

Exile Recalls Junta Terror

by Bert Dower

Gonzalo Reveco lowers his voice and shakes his head in disbelief as he looks at the welts on his wrists and recounts the terror he left behind in Chile.

"These welts are where they shocked me when they tried to get information out of me," he explains. "They tied me to a metallic bed and applied electric shocks to my entire body... even my genitals."

As he describes the 11 months he spent as a political prisoner of General Augusto Pinochet's military regime in Chile, he remains composed and quietly forceful, as if the struggle had implanted in him a quality of calm endurance. His high cheek bones and flared nostrils could be those of a stoic Aztec Indian. Yet his deep black eyes and fluid body gestures were distinctly Latin.

The tone of his voice reflects an uneasy ambivalence when he describes his present situation. He talks in a relaxed tone in his new home, a Mount-Vernon View apartment, where he lives with his wife and two children. But his voice quavers with sorrow and pain as he remembers his countless friends still being persecuted in Chile.

Despite the safety of living in the States, his new life has been difficult. He doesn't speak English and is having a hard time finding work.

His plight is similar to the plight of 24 other unemployed Chilean refugees who have been admitted into the country since October. The U.S. State Department has denied all of them "green cards", which are a vital prerequisite to finding employment.

In addition, Chileans aren't allowed to apply for unemployment, food stamps or any other type of government assistance.

But life in Chile was barbaric.

ARREST AND TORTURE

Reveco explains that because he had "leftist sympathies" he lost his job as an employee in the public relations department of the Bank of South America. Shortly after the Sept. 11, 1973 military coup which overthrew Marxist president Salvador Allende's socialist government, Reveco was "very diplomatically" fired.

For a year he worked as a manual laborer doing repair work. Then, on the night of Dec. 17, 1974, two secret police agents working for the military government knocked on the door of his Santiago home.

They forced their way into the house, grabbed Reveco, bound and blindfolded him, and left. They gave no reason for his arrest.

"They put me in a windowless van and beat me

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many times... everywhere," he explains, striking the air as if to relive the tragedy.

He was taken to "La Discotèque" torture-detention center where he was held for 14 days.

"It has this name because in this place, they play music all day long with the purpose of sensory deprivation," he explains.

He was beat with a specialized instrument made of rubber and metal which was designed to leave no marks. But, as Reveco puts it, "Lo suera por dentro." (It kills on the inside).

"Everyone passed through the same torture, from old men to young women," he recalls.

Reveco pauses before he describes the worst torture. His eyes lock firmly across the room where his two children, 5-year-old Andrea and 3-year-old Claudia, happily share a cup of tea.

"The hardest thing to suffer through was when they threatened to bring my daughter in and torture her in front of me with the electric shock," he says. "They never did it to me, but it happened to the people I was with."

On Dec. 30 he was transferred from "La Discotèque" to a solitary confinement center called "Unstro Alamos" where his food ration was increased and the worst torture stopped.

Finally, a month after his arrest, on Jan. 14, 1975, his family was told he was still alive.

He spent the following months in "Ritague", a forced labor camp 150 miles outside of Santiago. He then was sent to "Tres Alamos" where he was held captive until he was granted exile in November.

He was released largely because of the efforts of Amnesty International, a world-wide organization involved in freeing political prisoners who have not advocated violence. Amnesty also works for the curtailment of all governmental torture.

THE LIFE OF AN EXILE

Reveco was told on Nov. 7, 1975, that he would be released and exiled to the U.S. He was given 20 hours to prepare to leave.

"I was glad I was going to the United States to get together with my family and to live a normal life," he says. "But I wondered how long my friends would be kept in prison... I could see the pain of torture and separation from their families in their eyes. I cried together with them before I left-- there's a solidarity that comes from struggling together."

He arrived at San Francisco International Airport on Nov. 8, and was joined by his wife and their two children four days later. His sponsoring organization, the International Rescue Committee, has provided him with funds and assistance since his arrival.

Reveco shrugs his shoulders and lets out a long sigh as he explains his current situation. He is a

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Gonzalo Reveco, Chilean refugee. (Bay Guardian)

AGAINST THE GRAIN

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NOT FOR PUBLICATION

by Seth Feldy

EXTRA! SPY ON CAMPUS....BUDGET CUTS...

STATE DEPARTMENT STALLS ON MANDEL VISA....

OTHER TIDBITS....

In From The Cold

"I had lived inside-- and helped lead-- the campus 'revolution'."

"Yet through it all, I had secretly worked under cover for the Federal Bureau of Investigation." These are the words of William Fulio Divale in the introduction to his obscure book, *I Lived Inside the Campus Revolution*. Divale no longer makes his living as a spy (he says); in fact he was interviewed on the Stanford campus two weeks ago for a new joint assistant professorship in anthropology and human biology.

Students scrambling to meet next year's tuition by means of summer jobs, race horses, or other honorable pursuits may be interested to learn that Divale, who now calls himself a Marxist, earned \$14,596 as a student informer for the FBI. From his recruitment in 1965 to his "surfacing" in 1969, Divale filed nearly 800 reports to the FBI from his positions in the Communist Party USA, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other left organizations. According to Divale, the FBI listed him as one of their "most valuable student informants."

Sources in both anthropology and the Program in Human Biology report that the quality of Divale's academic research (on primitive communities) would not qualify him for the position. Surprise, surprise: neither his spy activities, nor his authorship of *I Lived Inside the Student Revolution*, appeared on his resume. These were discovered after he had left the campus.

ATG's Quickie Budget Analysis

Here's what you've all been waiting for: a look at the 1976-77 Stanford budget, approved by the board of trustees last month.

There are few surprises. Stanford is entering the second year of the 3-year Budget Equilibrium Program (BEP) which, for those who prefer to read English, stands for balancing the budget. This process involves bringing income up, and cutting expenditures down. Still with me?

How does income rise? Higher tuition, of course. General tuition (not including business, medicine or law schools) will rise 12.2 per cent to \$4,275, and combined tuition income is expected to increase by \$5,330,000. This increase dwarfs increases in endowment income and gifts. A rise in "reimbursed indirect costs," the overhead charged by the university for sponsored research, will also provide increased income.

