

AGAINST THE GRAIN

VOLUME 1, NO. 2

OCTOBER 30, 1975

published by THE NEW NEWSPAPER COLLECTIVE

COP Push for Student Trustee

by Steve Vettel

Last spring the Rosenbaum slate, which successfully ran for the ASSU Council of Presidents, promised to work towards the goal of placing a student on the Stanford Board of Trustees. Since taking office, members of the COP have discussed the possibility of student representation informally with administrators and trustees. As yet, no formal proposal has been made. The University of California Board of Regents admitted a student member last year.

FACULTY AND ADMINISTRATION RESPONSE

Two weeks ago, the COP approached the Steering Committee of the Faculty Senate with its plan of student and faculty representation on the Board. The Committee's response was disappointing, said ASSU Co-President Dave Galligan. Most of them felt it would be a waste of their time and that other sources of power within the university were now open to faculty. The faculty presently holds substantial power through the Academic Council and its committees and has representation on all trustee committees (students are excluded from the nominations committee). The faculty appears to be satisfied with the status quo.



Stanford News and Publications

ROBERT MINGE BROWN - Chairperson of Stanford Board of Trustees -- Will he still be smiling if the COP is successful in placing a student on the board?

Similarly, the administration has given the COP no support. Dean of Students Jim Lyons has advised the COP on the best ways to approach the trustees, but has not supported their efforts publicly.

The COP has mentioned its proposal only casually to trustees. Co-President Lee Rosenbaum claims reactions haven't been very positive. Galligan expects some support from younger trustees, but as yet the COP hasn't gained any open support. If the proposal came before the Board today they are sure it would be defeated. Unlike the UC Regents, the Stanford Board legally owns the university. Trustees are generally unwilling to share ownership rights with students. The question of the term length of a student member was also raised. Trustees now serve five year terms; this would be impossible for a student to do. However, a number of universities with student trustees have worked out satisfactory arrangements.

STUDENT TRUSTEE EFFECTIVENESS

Galligan admits that a student voting on the Board of Trustees would not substantially affect decisions. The Board is presently composed of 30 members, 22 elected by the Board itself and 8 elect-

ed by alumni. Rather, it is hoped that the presence of a student on the Board would have a consciousness-raising effect. The trustees could neither ignore student reaction to their decisions (the trustees meet in secret and censure their published minutes), nor make decisions without some student input on all levels.

Most important would be the indirect pressure a student trustee could direct to the administration. "Asking the right questions of administrators at meetings" would be the student's most influential task, according to Galligan. While most trustees spend only a few days each year on campus, a student would be more in touch with everyday decisions affecting students. Although it is true the trustees seldom deal with everyday administrative decisions, the COP believes individual trustees can and to put pressure on administrators. For example, last spring the COP read a statement to the

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PRP Explains Kidnapping

by Terry Bright

In recent interviews with The Black Panther, Mwana we Lumumba and Mukambajek of the Popular Revolutionary Party (PRP) gave 4 reasons for the abduction of 3 Stanford students and one Dutch researcher from the Gombe Stream Research Center in Tanzania. The PRP, a guerilla group fighting Mobutu Sese Seko's government of Zaire reportedly received \$400,000 for releasing the 4 people. Stanford and the State Department deny that they paid any money to the guerillas. The 4 reasons are:

1. To gain the release of Yumbu, Secretary General of the PRP, and of Central Committee member Kilenga and his staff, and to obtain necessary weapons, money for food, and medical supplies. Apparently, neighboring Tanzania had been holding Yumbu and the others in custody. Tanzanian officials have issued contradictory statements about their position on Yumbu which has brought Tanzania's support of liberation groups into question.
2. To use the international publicity to alert the peasants and workers of Zaire that an armed struggle against Mobutu is growing. They hope to gain support from survivors of an armed movement in another part of the country, which was defeated by white mercenaries led by Mobutu in 1969.
3. To make a statement concerning their feelings about U.S. involvement in Zaire. The U.S. has backed Mobutu's one-party state with one billion dollars in bilateral U.S. and World Bank aid since 1965. The PRP believes that the U.S. wants to use Mobutu to pacify Zaire and stabilize East, Central, and Southern Africa for foreign capitalist penetration following the model of Iran, which serves as the U.S. policeman in the Persian Gulf. The U.S. also is seizing the opportunity of investment, free of nationalization, and possible labor problems in Zaire. The U.S. lays claim to 80% of the capital entering Zaire, or as Business Week states, \$235 million since 1970 in foreign direct investment.
4. To increase Tanzania's minimal commitment to fighting neo-colonialism in Zaire.

