Sit-ins at Cal State Campuses

by the New Newspaper Collective

At the time that this issue of Against the Grain goes to press, students and faculty at Chico and Sonoma State Universities have occupied their respective administration buildings in the midst of local struggles larger than any since the invasion of Cambodia in 1970. Students at San Francisco State are planning a rally for Friday, December 5, in support of actions at Sonoma and Chico, and it appears that the movement may spread further still

The issue: campus security guards. On October 1 of this year, Chancellor Glenn Dumke of the California State system ordered police on all State campuses to carry firearms 24 hours a day. Many people associated with the state-wide chain of campuses objected vigorously to the presence of guns on the campuses, and the top-down nature of the decision further angered students and faculty alike.

"Our initial demands began with numerous meetings with the administration concerning the guns," reads the statement of 500 Chico State students who occupied the office of Chico president Cazier last Wednesday. "We had no success. Finally we called a "day of life" protest, which resulted in the present "state of protest" declared by the Associated Students (of Chico State) Board of Directors, who spoke for the entire student body." Some members of the Chico State faculty also joined the sit-in.

Amy Bordeaux, Director of Business Enterprises for the Associated Students of Chico State and sitter-in, described the action last Friday night. "It's more like a sleep-in, to tell the truth." But spirits were high as the occupation prepared to enter its third day.

The sit-in climaxed a "day of protest" to reiterate "our firm position that we want the guns off campus because they are dangerous to all our campus community's health and well-being and are a threat to our academic freedom." Students marched on the administration building to confront university officials with their demands. "Due to the complete and total frustration at the poor answers to our questions offered by vice-presidents, people decided to wait until President Cazier arrived. We waited and waited, and finally we decided to wait until guns were forced off campus," said Bordeaux. "While we waited for the president the number of students never went below 100. At most times it was at least 500 people. The whole building was very crowded."

NO LEGAL ACTION YET

At the time of this writing, the Chico administration appears unwilling to take legal actions against the protestors. Police arrived to block entrances to the building on Thursday morning, but left when they were informed that the protest was "legal, peaceful, and democratic," according to Bordeaux. "If they had tried to take us out there would have been no struggle, except perhaps linking of arms. Our stand is a non-violent, peaceful protest. If we go against this, we are being hypocrites." Business as usual continues to take place around the sitters-in. "We are doing nothing illegal but being a nuisance, singing, and being highly energetic," said Bordeaux.

On Thursday, students at Sonoma State University took up the struggle. No student government currently exists at Sonoma, but many students see the possibility of an organized student body growing out of the firearms issue. "People are starting to rally around the gun issue here," reports student Michal Gallob, "but the political gears are rusty."

According to student activists, a petition circulated against the arming of security guards has gathered 800 signatures, an abnormally good response for Sonoma students. On Thursday night, over 150 students occupied the corridors of Stevenson Hall, an administration building. Norma Schaffer, a freshwoman at Sonoma, read a statement to Against the Grain much like that of the students at Chico. "We're also doing it as a show of solidarity with other campuses," she added. The statement written by the sitters-in has been endorsed by some dormitories. "They've been bringing us blankets and food. There have been great feelings of solidarity, and it's a very high energy thing," said Schaffer.

Schaffer also remarked that the janitor had "left us a broom; we're going to keep the place clean. We aren't anti-working people, we are workers in this particular factory."

Marc Duskin, a member of the San Francisco State student legislature and an organizer for the local Committee Against Racism told Against the Grain that a demonstration in support of actions at Sonoma and Chico would happen Friday. Duskin speculated that militant actions might also emerge at the San Francisco campus, though police have been armed there since the student strike of 1968. A number of incidents involving police officers and members of racial minorities have created friction on the campus.

CROSS-CAMPUS SUPPORT

Students at all three campuses stressed the importance of mutual support. The possibility of "striker-exchanges" has been discussed and a mass demand has emerged at Sonoma; that the interlocking telephone system that links the campuses be placed at the disposal of the students. Certainly the California State College and University system has not been confronted with such coordinated student rebellion since the days of the anti-war movement.

In the meantime, a new wave of students appear to be undergoing a radicalizing process. "I've never been very radical before," said Amy Bordeaux. "I'm really suprised at myself."

AGAINST THE GRAIN

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Who Was Behind the Indian?

by Seth Foldy

For the first time in three years, Stanford's use of the "Indian" as a mascot again became an issue. Many students who remember the original efforts to abolish the mascot in 1972 simply assumed that a final decision had been made, for better or for worse, when the university administration and the ASSU Senate decided that the use of the Indian as a symbol of the athletic teams was inappropriate. Yet, unexpectedly, Stanford student were forced to confront the issue again. It is unclear how many students, including supporters of the Indian mascot, realize that the move to "bring back the Indian" is the latest, most visible campaign of the New Founders League of Stanford, a small association of conservative alumni.

The low profile of the New Founders League is easy to understand. Their protests and criticisms have been directed at the university administration and the Board of Trustees, and have generally concerned issues that would conceivably gain little support among the larger student community. Since its founding in 1972, the League has attempted to rally alumni to demand the reinstatement of the ROTC program at Stanford; that the university play a firmer role in the shaping of students' moral conduct; an end to the secular use of Memorial Church and a tougher stand against student demonstrations. The League publishes Stanford's Direction, an eight-page quarterly newspaper that it sends to some 23,000 alumni. The paper often contains attacks on liberal and leftist professors -- a favorite being Professor of Religion, Robert McAfee Brown -- and student controlled programs such as SCIRE and SWOPSI. According to Donald Carlson, Associate Director of University Relations, "they are a very right-wing organization. Their understanding of what a university is about is, I think, the crux of the problem."

CONSERVATIVE REACTION

The League has "no, repeat, no connection with the Stanford Alumni Association," reported Thomas Newell, director of the association. Each issue of Stanfords' Direction calls upon its readers to contribute to Stanford, but also urges that gifts "go only to departments which we know are performing to our satisfaction." They are sincere in their concern for Stanford," said Newell, but added, "Their goals are to bring about changes in certain policies of the university administration."

The Leagues' Board of Directors is largely made up of small businessmen, though in the past it has included such notables as the vice presi-

dents of the Ford Motor Company and Standard Oil of California. Lowell Berry, vice president of the League, appears to be the major force behind the organization. "I am sure it's his (Berry's) money," said Carlson. "The expenses involved must be quite considerable."

The official objectives of the League range from "excellence in education and research" to restoration of the ROTC programs at Stanford. Scanning several issues of Stanford's Direction one notes the following concerns:

-- "The Stanford Indian is back! Long live our brave Redskin friend!" (Accompanied by an illustration of President Lyman attempting to hold off hoards of crazed "braves" with a broom.)

-- "Why are leftist activists in SWOPSI allowed to give courses for credit at Stanford which attack and would destroy the free enterprise system which has made America great?"

-- Praise for former president of San Francisco State, S.I. Hayakawa, for his use of physical force to "clear the campus of agitators, arsonists and disruptors."

-- Concerning the screening of "skin flicks" at Roble Hall in 1972: "Before additional money is donated to Stanford, shouldn't there be a stronger University administration policy stopping the exhibition...of this sort of filth?"

-- Protest against the use of Memorial Church by "radical groups" and for recording the Incomparable L.S.J.U. Marching Band. The name of Mrs. Stanford is repeatedly invoked.

-- Comprehensive coverage of the university choir and the prayer group within the football team.

As Donald Carlson noted, "they needed an issue that they could really rally people around, and they picked the Indian issue for that." Assistant

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SPECIAL SECTION on NEW WAYS TO WORK Pages 3-6

Berk Discusses USE—Stanford Relations

by Terry Bright

When the United Stanford Employees (USE) union won the right to represent Stanford workers in June of 1973, the struggle began to secure better working conditions and higher wages for Stanford employees who, in many cases, were among the lowest paid for their occupational classes, of any workers in the Bay area.

At the beginning of the 1973 academic year, talks began between the University and USE. By January, USE, representing some 1,550 technical, maintenance and service employees, articulated its demands and asked for wage increases averaging 33% over several years.

By February, serious snags developed in the talks which led to the May strike that partially paralyzed University services. The strike ended with a contract agreement calling for a 26.4% increase in wages.

