replace the sluggish members of the San Mateo board, but the prospects for a democratized Housing Authority are as bleak as the County's low-cost housing situation in the foreseeable future.

Stanford students find themselves right smack in the middle of this mess. They must compete with workers for scarce housing places, thereby causing friction between two similarly oppressed groups. Instead of fighting together for low-cost, non-profit housing on Stanford's huge empty landholdings, they are being driven apart.

While students and workers tear away at each other in the same congested housing market, it's both necessary and harmful to offer hints for off-campus housing. All along the 50-mile stretch from San Francisco to San Jose, the rich as a rule live in the hills to the west of the Bayshore Freeway while the poor are crowded into the eastern lowlands. Thus students searching for cheap housing should generally look to the east of the Peninsula's Mason-Dixon line. There are many low-rent houses in East Palo Alto, which is being renamed Nairobi by the people. Utilities, however, are more expensive here. Garbage, for instance, is collected only for a fee.

On the West Side of the Bayshore there are numerous apartments built around inner courtyards. Sometimes they have swimming pools and small back yards. Their rents average \$135 per month for one-bedroom, furnished apartments. They often don't require leases, which is a big advantage, since you will probably want to leave as soon as you can find something more livable. Also to the west of the Bayshore is the orchard area around the Moffett Naval Air base. Many of the orchards have been chopped down and low-cost housing has been erected in its place. There are still some fruit trees in this section, but the total war on a balanced ecology will probably get them soon.



In Palo Alto proper the housing situation is very tight. If you manage to find a cottage or an apartment for under \$200 a month, grab it, get yourself a gun, and defend it from the real estate sharks and land developers. If you don't mind driving down windy roads during the rainy season, look up in the hills, especially in the area around Skyline. You must be very lucky. Check out the bulletin board at the Woodside General Store, and you might find one of the cottages that dot the hills.

ON-CAMPUS HOUSING

University publications tout Stanford as a "residence university". For the large numbers of grad students exiled to a Darwinian struggle for off-campus housing, this concept has no meaning. For the majority of undergraduates living on campus the "residence university" means a comfortable isolation from the realities of the outside world. Stanford students living on campus naturally have little idea of the social issues facing normal property owners and tenants, and Stanford, Palo Alto, & Co. seem determined to deepen the splendid isolation of the campus by cradling it with upper-class housing and high-tax-yield commercial and industrial developments.

Though they have the advantages of a \$240 million endowment and free land, Stanford administrators claim that additional student housing would require higher rents for students than they could afford. While it carves up its choice land and lea-

ses it to private developers, Stanford this fall has sent robot-machine letters to members of the neighboring communities asking them to provide housing for incoming students.

A curious melange of dorms, fraternities, row houses, and apartments indicates that the planning process has been as ad hoc as the residence university concept itself. The state of the Cold War has often dictated the timing of housing construction, and the type of student housing has been determined recently by the open wallets of fraternity alumni. The builders of the big dorms such as Wilbur, Stern, Toyon, Flo Mo, and Carothers were concerned more with the cheapest ways of pouring concrete than with students' aesthetic and educational needs. In the words of a faculty resident in Stern, "The halls are gangways and the rooms are functional cells--the clean, well-lighted places of a prison for trusties. Two students share all but the smaller rooms, the halls are entered from staircases at either end, and the most conspicuous items relieving the long stretches of concrete are alarm horns, fire extinguishers, and emergency boxes." The periodic necessity for students to let off steam may well come from violated social and aesthetic sensibilities.

In recognition of the unpopularity of these reinforced concrete monstrosities, the Housing Committee of the Study of Education at Stanford has come out for the concept of "campus towns." These communities would house up to 1500 undergraduates, grad students, junior faculty, and foreign students in different sized living units. Each town would have a grocery store, a pub, libraries and common rooms, an arts & crafts shop, and a swimming pool. The level of campus town life would certainly rise above that of the Wilbur zoo, but these towns would tend to cut Stanford students off more than ever from the hot, treeless areas east of Bayshore where some of the more socially concerned might tutor black kids. One might as well dig a moat around Stanford to maintain the proper atmosphere for upper-class social and vocational grooming.

Stanford administers a full year's dose of the good life to all freshmen but those who live with their families. Aside from the Administration's obvious interest in keeping the dorms full, the official rationale for keeping freshmen on campus is a variant of the leveling process which holds that they should be exposed to as wide a cross-section of the largely affluent student body as possible. In seeming recognition of the contrast between egalitarian rhetoric and the stultifying atmosphere of the frosh ghetto, Administration and students alike have pushed towards integrating freshmen with other upperclassmen, but this process cannot mean much. Freshmen are still shunted away from independent life-styles chosen by many off-campus students. Sponsors continue to make valiant attempts to bring freshmen into the university community, but there is precious little community into which to bring them because of ghettoized student housing and the off-campus housing shortage.

Last year's token allowance for women moving off-campus reinforced the ghetto atmosphere, since those with unusual interests often left first. Largely as a result of pressure from women undergrads, all but freshman women may move off this fall. Though women will find the housing market just as tight as the men, the University is expecting vacancies in the women's dorms. The rapidly expanding coed option is a huge improvement over the privatistic halls of Flo Mo and Lag, but most girls will continue to have little opportunity to develop independent lifestyles in the frenzied atmosphere of the 3:1 ratio.

Traditionally well-rushed by eager freshmen, fraternities are experiencing growing competition from coed housing. The long-standing debate about the educational value and moral justifiability of the fraternal selection process would have been settled long ago if the Administration had made the off-campus option freely available and had placed as high a priority on coping with the low-cost housing shortage as it has on new fraternity clusters. With old frat men studded throughout the Administration, alumni have effectively lobbied for new fraternity houses which they help finance through tax-exempt gifts. Approximately one-half of the cost of the new clusters

comes from federal loans, which impose added debt services on the University. It would be misleading, however, to imply that no experimentation is going on within the fraternity system. Lambda Nu has gone coed, Beta Chi has turned into a de facto coed crash pad, and a number of the more liberal fraternities will most likely soon move to a draw system and take up the coed option.

The University operates Escondido Village, primarily for married students. The Village is cheap by outside standards: \$115 for a two bedroom apartment, \$130 for those lucky enough to get a three bedroom suite. It isn't surprising, then, that there is an average waiting time of one year to get in.

But the Village is a lonely place. In the older courtyards tensions build up because of over-crowding and lack of privacy. The newer courtyards are larger and better designed, but here the tendency is towards isolation and estrangement. No efforts are made to develop a real community in EV. This is only possible when people themselves have control over the decision-making process.

Of course, there is a village council in EV. It has an advisory role, which means it's powerless. Decisions about rent, new buildings, salaries for employees, social functions and the like take place in the Administration building, which is run by a typical group of petty bureaucrats (directed by a Palo Alto City Councilman).

Harassment of residents for minor "infractions," like clipping their bushes down to a desired height, or planting vegetables, is quite common. Most residents don't stick their necks out to make complaints. Given the price difference between EV and the outside neighborhoods they can't afford to get in trouble with the Office. And even when they do complain, e.g. about the rats that have frequently been seen in the unsanitary garbage areas of "Increment III," their complaints are shrugged off with references to "our existing contracts."

Over the summer Stanford received a \$2 million Federal grant to build an addition to Escondido Village. Even if the residence university were a desirable goal, this addition, slated to house 340 grad students by 1971, won't even keep pace with the 450 additional grad students projected for 1971.

The development of coed, integrated housing is without doubt the chief improvement in Stanford housing in the last decade. Only after extended student discontent and a myriad of commission reports did it get off the ground. The first experimental coed house, Grove House, found a home in Winter '67 in the Phi Delt house after some of the brothers made unbecoming advances to a Mills girl, made the papers, and were booted off-campus for a year. Though Grove replaced the Phi Delt's social compatibility with intellectual snobbery, it proved so successful that the University created four coed houses for the '67-68 year and has greatly expanded the option for the coming year. At the risk of repetition, coed dorms will undoubtedly be a much-needed civilizing influence, but a student community, high-brow as it may be, can never be healthy as long as it turns in onto itself.

It is encouraging that students have successfully organized themselves around demands for integrated, coed living groups. But they have not seriously begun to grapple with the idea of filling up several hundred acres of Stanford's immense pasture lands with low-cost housing for students, junior faculty, Stanford employees, and the workers who have been squeezed out of the palmy Palo Alto area.



Courses

Most of us have come to Stanford to "get an education." It is unclear exactly what this means, and a surprisingly large number of Stanford students graduate unsatisfied, or drop out. On one hand, many of us feel that our minds are bogged down in trivia, and on the other, that we are merely being produced by a "knowledge factory" to serve the American economy. A student can develop his mind at Stanford, but to do so he must declare his independence from the institutional curriculum. It's not completely bleak--there are good professors, unusual access to information, and new programs instituted by students. On the whole, however, to make the university more responsive to the real needs of its students, and the needs of the people of this and other countries, changes must be made in the nature of the university.

The Stanford University Bulletin Courses and Degrees says: "The aims of education at Stanford are twofold--to provide a liberal education and to make available specialized study. A liberal education is designed to produce a citizen worthy of a free society and a free university. Specialized study aims to equip a student to take his place in the profession or vocation of his choice. Both are essential to modern life." While the nature of specialized study is clear, a Stanford liberal education seems to be the result of a dedication to classical education and a desire, on the part of those who own and run the Universities, to form young people into a cultural mold compatible with modern society.

