

read about it in back issues of the Wall Street Journal. And a warning to all girls-- don't fall for his line about "making you a movie star." Levin bankrolled the election campaign for the four, and his first action when elected was to attempt to get his office carpeted.

These are the Stanford "student leaders." There can be little doubt that they will be of great service to the university administration; and they will enjoy the fruits of their labors.

Admissions

Stanford trains students primarily to be upper middle class professionals and business leaders. The admissions policy of the University is designed with this in mind. The use of Scholastic Aptitude Test scores and grade point averages for admissions criteria combined with Stanford's extremely high tuition discriminates against youth who have not been trained to concentrate on verbal and mathematical abstractions, and against those whose parents cannot afford to pay the high tuition. Only 4.6% of Stanford freshmen came from families with incomes under \$6000 per year in 1968. For freshmen at all colleges the figure is four times as high.

While Stanford screens out the poor, it makes considerable efforts to attract the children of the very rich. Recruitment is concentrated at private boarding schools and a few "outstanding" high schools. The pattern of recruitment in New England is particularly lopsided. Whereas 80% of the students admitted have at least an A- average in high school, it is not uncommon for prep school students to be admitted with B- averages.

In recent years, Stanford has made efforts to recruit black and brown students. Slightly over three hundred blacks will be at Stanford as students this fall. However, the emphasis is on creating a black elite. The passionate collecting of high school student body presidents and athletes applies to blacks as well as whites.

The admissions policy at Stanford, former University President Wallace Sterling used to tell incoming freshman classes, was designed to ensure girls a husband. The unreal ratio of male students to female students at Stanford has unnaturally structured social interaction since the University's founding. Academic opportunities are consciously denied women through quotas and age cut-offs in graduate admissions (in, for example, the psychology department).

Of course, very few women can become lawyers, businessmen, and engineers.

Getting Smart

Welcome to Stanford. No doubt you have come here in search of an education. Stanford is well known for dispensing such a commodity--or at least something that passes under that name. Radicals once thought they could change Stanford to make it more worthy of the term "institution of higher education". That was in 1966, when David Harris (now known as the husband of Joan Baez) was elected student body president. David's inspired visions were eventually committed to death, and the end product was the Study of Education at Stanford (SES). It did away

with some of the more onerous requirements, and attempted to recommend ways in which education could be personalized and deformed. But it did not change the basic nature of Stanford.

Student radicals cannot lay any great claim to originality in their discovery that universities such as Stanford are elite institutions. That has long been common knowledge. For the upper classes, Stanford has been a source of pride. To working people, "Stanford student" has connotations of smug long-hairs cavorting around in their Porsches.

Both Stanford and the corporate and government elite which dominates American society have gone through many changes since 1891. Stanford is no longer designed simply to provide some cosmopolitan embellishments for an otherwise provincial aristocracy; it now functions to create highly trained experts who will man the top posts in the bureaucracies and laboratories of America. However, the concept of an industrial training school is repugnant to most would-be elite members. And this is a matter of great concern here at Stanford.



WHAT IS ACADEMIC FREEDOM?

"Academic freedom" is the pride and joy of the American scholar. If you are a radical, you will no doubt be informed by certain professors and administrators that you pose a threat to this wonderful "privilege". In fact, if you listen carefully to the ways in which the term "academic freedom" is used, you may discover what it really is - privilege. It is the privilege of being able to lead your life much like the artisans of olden days: to work at your own pace, to have the personal pride of the craftsman in your own work, to enjoy the social life of the academic guild.

However, while the academic world cloaks itself in medieval imagery, it has intricate ties to - indeed it depends upon - the corporations and government. The academician's privilege is part of the bargain which he strikes with his benefactors. Another part of this bargain is succinctly expressed by Richard Lyman - a man who understands the bargain well enough to be the most likely prospect for Stanford's presidency - "The university cannot remain the true home of free inquiry if it is subordinated to political purposes."

This does not mean that the university is apolitical. It means that those within the university must not seriously challenge the policies of those who provide the bulk of the funding - i.e., the government and the corporate elite whose interests it serves; and it means that they must maintain the university as an instrument vital to the carrying out of those policies. When radical students demand that the university not take part in the oppression and murder of human beings, they also demand in effect, that the university cancel its bargain. That is why radicals threaten "academic freedom".

The university naturally has an interest in committing students to that bargain. Hence recent curriculum reforms have aimed at initiating undergraduates to this guild-like atmosphere. They attempt to promote closer personal contact between students and professors, and to give students more opportunities to embark on their own projects. This can, ideally, lead to rewarding experiences. But it also has some severe pitfalls.

As changes in the economic structure have created the need for more and more highly skilled technicians at the higher levels, graduate training for the elite has come to be regarded as a necessity. Since anything one learns as an undergraduate must be relearned as a graduate student (by that time, if the matter in question has not been forgotten by the student it will have been made obsolete by the latest discovery or the newest theoretical trend), the requirements of undergraduate education can be modified or even dissolved without altering the purpose of the system. For at some point, the undergraduate must make some decisions about what to do with himself.

One possible alternative is to "drop out". There are a number of variations to this operation. Some people go to the beach, some go to the mountains, some sit in candle-lit rooms tripping on drugs, grooving on the sounds from their stereos. This type provides a fascinating topic of research for academic psychiatrists and sociologists who find in the drop-out a very human response to the alienating conditions of modern existence. Perhaps more important, the drop-out does not pose much of a threat to the security of the academic guild, for rather than challenging the system, he either ignores it or endures it fatalistically.