USE proved to be a viable, dynamic force within University bargaining circles and continued to expand, struggling for higher wages and more benefits.

Jim Berk, USE President, reflected on past incidents and predicted future actions concerning the union in a recent interview with Against the Grain.

Q: What ideology do you think USE grew out of?

Berk: In the late sixties there were basically three ideological groups. First, the Service Employees Association, which was pretty much right wing and kissed up to the employers. Then there were the radicals who were infuriated with the undemocratic practice of the union. And finally there were those who said, "You're both fucked." Workers should go for all they can get. I tend to place myself in the third category.

Q: What part do you think non-working students should play in the labor movement, especially Stanford students?

Berk: USE concentrates on worker's problems. Most students don't consider themselves part of the worker's movement. Therefore I'd have to say that USE doesn't really concern itself with the problems of non-working students.

Q: What type of employer has the University been?

Berk: I would say the University's policy toward towards employees has been one of benign neglect.

Q: Could you be more specific?

Berk: The last several years have been the 'Lyman Era' during which Augsberger (Robert Augsburger, Vice President for Business and Finance) has taken a tough liberal, business-like approach to labor. Augsburger has no training in labor relations--he is unknowledgeable. Staff concerns have not mattered to him. Lyman picked Augsburger because he would take a firm stand to preserve resources and be fiscally responsible. In other words, it was easy for him to make staff cuts.

Q: Were staff cuts made, and if so in what areas?

Berk: The most visible areas in which cuts have been made are physical plant and food services. There are a good deal fewer plumbers, painters, gardeners, and craftsmen, generally. The loss of food service workers is partly offset by hiring more student bussers at lower wages, which cuts total labor costs. Also the cuts have meant that there have been speed ups in regular worker's jobs. In the research area, the effect has been to make layoffs a vagary of funding--from this department to that one, from this principal investigator to that one. Additionally, the personnel department has not given preference for new job openings to those laid off by the University as specified in the contract. Layoffs are not as common a method of staff cutting as is attrition, which leads to the problems of speed up and poorer services.

Q: Is Augsburger the main individual USE comes into conflict with?

Berk: No, Doug Barton, Labor Counsel, is another one. The worst of criteria that Lyman used to choose Augsburger were used by Augsburger when he chose Barton. Barton has the responsibility for setting personnel policy. But Barton is not carrying out his stewardship.

Q: What's your argument with Barton?

Berk: Barton only acts as a 'power broker.' He gets the managers what he can. But really, the managers have no power. By managers I mean the middle level managers who really run things, the only ones to whom staff policy is really important. I do not mean the higher-up supervisors who do not really have the responsibility for implementing personnel policies. They think they have a voice in establishing policy, but they have no muscle. They can only make recommendations to Barton.

Q: What does this impotence of the managers imply?

Berk: That next school year we will be in another potential strike situation.

Q: Is there any way of avoiding a strike?

Berk: To avoid a strike, Stanford must devise a process by which managers can have more power to really alter policy. Otherwise, the same thing (that happened in 1974) will happen again. All the Union can do is to prepare for a strong or a weak strike. The decision to strike is not ours--the University makes that decision. If Barton hangs tough and tries to get as much as possible, if he thinks that he will call our bluff, then a strike will result. We will probably have nine to twelve months of haggling over a contract until we reach a crisis and then the University will pick up some money and throw it at us; when you have a lot of power you tend not to use it well.

Q: Hasn't the situation changed since the last strike?

Berk: They (the University) may have slightly changed the minuet but the tune is still the same. All USE wants to do is minimize the hassle for the administration and maximize their support of the workers.

Our Course Guide

Following our long standing tradition, we once again offer a list of radical and alternative courses for Winter quarter. Those marked with (*) present a radical analysis of the subject matter while the unmarked ones, although not necessarily radical, cover important topics usually overlooked in the standard curriculum. We hope you find this guide useful.

Anthropology

*	006	(5)	Racism and Power: Anthropological Perspective Drake
*	080	(5)	Theory in Social Anthropology O'Laughlin
*	109	(5)	African Systems of Production O'Laughlin
	161	(5)	Economic Anthropology (same as Econ 161) Cancian

Biology

	007	(3)	Biology and Social Responsibility Ehrlich and Holm

Economics

*	118	(5)	Economics of Underdevelopment Harris
*	121	(5)	Economic Development in East Asia Gurley and Lau
*	160	(3-5)	Trade and Development Problems in Tropical Africa Kofi
	161	(5)	Economic Anthro
*	197	(5)	Imperialism and Dependency Williams
*	220	(5)	Marxist Economics Gurley

French

	107	(4)	Satre: Literature and Politics Giraud

History

	148B	(5)	Colonial Africa Irwin
*	152B	(5)	Social, Political, Economic, and Cultural Life in the Cities Carson
	164B	(5)	The Chicano in the Southwest: 20th Century Developments Camarillo
*	169	(4-5)	American Social History Since 1890 B. Bernstein

Political Science

*	158A	(5)	Theory, Power, and Social Science Drekmeier
*	143	(5)	Seminar: Political Economy of U.S.-Latin American Relations Fagen
*	161	(5)	Seminar: Power, Authority, and Disobedience Drekmeier

Sociology

	122	(3-5)	Causes of the Women's Liberation Movement Cancian

Spanish and Portuguese

	272	(1)	Spanish Literature in a Social Context Franco

SWOPSI

*	113		"Illegal Aliens" in the Work Force K. Lasken
	116		Nuclear School Delano Community Project
	135		Welfare Sands and Earl
	178		Sex Roles Workshop Alfadi and Galligan
	180		Nuclear Power: Who Will Decide? J. Rosenberg
*	181		Land Trusts and Community Housing Coops for the Mid Peninsula Strain and Anderson
	182		Prisoners and the Legal System Constantinides
*	183		Taking Apart the War Machine A. Bernstein, Shizes, McFadden

Undergraduate Specials

	022	(3)	World View and Education R. Ruiz
	077A	(3)	Economics of Oil in the Mideast Mabti

Values, Technology, and Society

	143	(3)	Minerals, Non-renewable Earth Resources and Man Juat
	167	(4)	Technology and Modern Industrial Society Rosenberg

Commentary

President Lyman has frequently expressed his desire for intelligent discussions of campus issues. The Howard Report, the student statement on admissions and financial aid policy, is a thoughtful, well-reasoned position paper, yet the administration has responded with remarks intended to minimize its seriousness. These comments have ranged from calling it "absurd, totally political" to "we don't want to admit hula-hoopers."

One of the Howard Report's recommendations was that final admissions decisions be opened to an admissions committee composed of the Dean of Admissions, the Dean of Undergraduate Studies or his/her designate, a faculty member and a student. Dean Hargadon's response to this suggestion was that a "faculty member or a student would not have enough time." However, two highly respected institutions have an admissions committee with faculty members, Yale University and the Stanford Medical School. The Medical School also has students on its admissions committee.

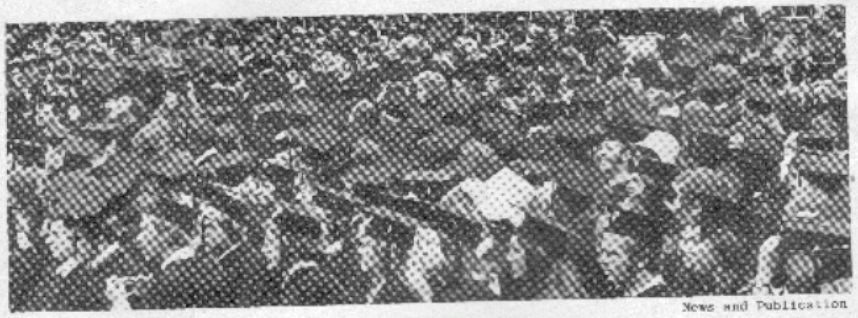
Refusing to consider a new idea, especially one that would lessen the Dean's control on admissions, seems to indicate an arrogant attitude in an administration that publicly states a desire for "dialogue and communication."