SPECIALIZED STUDY

Specialized study in a major field here is professional or vocational training, and measured financially, it's among the best. But to describe such training as a matter of choice ignores the development of universities of the past few decades. College students are trained to fit into vocational niches already defined for them by government, industry, and universities. The courses offered merely represent "choices" in a limited number of narrowly defined fields. The university serves as an important source of manpower for American society by training highly skilled scientists, lawyers, teachers, and businessmen. Vocational training, not education, is the process which most students undergo at the university. Individual development is subordinated to the needs of an impersonal socio-economic system.

Each department has its own hardened arteries. The Engineering requirements offer almost no opportunity for educational experimentation. Other fields, such as Physics, control the student's time in more subtle ways. Courses are not required but it is understood that the student must complete "recommended courses" in order to compete professionally. The situation in the social sciences and the humanities is somewhat different. Most professors treat the underpinnings of American society as eternal verities and proceed to pass on their assumptions to their students. In their scramble to qualify as a full-blown "science", social scientists spend more of their time detailing presumably objective methodologies than grappling with significant social problems. Equilibrium models of society dot the Stanford social science scene, and many scholars of revolution predictably either shied

away from or dissociated themselves from last spring's sit-in. In economics one learns through Paul Samuelson instead of Marx; in sociology, Talcott Parsons instead of C. Wright Mills. The result is phony objectivism--phony because current social problems are fit into a methodological Procrustean bed and because many significant questions are never raised.

SDS people believe that students should be offered the opportunity to freely reach into other fields, and "broaden their minds." The General Studies program at Stanford does not offer that opportunity. General studies is structured as a system of requirements. Undergraduates must fulfill a certain number of units in fields outside their majors. Many professors teaching non-majors do not prepare adequately. Many students dislike the required courses. As a result, general studies becomes a chore, put off as long as possible, in which students go through the motions of studying but close their minds. This tendency is accentuated by the pressures of grading--some students, even good ones, cheat and cram in areas of study in which they have no aptitude or interest. A more sensible way to broaden the perspective of the student beyond his major would be relaxing course and grade requirements. In making general courses voluntary, instructors would be forced to present their material in a more creative manner.

Too often students in low-level general studies courses are taught to search for one correct analysis--that of the instructor. Discussion is employed to achieve immediate unity. Students in Western Civilization are taught to accept each theory as it is presented. While they are expected to understand the historical continuity between the many "great ideas" presented in Western Civ, dialogue between the various great thoughts is limited to "compare and contrast" questions on exams. In short, the course prevents creative thought, the sine qua non of liberal education. We are told that a liberal education is designed to produce a "worthy citizen." The nature of many general studies courses at Stanford offers us an idea of what those who run Stanford consider a worthy citizen to be.

Stanford students, through their specialized studies, are prepared for high-level research, instructional, and managerial roles in society. To function in these roles, they must have social training and sophisticated interests. One aspect of General Studies is to acquaint the student with various great thinkers and writers, well enough to quote them, if not to understand them. Western Civilization teaches us what Socrates said, but not how to apply his philosophy. It is a "survey course" designed for a finishing school.

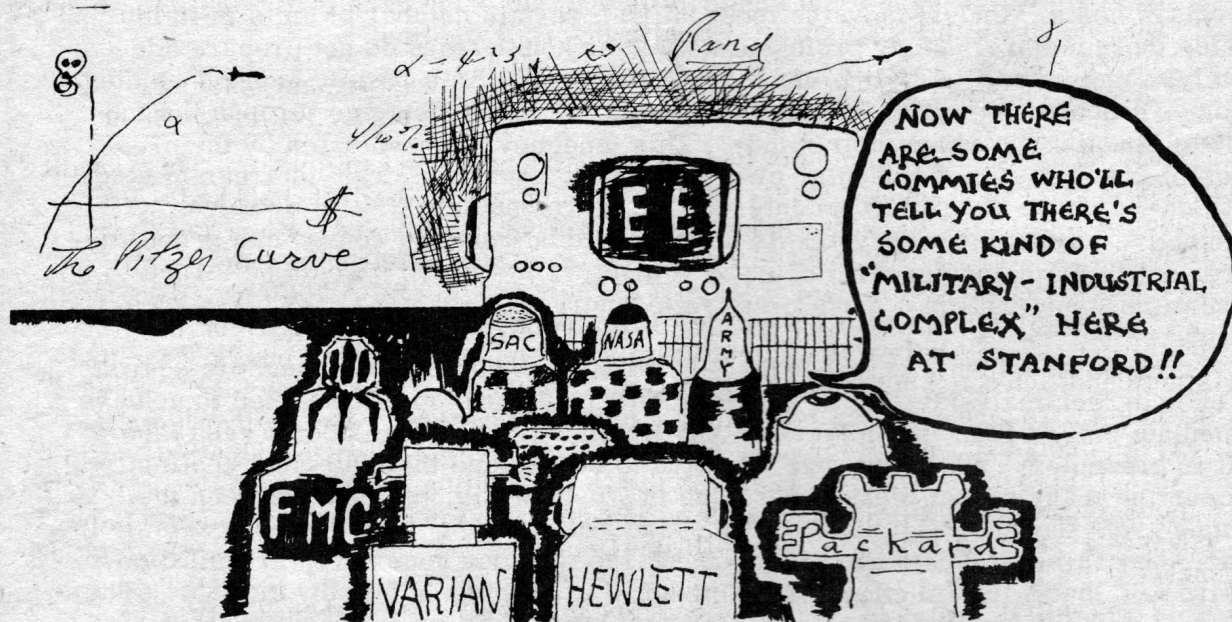
PEDAGOGY

The means of transmitting knowledge in the University (adequately equalled by computers in some fields) is in itself repressive. The student-teacher relationship is hierarchical. Students listen; professors teach. When students speak, it is to question, correct details, or to see if their thought is correct. A student who tries to break through this arrangement can be put down harshly by his professor, but often the professor will respond positively, stimulated by the dialogue. To break through, however, the student must realize that the "study skills" training he has received since Junior High stifles such dialogue. The desire to succeed by the strictly defined criteria of grades necessitates practices such as cramming which stifle the development of meaningful discourse.

GRADES AND DEGREES

Many students, aware of the educational limitations of the modern university, cynically ignore their education in an attempt to gain high grades and manifold degrees. Most, however, unconsciously allow the pressures of grades and the degree to ruin their individual development. Grades force the student to compete--but is there any reason why education should be competitive? The real functions of grades are services to those who need to hire people with college degrees. Industry

and government (and the middle-step, graduate school) want people who can fulfill productive functions. Grades offer an evaluation of how a student performs in a situation similar to industry--school. Perhaps more important, grades accustom the student to regular evaluations by his superiors. By the time a young American has a job he actually believes that his supervisor can objectively value his work and accepts this function unquestioningly. And we can feel the pressures of grades as we go through school. We cram for exams, learn information and theories that we do not believe or do not care about, and emphasize study skills.



ALTERNATIVES

There is the possibility for education at Stanford University. There are a number of good professors, instructors, and TA's who can break through the normal limitations. And individual students can find what they want if they try hard enough. There are some fairly recent programs, most instigated by dissatisfied students: undergraduate special seminars, including freshman seminars, pass-fail grading in a few areas, directed reading, honors programs, and educational programs built around experimental housing. While these are distinct improvements, they are exceptions, rather than the rule. Often these changes serve to isolate students who are already critical of the system, maintaining the mis-education of the majority.

In the past few years a number of counter-institutions have grown up around Stanford. The Mid-Peninsula Free University and Esalen Institute are two of these. They are chiefly responsive to the cultural and emotional void created by the University, and often serve to obscure the real problem, the nature of Stanford. Two years ago a similar counter-university, the Experiment, an on-campus version of the Free University, extended education to its logical extension, political activism against the nature of the University. It lost its building on campus.

The Free U. will offer a number of courses to add to the Stanford Education, but it fails to offer direct criticism of the Stanford curriculum. SDS hopes, through on-campus work, to analyze the nature of the Stanford Education. We hope to prepare course critiques--examining the assumptions of various courses and texts and to form classroom caucuses of people dissatisfied with the content of their courses to offer an alternative to what is currently provided. SDS people don't feel that such work will change the overall direction of the University, but in calling attention to the current situation, we will be able to stimulate the consciousness of the campus to a point where we can radically alter the direction of the Stanford University education.

Health Insurance

"Stanford University has made certain changes in its Health Service coverage, effective with the Fall Quarter of the 1968-9 academic year. The major change is that hospital care is no longer provided, but such care is available to students who purchase the Supplemental Health Insurance policy."

-- supplement, Stanford University Bulletin 1968-9

The Stanford University budget was \$125,000 short this year. This deficit represents 0.003% of trustee David Packard's holdings in Hewlett-Packard. Vice-President for Finance Kenneth Cuthbertson and Provost Richard Lyman had to find an item of low priority to cut from the budget, and the axe fell on the University's hospitalization coverage.

There must have been a time when student health was higher on the list of priorities, for not only was student hospitalization covered, but surgery for pre-existing condition (such as an accident between quarters) was also covered. Last year surgery for pre-existing conditions was dropped. This year student hospitalization was dropped. In neither case was the university community consulted.

Decisions on budget matters like hospitalization are made one year in advance. But the University usually chooses, as in this case, to remain secretive until there is no chance of posing alternative possibilities to budget problems. The budget itself is secret.

Continental Casualty Co. of San Francisco offered, at Stanford's request, a hospitalization plan "exclusively for Stanford University students and their dependents." Unfortunately the \$48 plan is ill-priced for Stanford's 5,500 grad students and T.A.'s who must live on \$2,000 a year. Those with dependents can buy coverage for \$128 a year.