Other budget items of particular interest include: --An across-the-board increase in students' self-help requirements for financial aid. Increases are expected from greater parental contributions (based on figures showing an average "increased ability to pay"); a revised need-assessment formula (last year's formula was judged too liberal); and increased student self-help through jobs and loans. These increases will nearly equal increases in aid made by Stanford to meet higher tuition rates.

--Breathe a little easier. The Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Studies (ODES) is receiving \$27,000 as permanent funding for SCIEE, SMOPEI, Undergraduate Specials and Urban Studies. ("Isn't it wonderful?" exclaimed ODES office assistant, Ruth Sloan. "Everybody got what they wanted.")

--Affirmative action funding is firm for another year. The Faculty Affirmative Action Fund will be restored to its annual \$50,000 level, and the funding of the Affirmative Action Office will rise to \$24,000.

--The Office of the Dean of Student Affairs will be substantially cut back in paid personnel. Also, a reported cut-back in funds to the Associated Students of Stanford University (ASSU) of \$25,000 is actually closer to \$27,000, according to ASSU financial manager Chris Cline. Between \$10,000 and \$15,000 is being placed in a fund that will be available to the ASSU only in fiscal emergencies.

--Funds will also be conserved by replacing some full-professorships with lower-ranked (and lower paid) positions, while other faculty positions will be eliminated altogether. Over 16 positions will be affected, a majority of which are in the School of Humanities and Sciences.

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TENURE The story behind the headlines

by Michael Kleschnick

Tenure, with its dual concerns of teaching and research, is unquestionably one of the most debated features of the university. The various constituencies on campus have viewed tenure differently over time. Tenure did protect many liberals and leftists (although not many of the latter) during the McCarthy era, but failed to protect Bruce Franklin from dismissal.

The debate at Stanford has shifted in focus over the past several years. During the late sixties and early seventies, charges and countercharges flew concerning the political nature of the tenure process. It was commonly charged that radicals had little chance for tenure. The administration usually responded that the candidates in question were simply not up to par, often citing the quality of research.

Today, of course, the question is much different. The student senate, the Daily, and others decry the lack of importance given to teaching ability in the tenuring process, and bemoan what they see as undue emphasis on research. This is a position held by a broad spectrum across campus, including many moderates, liberals, and radicals. Conservatives tend either to ignore the whole situation, defend the tenure process, or claim that it is politically biased against conservatives.

ADMINISTRATIVE DEFERENCE

Of course, the administration has consistently maintained that tenure decisions take both teaching and research abilities into account. They usually distinguish between the "short-term" benefits of good teaching and the "long-term" investment in good research. In response to complaints about the most recent Gores Award-winner being denied tenure, it is commonly said that good research is vital to good teaching.

The debate has reached a new level of fervor and new lows of intelligence with the current budget

crisis. Rumors abound that the tenure rate, once above 40 per cent during the years of expansion, would decline to 20 per cent or lower.

Daily reporters scoured the halls of academia searching for assistant professors, whom they assumed must have been terrified due to the new low tenure rate. The denial of tenure to three assistant professors in Classics seemed to confirm that the fears were justified. What the Daily did not know was that as their story went to press, the Classics Department already had had commitments or indications of interest from new professors, the department survived.

Task Force II of the Budget Priorities Commission surveyed the abundant literature on the tenure question and extensively polled the departments. Their study turned up little new information. They discovered that the rate of tenure had to fall under a regime of budget equilibrium. They predicted that the affirmative action program would suffer considerable damage over the next ten to fifteen years, and they found that there is no easy solution.

The Task Force did make suggestions: first, that perhaps in some departments it would be appropriate to extend beyond six years the time before a tenure decision must be reached—such an extension occurred for the departed Jerry Irish and might have been appropriate for Ann McMahon. Second, departments could choose to hire only people that they felt were worthy of tenure, so that eventually, some departments would have a tenure rate of 100 per cent.

But in general the Task Force recommended that present policies continue. That is, there should be no hard and fast rates of tenure that apply across department or school boundaries, but that for the university as a whole, the tenure rate should not be allowed to fall below 20 per cent. The report did not deal at all with the recent tenure decision, choosing instead to focus on the effects of decreasing tenure rates.

RESEARCH KEY TO TENURE

The oversimplified dichotomy between teaching and research fails to clarify the nature of tenure decisions. To make such a clear distinction is to make the process seem much more objective than it really is. Often a distinction is made between the quantity of research and the quality of research. This distinction was made to no avail by our two recently dismissed Gores Award winners, Irish and McMahon. This indicates that in fact the quality of research, while considered, is not really the deciding factor in tenure decisions.

It is the field of research that is most important. A research project might be carried out with exquisite attention to methodology, arrive at impeccable results relevant to the research, and hence might be considered by any reasonable standards to be high-quality research. But if the research is in an area that the department or Appointments Committee does not consider important, then tenure is unlikely.

SELECTIVE PROCESS

This is an extraordinarily selective process. First consider that most research is externally funded, particularly in the sciences, engineering and social sciences, which in itself forces faculty to choose research projects from a limited array of possible projects in order to be funded. Then consider that the junior faculty have recently come from graduate schools, where to be admitted, to find a dissertation advisor, and to have the dissertation approved so that one can become an assistant professor all subject the graduate student to the interests of the existing hierarchy.

In a period of financial constraint such as the one Stanford is going through, a department must be very careful as to the nature of its faculty's research interests. A department cannot afford to have "peripheral research." It must make judgments about how it would like to develop and what areas are likely to be of importance in the future. Both of these are highly influenced by future funding possibilities.



A case in point is that of Assistant Professor Toby Hayes of the Mechanical Engineering Department. Hayes, like all incoming assistant professors, was hired on a three- or five-year contract. Hayes's contract is not being renewed, although he has not yet come up for tenure. Hayes and a collaborator in the School of Medicine have been well-funded over the past few years for their work in biomechanics. His courses have consistently been among the most highly-ranked in the surveys of Tau Beta Pi, the Engineering Honor Society at Stanford.