This issue of Against The Grain brought to you by:

Jaz Macdonald/Terry Bright/Devin Hess/ Alan Bernstein/ Seth Foldy/Jane Stoner/ Steve Vettel/ Jim Stein/Sue Gregg/Tom Wainwright/ Larry Litvak/ Tim Cullinane/ Mike Kaschnick/Joe Wearin/ Roy Tolles/ Peter Accarsulus

Please submit letters to: YGA Newspaper Collective
c/o Larry Litvak
P.O. Box 8337
Stanford,Ca. 94305

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT



News and Publication

NEW WAYS to WORK

by Mike Kieschnick

The search for new ways to work is a reaction against alienation. People are alienated from the fruits of their labor, from control over their work environment, and most of all people are alienated from themselves. Finding truly satisfying new ways to work means removing the sources of all these forms of alienation. Today most people see "work" as being something separate from the rest of their life. An alternative is to seek ways of integrating working with living. The search for satisfying alternatives to present jobs must include both personal and social changes.

Present work structures are almost all hierarchical. This means that someone has control over the manner in which you work. To replace hierarchy means that you must either work alone or develop collective forms of decision-making and task finishing.

We should remember that routine dull work (shitwork), does not necessarily exist in fixed quantities; it is created. We must avoid creating shitwork by not separating parts of Whole Tasks into the artificial categories of "creative" work and "routine/dull" work; this debases creative work and cuts it off from perspective-giving routine work leaving only meaninglessness and powerlessness. The person doing "creative" work is denied the satisfaction that comes from completing Whole Tasks. And the person doing routine work is dulled by the lack of comprehension and control over his/her work, and the impossibility of learning anything from it.

WORK AS FULFILLMENT

Integrating working with living must begin with finding out what you really enjoy doing. What are the experiences that you have the most pleasure in doing? It may seem that such a simple thing should be self-evident. But many people have a great deal of difficulty identifying what they truly like to do. But only in unguarded moments and by disregarding the conditioning of a lifetime can you ever catch glimpses of what you really like to do, as distinguished from what you are used to doing, or think that you ought to be doing.

We often forget that a job is only a means to an end. It is tragic if a person says "I work for such and such company" and means only this, because healthy people must truly work for themselves and those that they care about. This highlights a fundamentally different approach to job finding: people should prepare themselves for discovering what job they should create for themselves, not just how to fit into existing slots. You have to find work that you think is important rather than work someone else thinks is important.

There are problems with this approach to work. We are all products of industrial America's notion of a proper standard of living. This interferes with people getting in touch with creative work. David Steinberg, in the book Working Loose, says, "If I confuse working with making money, I'm letting other people decide when I'm working and when I'm not. When other people like my work, they buy it. Their money expresses their sense of me. But my own sense of work has no particular relationship to money or outside approval." How can people truly disregard the market's evaluation of their work if they must buy food and clothes?

There is a need to separate means from ends. Consumption of goods and services is a means to fulfillment, once beyond a certain biologically and legally determined minimum. Once any work furnishes that amount, the rest of a person's energy is surplus, available to be devoted to whatever activities contribute the most to personal development or perhaps social change. If working half time allows more satisfaction due to other activities, we should try to create such situations. If it has been a largely unchallenged assumption of American work styles that at a certain material level of consumption people are able to structure their lives as they choose, then a material standard of living is a very poor gauge of personal fulfillment.

INDEPENDENCE FROM MASSIVE CONSUMPTION

Providing yourself with freedom to create working situations that are supportive of personal development requires reducing one's dependence on the social and economic structure of capitalism. This means finding ways of reducing costs of consumption if not consumption itself, so that less energy must be spent in alienating labor, and more can be spent in developing personally.

This is what the alternative institutions movement seeks to do. Through cooperative food-buying, rentpaying, auto-repairing, and teaching, a group of people can become less dependent on social structures that force them to enter into alienating work experiences. This serves a two-fold purpose. Alternative institutions allow personal development by setting up cooperative non-hierarchical processes.

The second role of creating new ways to work and alternative institutions is that by reducing dependence on the capitalist order people are at the same time creating a base from which to struggle against it. It is much easier to fight collectively from the base of a supportive community than it is from a 9-5 bank job. It is easier to struggle against a system when you are less dependent on it. Of course if enough people struggle to liberate themselves from the present nature of work, and reduce their consumption, the capitalist order will itself be threatened. But contrary to what some think, alternative jobs and lifestyles will not simply be left alone as capitalism decays. People will be confronted and attacked in all of the various blunt and subtle ways available to a struggling capitalism. And this too will cause people to have to fight back.

It is not easy to remove oneself from the alienating conditions of work, whether blue or white collar. The descriptions of attempts to move in that direction that follow in this insert represent compromises, but living-working attempts that free people to develop themselves and a social order that they find appropriate.

WHY YOU SHOULD READ THESE PAGES

by Barry Litvak

What will you be doing after graduation? This innocent question becomes increasingly bothersome to the Stanford student as graduation approaches. There is the creeping awareness that the career envisioned for post-graduation is an illusion. The job search reveals the reality of work in America as standing in stark contrast to the ideals to which most aspire.

Those aspects of work which college students value most were measured by the pollster Daniel Yankelovich in 1973. He found that 77% want a challenging job, 72% desire an opportunity to make a meaningful contribution, and 68% would like a position where they can express themselves. During a period when the conventional wisdom identifies careerism with the yearning for a good salary and security, the results seem particularly striking.

If you are a Stanford student with values similar to what Yankelovich found prevalent and are placed by the Career Planning and Placement Center upon graduation, the odds are low that your new job will be personally satisfying. According to CPPC data for 1973-74, "92% of all offers to men at all degree levels were made by business and industrial firms." The corresponding figure for women, as reported by the College Placement Council, is 78%. A college graduate entering one of these employment sectors normally finds the work-setting to be some form of administrative office. Such an environment, and the activity which transpires therein, has evolved into a form quite different from the traditional notion of white collar employment. The 1973 NEW compendium, Work in America, reports a deep and growing dissatisfaction among office job-holders.

The office has become a factory, with information on computer tapes and paper its output. This is the result of at least two developments. First of all, tasks in the office have been broken down and standardized to the point where little room for creativity or judgement remains. Secondly, the introduction of information processing technology such as the computer has reduced the analytical role of all except those who write programs.

We are often told that competition for stimulating work has intensified because of the glut of college graduates. Yet this is only one side of the problem, and perhaps the less significant aspect. The more fundamental source of the scarcity of non-routinized jobs is the changing nature of work itself.

The Career Planning and Placement Center recommends that students "shift their career interests into the relatively under-supplied fields of business and industry." The staff of Against The Grain believes that there exists a more creative and rewarding path to follow. This alternative has been described under the general heading of new ways to work.

Contents

FFS/YOUTH LIBERATION

RADICAL LAW?

The phrase "radical lawyer" may quite justifiably appear a contradiction in terms. "Radical law," as such, does not exist. To become a practicing attorney, one must submit oneself to the authority of a conservative body of law and to the strictures and servile niceties an "officer of the court" must respect.

The legal system is a principal pillar of established property and power relations. When people are victimized by it, sensitive, progressive legal practitioners are necessary to alleviate the human suffering caused by this system's modes of domination, although practicing law cannot alone restructure these inherent modes of domination.

The overwhelmingly predominant types of legal practice are of a commercial/corporate nature. However, one may find alternatives in the form of salaried jobs with established institutions. Or, with sufficient confidence, one might establish a practice of one's own or with others of a similar political stance. A private office under the control of those working in it allows more selectivity in the types of cases undertaken.

NATIONAL LAWYER'S GUILD

The National Lawyers Guild offers a politically progressive approach to the study and practice of law. The Guild is composed of some 4,500 lawyers, law students, legal workers, and jailhouse lawyers, and, in the words of its preamble, is "dedicated to the need for basic change in the structure of our political and economic system." Its purpose is to "function as an effective social force in the service of the people to the end that human rights shall be regarded as more sacred than property rights." Founded in 1937, the Guild's history included active involvement in labor struggles, the defense of those subjected to the virulent anti-Communist mania of the Fifties, and civil rights and anti-war work in the past two decades. Today the Guild sponsors national projects and committees in immigration, labor and international law, maintains military law offices in Okinawa and Japan, a national housing organizers' and lawyers' newsletter, a series of summer projects for law students, and aid to Wounded Knee and Attica legal defense efforts. Its publications include Guild Notes as well as local chapter newspapers. The Conspiracy is the Bay Area's Guild publication. The NLG's Grand Jury Defense Manual is the best legal resource of its kind on the subject.