Redistribution of decision-making power is becoming more and more vital to students at Stanford. A university which rates a new basketball pavillion and a new police headquarters of higher priority than student health cannot be counted on to protect the interests of its human resources, the students.

The Draft

As the American military commitment in Vietnam (not to mention Thailand, Guatemala, Detroit, and Chicago) increases, Uncle Sam needs more and more young men. Vietnam casualties rise while reenlistments decline and the pressure of the draft becomes particularly acute. The pre-election lull in inductions is expected to erupt into massive conscription of grad students this December. Come 1969 many young men who are unwilling to look ahead now will be trapped.

For others, the draft will dampen any future plans outside of 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 entitled Channeling, available from the Stanford Anti-Draft Union, know that the government plans 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 2-S deferments are requesting them now, unaware of the 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 2-S. It makes sense for new students to see draft counselors before they commit themselves to 2-S.

Draft Counseling

There are three draft counselling services on campus. The Dean of Students' office provides counseling and draft information in a strictly legal fashion. The Conscientious Objector counselor who maintains office hours in the Clubhouse is the man to see when considering filing a claim as a conscientious objector or while actually pursuing one's claim through the Selective Service bureaucracy. The Stanford Anti-Draft Union, associated with SDS, provides draft counseling on the full range of draft evasion and resistance, with information on legal technicalities, medical standards, political exemptions, and immigration. The Anti-Draft Union can be contacted through the SDS desk in the ASSU office. Although emergency counseling is available by calling 325-7604, most of the Anti-Draft Union's counseling will take place in regular group counseling sessions.

Transportation

The planned isolation of Stanford University from the rest of the World creates all sorts of problems. For the students, the most direct is the difficulty getting to the world and coming back. Students without cars are stranded; students with cars can't find streets or parking places close enough to their on-campus destinations.

Bicycles are a comfortable and healthy compromise between walking and driving for many students, especially for those who live on or near campus. But 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, but risk theft if they leave their bikes on campus. Consequently, some carry their bikes on their cars.

Stanford practices what it likes to call "long-range road planning." To drivers, "long-range" works out as large distances between roads and the center of campus. It may comfort students to know that their needing to drive a mile or two to travel a half-mile is not a mistake, but a result of planning.

There are parking spots close to where students want to go, but most are reserved for administrators and faculty. Other lots are reserved for staff; still others, like the Tresidder lot, carry time limits. Nevertheless, the student must buy a \$10 parking sticker--proceeds to the Stanford police. Giving 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. Last spring the Student Judicial Council accepted all appeals of parking violations, because while Stanford did not force other constituencies to pay, it denied registration to student parking criminals.

In the past the Stanford roads have been clear of outside traffic cops, but last year the Santa Clara County Sheriff forced Stanford to accept the services of a deputy who now patrols the Stanford roads.

A reasonable solution to the trials and tribulations of the off-campus students would be the creation of parking structures and student recreation and study centers far from the center of campus, with shuttle busses providing transportation to key points.

TO THE OTHER WORLD

Assuming you can find a place for your car, you may want to go somewhere else. The usual route to San Francisco is the Bayshore Freeway (US 101), but the inland windings of Skyline Drive provide 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.

The new student who drives out University Avenue in Palo Alto may wonder why traffic is diverted onto Lytton and Hamilton streets. This system was established last year, and although the corners are hard to turn and traffic laws confusing, it is safer and quicker than narrow, crowded University, with its unsynchronized signals. The only major complaints arising from the restructuring of traffic in

downtown Palo Alto have come from the downtown merchants, but much of Palo Alto's municipal revenues come from the shopping centers anyway.

A few pieces of 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, and 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 comfortable than an auto at rush hour. Greyhound takes about an hour to get to SF, a little less to San Jose. On week-ends, holidays, and especially week-end nights, service is curtailed, often requiring transfers in Redwood City. The Greyhound station in Palo Alto is across Alma from the SP station.

Local transit in San Francisco is good, but not getting better, and the traditional 15¢ fare is being hiked. 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.

Shopping

FOR FREE FOOD try the Golden Gate Produce Terminal in South San Francisco (you can see it to your left as you go north on the Bayshore.) They give away their old or bruised fruit and vegetables to those in need. Some of the local supermarkets will provide the same service for you around closing time. Check with the produce clerks.

THE CO-OP supermarkets are pleasant, low pressure places to shop. They're very honest; but they're often underpriced by the commercial markets on sale items. If you buy CO-OP label goods you can save, especially on the green label goods. The closest CO-OP to campus is on California Ave., but it closes around 7 P.M. and is shut down on Sundays. The San Antonio Ave. CO-OP has a better selection, and is open seven days a week, usually till around 9 P.M. Escondido Villagers might find the J.J. & F. Market (520 College Ave.) very convenient for emergency shopping. Their meat department is reputed to be excellent. The Open House (2325 El Camino Real, P.A.) is just about the only market that stays open late around Stanford. It closes at 12:30 A.M. They also have magazines, mysteries & newspapers.

For cut-rate everything, try ALEC (625 El Camino, Menlo Park) or MAXIMART (3200 Park Blvd., PA) which is south of California Av., next to the railroad tracks. ALEC sends out a weekly bulletin to its customers, and will also cash checks for a dime.

BE ADVISED: Starlite Super Market (254 Lytton Av., PA) zealously busts people for shoplifting.

welfare possibilities

FOOD STAMPS

Most graduate students can qualify for the Federal Government's Food Stamp Program. You pay cash for food stamps, which have a greater face value than you pay. Depending on your need, you save about 25% on purchases of domestically-produced foods. Thus, for \$66 in cash you may get \$85 in food stamps every month.

Apply to the Santa Clara County Welfare Department at 270 Grant Avenue, Palo Alto, or phone 321-2141.

The stamps can be used at many local markets including the California Avenue Co-op, which is owned by its customers.

MEDI-CAL

Poor Californians, including students who qualify for California residency, can get doctor's visits and some drugs (including injections) free of charge if they get on MediCal. Birth control pills are also free and issued in six-month supply batches. Dental care for extractions is covered, but not fillings.

The qualification investigation for MediCal is pretty rough, but when you're living in an area where medical fees are among the nation's highest, a MediCal card can come in handy.

Call the Welfare Department for more information: 321-2141.

Media

The Bay Area is fortunate in its media. Although the commercial channels and press are little different from the rest of the country, the non-profit and underground media are flourishing. In addition to the news and entertainment they provide, they also give us a basis of comparison, to find out what we would like our press, radio and TV to be.

Newspapers: The S.F. Chronicle is a liberal daily: it is moderately dovish on Vietnam, and (since their reporters were beaten by the police at the October Induction Center demonstrations) alive to the problem of police brutality. Their coverage of our sit-in mainly consisted of big headlines and little information.

The S.F. Examiner is a Hearst paper, moderately hawkish; slightly more sensational than the Chronicle and also slightly duller. On Sunday these two ideological opponents combine to provide us with San Francisco's only Sunday paper.

The Palo Alto Times, as the only paper in Palo Alto, has a virtual monopoly on local news, which is consistently slanted in the interests of the downtown business leaders. Recently, McCarthy supporters picketed the Times offices to protest a blackout of coverage on their candidate. National and international news is hawkish. Some of their local reporters, however, are conscientious and their coverage on the sit-in attempted to explain the underlying issues.

The Peninsula Observer, a biweekly community paper, publishing "international liberation news and local muckraking". The difference between the P.A. Times and the Observer is the difference between storebought bread and a fragrant home-made loaf.

The S.F. Express Times, weekly solid reporting for the city with good analysis of national news. If you like horoscopes, they have a good one. Leftist antidote to the Chronicle/Examiner.

The Berkeley Barb, weekly Psychodelicatessen. Heavy drug orientation. The back pages are what sell the paper: sexual bazaar in the form of a classified ad section. Good luck. (Both of the above are usually sold on campus by underground newspaper peddlers.)

The Guardian, from New York, is a leading radical weekly in the country. Formerly Old, now New Left orientation. West Coast news has been pretty inaccurate until now, but they're opening a West Coast branch and things should improve. All in all, a really well-put-out paper. (\$3.50 / year for students. contact Stanford SDS)

T.V.: There are ten T.V. stations here. You're probably familiar with commercial T.V. so we needn't belabor their inadequacies. Channel 9, however, is a non-commercial educational station which sometimes presents a worthwhile program.

Radio: The Bay Area is fortunate in having one of the best radio stations in the country: KPFA (94.1 FM). KPFA is listener-supported radio, which means no commercials (except sometimes for KPFA). Students can support the station by contributing \$10. In return you will get the folio, which lists programs for the coming month.

The KPFA news (6:30-7:00 P.M.) is the equivalent of reading about ten newspapers and the wire service, and then translating journalese into good English. Unlike the commercial stations, the news is not brought to you "on behalf of Chevrolet" or anybody else, which means that no sponsor draws the limits of discussion. Around 8 P.M. they leave air time open for the "open hour." If something eventful happens in the area you can be sure KPFA will be there with a tape recorder.

For those addicted to headlines there is KCBS (94.7 AM). They give the time every four minutes, and if anything big is happening they'll tell you about it sooner or later. Their ads mainly consist in trying to give you a headache and then selling you a pain-killer.

There are several good rock stations: KSAN (95.0 FM), KMPX (107 FM) are best for the heavy stuff, and many of the AM stations for hit-parade songs. Flip around till you find what you like.

KPFA is the only station that seems to take classical music seriously. There's a complete opera every Sunday afternoon. Check the Folio. KKHI (1550 AM) plays light classical.