Zaire has seen violence ever since it received its independence in 1960. Soon after Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister, took over the reigns of the government, a secessionist war broke out in mineral-rich Katanga and Kasai provinces. The separatist were backed by 8000 Belgian troops (the former colonizer), France, 'Katanga lobbies' in England and the U.S. and white settlers in nearby countries. During the course of the war, the U.N. sent in forces to put down the secessionists, and Lumumba was murdered. It was recently revealed that the CIA developed a plan to poison Lumumba, a staunch anti-imperialist and pan-Africanist. It is generally believed that the CIA did kill him, despite CIA claims to the contrary.

In 1965, Joseph Mobutu siezed power from the man who had run the country since Lumumba was murdered. It is said that the 300 Belgian families who controlled the country in colonial times have been replaced by 300 Zairois families. The country imports more Mercedes-Benz autos than tractors, and

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and more ...

1/3 of all its foreign earnings go to food that could be produced indigenously. Mobutu and his family own the Bank of Kinshasa (capital of Zaire), the largest taxi company in the country, a substantial chunk of the country's retail and wholesale trade and numerous foreign villas. Mobutu spent 3% of the national budget on the recent Foreman-Ali boxing match. However, the President's office will receive 42.5% of the gross world receipts.

The U.S. is very interested in keeping up good relations with Zaire because of its mineral wealth. In June of this year, the CIA was accused of plotting a coup to overthrow Mobutu. To placate Mobutu, the U.S. is renegotiating hundreds of millions of dollars of short term loans and increasing aid from \$20 to \$60 million a year. The U.S. has worked with Mobutu in his support of a separatist movement in the Cabinda province of Angola which is physically separated from the rest of Angola by a small strip of Zaire territory. The U.S. is interested in this area because it is the second largest oil producing area of Africa. Gulf Oil has paid Portugal \$90 million a year in royalties for this oil.

Zaire follows the pattern of many post-colonial nations of a wealthy elite surrounded by abject poverty. There are rumblings of change, however. There were rebellions against Mobutu in 1966 and 1967. The officers who allegedly planned the coup with the CIA against Mobutu came from the eastern part of the country, where the PRP is based.

The PRP is committed to building a struggle against a system they believe is repressive and not in the interest of the majority of the people of Zaire. Having been denied access to "legitimate" channels of government and the media, they have taken up guerilla tactics to struggle for power.





GENERALISSIMO FRANCISCO FRANCO

LNS

U.S. INTO SPAIN?

by Jonathan Marshall

(Editor's note: As this issue goes to press, Franco lies stricken by a heart attack, perhaps even dead. Upheaval will soon be taking place throughout Spain. The following article provides the reader with a basis for understanding possible U.S. intervention in that country.)

Today, 36 years after Generalissimo Francisco Franco led his falangist forces to victory in the Spanish civil war, with the help and intervention of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Spain is once again in turmoil.

Four weeks ago, Spanish firing squads executed five alleged terrorists--three Marxists and two Basque separatists--provoking a massive and unprecedented international outcry. Tens of thousands of Europeans demonstrated in the streets against Franco and sacked Spanish embassies. At least sixteen countries, from Scandinavia to Greece, recalled their ambassadors from Spain. The Common Market condemned the executions; even the Pope expressed shock and dismay.

These countries were appalled that the defendants were not given a fair trial, but received only summary military judgements without the benefits of a defense. (Even so, most of the American press insists on calling them "convicted terrorists.") They were also protesting against decades of falangist rule in Spain, which has meant the denial of

constitutional rights, and the suppression of political parties, free speech, and labor unions. Franco's regime, according to the authoritative, non-partisan organization Amnesty International, regularly uses torture against political prisoners "on a massive scale"--what the Spanish Cardinal Jubany of Barcelona calls "institutionalized violence."

Only the United States, of the major powers, has remained aloof. President Ford described the executions in Spain as an "internal matter," unworthy of comment. The U.S. also voted against a NATO resolution opposing Spain's admission to the alliance. Although Ford insists that he cannot comment on the internal affairs of other nations, he has recently denounced the internal policies of Cambodia and Uganda, and maintains a trade embargo against Indochina, Cuba, and other "enemy" countries.

U.S. TIES TO SPAIN

The reason for the Ford administration's special friendliness towards the Franco regime is not hard to find. Even as Europe cried out against the executions, Henry Kissinger was meeting with Spanish authorities to sign an extension of the Madrid Pact, first implemented during the Eisenhower administration, which authorizes the presence of American military bases on Spanish soil.