Many students conclude that the best resolution to the dilemma of their undergraduate freedom is to prepare themselves for graduate studies. Some of these slave diligently over their books and test-tubes and gradually pull themselves up the academic ladder. Others prefer to nurture the image of the brilliant intellectual, and hope eventually either to blitzkrieg or bluff their way into the

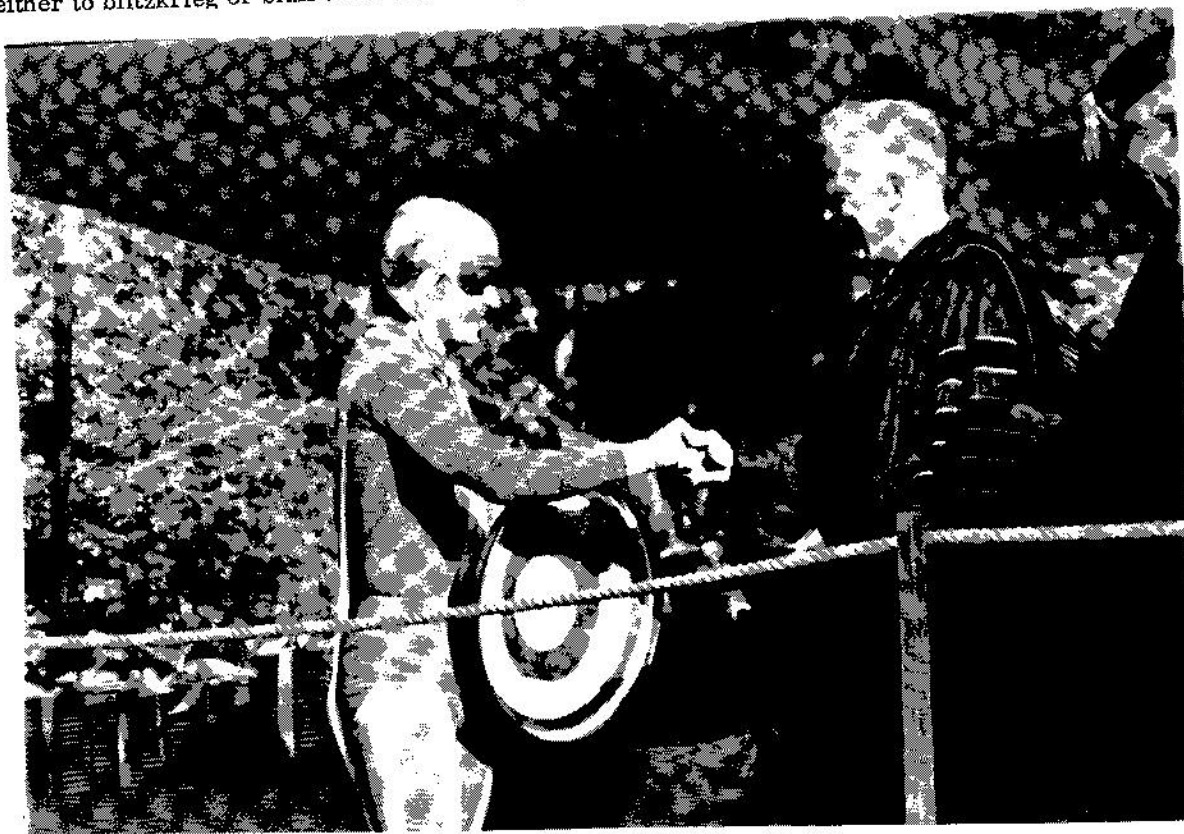
Ivory Tower. These methods also insure that the academic guild will rest secure in its tranquility, and that the tasks it performs for government and industry - such as electronic warfare and counterinsurgency research - will go on unhindered.

If you are now a freshman, this may all sound rather overwhelming. After all, the administration never told you any of this. Apparently they think that your university education can be a rewarding, fulfilling, "mountain top" experience and at the same time prepare you for all the shit-work and boot-licking it takes to get to the top of the heap.

WHERE NOW?

The most common experience of the Stanford student is disillusionment. The war in Indochina goes on, despite the marching, the picketing, the draft resistance, and the rioting. Trying to make a place in the academic world is humiliating and exhausting. At the end of it all, you find that there are hardly even any jobs for you because the government is no longer doling out quite as much money to the universities as it did in the early sixties. Tuition goes up almost every year, and you're bound to get tired of a steady diet of baked beans and peanut butter after a while. If now, or sometime in your illustrious career as a student, you feel like you're about to reach the end of your tether, take cheer, for you have lots of company.

Radical students have for several years tried to devise ways of cutting that tether which binds them to the rules of the academic establishment. They have tried to create alternative institutions and life styles, in which they can better realize their potentiality as human beings. In a way, it was the artists who were the first to take this step, for they found little room in academic establishments dominated by the "scientific spirit". Political radicals are beginning to follow in larger and larger numbers. The paths they choose are varied, and these variations sometimes reflect differences in



politics, almost as often as differences in skills and interests. The variations parallel those of the "establishment" world: e.g., journalism, labor organizing, law, medicine, economics, sociology, and so forth. But in each case, there is an attempt to create ways of thinking and acting within the context of the tensions and problems of the real world outside the untainted walls of the Ivory Tower. And most importantly, radicals are creating ways of fulfilling very basic human needs while they wage political struggles against the old institutions which constantly exhaust people's energies and yet offer no prospect of renewing them.

Women

While becoming increasingly involved in the economy, women are still assigned to the thankless role of defending the last bastion of tradition, the household. Nearly all major institutions and media conspire to confine women to menial and incidental roles in the public life, while constantly reminding them that their fulfillment comes as guardians of the hearth. Women's Liberation is a response to this situation. It is a way of saying that the traditional patterns of social relations—specifically, the domination of men over women, both in private and public life—are no longer viable, for they destroy women's chances to develop their own identities apart from those defined by a male-dominated society. Women's condemnation of male chauvinism is an assertion that they will not accept being consigned to the subordinate roles of wife and mother, that they must, first and foremost, be complete human beings.

Marlene Dixon, sociology professor and activist in women's liberation defines male chauvinism as "an ideology of male supremacy which asserts the biological and social inferiority of women in order to justify massive institutionalized oppression. . . . The phenomenon of male chauvinism can only be understood when it is perceived as a form of racism based on stereotypes drawn from a deep belief in the biological inferiority of women." Certainly, there is no empirical, scientific evidence to support any theory of female inferiority. Rather, it is a cultural phenomenon passed on from generation to generation which for centuries has socialized both men and women to believe that women are naturally passive, submissive, irrational creatures. These attitudes of female inferiority have resulted in the exploitation of women in all aspects of their lives.