Hayes feels that his contract wasn't renewed because the department decided that his research, while funded and of good quality, simply did not fit into the department's plans. In addition, Hayes has been politically active, and has not always been on the best of terms with some of the important professors in the department.

SEMI-RENEWAL

Hayes's case illustrates what is likely to happen more and more in the near future. Tenure opportunities will be fewer in the future, and tenure decisions will be highly visible affairs, with various constituencies debating the outcome. It is reasonable to predict that the nearly-automatic renewal of three- and five-year contracts for assistant professors will soon cease. The review procedures are much less formal and visibility problems are eased when a contract is simply not renewed.

If tenure decisions are viewed in terms of long range department plans and not just as single decisions on the quality of an individual professor's research or teaching, then there is an additional role for students to play in the tenure process. Students, led by the ASSU Council of Presidents, are currently working to make course evaluation questionnaires an official part of tenure decisions. While the students' motives are worthy, the campaign risks turning tenure decisions into mechanical and highly inflexible operations.

The Budget Priorities Commission recommended in its final report to President Lyman that students should seek new ways to participate in setting the long-range goals and directions of University departments. Others have suggested that students sit on tenure committees. However, neither approach addresses the role that personality and politics play in tenure decisions; perhaps a broader strategy will be necessary to bring about a rational tenure process.

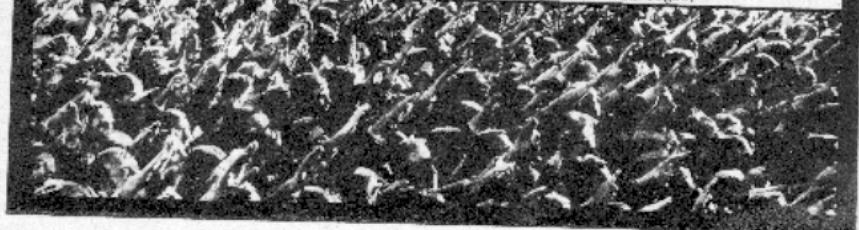
Apolitical Intellectuals

One day,
the apolitical intellectuals
of my country
will be interrogated by the simplest
of our people
They will be asked
what they did
when their nation
died out
like a sweet fire
small and alone
No one will ask them
about their dresses
their long cicutas after lunch
no one will want to know
about their sterile combats
with the idea of the nothing
No one will care about
their higher financial learning
they won't be questioned
on Greek mythology
or regarding their
self-disgust
when something within them
began to die the coward's death
They'll be asked nothing
about their absurd justifications
born in the shadow of
the total lie
On that day
the simple will come
those who had no
place in the books and poems of the
apolitical intellectuals
but daily delivered their bread and milk
tortillas and eggs,
those who had mended
their clothes
those who drove their
cows, and cared for their dogs
and gardens, and worked for
them, and they'll ask:
What did you do when the poor
suffered,
when tenderness and life
burned out in them?

—by Otto Rene Castillo

AGAINST THE GRAIN

This issue was brought to you by: Steve Vettel* Seth Foldy* Susan Graw* Devin Hess* Marc Wilson
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Radiation Danger

by Janice Bressler

intends to use it as fuel in a new type of reactor called the breeder. The breeder would introduce large quantities of plutonium into the U.S.

Plutonium, Brown explains, emits a form of radiation called alpha particles. These particles release energy in a short distance, therefore their effects are concentrated on a small area. If inhaled in the body, the particles can be highly damaging.

Sagan says the toxicity of any material is dependent on its concentration and the conditions of exposure. "Plutonium can be very toxic," he admits, "but only under certain circumstances." Those circumstances are when it becomes airborne and can be inhaled and deposited in the lungs, Sagan explains. If the exposure is of a certain magnitude it is very likely to produce cancer.

The lowest dose of plutonium that is likely to produce cancer, Sagan says, has not been precisely determined. "The experiment has never been carried out on humans, though there is a good deal of animal experimentation," he explains.

Brown says the best available information on plutonium comes from research done on dogs by Dr. Baird who is head of Cal Northwest Lab in Washington. Baird testified before a National Academy of Science panel on health effects of radiation, of which Brown was a member.

"Baird stated he had established a number of dose categories in his experiments but had found that, even in the lowest dose categories there were cancers produced," Brown recalls.

Because there is no experimental data on how toxic plutonium is to humans, there are various models proposed. The model accepted by the International Commission of Radiological Protection, on which Brown served, predicts that the lung cancer death for humans is one 250 millionth of a gram.

"And remember," Brown warns, "the nuclear industry's projections are that they will be creating about 500 tons of plutonium per year by the year 2000."

Sagan insists that there is no need to "quibble" over the toxicity of plutonium because "everybody recognizes that it can be toxic." Radiation standards, he says, have received more careful attention than standards for any other environmental health hazard. He adds that current standards for radiation emissions from reactors are adequate and are being met.

ACCIDENT CONSEQUENCES

Neither Brown nor Sagan view the radiation released from normally operating plants as the main concern in the nuclear health hazards debate. In their opinions, the controversy rests on the consequences of an accident.

"There is no question that the consequences of a major reactor accident could be catastrophic," Sagan says. "The radioactivity in the core of a reactor is very, very great."



Sagan asserts that the dangers of an accident have been well foreseen by the nuclear industry but concedes that "the worst is possible, and one can speculate as to what might be the consequences of a worst possible accident." Basing his speculation on a study done by an MIT group known as the Resonance report, Sagan sketches a possible scenario of major reactor accident consequences. In an accident, there would be no nuclear explosion, but rather a massive release of radioactivity. The reactor would be cracked open in some way and the radioactive materials in the core would be released. Those materials would be extremely hot, a radioactive cloud would rise and, given certain conditions, be carried to a population center. People below that cloud would be exposed to radiation both externally from



(Stanford News and Publications)

Robert McAfee Brown

Reflections on Stanford

by Linzee Weld

About two months ago, Professor Robert McAfee Brown announced he was leaving Stanford because, he said, "my vision of Stanford's future and the administration's vision were simply going in opposite directions." In a recent interview with *Agnostic the Grain*, Brown explained in fuller detail why his goals cannot be fulfilled at Stanford.