The Madrid Pact has been until now an executive agreement signed by the heads of state. Only last week Congress forced the administration to submit the pact for its approval. (Congress is still trying to force Ford to reveal the terms of some 600 other agreements now in effect.)

Under the Pact, the U.S. maintains 28,000 military and support personnel at its missile, air, naval, and atomic submarine bases in Spain. The United States spent \$7,000,000,000 to construct these bases. It has also trained 6,000 Spanish military personnel in the U.S., and the new agreement pledges the U.S. to provide up to \$750,000,000 to aid the regime.

Article 30 commits the United States to come to the aid of Franco if his regime is threatened by armed internal dissent. American forces from Germany actually conducted massive war-games within Spain, called Operation Pathfinder Express, to simulate anti-guerrilla military operations.

Kissinger hopes the Pact will strengthen the Franco government against forces which might induce Spain to follow the example of Portugal. The United States has an investment of over \$1.5 billion to protect; according to Business Week, American business leaders see an "exciting potential" in Spain "as a low-cost manufacturing base for selling to" the Common Market. "Spain could be the Japan of Europe," said Honeywell's man in Spain.

Kissinger fears, moreover, that the fall of Franco would undermine U.S. efforts to reverse the trend in Portugal and thus insure continued access to bases in the Azores and oil in Portuguese-occupied Angola. Franco's downfall might also hasten the advance of Communist electoral strength in Italy and Greece, countries U.S. military experts consider vital to the maintenance of the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean.

But Kissinger's "Southern Europe" strategy is crumbling. Greece and Turkey are still bitter at the United States for its role in the Cyprus affair; the Italian Communist Party is still gaining on the Christian Democrats; and Portugal shows few signs of reverting to the old order. It remains to be seen for how long Kissinger can stave off the forces of liberalization in Spain.

The Hidden Minority

by Dave Stern

To be gay in our society is to be constantly aware that one bears a stigma. While some tolerance is developing, there is still no widespread genuine acceptance of homosexuality as a valid sexual and social lifestyle. I am constantly made aware of this in the caricatures I see in movies and magazines; in the jokes I hear at parties, around the dorm, or in the locker room; in the pain, confusion or fear I sometimes find in the faces of my old friends; and in my own uncertainties about the consequences of writing an article like this with my name on it.

Over the past year, I have come to realize that my gayness is an integral part of my self-identity, and that to continue hiding it can only empathy necessary to transcend this attitude. Whether consciously or not, I have always known myself to be part of a feared minority, repulsive to and persecuted by the majority, and this gives my life a complexity and dimension unknown to straights.

GAYS SHARE OPPRESSION

Of course, gay people are not alone in feeling stigmas of our society forced upon them. Non-whites and women bear similar although not identical burdens, as do the old, the crippled, and the ugly. But the stigma of the homosexual is almost unique for one important reason. Our gayness is not something, like skin color, or sex, or infirmity, immediately apparent to ourselves and others. We have to discover our homosexuality, and having discovered it, we have the option, hardly available to others who are stigmatized, of deciding how far we should reveal our stigma.

This option, especially at places like Stanford, has served to make gay people the hidden minority. Many gays (too many) either have yet to directly confront their gayness or to reveal it to others. No other minorities can make this choice for themselves. Perhaps none would want such an option. For along with the choice comes the anguish, the guilt, and the fear about how to decide. And because relatively few gay people (again especially at Stanford) have chosen to open up about their gayness, there are few precedents or guiding hands to help one along.

HIDDEN SEPARATION

There is no Gay Studies Program here at Stanford, nor even courses that deal with gay history or the gay experience. Gays are not usually mentioned in modern history courses and when the accomplishments of famous gay people are studied (Leonardo, Michelangelo, Virginia Woolf, Gertrude Stein, even Shakespeare), their gayness is rarely mentioned. Blacks and women are only two groups of stigmatized people in this country who understand the importance of such academic recognition in building pride and confidence among themselves. Their efforts in this area has not been paralleled here at Stanford by gays. Even if a gay student wishes to pursue such study on an individual basis, she or he will find all books on homosexuality and gay liberation partitioned off

in a special locked section of the library stacks, a further testimony to our hidden separation from the rest of society.

This hidden separation is reinforced not so much by overt acts of persecution and discrimination, although I would be foolish to argue that such acts did not occur. In any major American city, gays are constantly being arrested or harassed by the police while in bars or simply walking arm in arm down the street. Homosexual activity remains illegal in most states and is not only considered grounds for removal by most employers, but mandates dismissal from the armed forces and many government jobs. In late 1970, the Connecticut Commissioner of Motor Vehicles refused to issue a driver's license to a man because his "homosexuality makes him an improper person to hold an operator's license." Admittedly this was an odd exception, but it illustrates how far-reaching discrimination can be.