PROGRESSIVE LAWERS NEEDED

Progressive legal work is needed in many areas of substantive law. Criminal law, mostly through public defender offices, is a primary field through which the repressive brutality of America can be visibly experienced and combatted. Keeping people out of dehumanizing jails and prisons is an important way of ameliorating the worst excesses of the system. Efforts at securing and expanding the civil rights of inmates are growing.

In civil practice, a radical lawyer can comfortably work in such areas as poverty law (welfare debtor-creditor, landlord-tenant), labor law, civil rights (especially racial and sexual discrimination), consumer and environmental law. Much of the work in these areas is done by government sponsored legal aid offices, which place restrictions on political activities of employees. Thus, leftist attorneys often shun the confining nature of the bureaucracies for the relative freedom of private offices and collectives.

EGALITARIAN INTERNAL ORGANIZATION

Along with the substantive areas upon which progressive lawyers and legal workers have focused, equally important has been the emphasis upon non-sexist, non-hierarchical patterns of practice within the burgeoning "law commune" movement. Within the past several years, groups of lawyers and legal workers have organized egalitarian modes of legal practice, rejecting the rigid stratification of work roles upon which most law offices are based. The Menlo Park Law Commune is such an alternative office. Distinctions in pay are not based upon status (that is, lawyer/legal worker/"secretary"); instead, need enters into the determination of salary rates. Decisions are collectively reached, rather than dictated by a single individual or coterie of "partners," and all members of the Commune (five attorneys, six legal workers, three part-time volunteers) are accorded an equal vote in the decision-making process.

Cases of a "non-political" nature help maintain the financial integrity of the office. However, political criteria determine the types of cases the Commune refuses. For example, it will not represent a landlord against a tenant in a housing dispute, nor will it defend an alleged rapist. The money earned on its paying cases (with a fee scale generally lower than the standard rates charged because it is based upon the client's ability to pay) permits the Commune to devote substantial amounts of time to cases for which no fee is charged, such as those for the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee, a South Dakota-based organization involved in the defense of American Indian Movement activists. The Menlo Park Commune, like most law communes throughout the nation (there are several dozen), is closely linked to the National Lawyers Guild.

The courtroom will not be the forum on which a genuine revolution is won; but as long as an exploitative society needs and uses the courts to enforce the existing system of domination, progressive lawyers will be needed to represent the interests of those victimized by it. Such is as much as one can expect the law to permit.

Science Works For People

By Bill Scott and Rick Pan

If you want to become a new technologist, it probably means you are dissatisfied with the present system of technology. Maybe you are tired of working on Defense Department contracts and new ways of advancing the art of electronic warfare. Perhaps you have the feeling that the nuclear reactor you have developed is not quite foolproof. Maybe you have realized that our non-renewable resources are running out.

You're wondering what kind of technology? For whom? At what cost?

Critics say modern technology is getting too complicated, too costly, too damaging to the environment. Instead of working with nature, technology tries to conquer it. Instead of extending labor and skills, technology is eliminating them. Instead of basing society on renewable resources, technology is rapidly depleting our non-renewable ones.

Part of the problem lies in getting technologists tuned in to the things people need. The definition of "need" is always a sticky problem, especially in a developed society where, for the most part, the fundamental needs of food and housing are fulfilled. Unfortunately, most of the world's population exists in a more precarious position. Their basic needs are only barely met, and one crop failure can mean disaster. Perhaps technology should address itself to helping all people satisfy their basic needs.

APPROPRIATE TECHNOLOGY

The common practice of importing western technology into Third World nations has hardly been the answer to improving living conditions for all. The introduction of costly, labor-saving machinery in countries suffering from intense capital shortage and chronic underemployment is an example of technology out of touch with the circumstances where it is used.

One increasingly important concept is "appropriate" or "intermediate" technology. British economist E.F. Schumacher has proposed guidelines for intermediate technology in the Third World: create workplaces cheaply and in large number, make workplaces available to people where they live instead of forcing rapid urbanization, use relatively simple production methods, and produce mainly from local materials and for local use.

The Western world would benefit from the concept of intermediate technology. It represents a comprehensible and controllable scale of activities. It enables people to become more self-reliant and learn to use their resources more wisely. It encourages the decentralization of production so the local community can benefit from its own work. It encourages people to work together creatively to define new methods of production. In a sense, each person has the capacity to become a new technologist.

ALTERNATIVES DO EXIST

In what ways might the new technologist get involved in creating tools appropriate to his or her community? Here are some examples.

Gil Masters, a lecturer in the Civil Engineering department at Stanford, initiated a SWOPSI course and co-authored Other House and Garbage, a practical guide for people who want to try alternative methods of producing their own energy and food. Gil also does his own experimenting at home.

The New Alchemy Institute is a group of people experimenting with methods for achieving complete self-sufficiency in a rural environment. They also publish many of their projects and ideas.

Community Technology, in Washington, D.C., brings people together to see how they can reduce community dependance on outside utility companies.

In Palo Alto, ALTEN (Alternative Technology) helps people convert their homes to solar energy.

Every month, publications such as "Mother Earth News", "Alternative Sources of Energy", and "Rain" publish information on alternative technology and the people involved in creating it.

Here at Stanford, the Appropriate Technology Project at Volunteers in Asia recently published an annotated bibliography of plans and methods for intermediate technology. The Sourcebook was created to fill a gap in international communication, and workers and volunteers abroad can use it to obtain vital information.

The Intermediate Technology Development Group in England develops tools and agricultural implements in conjunction with African researchers in the field. Bruce Research Institute at McGill University in Montreal and other engineering departments in British universities do similar work.

These are just a few examples of how people are involved as new technologists. Some work on actual experimentation and design, others concentrate on communicating the results. There is lots of room for more people in the field.

DIFFICULT TASK AHEAD

Restructuring technology is a difficult task. Simpler forms of technology are just beginning to take hold, but most research money is spent in industries and university departments which are locked into a "complex is beautiful" ethic. But, as Schumacher puts it, "Any third-rate engineer can make a machine or a process more complex; afterwards, it takes a first-rate engineer to make it simple again."

Another obstacle is that of economic viability. Until solar energy becomes cheaper, most people will continue to pay their monthly utility bill. Furthermore, intermediate technology can't be applied everywhere; certain products can only be made using highly developed technological processes. Perhaps it may be wise to reduce our dependence on these products and choose simpler applications of technology.

As our non-renewable resources begin to disappear, the world will have to look towards less consumptive patterns of living, renewable sources of energy, and a system of technology more gentle with nature. The new technologist will play an essential part in reaching these goals.

Rethinking Male Work Roles

By Mike Closson

The druggist in the TV commercial says to a young boy, "you stick with Crest and you'll end up being the lawyer with the best teeth in town." At five or ten the seeds start to be sown. Men in America are expected to work, to have careers, to be breadwinners. Moreover, they are expected to be "successful" and to strive for "the top."

Work has become the proving ground for masculinity. Most men define themselves in terms of their work. Little boys rapidly learn that the question "what are you going to be when you grow up?" requires a vocational response. After all, their fathers do not reply "husband", "lover", or "father" when asked what they do. And, of course, work is what men do most of the time, at least when they can find a job.

Emphasis upon work stems from a stress on achievement which is a major component of the contemporary male role. The two other significant elements of masculinity are sexual virility and emotional inexpressiveness. All three combine in a multiple male stereotype: men getting ahead by playing cool, attracting women by being successful and powerful, and rarely expressing vulnerability, even to the women in their lives.

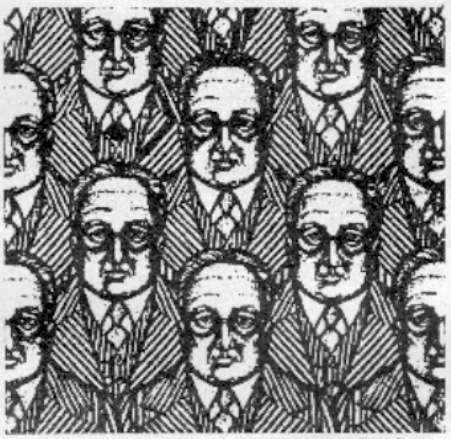
EARLY SOCIALIZATION

Training for achievement commences in boyhood. Probably the primary agent socializing boys for achievement is sports competition. Neither sports nor competition are necessarily bad in themselves, but they combine in preadolescent and adolescent years to shape significantly masculine attitudes and behaviors.