An examination of the American economy reveals exploitation of women. Job discrimination is perhaps the most obvious. Women who consider their college education as a means to a rewarding career might take notice of 1968 findings of the Department of Labor which point out that a woman with four years of college education earns just \$6694 per year while a man with an eighth-grade education earns \$6580 per year. The male college graduate, meanwhile, was earning \$11,795! When female workers are earning only 55¢ for every dollar earned by males, it is no wonder that equal pay for equal work is a long-time women's demand.

Not only are women working for lower wages, but they are forced to accept undesirable jobs—clerical workers, service workers, factory workers, and, of course, unpaid housewives. The few women professionals in the nation are teachers (predominantly primary school) and nurses. Why aren't women free to choose a different place in society? Lack of skill is seldom the reason (in

1963, 60% of women with B.A.'s were housewives.) Rather, the reason is that women are the victims of institutionalized discrimination: laws preventing pregnant women from working; laws prohibiting the hiring of women for certain jobs; laws regulating women's working hours; and the absence of effective regulations prohibiting discriminatory hiring practices.

Not only are women discriminated against in employment, but our consumer economy thrives on male chauvinism. Considering that women constitute 80% of the consumer market, their rights are in no way respected. Instead, the media exploit a male supremacist image of woman as sex object or empty-headed housewife. This image structures and reinforces male expectations of "womanhood." As a result, women are forced to fit the images in order to be considered "feminine" and therefore "desirable" by men.

Women don't buy feminine hygiene deodorant because they're gullible, but rather are forced into such consumption by a market which plays into the hands of the male supremacist image. Women must buy or be branded as unfeminine.



Stanford, like nearly every other institution, participates actively in economic oppression of its female workers. It demands unrealistically high qualifications but offers little financial reward. Secretaries receive only \$486 per month. On the other hand, jobs for males, none of which requires any special qualifications, all begin with a higher base pay: groundsman, \$525-560; custodian, \$540; service station operator, \$660; and so on. The great number of student wives seeking work to finance their husbands' educations (another example of male chauvinism) provides Stanford with inexpensive labor. In addition, Stanford as an institution makes no provision for paid child-care for working mothers (see CHILD CARE AT STANFORD).

Female workers are not the only victims of male chauvinism. The ideology which regards women as basically inferior denies the validity of her intellect and limits any woman's chances to develop. The fact that the educational system also discriminates against women should be obvious to anyone currently enrolled in a university. At Stanford, female graduate students are outnumbered by graduate males 5 to 1. The undergraduate ratio is almost 2 to 1. As one woman, Dr. Susan Ervin Tripp, explains it: "Why should graduate women care? When they near completion of graduate study, they find that jobs are scarce. . . . (Women also need) models, successful women to emulate. Graduate school socializes students not merely to know the content of books, but teaches them a way of thinking, of writing, a style of life. Most men can look to one or more faculty men who influenced their own lives strongly." At Stanford, with only ten women professors out of a total of 563 full professors, one might have a tough time finding a satisfactory model. (This is not to say that anyone should emulate the typical Stanford professor.)

Not only are educated females few in number, but social pressure channels them into "feminine" fields--English, foreign languages, art, etc. A woman who tries becoming an engineer, a scientist, a lawyer or a doctor, assuming she makes it past the discriminatory admission and hiring practices, will find herself an outsider in her field.

Male chauvinism manifests itself in still another way--the sexual oppression of women. In literature and thought ranging from D. H. Lawrence to the works of Freud and in all the mass media, woman is presented as primarily a passive being who should exist for the pleasure of the male and who has no right or need to participate actively or assertively in satisfying emotional or sexual needs. Freud's theories on female sexuality were certainly not based on any study of female physiology. For years women unable to experience vaginal orgasm (a Freudian myth: there is no such thing, only clitoral orgasm) thought themselves frigid and blamed themselves for being deprived of sexual fulfillment.

Not only have women been denied this fulfillment, but they have also been denied control of all of their reproductive capacities. Sexual education and contraception are not easily available. The woman is the one who must carry and bear the child, and yet the right to avoid pregnancy is often denied her. Should she become pregnant, her right to terminate the pregnancy, if she so desires, is flatly denied. The therapeutic abortions performed in the U.S. are usually limited to the wealthy. Those not so fortunate are forced to seek illegal abortions when they cannot afford to have a child either for emotional or economic reasons. The statistics of death and permanent injury resulting from illegal abortions are appalling--it is the woman who suffers. And yet now that abortion has become a public issue, the authoritative institutions (in the public mind) to be consulted--religion, law and medicine--are all male-dominated. Women cannot determine the nature of the changes.

The problem of women's liberation goes much deeper than questions of salaries, education and abortions. The roots of oppression lie in the social and economic organization of American society and in hundreds of years of cultural development. The fight for liberation of women--the opportunity to become complete individuals, with equal rights to participate actively in the world--requires alteration or elimination of American institutions that deny people--whether women, men, blacks or Vietnamese--the right to have control over their own lives. As such, women's liberation ultimately cannot be separated from the struggles of other oppressed peoples in America and throughout the world.

Child Care at Stanford

The Stanford Community Children's Center was initiated by a group of Stanford women and workers in response to child-care needs of mothers, children, entire families in the Stanford community. The day-care center was not intended to be a group babysitter to replace the non-working lady who lives down the block or an enlightened professional nursery where more affluent mothers could drop their kids. Day care means a cooperative effort in which all parents and other members of the

community share the responsibilities of taking care of and bringing up all the children. This creates a community social environment for the children to develop in, while freeing women from their traditionally house-bound roles.

The University already provides the unique situation where parents can be near to their children while they work. The demand for local child care means that parents can be with their children some time during their working day. It also means that parents help design the center's program, thus participating more in the child's development than if they left him with a sitter, or worse, alone.

A group of Stanford women carried out a summer program at Stanford Elementary School in 1969. Most of those cared for were children of graduate students and faculty in Escondido Village. This group merged with SLAC workers and found limited space in the Stanford Convalescent Home. The Center received no financial backing from the University or any other source. Of course, this restricted the kind of services provided by making it necessary to charge a fee of \$75 per month for full day care (to cover equipment, teacher, insurance, etc.), thus eliminating potentially interested working parents because of the expense.

The Center has steadily expanded and changed to include full day care for eighty-eight children by the end of last spring quarter, the hiring of a new teacher to accommodate six to eight more, and the institution of a graduated fee scale which begins to deal with financial inequalities.