WESTERN ATTITUDES PRODUCE STIGMA

Guilt and fear about revealing one's stigma, however, is rooted in the prevailing Western notions of what it means to be gay. Religion, psychology, and sociology have all contributed to the internalizing of what is at best doubt and at worst self-hatred in most gay people. There are few homosexuals who have not felt at some time the various attitudes--sin, crime, illness, curse--with which society brands us. A sense of isolation or exclusion, the lurking fear that maybe our experience is less than that of the straight, the feeling that however much love and pleasure we can take from each other something is still denied us--all these thoughts are the common realm and unifying essence of being gay in contemporary society.

Here at Stanford, where conventional standards are so respected and aspired to, such gay oppression is only aggravated. It is no wonder that the Gay Student Union on campus had to change its name to the Gay People's Union for lack of student participation. The extensive peer counseling program they offer, begun only last year and denied publicity by the Daily, operates with more counselors than counselees. Using the 1948 Kinsey statis-

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AGAINST THE GRAIN

The New Newspaper Collective seeks to provide an alternative news source, both in form and content. We attempt to present important analysis and information either ignored or misrepresented by the conventional press. The processes of choosing topics, writing, editing, and layout are collective.

This represents the second of three issues of *Against The Grain* planned for publication during Fall Quarter. The staff has tried to cover a blend of Stanford, national, and international topics, as well as trying to incorporate a balance of news and analysis.

Those members of the community interested in working with the New Newspaper Collective should come to the next organizational meeting, at Columbae House, on Monday, November 4th, at 4:00 p.m..

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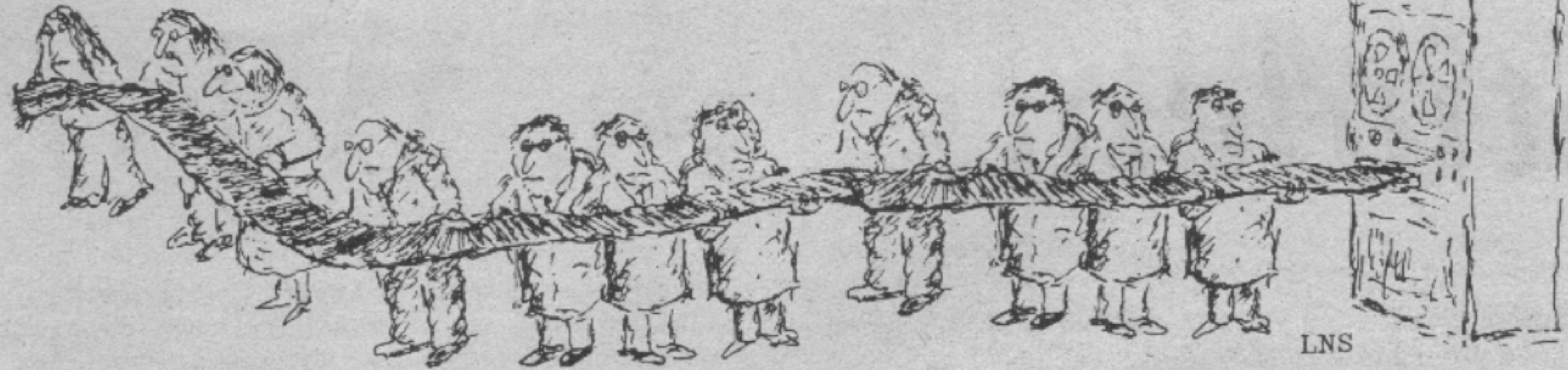
by Dave Hawes

When viewed in terms of its externally funded projects, Stanford University takes on the characteristics of a government research institution. Of the total 1974 sponsored projects expenditures of \$98.4 million, \$81.5 million was for U.S. government supported research. In terms of the amount of money received through federally sponsored research, Stanford ranks third nationally. Only MIT and the University of California, San Diego receive more. With the inclusion of SLAC research, Stanford is the largest recipient of federal research funds in the nation.

Through sponsored projects, outside agencies negotiate contracts with faculty members for research or instruction projects. Generally, the funding agency finances the specific costs of doing a project and the indirect costs to the university of having the research done at Stanford.