In conclusion, we should note that the commercial media are a very effective means of thought-control and repression. They set the limits of debate, since they can effectively squash dissident opinion through silence, distortion, or token representation. An example of the latter is the non-commercial and educational TV stations, which are largely financed through the corporations' Foundations. A few months ago, when the New York educational station staged a "panel discussion" on the Underground phenomena, several activists burst into the station and forcibly tried to present their opinions on their area.

By comparing the scanty, hysterical coverage of this episode in the local press with the objectivity of KPFA or the full (and sympathetic) coverage in the Guardian, we can see how really vital questions, like control of the airwaves and presses, are not presented to the general public. We also can see how terribly uptight the media people are about such questions being raised.

We're convinced that what upset the Establishment so much about this incident is not so much that the "hippies" said fuck over the air (What they said is, "Why can't we say fuck over the air?" on the air), but that they violated the sanctity of the broadcasting studios. The media are like the Wizard of Oz: the Wizard, an insignificant little man in his own right, sits in a hidden room and controls the monstrous apparations that keep the kingdom together.

The businessmen who control the media are the shaky men in their studio control-rooms and exec-suites; the apparations are the huge mythology that they and the ad men have created, an ocean of values, beliefs and images within which most white Americans live out their lives.

But there the analogy ends. It will take more than Judy Garland-Dorothies to overthrow this Wizard--a fact which many young people discovered for the first time last month in Chicago.

Books

The best place around Stanford for paperbacks, underground newspapers, and left and nudist magazines is KEPLER'S (On El Camino in Menlo Park, with a smaller branch on San Antonio Road in Los Altos). If you're the kind of person who likes to have a place to go on cold rainy nights, are too young to drink, and aren't particularly turned on by root beer stands or palm readers--then try Kepler's. They also have a better than usual assortment of buttons, posters, and people.

BELL'S bookstore on Emerson St. in Palo Alto has a large collection of used books. The management is erratic. It's possible that if they don't like the way you look they may refuse to serve you or just hover over you. But if you don't mind taking risks, check the place out. They're said to have one of the best collections of books

The Octopus

"At the Palo Alto Stock Farm, Stanford built up the largest and most successful trotting horse establishment in the world." (Stanford: A man, a woman, ... and a University.) The old farm now breeds pedigreed students. But, despite its pastoral aloofness from urban America, Stanford is anything but a farm.

Today, education has replaced the locomotive as the spur to economic growth, and contemporary entrepreneurs, many with Ph.D.'s, finance their empires with garrison-state defense budgets rather than with federal land-grabs. As a result, Leland Stanford's university now stands at the heart of a new monopoly, even more dangerous than the Stanford stranglehold on California railroads which Frank Norris immortalized as The Octopus. Senator Fulbright has called this new octopus the military-industrial-university complex.

Stanford's labs and classrooms furnish the brainpower for the Bay Area's electronics and other space-age industries, a defense cluster second in size only to that surrounding Harvard and M.I.T. Stanford's trustees--defense industrialists and world-spanning oilmen and financiers for whom they provide defense--consciously coordinate the growth of the university with their business and political interests. And within the educational process itself, professors, students, and administrators increasingly take on the assumptions and airs of the businessmen for whom and with whom they work.

A walk around the old farm is about the best introduction to the new Stanford.

On the South edge of the old farm, just beyond College Terrace, stands the ultra-modern, university-owned Stanford Industrial Park. Along with dozens of other research oriented industrial parks in Santa Clara and San Mateo counties, the Stanford Park houses several firms directly spun off from research in Stanford's chemistry, electrical engineering, and physics laboratories. Among these research alumni are Hewlett-Packard, Granger, Varian Associates, Metronics, Inc., Microwave Electronics, Syntex, and Watkins-Johnson.

Other of the area's research-oriented firms--Ford's Philco Division, I.T. & Sylvania, Lockheed, Kaiser Aerospace and Electronics, and Utah Construction and Mining--moved here to profit from Stanford's science and from the educational and cultural life of the Stanford area. Their wares include both components for the air-planes tearing up Vietnam and construction of airbases now being built in Thailand.

To the North, in Menlo Park, the university's Stanford Research Institute helps link the basic science labs to the production facilities of the near-by corporations through intermediate-stage applied research. SRI also "serves the public" by applying science to the needs of government and West Coast businessmen located beyond the boundaries of the farm. These services include ghetto removal studies and chemical warfare research, as well as the anti-infiltration work done at the SRI regional office in Bangkok, Thailand.

Overlooking the old farm on the west, the big dish radar antenna and the Stanford Linear Accelerator further demonstrate the university's growing dependence on defense, space, and atomic energy budgets, and the growing identification of education and "the national purpose."

Stanford's trustees put these interconnections on a very personal basis. Many of them--William R. Hewlett, David Packard, Edmund W. Littlefield, Charles Ducommun, and Dean Watkins--come directly from corporations in Stanford Industrial Park. They strengthen their hold on the university by providing consulting work and even corporate directorships to Stanford administrators and professors, like provost emeritus Frederick E. Terman and William R. Rambo, director of the Stanford Electronics Laboratories. Other trustees link the university to banking and oil, and to the most prominent San Francisco law firms. The extent of these links, and something of their history, is sketched out in THE TRUSTEES.

Just what the trusteeship of these corporation directors means to students and faculty is less obvious.

To sociologist Thorsten Veblen, tossed off the campus faculty half-a-century ago, governing boards of businessmen were "commonly quite useless to the university for any businesslike purpose." They were just "an aimless survival from the days of clerical rule, when they were presumably of some effect in enforcing conformity to orthodox opinions and observances, among the academic staff."

Trustee Thomas Pike recalls that as a student, he "visualized the Trustees as a group of dour old men in stiff collars who were absorbed only in Stanford's financial operations and whose interest in students stopped when they had paid their tuition and fees."

Pike probably sees it differently now. But most faculty share his older view, or perhaps Veblen's. For Stanford, like most big-name universities, gives her academic employees more rope than they would be willing to use. Only in the occasional firing of a radical professor do professors feel their freedom curtailed by the "outside" businessmen.

Students enjoy no such freedom. But their gripes usually seem more immediate, directed toward a professor, department or bureaucrat.

Nonetheless, the trustees are not an impotent House of Lords. They run the university, every bit as much as Leland Stanford and his associates ran the Central Pacific Railroad.

In times of crisis, the trustees become quite easy to see, as in the fight to let women live off campus or at the Old Union sit-in when trustee David Packard tried to cool the demonstration.

Most of the time, however, the trustees leave the university's day-to-day operation in the hands of the president, his appointees, and the various academic departments. There is decentralization on the details, but within guidelines and lines of command. These follow the hierarchy necessary to all bureaucracies which implement decisions from the top down.

One of the most crucial of the top down decisions is the appointment of the president. Here the trustees extended the facade of decentralization no further than to faculty consultation. In reality, the professors were powerless, and the students were not even consulted. The result is Stanford's new President, Kenneth Sanborn Pitzer.

Pitzer, whose credentials are sketched out on the following two pages, is a veteran of H-Bomb work and a politically influential defense scientist. Under his leadership, Stanford will tie itself even more tightly to the coat-tails of the generals, the missile-makers, and the defense industrialists. And the university will become an even better investment for Stanford's trustees, who, squeezed by Vietnam cut-backs, are eager to use Pitzer's influence to bring anti-ballistics missile contracts to the Bay Area.

(continued after "Pitzer")

PITZER

Kenneth Pitzer brings to the Stanford Trustees just what they've been looking for: a compliant liberal servant with perfect connections to industry, academia, and the Federal Government.

From his humble origin as the son of a Southern California land baron, Kenneth Pitzer has risen to become one of the most powerful men in America's military-scientific elite corps. He has well displayed the skills of administrative competence and political savvy without which the American Empire could not survive.

Who is Kenneth Pitzer?

First of all, he's a scientist. He was a professor of pure chemistry at Cal until 1943, when he moved to the Maryland Research Laboratory to do weapons research for the OSS, the forerunner of the CIA.

Pitzer's service to the Free World yielded great rewards: he returned to Cal after the war as head of the Chemistry College. But he did not forget his country: From 1949-1951 he served as director of research of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), where he was influential in America's decision to make the H-bomb.

In 1958 President Eisenhower appointed him to the General Advisory Committee of the AEC. Pitzer was chairman of this committee by 1960: the top of the academic-AEC totem pole.

Politically, Pitzer has surfaced many times to serve and defend his country: as a prominent accuser of J. Robert Oppenheimer in 1954, as opponent of Linus Pauling's 1957 petition to stop nuclear testing, and as organizer of Scientists and Engineers for LBJ in 1964. This time it was Johnson who rewarded Pitzer: In 1965 Pitzer was appointed to the President's Scientific Advisory Council (PSAC).

We have all heard how Pitzer, as president of Rice University in Houston, played liberal David in felling the Goliath of segregation and opened the doors of Rice to black people. It is not quite so widely known that he had to do this under threat of losing government and foundation grants. After four years there are about ten blacks amongst Rice's 3000 students. If you question this point, Pitzer may call you a member of "that small hard core of extremists with the greatest arrogance and the least faith in their country." Whose country?

If Pitzer seems a bit out of touch with what's happening on our college campuses, perhaps it's because he spends too much time with his business buddies on Rice's Board of Trustees. Examples are George Brown of Brown and Root, famous for building Cam Rahn Bay and LBJ; Oveta Culp Hobby of the Houston Post and the Hobby Foundation, a CIA front; and Stanford's own Gardiner Symonds, chairman of Tenneco, Inc, a \$3.5 billion conglomerate which is now undertaking extensive "development" operations in Indonesia.

Will Pitzer Fit in at Stanford?