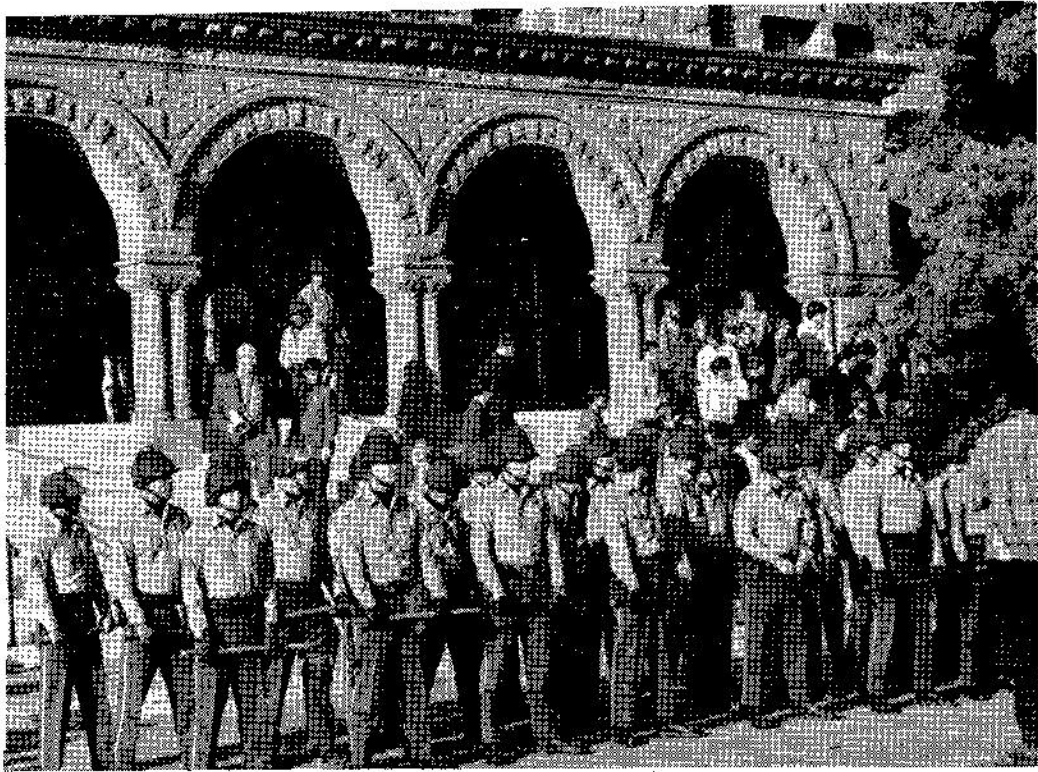
However, all this work, in fact the very existence of the Children's Center, was challenged in a fight with Stanford over a location. Anticipating the loss of their space in the Convalescent Home, the Center's people demanded that Stanford provide for the child care needs of its students and employees. The Stanford Elementary School, which was to be torn down for emeritus professors' housing, was the proposed site. Ex-president Pitzer and his minions admitted to giving children and community child care low priority on their list of expenditures. They skirted their "moral obligation" to children by making an ambiguous agreement to give the Elementary School to the Center for one dollar.

Implicit in this agreement, as far as the Center was concerned, was an understanding that the University intended to assume responsibility for the property taxes. However, spreading word of "victory" brought a clarifying word from Stanford's lawyers, who explained that the group had misunderstood President Pitzer and that the University was only giving them a two-year lease on a building, with attached maintenance and tax expenses.

The Workers Action Caucus put up posters to publicize and protest against the University's decision. This proved to be a sore spot for the University administration, which reacted immediately by threatening staff people with the loss of their jobs on the basis of a rarely if ever enforced regulation requiring prior approval of all posters that go up on campus. (One Stanford official personally aided Stanford police in tearing the signs down.)

It is now unclear how antagonistic the University will be to the growth of the Center and whether it will try to replace this autonomous people's center with another built by federal funds and governed by the administration.

Negotiations with the University for child care were successful only because people understood its purpose and were dedicated to furthering its work. New people are needed as part-time staff members, dues-paying supporters, educators and advocates of the Center's cause (like WAC), and fundraisers. Students working at the Center can get credit through SWOPSI.



To Survive We Must Fight

HOW THEY GONNA KEEP US DOWN ON THE FARM

STANFORD MOVEMENT

The roots of the Stanford movement date back to Mississippi Summer (1964) and support for the Free Speech Movement in Berkeley. Though both civil rights and student power were important threads for the developing movement, only anti-war and anti-draft activities led to sustained involvement of the most people.

Early activities included mass anti-war marches, a sit-in against draft tests, an experimental college, the election of David Harris as student body president, and a popular "We Won't Go" campaign. In May, 1968, 600 students occupied the Old Union to demand student control of the campus judicial system and amnesty for students suspended for participating in an anti-CIA demonstration.

In October 1968, the Stanford chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (since disbanded) spawned the first conscious anti-imperialist movement at Stanford since President David Starr Jordan and the Anti-Imperialist League opposed American involvement in the Philippines after the Spanish-American war. The SDS demanded that Stanford and SRI cease all research and operations concerned with Southeast Asia and the war in Vietnam. Not until fifty SDS members interrupted a meeting of the Board of Trustees on January 14, 1969, did people pay attention to the SDS demands. SDS conducted an educational campaign, including a political defense before the Stanford judicial council. When five Trustees appeared at a campus forum on March 11, to answer SDS charges, SDS gained mass support for the first time.

On April 3, 1969, a community meeting in Dinkelspiel Auditorium adopted a series of demands opposing classified war research, chemical and biological warfare (CBW) and counterinsurgency studies. Furthermore, the group, later to be known as the April Third Movement (A3M), demanded that SRI not be severed from the university, but instead be controlled by guidelines designed to exclude objectionable research.