LIMITED REVIEW FOR FUNDED PROJECTS

Few mechanisms exist with the university to check the power of a funding agency. A research proposal is subjected to review by the department chairperson and the dean of the school on the



basis of its academic worth and to assure graduate student participation. There are two university-wide restrictions on research--the first concerning human subjects and the second prohibits classified research. University policy explicitly states that research shall not be evaluated "on speculations concerning the political or moral propriety of the uses which might be made of its results."

The student struggles to prohibit classified research illustrate the tremendous resistance within the university to any controls on sponsored research. The faculty senate did not find that classified research was in direct opposition to the maintenance of academic freedom until a nine day sit-in at the Applied Electronics Laboratory. 1400 students signed solidarity statements of participation. Under this pressure, Joseph Pettit, Dean of Engineering, ended all classified contracts in the School of Engineering. Only then did the faculty Senate rewrite the research policy to prohibit classified research.

SPONSORSHIP AS EXTERNAL CONTROL

Through sponsored research, a few government agencies exercise a subtle but direct control over the research that goes on at this university. Simply by threatening to move their research funding elsewhere, a professor is left to choose between the ending of his present research project or yielding to the agency's desires for a particular direction to the research.

This system of funding conflicts with the ideal of academic freedom at Stanford. There are two parts to that ideal: 1) the freedom to inquire--to research in whatever area and by whatever method your curiosity and conscience dictate, and 2) the freedom to disseminate results to all those interested. Whenever a researcher forsakes his/her desired research topic for an area of research in which s/he can attain funding, his/her freedom of inquiry is being moderated, if not denied. Since outside agencies have funds which the university is dependent upon, they exert a powerful hand in molding Stanford. In any project with a discrepancy between the agency's and professor's desires as to what should be done, the funding agency is in the position of ultimate power.

RESEARCH MONEY DISTORTS

Another effect of the massive influx of research money into Stanford revolves around the practice of salary offsets. When receiving tenure, a faculty member agrees to a given teaching load in exchange for a guarantee of his position. In many departments, he can exchange some of the teaching load for research time, if he has an external sponsor to pay that portion of his salary. This practice is most heavily used in the Med School, where most professors charge 70 to 90% of their time to sponsored research projects. In scientific and technical fields, many faculty members are able to raise their income through a summer salary, paid by outside sponsors for research work done during the summer when little teaching occurs.

When a professor charges some of his time to sponsored research, his department no longer pays that portion of his salary. With these funds the department is able to hire more faculty members. This phenomenon allowed the Schools of Engineering and Medicine to grow to their present size. Of course this opportunity is only available to departments with sources for sponsored projects.

Salary offsetting has also led to artificially low student-faculty ratios. For the university as a whole, the ratio is 11.7 students per faculty member. By eliminating the Med School (where salary offsetting is highest) this ratio jumps to 15.0 to 1. For departments with no sponsored research at Stanford, the ratio is even higher.

The disproportionate size of the faculty in many departments is directly attributable to federally sponsored research. Especially if the department is dependent on one or two agencies, the possibility of research cutbacks or elimination could cripple a swollen department. Most non-tenured faculty would be released and the graduate program considerably curtailed. For example, in the Engineering department, where a high proportion (79.1%) of faculty are tenured (the university average is 66%) and the salary offset is generally 33-40%, cessation of all DOD sponsored research would lead to the firing of virtually all non-tenured faculty.

WHO'S THE SOURCE OF FUNDS

How do government research funds reach the campus? Through various formal and informal channels of communication, government agencies let potential researchers know what areas they are willing to fund. A university faculty member then comes up with a research proposal and sends it to the appropriate agency or agencies. If the proposal fits within the needs of the particular federal agency's research program, it will be considered for funding along with similar proposals from around the country. On the average, 60% of Stanford's proposals are funded.

The university does not include the \$26.6 million of research contracts with SLAC from the
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Busing and Racism

by Tim Cullinane

September 1974 saw the beginning of Phase Two of the plan for desegregation of Boston's school districts, ordered by Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity. Black students being bused to white schools were showered with rocks and bottles from anti-busing mobs and many were injured. This "anti-busing" sentiment quickly turned into an assault on all blacks. Blacks in many parts of the city were attacked by whites, as in one notable incident where a black was pulled from his car and almost beaten to death. These incidents indicate that the real issue is not busing but racism. The graffiti found in white South Boston further reflects this: "Kill niggers", "Niggers suck", and "Busing is for Zulus".

In response to these attacks, Boston Mayor Kevin White called out the police to protect the students. This saved many students from injury, but did not stop the racist attacks on blacks.