Brown will leave a tenured position in the Religious Studies Department, which he has held since 1982, to return to full-time ministry teaching. During autumn quarter Brown taught full time at the Pacific School of Religion (PSR) in Berkeley; in winter he divided his time between PSR and Stanford, teaching one course at each institution; and this spring he has returned for his last full-time quarter at Stanford.

WHAT STANFORD SHOULD BE

Brown feels that in addition to being a center of research and study of the past, the university should be a place for social innovation and experimentation; a forerunner in proposing and embodying positive social change. However, he noted that Stanford and other large universities today are "struggling to stay alive" in competition with each other. "Places like Stanford will have to give increasing attention to maintaining 'things as they are' rather than radically challenging things as they are. I feel the need to work within a community that will continually raise questions about national and international priorities, and that will provide resources for facing whatever personal insecurities that questioning may entail. To the surprise of many of my Stanford colleagues, I believe that the church in its widest (i.e. ecumenical) meaning, can begin to do that."

Brown has always felt that he could work for social change from within the Stanford community and has expressed gratitude that the university administration upheld his right to do so. During the sixties Brown's strong anti-war sentiments led him to participate in protests and civil disobedience; last year he spoke on campus on such issues as the Mayaguez incident and the U.S. role in the world food crisis. He believed that there was a strong concern on the part of many at Stanford for the global problems of oppression, poverty, hunger, injustice, racism, and war.

WHAT STANFORD IS

A succession of events last year caused Brown to wonder whether Stanford's overall priorities were not moving a different direction. In a statement broadcast by KXSF last May, Brown asked:

"What does it mean when innovative programs critical of the society, like SWOPSI and SCIRE, are threatened; when 'elitism' is sometimes used as a term of approval rather challenge; when it is suggested that we may perhaps be admitting the wrong sorts of minority students; when faculty housing and faculty costs of living increases are a higher priority than, say, overseas campuses in the Third World; when peace studies programs have a tough

time gaining legitimacy; when promising younger faculty are denied tenure?"

The last reference was crucial to Brown. He was referring to the Appointments and Promotions Committee's refusal last year to grant tenure to Jerry Irish, Assistant Religious Studies Professor and winner of Gores Award for Excellence in Teaching. Irish, who had received strong support from his department when the question of tenure was raised, was a teacher who injected immense energy in his students and in his classroom teaching, and whose scholarship was judged by his peers to be more than adequate for tenure.

The denial of tenure by the A and P Committee, and the subsequent rejection of Irish's appeal to the Provost, indicated to Brown that Stanford was much less committed to quality teaching than to research. In his statement to EESU, Brown said:

"If Stanford is to build a creative future, it needs not only people of proven scholarship, but also people who are dedicated in a fundamental way to students and to the human and global values without which Stanford can turn out technicians but not whole persons."

The Irish decision was clearly a catalyst for Brown's action towards leaving Stanford. "I had been wondering whether I still belonged at Stanford," he said.

BROWN'S LEAVING OUR LOSS

Brown's resignation will further deplete Stanford's faculty of professors who inspire their students to translate academics into ethics, beliefs, and actions. However, it will allow him to work with a new community of scholars who share his interests more fully, a community he describes as "the remnant within the church."

Brown sees in this broader ecumenical community "a foretaste of what the human family might, and must, become—a community where global priorities are higher than national priorities, where 'justice' is a more overriding concern than security, where peace counts for more than being 'number one', where compassion rules higher than technical skill."

Brown's increasing involvement in the World Council of Churches is providing one opportunity to relate more globally to the 'human family.' A year ago Brown represented the WCC on a trip to Cambodia and Laos, meeting for two weeks with Asian Christians and Buddhists. Last November in Nairobi, Kenya, Brown delivered the keynote address at the fifth assembly of the WCC, attended by church members from all points on the globe. Delivered in part in Spanish to symbolize his opposition to what he calls the "linguistic imperialism" of the English language on such occasions, his speech called on all members to work for the end of oppression and injustice; to seek a world community not only of Christians but of all persons.

Brown's departure is Stanford's incalculable loss. *Against the Grain* wishes him the best possible future.

SENATE BILL ONE

Dissent Outlawed

by Casey McKeever

(Editor's note: Senate Bill One continues to snake its way through the legislative maze. In February Senators Mansfield and Scott submitted publicly a list of proposed amendments to the Judiciary Subcommittee considering the bill. This infuriated a bipartisan group of committee members who had been conferring privately to consider possible changes, and activity surrounding the legislation came to a temporary halt. On March 21st, Senators Kennedy, Hart and Albritton offered a set of amendments which included the ones agreed to by conservative legislators McClellan and Scott, plus four to twelve more. In addition, it has been revealed that the name and number of S.B. 1 will be changed before it is reported out of committee. Despite the fact that the bill would require over one-thousand additional amendments to be cleaned of all its repressive features, it is expected to receive receptive Senate approval in this weakly modified form. Senators may still respond to constituent pressure if it is strong enough - the staff of Against The Grain urges everyone to contact his/her representative in the Senate and indicate opposition to S.B.1. We include this trenchant analysis by Stanford law student Casey McKeever as background for such efforts.)

It was not enough that Richard Nixon left us with four Supreme Court justices. His legacy of repression survives in many forms, not the least of which is the legislative proposal popularly known as Senate Bill One - ironically entitled the "Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975."

S.1 is an outrageously crude attempt to immobilize genuine political opposition, further centralize power and information into the hands of executive elites, and deal with crime as an individual rather than a social phenomenon. It is, in essence, a pathetic attempt to deal with the social, political and economic crisis of the American system by blaming it on crimes and criminals.

ORIGINS OF S.1

S.1's origins extend back to 1966, when a National Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws was appointed by then-President Johnson as required by a statute enacted by Congress. The bipartisan commission was chaired by ex-California governor Pat Brown and its mission was to reform the archaic, repetitive, and inconsistent federal criminal code which had last been updated in 1909.