Trustee rejection of the demands led to the nine-day occupation of the Applied Electronics Laboratory. This sit-in served as a base for educating and amassing support but it ended with only a faculty pledge to eliminate classified research from the campus. SRI still continued to do CBW work, war research, and counterinsurgency studies. The A3M held an abortive sit-in in Encina Hall the morning of May 1, and sponsored a class boycott and political carnival while awaiting a Trustee decision over SRI. When, on May 13, the Trustees announced their

intention to release SRI to continue its work, the Movement was incensed. In a well-executed militant action at the Industrial Park facility of SRI, the A3M blocked traffic, kept researchers out of SRI, and destroyed the exterior of the building when the police moved in to clear out the demonstrators. The demonstration forced the closing of that particular facility of SRI and did hurt SRI overall, but the Trustees' decision stood.

The April Third Movement, though it failed to "control SRI," was an important step forward. It was possible to build a militant, anti-imperialist movement on the Stanford campus. A3M's "failure" lay in its inability to control an institution of paramount importance to those in power. In fact, consciousness of the difficulty of social change was perhaps the most important lesson of the April Third Movement.

Last fall the anti-war movement continued under the leadership of the liberal "Moratorium." Though campus radicals failed to relate adequately to what was a massive, ineffective outpouring of anti-war sentiment, radical activity continued, primarily in building ties with workers in local plants. Winter quarter SDS fell apart. Some radicals joined Grass Roots to agitate around the issues of low-income housing and land use, but most of its work was educational and oriented off campus.

OFF ROTC

Following the Trustees' instruction "to continue (his) consultation with the Department of Defense to improve and utilize this important program," President Pitzer had formed an advisory committee to which all proposals concerning the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) would be submitted. On October 30, 1969, a revised army ROTC contract had been sent to the committee for their advice. A week later President Pitzer had unexpectedly appeared at the committee meeting and requested an endorsement of the Army proposal. On January 12, 1970, the committee endorsed the proposal. Four days later, Pitzer sent the proposal to the Academic Council with a letter that strongly urged them to accept the plan.

On January 22, the Academic Senate, suffering massive moral collapse under the combined weight of the Defense Department and the prodding of President Pitzer, reversed a previous vote of the entire faculty and instituted a limited academic program for ROTC.



Academic Council welcomes visitors.

FCMers guard the Old Union. (Bob Beyers of Stanford News Service is in foreground.)



courses. Anticipating this display of academic license, concerned members of the community formed the New Stanford Moratorium. The New Moratorium organized the infiltration of ROTC classes and a limited education program in the dorms. The "People's Army" took to the countryside, armed with water balloons, laying a guerilla ambush for a ROTC field maneuver. Moffett Naval Air Station could not provide air support, so the ROTC forces never showed.

Many members of the New Moratorium also joined a march to the Stanford Square branch of the Bank of America on "TDA," the day after the Chicago Conspiracy contempt verdict. Though several financial institutions lost their plate glass windows that night, no arrests were made. The Movement learned that night that police or FCM photography doesn't mean shit after dark.

Just before the beginning of spring quarter, a mail poll of the entire faculty narrowly approved the plan granting limited credit to ROTC. The first night of the new quarter, following a speech by Tom Hayden of the Chicago Eight, 300 anti-ROTC protesters marched to the ROTC building to board it up. Santa Clara County Sheriff's Deputies attempted to disperse the demonstrators with clubs. In response, some university buildings associated with the American imperialist system (ROTC, Graduate School of Business, Space Sciences Building) were trashed (windows were broken).

On April 1, the Movement adopted the "Do It to It" strategy. This strategy involved political work on all levels, from education to militant action intended to raise the cost of maintaining ROTC. That night 300 radicals, organized in small groups, trashed the ROTC building and fought police. Four were arrested.

The following night the Off-ROTC Movement, as it was to be known, demonstrated its ability to work on different levels. Over a thousand students toured the campus in a peaceful march. Interest in the struggle was built by militant action, but on that night concerned liberals showed up when the radicals promised not to trash.

The next week the Off-ROTC Movement attended ROTC classes (Pitzer was forced to close ROTC enrollment and the ROTC building), attended a meeting of the Academic Council without permission, and began to organize its affinity groups. The affinity groups initially served as mobile squads that functioned collectively in confrontation situations. The affinity groups were much more than military units, however. They offered a forum for thorough discussions of questions like ROTC, trashing, and imperialism, and served as organizational committees. Many people who did not participate in militant action were actively involved in affinity groups.

The night of April 6, the Movement quickly trashed the President's office and the Space Sciences Building. The "cost-benefit analysis" augmented the "Do It to It Strategy." The Movement was working to make ROTC more costly to the University than it was worth.

The week of April 12 the focus of the Movement shifted towards educational activities and the impending student referendum. Two affinity groups put out the Street Wall Journal, an occasional wall newspaper. Discussions were arranged in dormitories, and the Movement campaigned against ROTC for the student referendum. The Movement had reservations about the legitimacy of the vote, but it felt that an expression of opposition to ROTC would help eliminate military training at Stanford. Two-thirds of the students voted to deny credit to ROTC, and barely less than half favored elimination of ROTC from the Stanford campus. Spurred

on by this show of strength, and pressured by students new to the movement but opposed to trashing, the Movement voted to "sit-in" the Old Union. Experienced radicals feared a bust, but new people felt that a bust might help build support. On April 23, following a large noon rally in White Plaza, 300 students--and off-campus supporters--pushed their way through FCM'ers blocking the Old Union entrances and staged a "nondisruptive" sit-in. A band was brought in for a dance in the courtyard which lasted until 11:00. A 1:10 a.m., fifty Santa Clara County Sheriff's deputies swept through the Old Union, without warning, clubbing demonstrators and arresting twenty-three on trespassing charges. Those who got out responded with heavy trashing all over the campus.

The Movement, by a slight margin, voted to call for a two-day class boycott instead of militant action in an effort to build mass support. The boycott fizzled, but the Movement set up a Liberation College in the Old Union Courtyard, published the Stanford Free Press, and sponsored theatrical rallies, including a performance by the San Francisco Mime Troupe and the premiere of the Stanford Disruption Theater's "Alice in ROTCland." Though probably fewer than five hundred people attended the Liberation College overall, they found it offered a relevant educational experience, something rarely found at Stanford.