Organized sports, most of which are competitive, are viewed as the primary answer to the need for physical exercise in American culture. Boys learn not only that sports are important but also that it is important to play them well, at least well enough to make the team. If you do not make the team, it is difficult to be one of the boys.

Even in the little-league stage sports take on a normative hue. Not only must one play well, he has to play better than others--first to make the team and next to beat the opponents. The importance of winning is learned early. Sports also teach controlled aggressiveness and the need to follow a "game plan"; to play by the rules and limit one's spontaneity. All of this is directly translatable into the world of work, especially the world of large organizations. As the sports commentators are fond of telling us, "sports build character", "when the going gets tough, the tough get going."

There are glamour sports and glamour careers. Both are associated with money, status, and power. Just as young boys unconsciously become swept up by the excitement of competitive sports, college students become enthralled by the appeal of status careers. By the time they reach college, especially an elite university like Stanford, young men naturally assume they will have a career. The question simply remains, which career? For Stanford students, the answer seems quite simple too. After all, the boy in the commercial was not encouraged to become a druggist, was he?



Workforce

College prepares students in other ways for the world of work and careers, largely through a hidden curriculum. In college, only the best athletes continue in organized sports but the emphasis upon competitiveness persists. Good grades are seen as crucial since they determine admission to good graduate schools and entree to good careers. Particularly in large courses, high grades must be attained by proving oneself better than others. There is little emphasis on collaborative work. Students generally work alone and, in extreme cases, cheat and sabotage the work of others in order to enhance their personal standing. Passivity is reinforced and rewarded. At Stanford, courses have primarily a lecture format. Students "take" courses and float through prescribed majors with little need to confront the purpose of their education. Those oriented toward the high status careers of medicine and law even have a "pre-professional advising" program available which teaches them the techniques of succeeding in those fields.

NO MEANING TO LIFE

The difficulty here is that the system is producing men, and increasingly women, who are mindlessly entering the work world. They have foreclosed many of the available options and often have a highly unrealistic vision of the nature of contemporary work. Many are ill-prepared to cope with the frustrations and pressures endemic to much of the work world. These are encountered at various points in time; for men the confrontation often takes the form of a "mid-life crisis." With increasing frequency, men, often in their 40's, are indicating that they find little meaning in their lives. Some see their jobs as boring. Others view themselves as failures. Some feel pangs of guilt for the lack of time spent with their families.

Continued on page 6

Resource Guide

There are several places in Palo Alto and the Bay Area to go for further information and counseling about alternative ways to work. What follows is a short guide to the resource centers:

Palo Alto- New Ways to Work, 457 Kingsley, 321-3675. This center offers listings of both alternative and standard job openings, counseling for job seekers, and literature for browsers, as well as carrying on research in job related issues.

Stanford- Synergy Library, Columbae House, 321-8868. This is the library that transferred from the now defunct Synergy Center to Columbae House. It has extensive literature, both in books and periodicals, on the subject of alternative lifestyles, ranging from new ways to work to intermediate technology.

San Francisco- Black Bart Memorial Center, 238 San Jose Ave, 94110, 282-7851. Classes and rap sessions are offered and help is given toward getting job transitions together. They are also doing research related to opening up part-time and shared jobs. Interested employers should get in touch.

San Jose- Creative Work (formerly New Life Vocations), 300 S 10th St, San Jose 95112, (408) 298-0204. They provide advice, support, information, and counseling to individuals in the areas of new vocations, alternative work styles, life/work planning, and career changing. Initially small group sessions on creative alternatives for work, workshops on role-sharing and flexible employment, and a seminar on alternatives to teaching will be offered. Hours are 10-2 pm, Mon-Fri.

Oakland- People's Energy, 5316 Telegraph, 94609, 654-7038. Offers group counseling to help people find ways to work for social change. A Community Resource Handbook for the San Francisco Bay Area has been published, updated, and is available for 2.00 dollars.

Medicine in Rural Mexico

Paramedics and Health Care

By Lynne Coen

About mid-sophomore year, I found it harder and harder to study. Not quite knowing what I was getting into, or why, I was a Human Biology major. At least I knew I liked biology and I liked people. I knew too that I didn't like the pre-med crunch. I decided there must be a way to learn without burning myself out. It was time to leave academia and do something that lead somewhere.

I heard through a friend about David Werner's Project Piaxtla in Mexico. He often took students to work with him in a medical clinic in a tiny mountain village.

I arranged informally with people in Stanford Medical Center to get the necessary basics in Spanish and practical medicine. The skills I learned were only a general framework in which I had to use my own common sense and resourcefulness. Despite four months of intensive training, recognition of my limitations was probably the most valuable thing I took with me. Off I went for six months, hoping to get some sort of alternative education.

Situated in the mountains of western Mexico, the clinic served a vast area accessible only by mule trails. Inhabited by people who live off the corn and beans they grow, there is virtually no contact with the outside world.

The clinic is strongly supported by the local people. Mexican medics from the villages make up most of the staff.

Though we were all non-professionals, we pulled teeth, vaccinated, stitched up wounds, set broken bones, assisted midwives in deliveries, performed lab tests, and dispensed birth control. We took care of everyday ailments and often more serious problems --malnutrition, diarrhea, etc.

Our most important and most difficult task was health education and preventive medicine. While people wanted to lead healthier lives, they were reluctant to leave their traditions, some of which conflicted with good health. Working together with traditional healers and offering help rather than imposing it, we learned mutual confidence and understanding.

Health care in a rural area, especially one whose culture is completely foreign to your own, is vastly different from that in an urban area. It has to be personal because there is no anonymity where there are few people. The cultural barrier must be overcome. Only when you can perceive the physical, mental, social, economic and political factors that affect the health of the people can your health care offer what they need.

My experience in Mexico had a great impact on my future plans. I enjoyed working with people, and I discovered an interest in how cultural factors affect health. I had acquired some knowledge and understanding of health care in the field. I had now an objective: to find material in these areas of use to me in further work.

Upon my return to Stanford, suddenly things were relevant. My courses all had a place in the perspective from which I viewed health. My education became a tool that I wanted and needed, one that I knew I would use.

To reinforce what I learned about people and health while in Mexico, and to continue my alternative education, I work in Our Health Center, a free medical clinic in Palo Alto. One aim of the clinic is to personalize medical care. In working at Stanford Hospital, I've been exposed to other aspects of medicine which have rounded out my perspectives.

In continuing contact with the Mexico clinic, we've organized paramedic training courses, which stress social contexts. The training and use of village health workers in developing countries is a current priority, which came out of our own success with the clinic in Mexico. I'll soon be investigating programs for paramedics in Latin America. All this has stemmed from my original venture to find an alternative approach to school and to the future.

The possible alternatives in the field of health are endless. As the recognition of needs and how to meet them grows, physician's assistants, nurse practitioners, paramedics and other sub-professionals are more and more in demand. Work for free clinics and non-profit health organizations is less structured and requires little, if any, previous experience. The field of international health encompasses the economics of food and nutrition, medical technologies, and distribution of resources. Nutrition, physical therapy, occupational therapy, and rehabilitation counseling are all involved closely with people. The trend in health care is towards flexibility, so you can create your own field or specialty.

Health care in this country or any other is not reaching all the people who need it. What is needed is a better distribution of health resources, particularly to rural areas. The best answer to this is the use of semi-professional health workers.

In the U.S. paramedic workers are increasingly employed to do things only doctors did in the past. It takes less time and money to train them; and they lighten the general workload so that more time can be be spent with patients. This permits personal approaches to preventive medicine and health education.

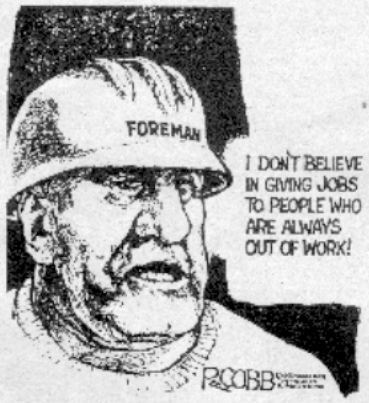
WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT

by Bill Behn

In March 1975, 180 workers formed the Vermont Asbestos Group in Lowell, Vermont and purchased the asbestos mine that GAF, their former employer, had decided to close. On September 14, 1973, Norton Villers, the manufacturer of the British Triumph Bonneville Motorcycle, announced the closing of its Meriden plant, which displaced 1750 workers from their jobs. In this case, the workers occupied the plant for 18 months, locking out management and owners, and were eventually able to establish a workers' cooperative with assistance of loans from the British government.