Pitzer should have little trouble getting along with Stanford's Board of Trustees, since he knows the most important ones already: Symonds is an old friend from Houston; Ernie Arbuckle sees Pitzer at Owens-Illinois board meetings; Bill Hewlett knows Pitzer from RAND board meetings; and from PSAC.

Pitzer won't be awed by SLAC (physical plant worth \$160 million and growing), since the NASA Manned Space Flight Center, on Rice land, is even bigger (\$173 million). In fact Pitzer's reception at SLAC should be quite warm: the AEC paid SLAC \$23 million in operating expenses last year.

What about Pitzer's interest in defending the Free World, manifest in activities such as his former trusteeship of the World Affairs Council of Northern California? He should feel very useful at Stanford, whose \$48 million in defense contracts (including SRI) ranks third among the nation's universities.



Will Pitzer make changes at Stanford?

At a speech in Houston last June, Pitzer said, "Throughout history, universities have suffered whenever and wherever they have become tools of political or ideological power. In voluntary or enforced betrayal of their central teaching role, these institutions ultimately helped undermine and even destroy the intellectual heritage they were designed to preserve and enlarge . . ."

Pitzer's administrative skills should help him in the task of reversing this situation at Stanford. We look forward to termination of "defense" and industrial contracts, as well as severing of all ties with SRI, which should be the first steps. And certainly Pitzer will expand Stanford's Board of Trustees to offset the present imbalance toward big business, finance, industry, and the military.

Of course, as President Pitzer pointed out at a press conference, individual professors have the right and responsibility to judge what research to undertake and what kind of teaching to promote. As things now stand, however, professors exercise their free choice within a marketplace limited by the availability of funds. And, the trustees, directly and indirectly, play a key role in deciding how and where money will be spent.

They officially control the university budget, giving them a large say over which departments and fields in the university will be able to afford new staff and new equipment. They serve as leaders on the business-dominated advisory committees to the Engineering and Business schools. As wealthy benefactors with equally wealthy friends, they exercise additional informal power over which departments will get new buildings. The pattern of recent construction--new buildings for earth sciences, engineering, space sciences, physics, and business--bears more than a coincidental relationship to their business interests.

The university is also building a new art history building. But then no one accused Leland Stanford's successors of being philistines.

The trustees, and their like-minded colleagues, are also the area's largest employers. They determine the job market for Stanford graduates in engineering, business, and the sciences, and this in turn gives them indirect influence over the content of university education. In addition, Frederick E. Terman, who brought Stanford to the top in electronics, set a policy early in his career of keeping Stanford's extensive laboratories open to industry. As one journalistic account of Terman's relationship to the electronics industry points out, "the industry's raw material is brain-power, and the university's students and professors are a prime source."

The trustees also have important links to the foundations and government committees which determine the availability of research money on a national level. Former trustee and now SRI director Stephen Bechtel serves as a director of the Ford Foundation. Trustee John Gardner, everyone's best guess for president before the announcement of Pitzer, is a former president of the Carnegie foundation and Lyndon Johnson's earlier Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Trustee Hewlett presently serves on the President's Science Advisory Committee, along with Pitzer, who is also on the Carnegie Endowment for the Advancement of Teaching. A number of other trustees serve on lesser foundations, and as a group, Board members enjoy extensive business contacts with foundation directors not directly related to Stanford.

The shaping of the academic marketplace, field by field, is of course too complex to be summed up here. And, unfortunately, the foundations are not falling all over themselves to finance such a study.

Nonetheless, we can see something of how money, accompanied by the prestige of keeping company with the rich and powerful, helps shape faculty attitudes. Last year, in the faculty vote to support the demands of the student sit-in, the law school, engineering, and business schools voted against the demands and for the administration. These were precisely the groups closest to the business community represented by the trustees, the better paid faculty members with additional opportunities for consulting work. Humanities and Sciences, which supported the sit-in, represented the most neglected professors in the present distribution of rewards and status. The exception to this rule of thumb was the well-paid, high-status Medical Faculty. The M.D.'s supported the students, probably as a result of previous organizing by student radicals around the Vietnam War and racism.

Another effect of the university's closeness to business is the "vocationalism," the orientation toward specialized careers which pervades even the humanities and social sciences. Where the engineering departments directly train students to serve the technologically advanced industries, the social sciences preach a professionalism which excludes the kinds of questions about the present uses of technology and the present distribution of power which might upset the corporate appletart. In the

United States, as in most societies, honestly answering such questions would be subversive and quite at variance with official descriptions of social reality. But most professional social scientists would not even think of asking embarrassing questions about the businessmen with whom they serve on committees and meet socially in and around the university. As a result, professional social sciences at Stanford, as at most good universities, seem like little more than an academic varnishing of liberal wisdom.

The best example of this has been the university's "concern" about the War in Vietnam. While a good part of the student body is quite ready to say "get out," such attitudes are made to seem irresponsible by administrators and influential faculty members. Sharing the framework of and being responsible to those in power, they are not about to reject totally America's position in South East Asia. Ritualistically, they demand that the government's position, or at least a moderate dove position, be one side of any debate, as in the administration's intervention into last year's Days of Concern. To them, the war is at most a mistake, an aberration, the wrong war in the wrong place. Until recently, they wouldn't even entertain the thought that the present occupation of South East Asia and the university's many economic development programs might be part of a systematic policy of imperialism. Now, in phrases recalling the white man's burden, some professors are even suggesting that imperialism might not be such a bad thing. It isn't hard to predict how they will react to forthcoming efforts to get Stanford out of South East Asia and take control of this university out of the hands of imperialists.

The alliance with the men of wealth and power, and particularly the trustees, is equally apparent in the reaction of the administration and influential faculty members to questions of race and poverty. Last year, without hesitation, they gave university support to a scholarship collection in memory of Martin Luther King, Jr. They held up their hands in horror when students with a different political perspective asked for similar cooperation on behalf of a campaign to raise money in memory of slain Black Panther leader Bobby Hutton.

Many of these same people are directly tying in with David Packard and other trustee-businessmen in an effort to set up a local chapter of the Urban Coalition, the national industry-backed group which continues to promise massive employment for blacks. Stanford and SRI researchers, along with the aerospace companies intent on the socio-economic market, are at the same time preparing top-down systems analysis approaches to poverty and, of course, more efficient anti-riot plans.

But few university leaders, and fewer of the university's resources, will be put at the disposal of any militant black groups which realize that the Urban Coalition will only respond to riot threat. University men will appear positively anti-intellectual when the blacks point out that, economically, the big firms don't find it profitable to create sufficient jobs, both because of technological advances and because of a war-induced inflation. And, when any of the blacks try to tie their demand for jobs to the fight against imperialism, at least a few of the university men will join their business allies in trying to find communists under the rug.

All of this is to be expected at Leland Stanford's farm. After all, it's only business.



Stanford Research Institute

The Stanford Research Institute (SRI) is a "wholly owned subsidiary" of Stanford University, but whenever you say anything bad about SRI, Stanford administrators will tell you there isn't any real connection.

In 1964, when the Government Accounting Office accused SRI of having swindle it of \$250,000, the government pointed out that the Stanford trustees elect the SRI directors. Nine of the directors of SRI are presently also trustees of Stanford, most of the rest serve on the advisory board of the School of Engineering and the Graduate School of Business. There is also a great deal of "consulting" done at SRI by Stanford faculty members, especially those in the sciences, political science, engineering, and the business school. The big dish radio telescope has been operated as a joint venture.

Probably in the next few years, pressure -- they'll talk of "economy" -- will force Stanford to cut SRI loose. But these same men will stay on as directors, trustees, members of the various advisory boards, and consultants from the various departments, and things will be essentially unchanged.

SRI is a vastly compartmentalized institution, many of whose researchers do valuable work in such things as smog control and heart disease. Its two greatest concentrations of work, however, are for the federal government (75%, most of it in defense) and in international business (20%).

In the early fifties, SRI's defense of this concentration was blatantly imperialistic. Jesse Hobson, SRI's first president, told the American Institute of Engineers in 1951 that "this nation occupies 6 % of the land area of the world, has 7 % of the world's population, but it 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."

SRI has helped increase this imbalance but it now uses more sophisticated rhetoric: "The raw materials that enable the rich countries to grow richer must increasingly be bought from the poor," Ed Robison, Vice President of SRI International, told the 22nd Annual Meeting of the SRI Associates last December. Explaining how this works in one country, he told his audience that the Indonesians have "cut out the cancer that was destroying their economy". It was a bloody operation, he said. "The number of lives sacrificed ran into the hundreds of thousands," but SRI has done and is doing what it can to advise Indonesia and to draw the attention of potential entrepreneurs to the need and the opportunity now presented for constructive and profitable investment."

VIETNAM INVOLVEMENT

Just who would profit, Robison went on to explain: "The Australians and the Japanese are already in the field.... The large scale petroleum industry, which is mostly American, is expanding its operations. American firms have made important new commitments for mineral resource development...." One of those oil firms is Stanford trustee Gardiner Symonds' Tenneco, which also has interests in Biafra, Venezuela, and Guyana.

"The institute supports the foreign involvements of our government," Robison told the Associates. Since the '50's, SRI policy makers have been well aware that communist nationalist movements, particularly in Asia, challenge the position of U.S. business as producer of half of the world's goods and owner of two-thirds of its wealth. In 1957 Robison told a gathering of Stanford alums that "the free world must not lose Southeast Asia. . . as it has already lost China." At the same time SRI researchers were preparing a study for McDonnell Aircraft on "Limited Warfare". It reviewed "the basic considerations which would affect the conduct of small wars in various peripheral areas of Asia." The study argued essentially the Johnson line: Characterized by political instability, social unrest, and very low standards of living, these areas are "extremely vulnerable to communism". The U.S. would be inclined to "counter aggression" wherever it occurred, though, "for indigenous participants, limited warfare is likely to appear as civil war."