The second Old Union sit-in was born at a divided meeting, in which one group opposed trashing and another demanded that those opposed provide an alternative. Though independent affinity group action was endorsed, the group decided to occupy the President's office. Pitzer's office was locked and guarded the next morning (April 29), so the Movement occupied the Old Union again. The mood of the sit-in was set by a militant, mid-day performance of "Alice in ROTCland" and the announcement of the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. The word got out that a bust was imminent, and over 1500 students and supporters gathered outside. The police came at 8:30, sparking heavy fighting between students and police. Moving across the campus, 1000 demonstrators battled over two hundred police and deputies from as far away as San Francisco till 1:00 a.m. Sixteen people were arrested and ten were injured. The police reported thirty injuries.



STRIKE

On Thursday, April 30, in response to the Cambodian invasion and the eruption of violence on campus, a liberal group held a mass meeting in Frost Amphitheater to call a "non-violent strike" (boycott of classes) to put

an end to ROTC and the militant demonstrations. After the speeches by the sponsors of the meeting, the microphone was opened. Radicals spoke, and soon after an inciteful performance of "Alice in ROTCland," 1000 students left the amphitheater for the ROTC building. Some demonstrators broke into the ROTC building, but the demonstration moved along when several busloads of police arrived. Windows were smashed all over the campus that night, and an abandoned car was set afire. Heavy fighting between police and students continued late into the night, despite the appearance of the "no-rocks brigade," which stood between demonstrators and police. When the demonstration finally stopped, tear gas blanketed the central campus.

On Friday morning, May 1, the Academic Council voted to recommend to the Academic Senate that it withdraw credit from ROTC classes. It referred the question of ROTC presence on campus to the ROTC advisory committee. The "strike" began Friday, too. In addition to a widespread class boycott, buildings were blockaded. When two people were arrested at Encina Hall, others immediately surrounded a police car and prevented it from carrying them away. A busload of police arrived, but avoided confrontation for fear of converting more "non-violent" students into dangerous militants.

That night there was a march to Palo Alto in an attempt to bring campus militancy into the community. The march was met at the edge of campus by a line of police. Though people made it into Palo Alto, the scene was too tight, and they returned to the campus for a dance and scattered confrontations with the police. Though that night carried a great potential for militant action, the Movement failed to understand the importance of "defending its own turf."

Sunday afternoon, May 3, a mass meeting was called to organize the strike. Though many people struck independently, for their own reasons, this meeting voted the "demands" of the strike. There was little opposition to two of the three national "Yale demands"--get the U.S. out of Southeast Asia and eliminate DOD research and ROTC--but only after an angry plea from Stanford's Third World students did the assembly agree to the third: Free all political prisoners. A majority had originally voted against the demand, largely because radicals had failed to adequately inform other strikers about "political prisoners."

Monday, May 4, marked the first full day of the strike. Classes that didn't voluntarily cease meeting were blockaded or interrupted with questions, most of the Stanford Engineering labs were forced to close, seriously threatening the university financially. Though 500 people blocked doorways at the week's beginning, the number rapidly diminished, with only ROTC continuously blocked. The class boycott aspect of the strike continued for four days. On Friday, May 8, President Pitzer declared Saturday and closed the campus.

The success of that week's activity grew from the interaction of the Cambodia invasion and the culmination of a militant struggle against ROTC. Many students with

no past political activity stopped going to class. The administration, in its own right incapacitated by the Cambodian invasion, feared coming down on a mass-supported strike by having the police break up the more militant aspects of the strike. Police from San Jose, Sunnyvale, and Mountain View were unwilling to return to the campus because so many police had been injured. The administration did negotiate with the civil to obtain a new injunction and a campus curfew, but these were never unveiled for use.

At the end of the week several departments met and voted to call off the strike, although in many cases curriculum changes were made so political activity could continue.

Liberal students got involved in activities such as the Movement for a New Congress, but many radicals decided to try to build connections between labor and the anti-war movement by supporting the Teamsters' wild-cat strike. A picket line was set up in front of University Receiving, and some trucks refused to cross it. Out of these actions, the Labor Action Group of the Radical Caucus was formed. Other radicals and left-liberals worked on the "Open Campus" project to bring the strike's message to middle America.

Unsatisfied by the general direction of the strike, Off-ROTC members and other radicals formed the Radical Caucus during the week of the strike. It continued to meet after the strike ended. On May 19, it sponsored a final night of trashing in response to the arrest of seven of its members on warrants for acts allegedly committed in early April.

On June 4, the Academic Senate voted to eliminate credit for ROTC and to phase out the entire program. The struggle over ROTC continues only in the courts.

Though a number of people brought before the Stanford Judicial Council this spring were convicted and fined (a few may have been suspended), many charges were dropped for lack of evidence or set for trial this fall. In the county courts, charges were dropped for people participating in the two sit-ins. Of those people arrested on misdemeanors, all but one were acquitted.



POLITICAL TRIALS THIS FALL FROM OFF-ROTC

Jose Razo: August 30

Burnell Mack: September 21

Jim Clark: September 24

Brooks Yeager-Chuck Noble-Dave Smothers: October 5

James Johnson, Jr.: October 5

Four well-known members of the Off-ROTC Movement served five or ten days after being found in contempt of the Superior Court injunction banning disruptions at Stanford. A few demonstrators, charged with felonies,

plead guilty to lesser charges. More important, several felony cases are yet to be tried, including the case of Burnell Mack.

SUMMER OF STRUGGLE



This summer, while most Stanford students were away vacationing, radical political activity in the community of Palo Alto reached a new high. For background, see PALO ALTO'S MASTER PLAN (in section III), excerpts from a leaflet distributed this summer by the Bay Area Revolutionary Union. For a more detailed explanation of these issues, see "The Promised Land," a report on Peninsula land use focusing on the role of Stanford University, and "Up against the Bulldozers," published late this summer by the Palo Alto Tenants' Union. Similarly, for a more adequate description of this summer's events, consult the back issues of the Free You, voice of progressive forces in Palo Alto.

This summer witnessed the most intense political activity in recent Palo Alto history. All kinds of people--from street people to the League of Women Voters--have joined to oppose the Palo Alto Master Plan as it affects them. The struggle has focused on three major demands: an end to fascist police repression in Palo Alto, an end to demolition of low-cost housing and building of high-rise developments, and the right of young people to enjoy themselves in Lytton Plaza without harassment. But it is all one fight. People involved over specific issues have begun to realize that all of these demands are opposed

by the same small group of rich men who own and run Palo Alto, and they are supporting each other's demands.