In both situations, workers took action to protect their jobs, an uncommon response in a capitalist society to the closing of an enterprise. The workers at Lowell, Vt. received advance notice of the plant closure only because the Environmental Protection Agency required GAF to announce whether it would spend $1 million to comply with pollution regulations. Rather than comply, GAF decided to close the plant. The workers in Meriden, England received no advance notice and decided to occupy the plant to protect their jobs.

Management fears worker retaliation in the form of product or plant sabotage if layoffs or plant closures are announced in advance. This demonstrates the absence of even elemental economic democracy in a capitalist firm where workers have no say in employment decisions which affect their livelihood. Worker participation in management (in employment, product, pricing, and investment decisions) is necessary for economic democracy, and economic democracy is a prerequisite for political democracy.



The workers at the asbestos mine in Lowell, Vt were unable to find another company to purchase the mine, hence they decided to try to arrange purchase themselves. Although they now have a large personal financial stake in the mine they do not have control over management. While half the members of the board of directors are workers, it is in fact the banks from which the firm borrows who control management of the plant. The banks have a veto right over management if they are dissatisfied with decisions. Off the record, bank officials admit they aim to get the workers off the board of directors at some future date when the local political climate will permit it.

FIRMS FACE DIFFICULTIES

Firms owned by workers generally have a low credit rating, especially when the owners participate in management. Such firms encounter obstacles in obtaining working capital and unless workers adjust their wages in response to reduced demand, they become vulnerable to fluctuations in the market for their product. Banks fear that workers will only raise their own wages should their firm be extended credit. In fact, much evidence is to the contrary. Workers will undergo considerable financial sacrifice in order to maintain the operation of their place of work when they own the enterprise and manage it.

Despite the many difficulties in establishing worker-owned and managed firms in a capitalist economy, workers can claim a voice in decisions that affect the right to work in many ways: In the face of layoffs, workers can share jobs and pay. Sharing available work is a tradition in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. Such action increases the unity of workers with high and low seniority, affirming their common lot in the workplace.

As part of contract negotiations, workers can demand the right to consultation in major employment decisions including those on new investment and plant closures. Rights negotiated might include the first option to purchase the plant if it is to be sold or the right to purchase the plant at a price equal to the value of liquidated assets if the firm is to be relocated or closed. Both of these possibilities will be opposed by owners, since they limit management rights. However, such demands could garner widespread worker support in the face of job insecurity and become realistic objectives.

Workers usually have no access to information used to justify plant closure decisions. Nor can they easily find information about the potential to establish an economically viable workers cooperative in a capitalist economy. The right to work does not exist for American workers either in the form of job protection or in the form of guaranteed employment in the public sector. Our society which so stresses the value of work, is curiously resistent to the idea of the right to work. Seemingly the idea conflicts with a more central priority--the protection of private enterprise and production for profit.

NEW WAYS--For Whom?

by Jamye MacDonald

Vicky Bright is a recent graduate with a B.A. in economics. She currently works as the bookkeeper for a small market in Oakland.

"It's a cooperative store," she explains, "Everyone shares the tasks--cashiering, stocking, buying produce. We all put our energy and money into it, and it's really our place."

Vicky began work at the market the summer after she graduated and has stayed with it now for a year. She recalls how outraged her parents were when she decided not to enter business school.

"My father asked me when I was going to get a 'real' job. This is more real to me than being on the top floor of the General Foods building."

Vicky's story is not unrepresentative of Stanford graduates who don't seek advanced degrees. Others complete professional training and then reject $50,000 a year offers of big city practice for small stipends in a rural community. What possesses these people?

Most Stanford graduates have had direct experience with the impersonal, hierarchical way that work is arranged. Desiring a job which combines a cooperative process with meaningful work, some of these people choose to seek alternatives. But given that most alternative workstyles do not pay well, if at all, compared to traditional careers, are they open only to those members of the middle and upper classes who can afford a possible drop in their income?

WHO CAN AFFORD ALTERNATIVES?

True, the typical standard of middle-class living in the U.S. is wastefully high. This leads the concerned to cut food and energy consumption to sustenance levels. But for people who need to earn money--graduates who must repay tuition loans or support families--how 'real' are the alternatives?

For lower-income groups as well, what kind of employment do they offer? Free health services and low-cost legal counsel provided by collectives marginally benefit the poor and unemployed, as do cheaper groceries obtained through local coops.

Non-traditional income-producing jobs available to unskilled workers, however, are limited. Most trade and professional collectives require particular skills and/or a certain level of education, both of which are less accessible to lower-income groups. Although most collectives offer apprenticeship programs, the impact of their training is small. Due to the size of the collectives themselves, they can only absorb a few new members at a time.

IMPACT ON THE ESTABLISHMENT

Do alternative workstyles foreshadow a new approach to work in our society? Or are they just the idealistic endeavors of a few malcontents?

The kind of interaction and impact these workers have on the masses of Americans varies with the type of goods and services they supply. How influential alternative jobs are depends on their importance to the rest of the economy.

Pioneers on the land or in communes are isolated geographically and economically by their largely self-sufficient economies. This confines their potential for supporting new relations between humans and the land to their immediate environment.

Individual craftspersons who make their wares for sale in the market are economically no different from traditional small entrepeneurs, however radical their lifestyles. Particularly since their products are usually luxury items, these alternative capitalists are only marginal producers. As a class, they still conform to the ethics of individual enterprise and free competition, an anachronism in this age of multinational corporate hegemony.

In contrast, groups or individuals providing everyday necessary services in a non-profit manner are highly visible and useful to the general public. A non-competitive worker-controlled garage that does a good repair job without ripping the customer off makes people think twice. They may even think long enough to question how their own work is structured.

The work of community and union organizers, along with that of radical teachers, is more readily evaluated in social rather than economic terms. Of course, union demands for higher wages and more benefits, or local parents acting to sponsor community childcare may result in improved economic welfare. The experiences gained in collective action and mass struggle, however, have value in and of themselves. People learn to relate to one another in a cooperative spirit, working together for what they want.

Alternative workstyles present us with a choice, an opportunity for personal satisfaction and social contribution through work. That the alternative exists chiefly for those of us who are fairly educated and well-off seems clear. That work is generally drudgery for everyone else is obvious.

The question persists: isn't it possible to restructure work, from housecleaning to thesis-writing, from assembly line to executive suite, so that it is fulfilling and important to each person and to society?

Work Roles, Cont.

Still others are victims of the economy and find themselves facing the trauma of unemployment after striving so long for security.

The socio-economic system contributes in another way to the problems men have with work; problems which women increasingly encounter as they move into the world of work and accept the assumptions on which it is based. Traditionally, there has been some room at the top of the occupational pyramid, particularly for the well-educated. But the situation has changed in recent years. Today, in many fields, the market is glutted with overqualified people. Those who get jobs are often underemployed and understimulated by their work. Increasing numbers of people do not have to wait until they are passed over for promotion at 45 to realize that committing most of one's time and energy to a job is often not very rewarding.

So men continue to strive onward for the elusive co-objectives of success and security. Some have nagging doubts about the value of their work efforts but generally suppress these. Others rationalize that if they can just tolerate present conditions for a few more years, they will be in a better position to alter their situation. But the accumulated pressures and training for passivity makes personal change difficult. All sorts of potentially rewarding work exists that most men do not even consider. For example, it may defy the law of averages but not the laws of socialization that only one male public school kindergarten teacher exists in the entire state of Washington.

Men are fathers, lovers, and citizens, not just workers. Slowly some are commencing to recognize the wide range of work styles and life styles potentially available. As they do so, the parameters of socially acceptable achievement will be widened and more men will find meaning in their lives.