In 1975, the school year began with over 1900 policemen protecting black students riding to predominantly white schools. Many whites boycotted classes and even blacks stayed away, fearing for their safety. In Louisville, Kentucky which has also seen racist violence, armed guards rode every school bus. The national guard provided extra protection from anti-busing demonstrators led by the Ku Klux Klan.

ROAR LEADS OPPOSITION

The main anti-busing organization in Boston is ROAR--Restore Our Alienated Rights--which has ties to city government through its leader, city council member Louise Day Hicks. Also, it was revealed in the Boston Globe that Mayor Kevin White, a foe of busing, had secret meetings with ROAR in which he promised certain concessions. ROAR has sponsored school boycotts, anti-black "mother's marches," and prayer meetings where participants prayed for an end to busing. Chapters of ROAR currently exist in New York and Denver, and there is interest in ROAR in other areas. ROAR's policies extend beyond the issue of busing. Earlier this year they attempted to break up a women's rights meeting.

ROAR has also found support at the national level. Ford, Rockefeller and many members of Congress have come out against busing. Ford recently claimed, "I don't think opposition to busing really has any relationship to racism on the part of most people." On September 16, Ford blamed the busing problem on "the (Supreme Court) decision in 1954 that declared unconstitutional the long-accepted practice in many states of having separate-but-equal schools."

The racist offensive has not gone unopposed. One of the largest groups supporting the desegregation struggle has been the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). Along with the NAACP, they sponsored a demonstration of over 15,000 people on May 17th of this year. This mass demonstration and the broad support that NSCAR enjoys has pushed Mayor White to provide adequate police protection for the bused students.

DIVERSE VIEWS ON BUSING

Busing is not a clear-cut issue. Many groups on the Left oppose busing and the introduction of federal troops and police to protect black students. The Revolutionary Union opposes busing because it is "forced integration" that "intensifies national hostilities". The All African Revolutionary Peoples' Party, headed by Stokely Carmichael, supports community control of the schools instead of busing. Amiri Baraka of the Congress of African People has attacked "assimilationist blacks" for supporting busing for better education because white schools, to which blacks are usually bused, are located in working class neighborhoods and have the same limitations as ghetto schools.

Many of these arguments are valid. Whites in South Boston have always felt manipulated by the elites who governed them. They saw upper-class whites send their children to private academies while their own kids were sent to the ghetto schools of Roxbury. Black groups throughout the country have had much experience with police repression and are especially wary of large numbers of police moving into their communities.

However, equal education has long been one of the main demands of the civil rights movement. White schools are almost universally better than black schools. Desegregation through busing begins to give blacks the better education that is their right. But the issue is not just access to better education; it is support for democratic rights. Any attack on basic rights must be defeated in the most effective way possible. Progressive forces must take advantage of contradictions in the system, such as racist police being forced to protect black youth (in May, the Boston Police Patrolman's Association gave \$2000 to ROAR). Federal forces have been particularly effective in forcing police to protect black students and forcing racists to retreat from violence since both groups fear federal indictments much more than local prosecution. Mass mobilizations, such as the May 17 demonstration, have been effective, since they increase the self-confidence and unity of the black community. Whites have an important role in this struggle, both in supporting blacks with large numbers of people, and also by showing that the racists represent not the majority of whites, but the minority.

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Students vs. Who?

by Mike Kieschnick

The power structure of the university has been misunderstood by radicals for many years. Too much attention has been focused on the Board of Trustees as those who determine all university policy. I want to emphasize the nonmonolithic nature of the power structure at Stanford. If students want to have effective campaigns to change the nature of the university, they have to first understand where it is most appropriate to apply pressure. I want to do this by looking carefully at the interests of the various forces on campus--the trustees, the administration, the faculty, and the students.

WHO NEEDS STANFORD?

From the viewpoint of the trustees, the university serves several purposes. Many of the trustees are associated with large corporations which do not compete through prices, but which compete through the development of new technology. In this aspect, Stanford is essential. Not only have many firms been started by Stanford professors with new innovations to market, but Stanford furnishes a constant stream of faculty consultants and highly trained graduate engineers to further develop the technological base of industrial capitalism.

A second purpose, not always understood, flows from the increasingly complex nature of our society. There is a strong need for creative people trained to be analytical, who can deal with complex problems and institutions. Stanford furnishes this class of people. However, the same skills that are necessary for maintaining the social system can be turned around and used to analyze the true nature of social forces. This is a very real risk. But at the same time the system is set up to insure that most people do not choose to use their skill in any way other than in support of the status quo. Those people who have the tools to understand most clearly the repressive nature of an industrial capitalist system are also paid the most, and so usually do not question their role.