EVICCTIONS

Conflict began to crystallize last May over the Palo Alto Medical Research Foundation's plans for a luxury hospital "which will attract people of the best type to this community" to be built in one of the city's few surviving pockets of low-income housing. Opponents of the hospital educated the community about the housing crisis in Palo Alto, about what kind of hospital this would be, and whom it would serve. On June 2, the hospital was defeated by referendum. But Hare, Brewer & Kelly, the landlords for the area where the hospital was to have been built, weren't about to take No for an answer. In the two weeks following the referendum, they served ten families in the neighborhood with eviction notices. The plan this time was to build high-rent, high-profit, quickly constructed "dwelling units" and office buildings.

But the people of the community meant their No to be final. A meeting was called, and the Palo Alto Tenants Union was formed. The Tenants Union issued demands for 4000 low-income housing units, and end to evictions,

and a moratorium on development projects such as the Bank of America's Bryant Street "Superblock," the Dillingham Financial Center (Palo Alto Square) and the Willow Expressway.

A battle was shaping up. Through June angry tenants sought redress from the Palo Alto City Council. But the Council stalled each week until 2:00 or even 3:00 a.m. while Tenants Union members (some of whom had already received eviction notices) and their supporters sat in the audience, desperate to speak, only to be threatened with arrest every time they tried to make themselves heard.

RED SQUAD

At the same time the fight against political repression and fascism began. During the spring political activity at Stanford, movement leaders were harassed by a group called the "Red Squad," the plainclothes detective force of the Palo Alto Police Department. Other people in the community were subjected to intimidation and harassment by Red Squad members, under the leadership of Roger "007" Goodyear. Following the refusal of the City Council to investigate these violations of civil rights, a class action suit was brought against the members of the Red Squad and the City of Palo Alto, with Jim Wolpman of the Palo Alto Law Commune as attorney.

INDEPENDENCE DAY

July 4th marked the beginning of this summer's street fighting in Palo Alto. The day began with a Be-in at El Camino Park (the history of Be-ins in Palo Alto--the repressive resistance of the City Fathers to even the old "flowers and beads" be-ins of by-gone days--is a story in itself). But this Be-in looked different from past affairs. Pictures of Mao and Che graced the bandstand. Representatives from the Tenants Union, the Brown Berets, and the Revolutionary Union spoke, as did

Michael Kennedy, one of the lawyers defending Los Siete.

At sunset the crowd moved over to Lytton Plaza, anxious to hear more music and test the absurd sound ordinance prohibiting amplified music after 11:00 p.m. Plainclothes police circulated through the crowd. The people--black, brown and white, mostly young--were overflowing onto Emerson Street, and they were militant. At one point somebody made a perfect toss of a cherry bomb, sending one of the pigs spinning around holding his ear. One plainclothes cop tried to make an arrest in the middle of the plaza and suddenly found himself down on the ground, unconscious.

The tension grew as more police began to gather on the outskirts of the plaza. Sometime after 11:00 p.m. they charged the crowd in the plaza, scattering the people in all directions with their swinging nightsticks. But the people weren't ready to accept this particular eviction without resistance. Groups of fifty to a hundred people roamed the streets of Palo Alto, striking at the businesses behind the Master Plan: the banks and insurance companies, Pacific Telephone, real estate outfits, and the Palo Alto Times. With just a few unfortunate exceptions, people left small shops--the shops of people on the losing end of big business' development schemes--untouched. This is the kind of political discipline that has marked this struggle in Palo Alto as such an important one: the lines have been clearly drawn.

None of this seemed to make an impression on the City Council. At the regular meeting of July 6, crowds of people were kept outside while those allowed inside were watched and photographed by the Red Squad and kept waiting until after 1:00 a.m. for a discussion of the housing crisis.

THE ROUND-UP

A large crowd gathered at the Plaza on Saturday night, July 11, including many black brothers from East Palo Alto. Around 11:00 p.m. the people decided to take



University Avenue and moved out into the street. Without warning, police came charging from all directions, rounding up hundreds of people in the intersection, including a few straight Republican businessmen. Some people were released from the scene a few hours later--this selection was pretty much based on appearance, with Roger Goodyear directing the whole operation. Although the charges, (for men "riot" and for women "failure to disperse,") were eventually dropped, the police were able to collect almost 300 sets of photographs and fingerprints. Most of the heavier charges came down on the black brothers, almost all of whom had to post bail (the whites were released on their own recognizance).

The City Council meeting of the following Monday, July 13, was short and chaotic. The pigs were frenzied. All kinds of people, including elderly women, were beaten, maced, clubbed and arrested. Tim Gadus of the White Panthers was arrested by Roger Goodyear and brutally beaten in the Civic Center basement by that professional sadist. Goodyear threatened to kill Tim if he ever told about the beating. But Tim told, and many people in Palo Alto have made it clear that if Goodyear lays one hand on Tim or anyone else, Goodyear's "gonna be splattered all over the pavement."

ILLEGAL SEARCHES, ARMED SELF-DEFENSE

The very next day the Red Squad raided the home of White Panthers Tim Gadus and Jack Hawkes. They arrested the two of them (Tim for the second time in twenty-four hours) and Janet Weiss of the Revolutionary Union on "possession of stolen goods." The "stolen goods" were legally purchased weapons.

They were all set to make another arrest that night, at the house at 376 Addison. At 9:00p.m., there were police cars and a paddy wagon parked up and down the street. But calls went out informing friends and lawyers of the situation, and by 9:15 there were people inside the house, armed and ready to defend themselves in the event the police tried to enter illegally. The pigs backed down and left. It was one of the summer's most important lessons.

By this time much of the Palo Alto community was intensely concerned with the behavior of their "representatives." On Saturday afternoon, July 18, a community meeting attended by 1000 people gave overwhelming support to the right of the people at the Plaza to stay past 11:00 without interference. The housing situation and police repression were also discussed.