SRI was involved from the beginning in Vietnam. Senior economist Eugene Staley, who has also been a professor of education at the University, headed a special government mission there in 1961 to bring back suggestions for meeting the Diem regime's "most pressing financial, military, and political needs." Staley spent six weeks in the country, most of it in Saigon, and then recommended increases in military and economic aid, "measures which could restore security within 18 months," according to the New York Times. They didn't.

Much of industry on the peninsula is "defense"-related. During the early '60's, aerospace and electronics suffered a depression brought on by defense cut-backs. At the time, SRI's Weldon ("Hoot") Gibson soothed the panicky industrialists. "There are indications," he explained, "that short term losses over the next few years may be recouped later in the decade with new developments in anti-missile missiles or a new generation of strategic weapons."

He was right on both counts, and may have been tipped off by the double-time research commissioned to SRI by the DOD in 1964, obviously in preparation for an expanded war in Vietnam. This was research on surveillance and reconnaissance, jungle communications, and helicopter vulnerability to ground fire. (He may also have been tipped off by the 23-man squad SRI maintains in Washington. San Francisco's Mayor Alioto wants to employ that team as S.F.'s lobbyist, but SRI says it can't legally lobby. Or, at least, it can't call it that. Next slide, please.)

ENSURING U.S. INFLUENCE

While the hurry-up research for Vietnam was being done at SRI, the Institute also began its participation in the DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency (ARPA) "Project Agile". Agile is the Pentagon's world-wide counterinsurgency research program, bivouaced primarily in Thailand. Initially, the SRI projects in Thailand, primarily in insurgency communications, were mostly in the development and testing of weapons and tactics for Vietnam. With the increase of guerilla activity in Thailand in 1966, the program began to concentrate on building counterinsurgency capabilities for the Thai oligarchy and on putting the U.S. in a "knowledgeable position" should "largescale intervention in Thailand be called for."

Stanford trustees and SRI directors currently have corporate interests in Thai oil, iron, aluminum, and steel. For Robison, SRI's involvement in Thailand is part of "the struggle to maintain another Asian bastion of strength for the free world."

SRI has pulled similar shenanigans in South America, where the same companies -- Union Oil, Kaiser, Castle & Cook (Dole, Standard Fruit), Utah Construction & Mining -- have similar interests in bananas, sugar, cotton, iron, oil and phosphates. In Peru, Eugene Staley's International Development Center of SRI engaged a \$1.2 million "development" contract for the Agency for International Development.

An SRI economist of that contract later performed a secret ARPA project entitled "COIN" Peru. ARPA described "COIN" Peru as "a study of the advantages and disadvantages of providing U.S. operational assistance to armed forces of Peru as well as alternatives to insure U.S. influence on the course of action. Another SRI man performed a similar ARPA contract to "insure U.S. influence" in Honduras, one of the most banana of banana republics. (ed: sic: banan!)

Just as "development" and "counterinsurgency" go hand in hand for SRI in South America, so "renewal" and "riot control" go hand in hand at home. SRI is working on an urban renewal plan for Oakland at the same time that it has begun research into riot control devices, presumably to reap an expanding federal and state market. Following the more theoretical gas warfare research done by S.U. chemists since the late fifties SRI has performed Chemical Corps contracts in packaging of chemical weapons, among them CS, a harsh tear gas first used to "flush out" troops and civilians. Most recently CS was used against the man in the street during the Chicago convention.

SRI has played a role in the Pentagon's highly controversial decision to construct an anti-ballistic missile system. After several years of feasibility studies, SRI received millions of dollars annually for "discrimination studies"--it's a bird, it's a plane, it's a Chinese mistake. Numerous Stanford trustees and SRI directors are profiting from the development, including men like Donald Douglas of major contractor McDonnell Douglas.

SRI, with its important role in National Defense and international development can be expected to expand. Already planned are a \$2 million center for SRI international and a \$4.5 million engineering laboratory. Stanford Village, a low-rental housing area adjacent to SRI, is being torn down to provide the space.

the trustees

Though Stanford trustees are developing a strong distaste for student revolutionaries, the present board is itself the product of a palace revolution.

After the deaths of Leland and Jane Stanford, the university's 15-man Board of Trustees remained in the hands of older San Francisco capitalists--men who had made their money in railroads, banking, corporate law, shipping, and newspapers. Trustee Herbert Hoover perhaps best represented their views.

But from the late forties on, Stanford was moving too fast for the old guard. Frederick Terman, Dean of the School of Engineering, was helping his former students set up businesses based on booming Cold War and consumer demands. At the same time that area business leaders connected with Stanford created SRI, the university mapped out the Stanford Industrial Park. To new research industrialists like Terman-protégés William Hewlett and David Packard, it was time for an American-style, legal coup d'état.

As a result of the growing strength of these upstarts, Stanford went to court in 1954 to change the original university charter. Under the revised charter approved by the court, five additional regular (10-year) trustees and three 5-year "alumni trustees" were packed onto the board. Packard immediately picked up a spot on the larger board, along with Ernest Arbuckle, now board Chairman of Wells Fargo Bank and Arjay Miller's predecessor as Dean of the Stanford Business School. By 1964 all of the trustee elders had departed, nine of them booted upstairs to position as non-voting emeritus trustees.

The present group of trustees breaks down roughly into four distinguishable, though interrelated sets of interests: San Francisco finance and construction, oil, electronics, and aerospace.

San Francisco Finance and Construction

The San Francisco trustees are particularly important, in that they represent one of the country's few centers of international finance at all independent of Wall Street. Trustees Arbuckle and Edmund Littlefield serve as directors of both Wells Fargo, the nation's eleventh largest bank, along with Stanford Business Affairs Vice President Alf Brandin, and of Utah Construction and Mining, a world-spanning construction firm. Littlefield holds down posts as President and General Manager of Utah Construction and Board Chairman of Utah's Peruvian subsidiary, Marcona Mining. Trustee President W. Palmer Fuller III is a fourth Wells Fargo director, while David Packard serves on the board of Crocker Citizen's Bank, the nation's twelfth largest.

A big recent (1964) addition to the Montgomery Street trustees is Fred Merrill, Chairman of the Board and President of the Fund American Companies, which serves as an umbrella for at least a dozen insurance companies. Former President Wallace Sterling holds down directorships on two of these companies. Other trustees with financial interests include Charles Ducommun, Thomas Pike, Gardiner Symonds and Dean Watkins, directors respectively of Security First National Bank (10th largest), Lincoln Savings & Loan, Philadelphia Life Insurance Co., and Stanford Bank.

Oil

The oil industry has also staked out a large claim on Stanford trusteeships. Arthur Stewart, Board chairman of the Union Oil of California Foundation and director of Union Oil, was the first of the present crop of oilmen elected to the Stanford Board in May, 1954, just before the packing of the old board. Two years later, he was joined by Monroe Spaght, President and Director of Shell Oil, the nation's fourteenth largest corporation. Spaght left in 1965 to go to England with Shell, transferring his trusteeship to his successor at Shell, Richard McCurdy.

Tenneco, the 39th U.S. corporation and a leading conglomerate, gained a seat in the Boardroom in January, 1961 when its Chairman of the Board and President Gardiner Symonds became a Stanford trustee. Symonds is also a trustee at Rice, where he has been able to watch Kenneth Pitzer work. With its purchase of Kern County Land Company, Tenneco has developed additional ties with Trustees Hewlett and Arbuckle, both Kern County Directors.

Among the other oilmen on the Board are Lawrence Kimpton, vice president and Director of Standard Oil of Indiana, and Thomas Pike, Board Chairman of Pike Corporation and National Engineering Science.

Electronics

The Stanford trustees' electronics caucus centers around David Packard, William Hewlett, and three other Hewlett-Packard directors, Arbuckle, Pike, and Attorney Robert Minge Brown. Trustee Dean Watkins, of Watkins and Johnson, has profited neatly from Stanford science, holding a professorship in Electrical Engineering from 1953 to 1963. Currently he is president of the politically significant Western Electronics Manufacturers Association. Tenneco's Symonds is also interested in electronics through his directorship at General Telephone and Telegraph, owner of Sylvania.

Based in the industrial park, the electronics trustees are important figures in

THE FIRE COMES HOME

White gloves light no matches,
Pull no triggers as the bodies fall.
They scribble signatures, pat backs,
Shake gloves with Deans of Business,
Guiding Arbuckles to the top
From Standard Oil of Stanford, the Peace Corps,
Peru, Wells Fargo, on to better things
For better living as in SRI
Countering insurgency,
Conjuring the McNamara Line,
Counseling Strategic Hamlets.

A thatched hut after all is nothing much.
One of the hired men's lighters brings it down.
Can it compare to a fine rare book
Collection?
A wife and child or two at going rates
Perhaps worth eighty dollars--can they compare
In sterling value to this damage worth
\$300,000?

In unison, bare hands reply, unite.
Now Sterling in his shirtsleeves walks among
Ashes that just now were precious things,
Fit for a showcase in some dead museum.
(They could have stood in rows
Where Stanford shows
Mrs. Robber Baron's clothes.)
When the fire comes home
White gloves blacken in the smoke and flame,
The hands that they have shaken start to shake.

by Jane Morgan

mid-peninsula politics. Packard is now the central figure in the local Urban Coalition, and a significant voice in just about any local issue, including last spring's sit-in. Watkins is vice-chairman of the Sequoia Union High School Governing Board, which just recently received hard criticism for its racist policies.