The Brown Commission worked for five years, and ultimately submitted its final report to President Nixon and Congress in early 1971. But the bill was destined for substantial transformation. Three members of the Brown Commissions - Senators Ervin, McClellan and Bricker - had been consistently outvoted by the other nine members of the Brown Commission. These senators took a far more punitive, repressive approach to criminal justice. But they were strategically situated as leaders of the Subcommittee on Criminal Laws and Procedures of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Thus, though a minority on the Commission, their powerful positions permitted them to introduce, in January 1973, a version containing far more draconian provisions.

But the worst was yet to come. Richard Nixon and his attorneys general John Mitchell and Richard Kleindienst were able to take a crack at "criminal reform", and increased the repressive features to comply with their perspectives on "law and order," political dissent, and official secrecy. The Nixon bill and S.1 were consolidated and charged on January 15, 1975, as S.1 of the Bicentennial Congress. Hearings on the bill will be held before the Senate Judiciary Committee later this month.

REPRESSIVE PROVISIONS

The list of provisions worthy of concern is seemingly endless. A comprehensive study of the bill undertaken by ACLU attorneys reported that over 1000 amendments and 1300 sub-amendments would be necessary to eliminate all of the odious sections. Since an alternative bill sponsored by Congressman Tom Edwards and Robert Kastenmeier and lacking the more objectionable aspects of S.1 is already in existence as H.R. 10830, it would appear hardly worth the effort to attempt to push S.1 through a tortuous (and undoubtedly unsuccessful) amending process.

However, not a single U.S. Senator has advocated the total defeat of S.1; even Senate "liberals" (Mansfield, Bath, Tunney, Kennedy) are pushing a version which possesses a mere 13 amendments - hardly enough to eliminate all the unsavory aspects of S.1.

The most reprehensible provisions deal with

sedition, secrecy, interference with the "national defense", restraints on the press, public demonstrations, riot, criminal procedural rights, capital punishment, criminal sentencing, and a "Nuremberg defense" for public officials charged with crimes. Briefly, the highlights follow:

Repeal of the Smith Act - Fallen into disuse after a series of Supreme Court decisions in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the Smith Act returns to us with a vengeance in S.1. Penalties of up to fifteen years and a \$100,000 fine are provided if, with intent to bring about the forcible overthrow of a government "as speedily as circumstances permit," a person incited others to engage in conduct that "then or at some future time" would facilitate overthrow of any government. The provision also includes similar penalties for organizing or recruiting members for or participating as an active member in any organization having as its purpose the incitement of the foregoing.

Clearly, virtually all radical persons and organizations advocating fundamental political change fall within the limits of this vague section. Phrases such as "as speedily as circumstances permit," "at some future time," "incitement," lend themselves to enormous discretionary power in the hands of law enforcement authorities. The provision is a bald attempt at repression of the left.

Reenactment of the Bay Brown Act - Strom Thurmond's 1968 law (under which the Chicago Conspiracy trial took place) wasn't enough for the drafters of S.1. Riot is now defined as a "public disturbance" involving an assemblage of ten or more persons that by "violent or tumultuous conduct," creates a grave danger of injury or damage to persons or property. The element of intent (with which, in the old law, one allegedly crossed state lines) is eliminated.

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HAYDEN: "Commonsense" politics

by Tim Collings

On February 2, Tom Hayden, candidate for the Democratic Party nomination for U.S. Senate, spoke at Stanford. Hayden spoke on a wide range of issues, from abolishing the CIA to making California the solar energy capital of the nation.

How did an early SDS leader and Chicago Seven defendant end up running in the Democratic Party for U.S. Senate? Sanhurst, Hayden's state press coordinator and co-worker in the Inochina Peace Campaign, gave an explanation. "Late in 1974 we could see that the war wouldn't last much longer. We began to think about what we were going to do when it was over." Increasingly, they leaned towards what Hurst called "electoral politics." At the end of that year, Hayden wrote an article for Rolling Stone about Jerry Brown, whom he followed in the last days of his successful gubernatorial campaign. The article was very favorable towards Brown, suggesting Hayden's political tendencies. More recently, Hayden backed George Moscone in his successful bid for the mayor's office in San Francisco. After he was elected, Moscone announced a series of cutbacks in the city budget, including big cuts in social services. Moscone said that he was not going to use "the most-ax approach of Ronald Reagan" but would instead use a "scalpel." Brown has also been very active in cutting the state budget. Newsweek called him a "closet Reaganite" who's been "bleeding the budget more than even Reagan dared." Brown and Moscone represent the new genre of liberal politicians who project a hip image while cutting back on social programs. Hayden's support for these two men suggests where he will stand in the Senate.

STREET ACTION TO BULLDOZE BOX

"The radicalism of the '60's is the common sense of the '70's," is the slogan of Hayden's campaign. While campaigning at Stanford, he talked about the coming end of the American empire and how we will have to "reorganize our economic system so it can function without an empire."

He emphasized two points in his platform, one being reordering priorities. He said that last year the Defense Department spent \$187 billion in Palo Alto, while only \$32,000 was spent on cancer research. He feels these priorities need rearranging, although we "can debate" how much to cut the Defense budget. He discounted the peace movement's earlier demands for drastic cuts in the Defense budget because of the movement's narrow pacifism which stemmed from its base in upper class suburbs.

Hayden's second major point was the need to "reorganize the economy to give consumers and workers more power." He gave an example of a senior citizens' health co-operative in San Diego that was able to keep costs down by having senior citizens on the board that sets prices. Hayden proposes the same for all other corporations.

How will this reorganization be achieved? "By organizing millions of people," the power will swing to our side.



The new Tom Hayden?

Hayden's critics charge that he has no real plan for carrying out his platform. They say that he fails to adequately analyze the sources of power and control in the world. Hayden's superficial understanding leads to naive hopes for passive changes through Democratic Party politics.

Hayden, however, told us not to abandon the Democratic voter to the Wallace. People vote for Democrats because it hurts their pocketbooks less. Yet a Democratic President kept us in Vietnam and a Democratic Congress now presides in a period of ever-increasing unemployment, inflation and decreasing real wages for working people.