That night the people won another victory. The call had gone out all over the Bay Area for brothers and sisters to join the people at the Plaza in asserting their power to defy the 11:00 p.m. ordinance out of existence. Early in the evening about fifty helmeted, uniformed members of the San Jose Liberation Army arrived, marching down Emerson Street waving red flags. There were police with rifles and shotguns on all the downtown rooftops (this has since become a regular feature of the Saturday night Palo Alto skyline). 11:00 p.m. arrived, but nobody was about leave. The police knew it--and knew that if they tried to bust things up, the round-up wasn't going to be so easy this time. They had no choice but to let the people take Emerson Street. There was more music, speeches, and a great film. Sometime after 1:00 a.m. the people decided to leave, and quickly dispersed in groups.

It wasn't a complete victory. The city's new strategy has been to bust the bands which play past 11:00p.m.

during the following week. Various groups and speakers have appeared at the Plaza: the San Francisco Mime Troupe, speakers from Los Siete, and so on. The Tenants Union tried to make itself heard at a few more City Council meetings and then, with supporters, walked out of the August 10 meeting, where the Council unveiled its new teletaping equipment, to be turned on "in case of disruption."



ROGER GOODYEAR: Observe the People

Nothing is resolved. The Master Plan is still big business' design for Palo Alto's future. That Master Plan has no mercy for people of low and middle income. The Tenants Union continues to grow (see Organizations), as just one part of the United Front which has developed to fight for the real interests of the people of the midpeninsula against that Master Plan. The Midpeninsula Free University, Venceremos College, the White Panthers, and the Bay Area Revolutionary Union have pledged themselves to that United Front. Late in the summer the Stanford Radical Caucus decided to support the United Front demands, and more recently the Stanford Workers Action Caucus also joined the United Front. As we go to press, the Tenants' Union is organizing an emergency phone tree to oppose the impending demolition of low-income housing in downtown Palo Alto. The struggle is not over.

REPRESSION

Over the last few years, as political discontent has risen within the United States, repression of political movements has increased. With the growing impotence of the old devices of social and political control, and with the revelation of the futility of reformist efforts, those in power have had to resort to cruder methods of control. On the university campuses these have taken many forms, ranging from suspension to summary punishment with billy clubs and mace. When the police come, those arrested face fines and probation for their first offence; they are sternly told that the next time it will be jail.

For working people and people of color, there is none of the paternalistic leniency with which the student radicals of the middle and upper classes have been treated. But in either case, the purpose of the prosecutions is not simply to exact retribution from the individual ostensibly involved; it is aimed against the movements of which those individuals are an integral part. It is political beliefs which are placed on trial, beliefs which lead men to contest the legitimacy of the men and institutions administering America.

A closer look at repression reveals the establishment's strategy. The arrest-imprisonment-trial cycle is intended to hurt the movement in three ways. First, it can scare radicals into inactivity. Second, it often takes valuable leadership off of the streets, out of circulation. And third, it diverts the attention of political movements from their original goals.

Here at Stanford this fall there will be several political trials stemming from the Off-ROTC demonstrations of the spring. Student radicals will be on trial for contesting Stanford's "right" to participate in America's imperialist aggression. As for evidence -- or lack thereof -- it will be of only secondary concern to the prosecution; frightening any potential dissidents and keeping them tied up in defensive activities is their most important goal.

Stanford's radicalism derives only in part from the current trend within the universities. It owes a great deal to its location in the Bay Area, which has long been a center of radical and revolutionary activities. Two major political trials are scheduled to be going on in San Francisco in the fall--those of Los Siete and the Soledad Brothers -- and radical groups at Stanford will put a great deal of energy into activities related to these trials.

Los Siete are seven Latino youths from the Mission District accused of killing SFPD Officer Joe Brodnick. The realities of what actually happened were quickly swallowed up in the panic reactions of the media, most notably the Chronicle. The public was taught with banner headlines that Los Siete were mere "hoodlums." But the powers that be had greater reason for fear than was expressed in the Chronicle's epithets; Los Siete were organizing the brown community against the political and economic oppression of their people by the government and the corporate elite. Two of the seven, the Martinez brothers, had been involved in the College Readiness Program at the College of San Mateo. There, rather than

grooming themselves to be acceptable social climbers at the bottom rungs of the system, they read the works of Che and Mao. And they brought back to their community ideas which led them to an understanding of why their people's interests would be the first to be sacrificed when the city father's decide upon a new urban renewal program or the route for the new rapid transit system.

The Soledad Brothers are three black prisoners. The law books give names and numbers to their crimes; But all that the courts had cared to know was that they were black and poor and so posed a threat to the tranquility of the middle class white neighborhoods of the judge and jurors. In prison they discovered ideas which led them to a political understanding of their oppression. They became known by the prison administration for their politics. When a Soledad guard was found dead this January, the three were charged with murder. Prison officials paid no heed to legalities; they held the brothers incommunicado for three weeks. Again the media played upon the fears and fantasies of the white middle class to prevent the spread of revolutionary ideology.

But radical and revolutionary forces are finding ways to meet the challenge of political repression. They have organized campaigns for the freedom of political prisoners, by showing widespread support for their demand that political prisoners be set free, and by making it clear that they are ready to retaliate with force whenever the establishment seeks to carry out repressive policies, whether in the form of court verdicts, injunctions, or any other such device.

Each political trial has been a vehicle of education, unmasking the purposes of the police and courts and the manipulations and distortions which they use to attain them. And the movement has continued its programs with increased dedication, showing that they would not be intimidated or diverted. Finally there have been struggles within the courts, where movement lawyers have attempted to break down the prosecution's facade of "law and order" and reveal the fears and prejudices of judges, juries, and prosecutors.

But all of these battles require energy and resources: to hold massive support demonstrations; to educate the communities through the production of newspapers, pamphlets, and leaflets; and to meet the tremendous costs of an effective defense in the courts.

People in those movements which attack the American social order and its repressive apparatus understand that their very right to exist is being challenged by political trials. But they know justice is on their side and that knowledge is ultimately their most valuable resource. The court battles here are only part of a larger struggle nationwide, and movement people at Stanford possess a great wealth of skills and resources that can be put into it.

To mobilize and organize those resources is an integral part of radicalism at Stanford.