Aerospace

The Aerospace and related defense industries are the fourth significant cluster on the Stanford Board. Groups of trustees carry the greatest responsibility for tying the university both to Southern California and the Department of Defense.

Roger Lewis, Chairman of the Board and President of General Dynamics and Eisenhower's Assistant Secretary of the Air Force, assumed a Stanford trusteeship in 1964. William Rogers, director of Aerojet-General, joined up in '66. And just this year, Northrop's top man, Tom Jones, became a Stanford trustee. Jones is also a member of many policy groups, including the Board of Directors of the Air Force Systems Command, the Board of Admissions of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, and the Department of Defense Advisory Council.

Others representing this group are Charles Ducommun, a director of Lockheed, Space Labs, and president of his own Ducommun Inc.; Packard, who serves on the General Dynamics Board; Littlefield, a director of General Electric; and William Hewlett, a director of FMC, Chrysler, and the Rand Corporation, along with President-select Pitzer.

Straddling this four-way division are the corporate attorneys, who both represent firms and hold directorships in all the major areas. U.S. Circuit Judge Benjamin Cushing Duniway, of Cushing, Cullinan, Duniway and Gorill, is a director of Shlage Lock Co., San Francisco's largest industrial firm. Trustees Morris M. Doyle and Robert Minge Brown come from one of the areas most important firms, McCutchen, Doyle, Brown and Enerson. Richard Guggenhime, a director of Union Sugar, works with Heller, Ehrman, White and McAuliffe. And Mrs. Allen E. Charles is married to a partner of Lillick, Wheat, Adams and Charles, attorneys for ABC, Bethlehem Steel, Raytheon, Texaco, and Lockheed.

The one apparent exception to this corporate domination of the Stanford Board of Trustees is John W. Gardner, former HEW Secretary, and President of the Carnegie Corporation. Gardner holds no directorships on any significant corporations. But his ties to the nation's business elite are no less real or important. Gardner is Chairman of the Urban Coalition, the big business-led organization which seeks to contain and channel the black revolution within both the present structure of American society and present priorities on U.S. expansion abroad. With Carnegie and then HEW, Gardner is probably the man most responsible for rationalizing university involvement in international studies, in an effort to build the resources necessary to staff and support the American Empire.

These are the men who run Stanford. They are not educators. Understanding the bases of power from which they qualified for positions on the Stanford board is a first step towards understanding the priorities they bring to Stanford.



An SCPV off-shoot organized the first drive for blood and money for medical supplies to be sent civilian victims of American bombing in North Vietnam and the Viet Cong areas of the South. When LBJ resumed bombing North Vietnam in February of 1966, 1000 Stanford students rallied and made a torch-light protest march into Palo Alto, bettered in number only by New York and Berlin (1500). Late in the spring, after the election of Dave Harris (a socialist and pacifist) as student body president, 35 members of the SCPV occupied the President's Office for three days, demanding that the University cease administering the Selective Service national deferment examinations and, further, that it stop work on CIA classified contracts. The government later withdrew the examination program from Stanford; but CIA contracts are merely "passed on" by a faculty committee.

Harris's presidency in '66-67 and that of Peter Lyman the following year were short and uneventful. Both attempted to beat the Administration at its own game, appointing progressives to student committees and encouraging a liberal-radical student legislature. Neither built an active student following; neither accomplished much; both resigned before the end of their terms.

The arrogance of Vice-President Hubert H. Humphrey when he visited Stanford February, 1967 turned an initially mild protest crowd into an angry mob of several hundred shouting "shame! shame! shame!" as he tried to leave Mem Aud by the back door while they raced after him. Though President Sterling admonished the community, much of the community felt insulted by the Vice-President and 800 signed a statement asking him to apologize.

The most exciting thing in '66-67 was The Experiment, a community educational center taught and administered by students and situated at Engineering Corner in the building since recaptured and redecorated by the administration to become the Placement Service, a role much more in keeping with the purpose of the University.

One of the projects taken on by some Experiment members was that of researching and publishing the part Stanford was playing in the Vietnam War. This brought the Experiment under fire and may well have been the reason that the administration was unable to find the college a place for the following year, though the spacious third floor West Wing of Encina Hall went unused until the late spring.

Successive publications of Experiment newspapers disclosed close ties between the University, the defense research and development establishment at the Stanford Research Institute, and the arms manufacturers in the Stanford Industrial Park. Stanford faculty were shown to have been involved in basic gas warfare research and the development of the strategic hamlet plan in Vietnam. Later publications have shown SRI to be performing counterinsurgency operations in Thailand, Peru, and Honduras. Posters which superimposed arms-making trustees against a background of Vietnam fighting and read "We Accuse" were angrily criticized by those who argued that these men made weapons, not policy, and those who felt posters were an unfair tactic. But sponsors of the posters responded by showing that the very same people were intimately involved both in national policy-making and in decisions to make the Stanford complex a center for aerospace and electronics and for international business.

Also in '66-67 an SDS off-shoot, the Stanford Anti-Draft Union collected and published more than 400 signatures of men who refused to fight in Vietnam and nearly as many women who supported them; and faculty members signed a statement specifically designed to break federal law by advocating draft refusal. Dave Harris, and other Stanford students, formed the Resistance, now a nation-wide group organizing against the draft.

The Anti-Draft Union continued its organizing work through summer-67 by participating in Vietnam Summer in the local communities. A number of small

demonstrations at the Oakland Induction Center by the ADU and fraternal anti-draft organizations provided the impetus for the massive demonstrations attempting to shut down the Oakland Induction Center the week of October 16. Several hundred students and professors participated in the various levels of activity.

Later last fall quarter the judgement that use of the University as a recruiting ground for the CIA was unjustifiable brought an abortive attempt to mill-in and disrupt CIA recruiting. The CIA man wouldn't address the college community and couldn't (he said) divulge anything about the organization for which he was soliciting, but eleven of the 150 or so students who barred entrance to his interviews were later singled out by the Dean of Students for punishment. When the student court sitting on their case found them innocent of any wrongdoing, the Dean "appealed" the case to a faculty court on which sat the only man at the university publically to have a CIA contract. The "court," appointed by President Sterling (himself a director of a CIA conduit, the Asia Foundation) advised suspension of the eleven students, an act which brought nearly 1000 students into the administration's Old Union quarters for a three day sit-in. The sit-in culminated in the adopting of a resolution by the Academic Senate (the assembled higher grades of faculty and administration) calling for amnesty and requesting that suspensions be lifted. Although the resolution did not bind the administration, and in fact left the administration some leeway to retry the CIA cases, to date no punishment has been meted out to participants in either demonstration.

Many graduates of Stanford politics in the '60's have refused to melt into the nine-to-five world. A good number of these settled in the Midpeninsula area and are at work in the Free University, the Peninsula Observer, or the Santa Clara and San Mateo county Peace and Freedom Movements; others are working with the grape strikers in Delano, the chicano population in Los Angeles, or are organizing poor whites in the South and in Chicago. Some have spread across the country in the Resistance, leading groups in Chicago and Boston; others, teachers, have been active in the movements at Howard, Columbia, and San Francisco State. One fellow, who finds himself a lieutenant in the Air Force, is organizing a protest march by U.S. troops to take place this fall, amove which has the Secretary of Defense uptight.

Also during the year, but especially after the assassination of Martin Luther King, the Black Student Union wowed the left with its exquisite handling of the administration and effected changes in admission policy more significant in their form than their substance.

With the housing shortage, the new health "plan", and the choice of a new president intimate with aerospace, electronics, and imperialism, the outlook for the Stanford left is better than ever.

Students for a Democratic Society

America is undergoing menopause. Too many of our people look forward to the future with shriveled hope, demanding only the security of law and order, of expert authority, and of the well-worn channels of established hierarchies. Our democratic heritage has soured in the face of foreign wars and domestic oppression. Cold War liberalism has spawned and rationalized America's expanding Empire, and domestic welfare-statism has neither salved America's uneasy conscience nor pacified her internal colonies.

In this despair, few of us ever think beyond the unrealized--and probably un-

realizable--smooth society promised by American liberalism. Few of us dare test ourselves against the possibilities of a radically participatory democracy, a democracy in which men come together in public communities to collectively define human needs and organize social and economic institutions to realize them. At Stanford, SDS tries to keep open this possibility of democratic participation and control, both as a goal for the future and as a here-and-now guide to action.

We do this by seeking out public ways to support the fight against imperialism, from Vietnam to Czechoslovakia. We work for and with the liberation of black people and chicanos in the United States. And we attempt to lead a movement for a radical transformation of the university and the society into whose warped priorities the university is being rapidly integrated. All of this action stems from our belief that men can and should make the social decisions determining the quality and direction of their own lives.

Equally important, we have tried to build the Stanford SDS chapter itself on our democratic values. We will do most of our work in study-action groups organized around issues such as Defense Research on Campus, U.S. Economic Imperialism, the 1968 Elections, and the Black Liberation Struggle. These study-action groups will hopefully develop research papers, action programs, and a full sense of community that will provide an alternative to our fractured collegiate life styles. Each group will send rotating representatives to an executive committee which will serve as a means of coordination and communication between the individual groups.

Open general meetings will be held regularly to plan action and discuss topics ranging from New Left ideology to current campus problems. SDS will sponsor a series of programs with outside speakers and films for the entire Palo Alto community as often as possible. We have also established an internal education committee to make the literature of the New Left readily available on campus at reduced prices and to issue a monthly newsletter. Finally, we will participate actively in the Peace & Freedom Movement, which will keep us in close contact with other radical groups in the area.