Covering other subjects, Hayden said that the CIA should be abolished, although he sees that the U.S. does need intelligence information about adversaries' weapons. He said that the FBI should not be abolished but all " Hooverites " should be purged. Although he noted we "need more and more democracy," he said that the issue of third parties getting on the ballot in California is "not a key issue." (Presently, while California law requires the Democrats and Republicans to secure only 85 signatures to get on the ballot, it requires 640,000 signatures, or more than the required number in thirty other states combined, for a third party to get on the ballot.)

When speaking to the Beverly Hills Democratic Club recently, Hayden said, "Lawyers and politicians are trained in the art of deceit. You learn how to say two things at once." Village Voice columnist Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, noting Hayden's inclination towards Jerry Brown's politics wrote that Hayden has "perplexed some of those working on his campaign." "The problem is, nobody knows what Hayden really thinks," one worker said. ■



SPAIN:

At the crossroads

by Chris Gray (on the road in Spain)

Felipe, a young short-haired mechanic who supports the recently refounded CNT (anarchosyndicalist union) hits at his wrist and says, "The watch has been stopped for forty years. Now it will start again."

In many ways he might be right. After 37 years of Franco's rule, his death has turned Spain into a tottering monarchy very similar to the tottering Republic of 1934.

On the right there are Fascist terrorists, monarchists, a pampered military caste, a gigantic police force, the Church leadership, and the most powerful landed aristocrats left in Europe who own most of the land, banks, and politicians.

In the center is the new capitalist class. It lusts after a place in the Common Market, more tourists, and political stability. There are also the legalistic Catalan separatists and moderate parts of the clergy and officer corps.

More toward the left is the large Social Democratic Bloc that includes the Socialists, Communists (both the PCI and most Maoists), many professionals, young priests, some young army officers and much of the working class.

And in the far left are the Marxist Basque separatists (EVA) who have tremendous regional support, the anti-revisionist Maoists, the Trotskyists, the Anarchosyndicalists, the Anarchist-Freaks, and scores of independent militants and workers.

The strength of the left lies in the Spanish working class. Even though strikes are illegal, during the last five years Spain has usually had more than any other country in Europe. After Franco's death the pace picked up considerably. One liberal Barcelona news journal "Destino" quoted a famous industrialist as saying that the number of strikes in January was twice that of 1974 and that 20 million work-hours had been lost.

While some of this activity can be traced to the high level of economic exploitation (in a country still industrializing) that relied on its cheap labor for its competitive edge in world markets, much of it is also attributable to the high level of political consciousness and class solidarity of the Spanish workers.

There are a number of clear manifestations of this. For example, most of the strikes now have political demands (free unions, amnesty for political prisoners, elections) along with the monetary ones. Or the strikes are completely political—in solidarity with other workers. (The Valencian killings set off a wave of strikes that shut down all of Spain's major industrial areas and left 3 more workers dead). Also in solidarity are the regional and neighborhood strikes called to protest firings of strikers at a local plant. The large industrial suburb of Hospitalet, south of Barcelona, is having such a strike.

ORGANIZATION

The style of organizing is equally revealing. Everything is done through word of mouth... be it an anarchist theatre production for 300 workers in Hospitalet or the massive (50,000) "manifestation" in Barcelona (early March) that was called by the illegal workers committees and the illegal political parties.

All strike support work, political education, and party organizing is done underground. And yet there are several mass parties (Partido Comunista de Espana and the Socialists) and countless leftist organizations. Even the anarchosyndicalists of the CNT who trail behind the Trotskyists in size and influence, have a countryside organization and strong regional groups in Barcelona (700 militants), Madrid (300), and Valencia (300).

The Communist Party (PCP) has recently allied itself with the Socialists and the liberal parties



Spain-Basque separatists protest executions (LNB)

AIM Under Attack

by Steve Vettel

The arrest of Dennis Banks, field director of the American Indian Movement (AIM), in El Cerrito, California, in January was a critical incident in the nationwide attack on AIM. Banks had been underground since an all-white South Dakota jury convicted him of "assault" and "riot" during a disturbance in 1973 at the Custer, SD, courthouse. He faces extradition to South Dakota for sentencing and probable imprisonment.

Activist groups in California are urging the attorney general and governor to examine "the racist attitudes towards Indians" in South Dakota before extraditing Banks. According to sources at the Stanford Native American Cultural Center, Indian leaders in Sacramento have met with Governor Brown and he is considering their appeal.

ORIGINS OF AIM

To understand Bank's political position, a knowledge of AIM's origin, goals and tactics is needed. The American Indian Movement grew out of the frustration many Indians felt when they confronted the white power structure with their demands for justice.

The 1973 trial of a white man accused of murdering an Indian in Custer, SD, was the incident that sparked the formation of AIM. As another example of the devaluation of an Indian life and the dual system of justice in much of America, the man was prosecuted on a manslaughter charge, rather than murder. Protests seeking swifter charges turned into clashes with police and 37 people, including Dennis Banks and AIM leader Russell Means, were arrested.

AIM soon extended its demands for justice to treaty violations by the U.S. government. For 71 days in 1973, militant Indians led by AIM occupied the hamlet of Wounded Knee, SD, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, demanding that the Senate begin "full-

to form a united democratic opposition. Since the PCP has, along with the French and Italian Communist Parties, abandoned the dogma of Dictatorship of the Proletariat, this is not a surprising development. What is surprising is that three of the four Maoist parties support this move. The one that doesn't is the PCP(I) (Partido Comunista de Espana-Internacional).

The PCP and the Socialists are considered to be the strongest in the grass-roots network of illegal factory Worker's Commissions. But there are many independent militants and the Spanish workers are unusually sophisticated about leftist politics and often go their own way. For now, no one is sure just how strong the different groups are since the Worker's Commissions are very secret and well insulated from one another.

Once free unions are allowed (a development expected in the near future) the various unions (C.C. U.O.—Communist, U.C.T.—Socialist, U.S.O.—Social Democratic/Worker's Management, and C.N.T.—Anarchosyndicalist) will be able to compete openly.

But it is not only class conflict that bodes ill for the old Fascist system. Culturally Spain is a very different country than it was in 1938, 1956, or even 1968. Last year it was the world's leading tourist destination (twenty million visitors) and this has had an incredible impact even beyond the destruction of almost all of the Spanish coast.