A third role of elite universities is to help assimilate minorities and poor people. It is far easier to select a few leaders and teach them how to fit into our hierarchical society than it is to change the society. And this is what we see at Stanford. The administration is strongly against setting up theme houses or other institutions that might further racial and ethnic pride.

But surely there's more to the university than this. Stanford has a large faculty in both the humanities and the social sciences. Some social science faculty can be accurately characterized as writing apologist literature. Their main function is to look at the social system in such a way as to legitimize it. Yet there are some radical professors here. But even this group of faculty uses radical analysis only to look at problems outside of the university. Very little is done in terms of what role the university plays in the capitalist system.

So what does the liberal arts faculty do? Certainly some of them are dedicated to looking for solutions to social problems, but they have been trained to use their analytical skills only within a certain fairly narrow framework. More broadly, the liberal arts faculty exists because there is a demand on the part of the educated elite that they continue to exist. When the capitalist class rose to power in the Industrial Revolution, they felt a very strong need to become "cultured" and "civilized". This need still exists today.

MUTUAL DEPENDENCIES

The administration is generally chosen by the trustees from the faculty. Stanford is in general not run by professional bureaucrats. Presumably this is because the trustees feel that they will be able to communicate more effectively with the faculty if the instructions of the trustees are presented by fellow faculty members. But it is certainly wrong to see the administration as being in some sense the complete puppet of the trustees. It is the purpose of the administration to balance all of the contradictions within the university. It is up to them to make sure that the faculty is relatively happy and that the trustees are satisfied that their needs are fulfilled. President Lyman has at times vehemently defended the right of the faculty to determine academic questions whenever the trustees try to pry. The trustees do not concern themselves with day-to-day policy so long as the university runs smoothly in a way that generally satisfies them. This is the role of the administration.

The reason that there is less tension than might be expected due to the different perceived interests of the faculty and the trustees is that, in somewhat crude terms, the faculty and the trustees have a deal. The faculty is well aware that the trustees raise money, and less than half of the university's operating budget comes from tuition. Thus the structure of the university is synergistic--the trustees get what they want (technology, analytical professionals, and the assimilation of the potential dissidents of society) and the faculty gets to pursue its interests, seemingly free from outside interference.

The trustees see matters in ideological terms, while the faculty tends to be nonideological, clinging to the myth of the nonpolitical university. Thus as a political force they are not as strongly anchored as are the trustees, and so can be swayed by pressure. The Faculty Senate has control over much of academic policy, and is only interfered with by the trustees in terms of control over information. The Faculty Senate and its committees, on which students sit, are wholly dependent on the administration for staff support and information. Thus in its balancing act, the administration has the potential power to influence all decisions. This influence is often very subtle and is not even used in some cases.