Crossroads Africa

By Joel Wesrin

Following are personal impressions of Operation Crossroads Africa in Togo during July and August of the past summer. Anyone who desires further information on the projects of this private New York-based voluntary student workcamp organization should call 324-8544.

People frequently ask whether my group witnessed the drought in the Sahel this summer. Forced to reply that, on the contrary, we lived only sixty miles from the coast, I sometimes sense that I have disappointed my questioner, frustrated some basic American urge.

Young Americans are supposed to venture "over there" as peculiar technological missionaries for starving hordes, out into a third world or fourth dimension of horrors far removed from our communities. Perhaps I should reply, "Sorry I am unable to satisfy your tastes," and "Yes, the starving continues." ***

Actually, I asked about the drought myself as I rode north to Bolgatanga, Ghana on State Transport. The Ghanaian theology student beside me compared the attitudes of international charity groups working in Upper Volta and Mali to those of a young man swept up in his first love affair... full of love, to be sure, but mixed with large doses of personal desire. ***

We eight Americans managed to strew in our wake in Tabligbo, Togo, five hundred empty tins of milk and butter, ten to fifteen paperback novels in French, two hundred snapshots from the latest model Polaroid, fifty drained plastic bottles of water, and a half-built library at the local école primaire. Wherever we went, we left something: bewilderment and disgust with certain of our hosts from the Ministry of Youth and Sports in Lome; confusion and delight with mothers who watched their sons leading Americans by the hand to watch the sun set near the huge baobab on the western path; interest and tension with the nine student counterparts with whom we had lived and worked. ***

Samuel Azogbo lives in a compound about one hundred yards west of the secondary school in Tagligbo with his one wife, two sons, and two daughters. He frequented our camp at the lycée to sell us green beans, one of the secondary crops on his acre plot.

Though a native of Togo, he dreams of returning to his former work on a poultry farm in neighboring Ghana, from which he was expelled along with other "foreigners" following the fall of Kwame Nkrumah so some nine years ago. He recalls on enthusiasm for that nation and for life which are lacking in Togo. Just before our arrival, Mr. Azogbo harvested, with his weak-minded brother, both his own first corn crop and that of his ailing father. He laughed in telling me how sensitive his father was about the juju objects which protect the fields. A Christian since his ventures in anglophone Ghana, Sam has little use for the animistic beliefs of Tabligbo.

We spent hours discussing how he might obtain the all-purpose grain mill he craves. My feeble response to date has been to forward a copy of Appropriate Technology Sourcebook, written by two Volunteers in Asia. He seeks to supplement the goods he and his wife receive from barter at the weekly market and the $25 monthly housekeeping salary paid him by the local Peace Corps volunteer, a teacher of French at the lycée.

Sam's are the dreams of thousands of struggling farmers in West Africa... greater security, in the form of a mill he can share with his neighbors, a better life for his sons, a cure for his three year old daughter's left leg, which was stricken by polio during our visit.

Forms of cooperative farming do exist in Togo. Groups of approximately twenty men raise single crops such as manioc (cassava), palm oil, coffee, and coconuts. Yet these and other major crops--peanuts, rice, kapok, cotton, cocoa--are raised by individual farmers like Mr. Azogbo. My impression is that those men are the most pressured, the most confused about the distribution of fertilizer, the forms of credit available for innovation, methods of applying pesticides, the national rural agency, and so forth.

Similarly, our unskilled student labor group--despite 100% literacy--found itself at the bottom of most processes, wondering who was operating things and for whom. We were often the least informed about the whereabouts of tools, of cement, of the masons in charge. The sheer scale of bureaucracy, based on the French colonial system, tends to smother grassroots desires. ***

Experimentation with collective farms hardly surprised us once we realized how enamored of Mao Tse-tung and Kim Il Sung was the present ruler of Togo, General Gnassingbe Eyadema. In every canned goods store, products of mainland China have begun to appear alongside those of France, Germany, the U.S., and Ghana. North Korea's chief slipped into numerous pages of the Togo-Presse this summer with lengthy messages about imperialism and neo-colonialism. Likewise, we noted with wonder the popularity of the Eyadema personality amongst youth: each village in Togo is the scene of dancing and singing (animatim) in honor of the President by all under sixteen five nights per week. We were reminded of Chinese movements, and returned from performances amazed at the enthusiasm for the general. ***

"Je te dis, les Arabes ne sont que voleurs:" I am stopped in a coffee hut in Lama Kara, Togo by a middle-aged farmer, rather heavy, who has nearly worn through his rubber sandals. He appears very distinguished, loose black pants and the dark green suit coat. For ten minutes I am harangued about one of the most debated issues in the sub-Sahara: "Israel must not be betrayed by you Americans. You must use all that power to keep Liars out of there...and communists. The Israelis are democratic, they are gentils, don't you see? Who gave us our national lottery? and sent fine agricultural ideas? Yes, the Israelis. And who did Togo support in 1973 but the Arab sistes who just continue to raise the price of oil?" I climb aboard the transport afterwards, bewildered at having played ambassador. ***

Obviously, when a cultural exchange fails as miserably as did ours, we return home to search for reasons. The other five Crossroads camps (in Ghana and Nigeria) operated smoothly, despite the Nigerian coup. Counts against us included a lack of collective ability in speaking French(let alone Ewe or Mina); an oversight on the part of an accountant in New York who was responsible for our food budget, but mainly the fact that our construction project was an imposition on the town of Tabligbo. As with all too many "development" projects throughout the world, the will and inspiration had not come from the hearts of local people. In short, the official project was doomed before we arrived.

Near the University of Ghana, four drummers tell me of the powers of certain cats for warding off spirits of illness in children. Suddenly we rise a bit and are faced with the golf course which surrounds the local nuclear plant. The boys of Christian Village who want to avoid the streets of Accra will come here to caddy. We return to the twentieth hour of the wake-keeping. The drumming must continue throughout the night.

New Founders League cont.

Dean for Student Affairs Alan Strain observed that "this is a major campaign on their part." The New Founders League has been responsible for printing the "Bring Back The Indian" bumper stickers and the controversial Indian decals. The League also planned to distribute red feathers at the Big Game that supporters of the Indian mascot might don. As it turned out, however, relatively few feathers were to be seen in the Stanford cheering section.

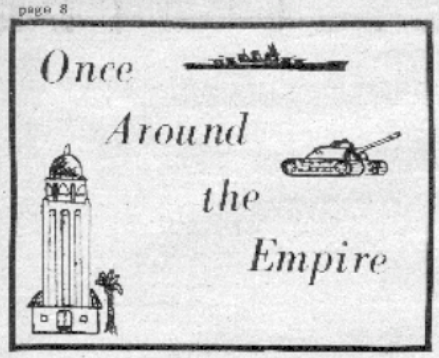
The Indian decals, produced and marketed by the League, have been a central issue in the dispute. When merchants in Palo Alto were approached by students and administration members explaining the university's action in 1972, and implying the possibility of a boycott of stores, the reaction was generally to remove the stickers. This response was not universal. Said one businessman, "They use the same tactics as labor unions and I don't like it."

FINANCIAL THREATS

Yet the New Founders League has also threatened pressure tactics, and on one occasion informed the university that sizeable gifts would not be forthcoming if the Indian was not resurrected. Nevell stated that, "We have no evidence about whether this is true or not true. There's no way of knowing." He added that the Stanford Alumni Association Executive Board feels that, "this is a closed issue, and it is not in the interests of the University to bring the issue back."

Regarding the university's response to the disgruntled alumni, Carlson stated that "it is a very different thing when students themselves ask you to do something." Referring to the original effort to remove the Indian mascot, Carlson stated that "they (students) did this without smashing windows or hurling anybody, with no coercion at all, yet some alumni react as though these students were some kind of pressure group."

With the possible exception of the latest campaign to bring back the Indian, the New Founders League has not played a prominent role in changing the outlook of the university administration or community. But it is notable that the arrow that used to appear in the logo of Stanford's Direction, which pointed to the left, has been abandoned. According to the League, the change represents a more hopeful outlook for the university; the "drift to the left" may be slowing down in the eyes of league members. After considering the goals and philosophy of the New Founders League, students may wish that the arrow remained.



ECONOMIC RECOVERY-
Who Benefits?