The depopulation of the countryside (heading to the factories of Barcelona, Madrid, Stuttgart and Northern Germany) has combined with the foreign influx to shatter the rigid cultural control of the Catholic Church. The Church is no longer a major part of the Fascist system. Into the cultural vacuum has come both the consumer society and the counter-culture, represented (respectively) in the book shops of Las Ramblas where porno magazines and feminist literature are both making their debut in Spain after 37 years of absence.

The death of Franco, the growing militance of the workers, the present capitalist economic crisis, and the great cultural changes have come together to create what the Spanish call a "Coyuntura," literally an elbow, a crossroads. It is a time of decision—of crisis—and many, perhaps most, of the people feel a New Spain (of either the left or right) must be forthcoming.

The future will be decided, not by any one group but by who allies themselves with whom. For it is a country of divided loyalties. The monarchists are divided between three different kings, the rich between Fascism and Capitalism. The Church runs the spectrum from right wing terrorists, the Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey, to the pacifist anarchists of Worker's Solidarity. There is a major split between anarchosyndicalists and the long-haired anarchist-Freaks of the New Left. There are a half-dozen Trotskyist groups, as many Maoists, and twice as many Social De-

(continued on page 6)

scale investigation" of government treatment of Indians and on treaties made with Indians. One Indian was killed by government authorities during the occupation, and hundreds were arrested afterwards. Banks and Means were each charged with ten felonies.

AIM feels it must use militant tactics to draw attention to the fight to end the institutional violence used to oppress Native Americans. Requests for self-determination and dignity have been ignored by the white-run government agencies which exercise a significant control over reservations. Furthermore, Indians throughout the United States face the racism perpetrated by our mass culture.



Dennis Banks, American Indian Movement

AIM THREATENS WHITE POWER

The goals of the American Indian Movement—the adherence to treaties, the end of discriminate justice, and access to opportunities for Indians—seriously threaten the power structure which has dominated Native Americans for over 100 years.

Tribes throughout the United States have claims on huge tracts of land stolen from them at various times during our history. AIM's demands that long forgotten (by the government) treaties be honored would cause major redistribution of economic resources now in white hands. The racism directed against Indians justifies the ruthless destruction of their civilization and blinds people to the continuous injustices they suffer. AIM challenges this very effective tool of oppression.

GOVERNMENT ATTACKS ON AIM

The government and its agents have reacted swiftly and forcefully in order to discredit the movement and destroy AIM's leadership. To halt its operations, the FBI and others have infiltrated AIM, made multiple and arbitrary arrests, bought false witnesses, and conducted outright murders.

For example, during the trial of Banks and Means for their leadership role in the occupation of Wounded Knee, Means's bodyguard was a paid FBI informer. The federal government also promised to pay a witness \$200 a week and drop five assault charges pending against him if he testified against Means and Banks. Charging the FBI with stooping "to a new low," Judge Fred Nichols dismissed the charges brought by the government.

Since his acquittal at the Wounded Knee trial, Russell Means faced eight major trials. After March of 1974, there has been a series of incidents framing Means for murder and for three separate assault charges. Other AIM leaders have similarly been saddled with multiple felony charges to both reduce their effectiveness and eventually put them safely behind bars.

In December of 1975 Russell Means was sentenced to five years imprisonment for "rioting" in Custer. Facing up to 15 years in prison after his conviction, Banks fled. The trial, according to Dennis Banks, was "a big frame up." The prosecuting attorney threatened his attorney and five defense witnesses with jail and, Banks says, "finally my defense totally collapsed."

Government authorities have also resorted to violence to suppress the AIM. Since AIM formed, 40 members have been killed on the Pine Ridge Reservation alone. On June 7, 1974, Russell Means was shot in the back. He was held without medical care for six hours and charged with assault. Dennis Banks fears for his life should he return to South Dakota.

Using tactics learned in attacks on anti-war activists and black civil rights leaders, the FBI and other defenders of the present power structure have attempted to kill, literally, the militant Indian movement before it can effect any meaningful change. ■

PEACE CORPS/VIA

To Hell with Good Intentions

by Bill Scott

On April 18 Peace Corps recruiters will return to campus to recruit graduating Stanford students as young ambassadors of American goodwill and know-how. Undoubtedly, many Stanford students have thought about the experience as an appealing means for satisfying their sense of duty towards the poor of the world, and a good way of finding something to do besides graduate school.

Teaching positions in exotic-sounding countries will mostly be offered by the U.S. government Corps. Most prospective students, however, have never been to a Third World country or had the chance to learn in depth the language or culture of any other people.

Volunteers respond to their position abroad in vastly different manner. Take these examples: One volunteer found himself teaching English in a secondary school somewhere near the Sahel region in Africa. As famine spread into his area, he became increasingly frustrated in his pedagogical role. After such administrative red tape, he was allowed to try to set up some food distribution networks with some other volunteers. Another Peace Corps person happily found a \$25,000 a year job teaching technical English to Iranian corporation officials after his two year stint with the Peace Corps in Tehran.

CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

The large majority of volunteers live in conditions that are not far below the material level they enjoy in the States. They do accept a far lower salary as volunteers than they would working in the private sector. But they are often living far above the standard of the people for whom they work.

Of course, some volunteers resist the comforts and conventions pressed upon them. They get together and attempt to seriously analyze the forces at work in the society around them, perhaps making friends among the progressive youth in the area.

Volunteers from developed countries wield incredible amounts of power, often more than they realize. Simply on a physical plane, large, strong, healthy young women and men can be intimidating to smaller, undernourished, uneducated people. More important, each volunteer is backed up by the relatively enormous economic clout of his home country, as well as that of the local hosting state. If there is a famine or a war, the volunteer will be airlifted to safety. The local people are never so lucky.

Furthermore, like it or not, every volunteer is a cultural spokesperson for his country. In essence, volunteer organizations from England, France, the U.S.S.R., China, Sweden, Germany, the U.S., etc. are competing for access to men's minds in the Third World. Why is this cultural power so important, especially to government-run programs? It creates the basis for friendship pacts that grow into military alliances, trade concessions, the implantation of foreign capital and multinationals' factories.