Hopefully, this structure will be flexible enough to allow people to participate in whatever area they wish. We'll have a general meeting in the first few weeks of the fall quarter, but if you are interested in SDS at Stanford please come to our table on registration day or to our desk in the ASSU office in Tresidder.

WON'T YOU JOIN?

Peace and Freedom Movement

The Peace and Freedom Movement has grown out of the opposition to the Vietnam War. Opponents of the War organized the Peace and Freedom Party and qualified as an electoral party in California and a number of other states. Since the registration drive, members of the Party have developed a perspective which is increasingly distinct from and fundamentally opposed to the American electoral process. We believe that basic change will not come through the electoral process. At best, electoral politics can provide our spokesmen with national and local platforms, and serve as a tool for building the movement.

Peace and Freedom is working to prepare for a movement that speaks to the needs of millions of people in this country who are neglected, oppressed, and exploited by existing political and economic institutions: to black and Spanish-speak-

ing people who are colonized economically, politically, culturally, and militarily; to white working and poor people who are oppressed by a structure of wages, taxes and prices that leaves them unable to meet the rising cost of living; to middle-class people who are manipulated and dehumanized by a society geared to profit and not to human needs; and to the youth of the country who find themselves channelled through the alienating limbo of school, through the military machine, into a constricting labor market, or into various socially amputated subcultures.

Programmatically, this means beginning to build bridges between communities, social groupings, and organizations that are moving to deal with the conditions that constrict their lives. As it becomes clear that the causes of these conditions are inter-related and deeply rooted in the economic and political institutions of the society, co-operation becomes desirable and necessary. So the Movement both responds to people's grievances and educates them to the inter-relationships of social problems.

Presently, the most important of these bridges is between the anti-war movement and the Black Liberation movement. Each movement is coming to see their hopes blocked by the same system of economic priorities.

Stanford Peace and Freedom began to relate to the Black Liberation movement and to the Black Panther Party through the Free Huey Committee of Spring, 1968. Our work at the time was chiefly educational, aimed at correcting misconceptions and motivating political understanding. Peace and Freedom members played tapes by Bobby Seale and Huey Newton in dorms, and discussed social and economic conditions in the ghetto, the Panther's Ten Point Program, and the demand that Huey be freed. When students got a glimpse of ghetto conditions, they came to see "extremism" as a humanly constructive impulse. The Peace and Freedom Movement continues to view self-defense, by any means necessary, as an understandable and human response to the violence of American society.

Peace and Freedom is also beginning to build bridges between students and the surrounding communities. The Peninsula Peace and Freedom Movement and Stanford SDS share interests and grievances on issues ranging from the war and the draft to the housing shortage and local government restriction of "mob situation" Be-Ins. Peace and Freedom is initiating or supporting community struggles around jobs, housing, schools, police control, taxes, health, public transit, the draft, and opposition to gun control--and moving to unite them by showing how these immediate issues are part of the larger struggle to transform American society.

The Peninsula Peace and Freedom Movement represents encouraging rumblings in the local community and offers the organizational basis upon which further bridges may be built.

Midpeninsula Free University

The Mid-Peninsula Free University, in addition to offering courses not offered by Stanford University, is engaged in a large number of activities in an attempt to build a cohesive community in the Palo Alto area. For information one should obtain a copy of their catalogue.

One service which the Free U. offers, and we feel should be mentioned here, is its discount book ordering service. All books will be sold at a 20% discount off the retail price. Orders can be made at the Free U. Store at 1061 El Camino Real, in Menlo Park, or by phone (328-4941) between 10 a.m. and 2 p.m.

1. Exploiting patients through the fee-for-service system.
2. Perpetuating a system which treats patients as little more than a disease process.
3. Maintaining a double standard of health care for the rich and the poor, and failing to achieve excellence in either.
4. Using human beings as experimental animals.
5. Maintaining a hierarchy which demeans all health workers.
6. Systematically excluding the community from control over health services.

The physician maintains his privileged position by his ability to define the nature of illness and his role in treating it. For example, in psychiatry, doctors define deviance as mental illness and perceive their role as one of adjusting individuals to accept the present environment, rather than working to design institutions to meet needs and desires of people. Similarly, by assuming that his responsibility to his patient ends at his door, the physician can easily remain unconcerned by the injustice of overall policies.

We oppose the decision-making by a handful of faculty, department heads, and deans that affects the lives of thousands. The result is a "professionalism" that gives legitimacy to a small group's right to make decisions for other people.

We are trying to build a community to revolutionize our health care system. This requires an analysis of our health institutions which begins at the beginning and seriously questions the discrepancy between what America says it wants and what it is doing. We are working for student and community control of these institutions with their potential for tremendous good.

Stanford Employees' Association

Many Stanford students stereotype American working people as content, secure, and unconcerned. The growth of the Stanford Employees Association (SEA) in response to poor working conditions shows that here, at least, this is not true. The health and retirement plans are inadequate; there is no uniform wage scale; many campus workers are ridiculously underpaid and lack any assurance that they will not be fired without just cause. Not only do employees have no control over their situation, but they don't even have any official channels through which they can express their views, nor access to information which would allow them to make constructive suggestions.

In the past few years there have been at least two major attempts by AFL-CIO people to organize Stanford workers. The employees at the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center attempted to join the International Association of Machinists, but the National Labor Relations Board would not support them because SLAC is a "non-profit" institution. The University stifled attempts by the institutional and hospital workers to organize at the Medical Center. Thus, until last spring there was no organization to represent the grievances of the more than four thousand electricians, lab technicians, secretaries, maintenance men, and engineers directly employed by Stanford.

Last spring a number of employees from various departments formed a steering committee to create an overall organization of Stanford employees. Holding meetings despite threats from superiors and the "silent treatment" from colleagues who feared rocking the boat, the SEA came into existence and now has about 1000 members; and expects to build beyond 1500 this year. It has held two large general meetings, electing officers and setting up committees to handle grievances and to work for higher wages, improved working conditions, and increased benefits.

Yet there are many workers who are afraid to join the association, and

many in the union are reluctant to press their demands; and SEA is concerned only with immediate matters. We expect the administration to recognize SEA and attempt to co-opt its leaders. But this is no reason for students to be cynical of the future of SEA. If students support it in its infancy they are not only helping the campus workers help themselves, but they are helping create a constructive alliance. For students and workers backing each other become ten times the force of either alone.

Students and workers, in fact, are controlled by the same administrative powers and thus have much to gain together.

Black Student Union

The Black Student Union is an organization representing not only the interests of black Stanford students, but the on-campus interests of the black community at large. BSU's activities include tutorial and organizational work with the people of East Palo Alto, educational activities exposing the beauty of the Afro-American culture to Stanford students, white and black, and a political program aimed for admitting more black and Mexican-American students with accompanying changes in Stanford education to meet the needs of the black and brown communities.

Last year, following the assassination of Martin Luther King, BSU led a fight -- almost leading to a sit-in -- which forced the administration to increase black admissions and commit itself to new programs more relevant to the needs of black students -- a first step.

BSU makes clear its support of struggles for black power and black liberation. Notable is its cooperation with the Black Action Council in East Palo Alto, a coalition fighting for community control of schools, police, and municipal institutions -- East Palo Alto is an un-incorporated area in San Mateo County. BSU has tutorial programs for East Palo Alto high school students, and several black Stanford students teach at the Day School, a community educational effort.

The Resistance

Stanford was the birthplace of the Resistance, an anti-draft organization basing itself on the philosophy of non-cooperation--turning in draft cards, refusing induction, refusing to register, and taking the consequences of one's act. Begun by ex-student body President David Harris and others, The Resistance has so far had three national days of non-cooperation, on which more than 2500 draft-age men have publicly conveyed their draft cards back to the government.

The San Francisco Bay Area is perhaps the best area in the country for non-cooperators. Not only have sentences been light, averaging eighteen months, but a panel of more than 100 lawyers have volunteered to defend resisters. Though hundreds of men from this area have sent their cards back, few are in jail. Until the November elections, the creaky wheels of the American juggernaut of justice will turn very slowly. Many men who have returned their cards have not been drafted as

delinquent, and many who have refused induction have not been brought to trial, or even indicted.

The Resistance basically believes that people must first change themselves in order to alter the larger society. To the Resistance this means saying no to the oppressive machinery of this society and living a life consistent with one's ideals.

The Resistance has an office at 424 Lytton in Palo Alto. Its telephone number is 327-3108.

Peninsula Observer

The Peninsula Observer is a non-profit, independent, underground bi-weekly, publishing local muckraking and national and international liberation news. The Observer covers and editorially supports the struggles of the oppressed--Blacks, Chicanos, the poor, women, and the young--for the control of their own lives.

Much of the paper's coverage is given to the growing Palo Alto-Stanford-Menlo Park radical community, whose interests are apparently inimical to this area's economic oligarchy. The Observer staff is strong on investigative reporting, and publishes detailed accounts of the holdings and maneuverings of the major economic interests whose policies affect our lives. The radical community and the Observer want the land and wealth of the area for the people.

Most staffers are or were students and realize the conditions of academic life. Stanford is fully covered, and much Observer research has been put to use by the campus radical community, especially work on the University's corporate and government involvement.

The cultural revolution section discusses the evolving forms of psycho-drama, street religious ceremonies, guerilla theatre, be-ins, costumes, and revolutionary music. The traditional modes are not neglected but are questioned in form and content.

The Observer is grateful for letters and stories. Anyone may submit a story to the office at 180 University Avenue, #10, Palo Alto, or phone it in to DA7-3961. The Observer needs workers for distribution, typing and secretarial work, pasteup, proofreading, in the graphic arts and in photography. And they have fun in the office.