(LNS)--Headlines heralding an 'economic recovery' have graced the front pages of newspapers throughout the country this fall. Economic forecasters tremble with anticipation as they cite changes in inventory growth, a rise in the third quarter Gross National Product, increased productivity and a boost in corporate profits. All "experts" acknowledge that the technical economic signs for business are up for the time being.

What that means for people, however, is a completely different story. In fact, the recovery hasn't improved people's lives a bit, and it doesn't promise to in the near future.

Several economic indicators have gotten the business community excited this fall. The Federal Reserve Board, for example, recently announced that industrial production rose in September for the fifth consecutive month, and was the largest rise in that five-month period. This increase in the output of the nation's factories, mines and utilities was 1.9% -the biggest monthly advance since November, 1964.

But what really thrilled the business community was the October 29 Department of Labor announcement that the average worker's output per-person-hour increased at an annual rate of 8.5% during the three months ending September 30. That was enough to offset any higher wage rates, said the Labor Department, and it reduced corporations' labor costs 'per unit' by 2.4%.

This bit of good news for business added up in the final stanza of the recovery song--corporate profits are on the upswing. A recent Wall Street Journal survey of 626 companies showed a 4.6% earnings rise in the third quarter from the April-June (second quarter) survey. "After-tax corporate profits for April through June increased 13% over January-March, reaching a level of $70 billion a year," reports Dollars & Sense, a monthly economic bulletin put out by members of the Union of Radical Political Economics (URPE).

RECOVERY AT THE EXPENSE OF WORKERS

What's behind business reports of increased productivity and profits? "Now as in past recoveries," writes Dollars & Sense, "employers can increase production by speed-up and by lengthening the work week through increasing overtime. With unemployment still high, workers lack the power to resist speed-up or to demand higher wages.

"Also the recession allows business the opportunity to abandon old methods of production that have been unprofitable. As sales pick up, new and more productive equipment can be introduced. This whole process of business getting more out of labor shows up sharply in the productive data."

If the recovery has come in large part via the increased sweat of those fortunate enough to hold a job, what about those who are unemployed? October's official Department of Labor unemployment rate was 8.6%, up from September's 8.3%. In addition the number of people out of work six months or more increased by 153,000 in September, reaching a total of 1.6 million--the largest number since records began to be kept after World War II.

Many economists estimate that the real unemployment rate is actually at least twice as high as reported because the Labor Department's statistics do not take into account those people who are underemployed (those working less than 20 hours a week, but who want more work) and those who have out of desperation, given up looking for work. And among women and third world people, the unemployment rate is much higher.

The National Urban League says the real unemployment rate among Black people in the second quarter of 1975 was 26.1% adding that "actual unemployment among blacks in many cities is certainly as pervasive as it was during the Great Depression of the 1930's."

The Wall Street Journal reported in late October that many of the 14 million workers who will receive unemployment benefits this year are exhausting their benefits and will have to go on welfare. "It's degrading," the Journal quoted James Elkins, a white, 59-year old former construction worker, as saying in the Philadelphia welfare office. "I just can't understand why they put you through this. Here I am a veteran wounded in Korea, Purple Heart, all kinds of medals. I can't understand it."

"Ford and (Secretary of the Treasury) Simon and everyone else maintain that unemployment will remain at least 7% throughout 1977-78," one New York economist concludes. "So any recovery that's expected is clearly not a recovery for American working people."

UNEMPLOYMENT PLUS INFLATION

To add to people's economic woes, is the ever-present reality of inflation. In October, says the Wall Street Journal, "wholesale prices spurted a seasonally adjusted 1.8% which equals a 'staggering 21.6% annual clip as prices climbed sharply for farm products as well as industrial goods."

The business community insists that workers' demands for higher wages is a big reason for inflation. But others disagree. Even Fortune magazine's November issue in its analysis of the extreme inflation in the construction industry, reported that the cost of engineering and "hardware" (steel, pipes, etc.) far outpaced any wage increases for construction workers, 20% of whom have been laid off nationwide.

The majority of workers are in five industries --trucking, rubber, construction, electrical equipment and auto. In that group only the autoworkers and some construction workers have been able to keep up with soaring cost of living increases in recent years.

Many of Ford's economic policies are, at this point, thinly disguised electioneering for 1976. Referring recently to recovery-bound statistics, Ford said the figures indicated "we're on our way to a sensible, long-range answer to the peaks and valleys" of the economy--a statement branded patently impossible by economists who see those "peaks and valleys" as inherent crises within a capitalist economic framework.

"All of Ford's activities are bent upon reducing essential services for people, and social programs," commented one economist. He has declined to specify exactly where his proposed $28 billion of savings in the 1977 fiscal year budget would come from in order to put through a corresponding $28 billion cut in taxes.

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The President is adept at conjuring up images of hard-working "middle Americans" and investment-starved corporations. As he told a group of Republican women in Dallas, if things continue the way they've been going, "by the year 2000, half of the nation will be living off the other half."

But "if half the country is supporting the other half, it's the bottom half that's supporting the top," writes Dollars & Sense. "Corporate income taxes which in 1960 accounted for 23% of total federal government revenues, now represent less than 16%. In contrast, payroll taxes--paid only half by corporations and half by workers--have risen from 16% to 29% of the total over that period."

With a possible collapse of New York City, continued high unemployment, and a generally shaky economic situation despite the latest "recovery" news, Ford is banking on fear and intimidation to put through his "painful but necessary" plans.

"The economy is very precarious," summed up Bill Tabb. "They (corporations) are now optimistic, as though they're trying to talk themselves into it. But none of the experts have said anything about people. We have the worst of everything--high unemployment, inflation. The recovery isn't really for us."

ANGOLA

(INTERNEWS-LNS--)

The Angolan civil war intensified in late November following the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola in Luanda by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, (MPLA.) Although the MPLA has the widest support within Angola, of the three groups involved, its troops appear to be outnumbered by the forces united against it. The opposition forces--the National Front for the Liberation of Angola, (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) are supported by the U.S., Belgium, France, Zaire and South Africa.

The loose alliance between the FNLA and UNITA represents the interests of Western capital and neocolonialism, while the MPLA, Angola's historic liberation organization is dedicated to a progressive domestic program and nonalignment in international affairs. FNLA/UNITA forces have been attempting to close in on Luanda, the capital city, from the North and South, however, recent MPLA victories in Porto Amboim on the coast and the inland city of Gabela have stopped the advance of opposition forces. The MPLA now controls the wide corridor stretching from Luanda to the Angola-Zaire border.

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The MPLA's recent successes can be attributed to better-trained forces than either of its rivals, mass mobilization of the entire population under control of MPLA troops, and shipments of crucial aid from the USSR and other countries, including Cuba.

The official U.S. response to the civil war has been to step up CIA operations in Angola within the past few weeks, which includes a massive airlift of arms and other military equipment into Zaire for use by the FNLA/UNITA forces. The New York Times reported last September 25 that the CIA had been supplying arms and aid to the FNLA since 1962, and had extended the same support to UNITA since last spring.

CIA involvement in Angola during the last year has been described as the 'biggest CIA operation since the Congo in the '60's." The U.S. is seeking to protect large commercial investments in Angola's rich deposits of raw materials and minerals. The same is true of French and Belgian aid to the FNLA/UNITA. The South African regime is supporting UNITA forces not only with war materials and mercenaries, but with regular troops. Up to 1,000 South African troops are reportedly fighting alongside UNITA forces in the South. Mercenaries from the clandestine, ultra-rightist "Portuguese Liberation Army" and American ex-Green Berets have also been reported aiding the UNITA forces. Despite mounting opposition, the MPLA is been able to protect Luanda and other urban centers in a majority of Angola's sixteen districts, through defense militias among the population, workers' committees, production cooperatives, and other forms of popular organization among Angola's slowly emerging industrial working class.

As one Angolan leader remarked before armed conflict between the rival groups broke out, "No matter how many towns a movement holds, and no matter how many men and sophisticated weapons it has, the decisive factor will be which movement has the support of the Angolan people." The MPLA views its two allied enemies as beholden to foreign powers and not representative of the Angolan people. The war is officially described by the MPLA as a war against "imperialism and foreign aggression." Along with many observers of the Angolan scene, they do not believe that the combined forces of the FNLA and UNITA could have contested the MPLA without massive outside aid.

(Once Around the Empire edited by
Roy Tolles and Sue Green)