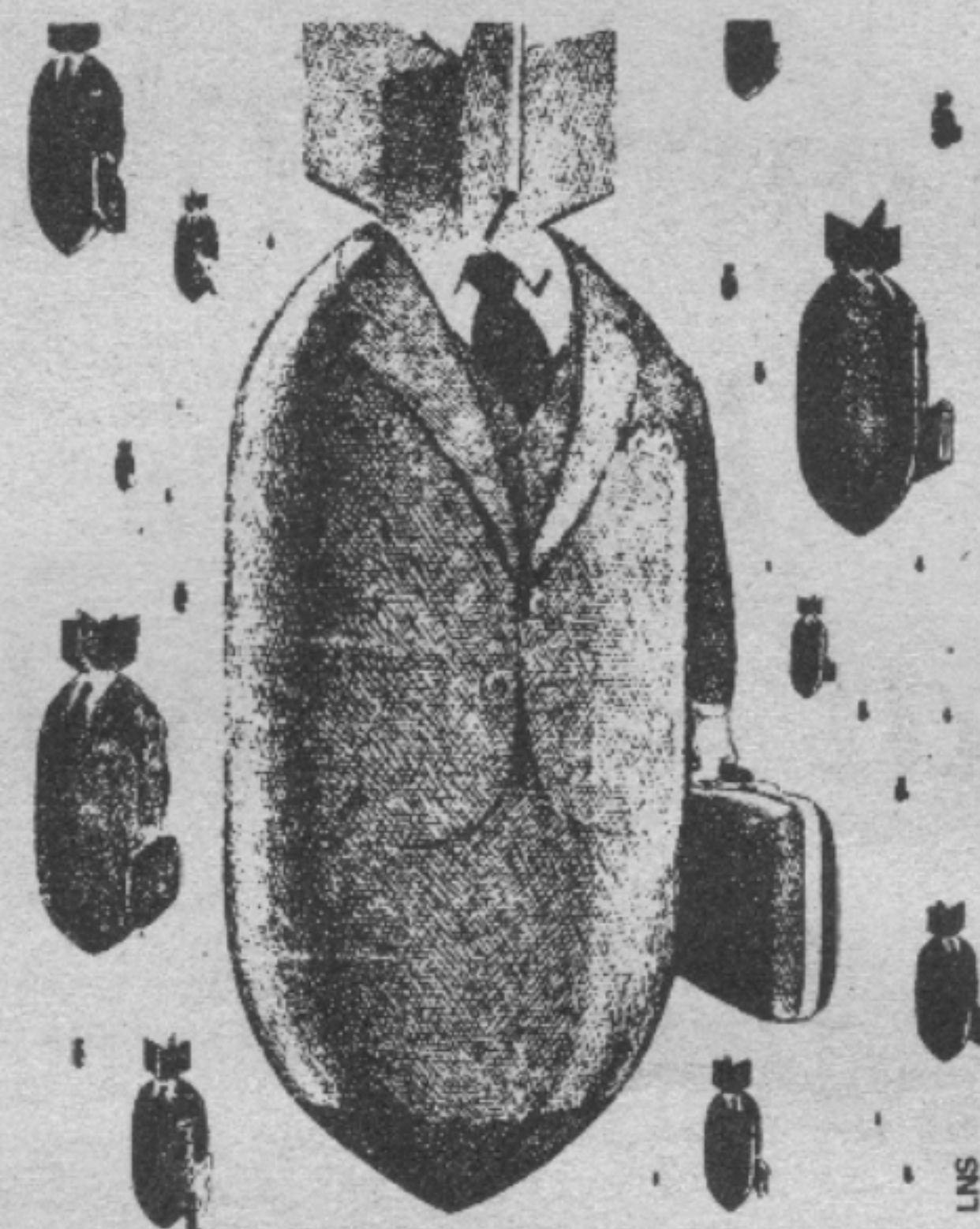
HOW STUDENTS FIT IN

Students do sit on committees. They are universally outnumbered except on the extradepartmental programs policy board. Thus the administration can say that we do have a voice. Students have been most effective at Stanford primarily when they present a united front and use the tactics of mass action. But the basis for action must be built on sound information and an accurate understanding of the issues involved. In this, the position of students on committees is essential. While there is much validity in students participating neutrally in the day to day policy making through the committee structure, in general to place one's hope there is fruitless.

Stanford can be made a better university through the action of students, faculty, and workers. But it should be realized that in essence all activity at Stanford accomplishes is reform within a static system. The university cannot run without the trustees. It is foolish to call for the end of the board and the creation of a university run by faculty, workers and students. But the experience gained through struggle at Stanford can be vital for more fundamental struggles outside the university. The university can provide a training ground in the understanding and skills needed for social change.

* * *

(This is a shortened version of a speech Mike delivered to the open meeting on University policy, sponsored by the Alliance for Radical Change, on October 14.)



Vigil Participant's Statement

Once again, the use of the Stanford Career Planning and Placement Center by military recruiters has provoked a response from Stanford students. The Navy, with heavy advertising sought to recruit engineers for nuclear vessels and personnel to be flight control officers on highly automated planes. The following statement was submitted to Against The Grain by students who participated in an all night vigil protesting the presence of the Navy recruiters. The statement was developed through collective political discussion during the vigil and was presented to the Navy recruiters.

"We are members of the Stanford community participating in a vigil to confront questions raised by the presence of Navy recruiters on campus. This is not only an issue of whether or not the Navy should be allowed to recruit nuclear engineers, pilots, and health service personnel at Stanford.

Stanford has long aided the United States military through performing war research and by training technical personnel for war-related industries. Large portions of university lands are used by firms such as Lockheed, whose existence is dependent on DoD contracts. Such corporations contribute to the unnecessary escalation in the military budget, which diverts scarce resources from social reconstruction. The major role of the military is the protection of corporate interests in underdeveloped countries, not the maintenance of a balance of power between the United States and the Soviet Union. Stanford has been responsive to the needs of the military-industrial complex to the point of cooperating in physical destruction abroad (e.g. the strategic hamlet project in Vietnam). We believe the creative energy at Stanford should be directed towards building a healthy society. We join together in trying to understand how these university activities relate to our lives and in searching for alternatives."



Ben Shahn

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