Ivan Illich, in a speech entitled "To Hell with Good Intentions," told a fresh group of young volunteers, "I do have deep faith in the enormous good will of the U.S. volunteer. However, this good faith can usually be explained only by an abyssal lack of intuitive delicacy. By definition, you cannot help being ultimately vacationing salesmen for the middle-class 'American Way of Life,' since that is really the only life you know."

Mr. Illich goes on to say, "The Peace Corps spends around \$10,000 on each person to help him to adapt to his new environment and to guard him against culture-shock. How odd that nobody ever thought about spending money to educate poor Mexicans in order to prevent them from the culture shock of meeting you."

This assertion of the Mexican educator emphasizes what too many volunteers rarely consider: the



(SNT)

effect of their arrival on the people they are supposedly helping. Indeed, there are many questions of this nature that any prospective volunteer might think through deeply before getting in an airplane to a far off land.

VOLUNTEER ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT

What is development? What is underdevelopment? What is helpful? What is harmful? Modernization, yes, but at what social cost and with what technology? Social change--of course--but who needs changing, others or ourselves? What do we value and preserve? Who decides? Why do you think you are needed to solve other people's problems? What is the ideological basis for your action in a community?

One's attitude toward volunteering is invariably conditioned by personal understandings of development and underdevelopment. If you see the cause of underdevelopment as simply undereducation, lack of cultural modernization and sophistication, lack of technical expertise, and lack of natural resources, then you will see your volunteering as a part of a larger task of modernization and re-education. If you see underdevelopment as a historical phenomenon, created and sustained by long, your goals in volunteering may be very different.

Most volunteer organizations nurture in theory the spirit of equality, service, cooperation, inter-racialism, and practical democracy--all vital to healthy institutions. But some groups come closer than others to practicing what they preach.

CULTURAL SENSITIVITY

If all this paints a bleak picture of volunteer organizations, it is perhaps only to counteract the enthusiastic optimism and expectations of many prospective volunteers. Positive accomplishments can be done by volunteers. Organizations truly concerned about social justice, exhibiting great cultural sensitivity, do exist.

Stanford students are lucky to have an organization on campus that demonstrates an attitude towards volunteering very different from that of many governmental and larger private organizations. That group is Volunteers in Asia.

VIA, as it is known on campus, actively seeks to correct some of the problems endemic to larger volunteer groups. Small size, active return volunteers participation, and emphasis on quality rather than quantity give the group a great deal of flexibility and self-control at the individual level, and greater responsiveness and warmth at the administrative level. Speaking of the growth of the organization since its founding in 1963, Dwight Clark, ex-volunteer and presently one of the coordinators stated, "Our size and powerlessness has given us vitality over time." Many volunteers feel they own a part of VIA. If we grow too large, we could lose that feeling.

Unlike many volunteer programs, VIA seeks to place its members in families. They tend to be middle class, although VIA seeks a wide spectrum of income bracket. Poorer families often receive financial aid to cover the cost of another family member. In an ideal situation, the volunteer participates in neighborhood life in a small city. The organizations shies away from sending Americans to live in small villages, where the cultural and linguistic barriers for both the volunteer and his hosts may be too great. Before a volunteer returns home, he is often responsible for finding a new home situation for the next volunteer. This gives a sense of continuity to the people in the host country.

VIA works mainly with private Asian institutions and selected governmental programs. The Asian host institution is expected to provide

(continued on page 8)

Chile cont.

man caught between two worlds. His visa, marked "indefinite", prohibits him from leaving the country for anywhere but Chile, yet here, he is alienated by class and language barriers.

"I'm willing to work anywhere," he says. But I have found lots of discrimination because I don't speak English." He has overcome struggles in the past, and he philosophically accepts this as another one, hopefully soon to be overcome.

He and his family, however, must deal with yet another problem. They now live in a country whose government, with the aid of the U.S. and clandestine support to Chile to oppose the government that Reveco supported.

The contradiction of living in the United States after supporting Allende is painful, Reveco admits. He passionately criticizes the U.S. government for its role in the military coup, but has a different outlook on the citizens of that country.

"Many people in the United States are ashamed of what their government did," he says. I've found most of your people to be helpful and very nice. I think we must make a distinction between the system that oppresses and the innocent people in that system."

Still, he feels very alone in the Anglo culture. "We're from a different culture in which there's a real political struggle just to secure basic necessities such as food, housing, education and clothing on an equal basis," he says. "This problem doesn't exist here."

Smiling sadly, Reveco reflects on the days he spent in Chile with close friends who shared common customs and relaxed relationships.

"There isn't a group feeling here," he explains. "Your advanced technological society does everything for you, so people are separated from each other. The human relations are much richer in my country."

Despite the difficult circumstances, Reveco has not lost his conviction to "la resistencia", the Chilean resistance movement that is struggling for the rights of political prisoners and ultimately for another socialist government in Chile.

He explains that people in the United States are involved in the resistance by pressuring the government to let in more refugees. The United States promised in December, 1974, to admit 400 political "prisoners" under a State Department program. Only 18 families have been admitted to date.

Reveco pounds his fist in the palm of his hand and earnestly affirms that he and his fellow refugees must do something to help their "comrades" left in Chile.

"We have an obligation to tell people in this country what is happening in Chile. We must share our tragic experiences...we must let them know."



(INS)

SPAIN cont

democrats. The Army is divided as is the Clergy. Even the ETA is split into four groups: a small separatist only organization; a small Marxist-armed struggle one; a large Marxist-armed struggle/political struggle; and a small Trotskyist organization. At least the last three named work together.

As in the Republic of the 30's and Portugal of today, the balance will probably swing wildly--first left, then right, then back again--until there is a dominant block or civil war.

For now the swing is sharply anti-fascist and toward a Republic since this suits the needs of centrists, liberals, social democrats, and leftists. But once the regime is liberalized enough to get Spain into the Common Market and a system (probably elections) is established to give the centrists and liberals all or part of the government's power, then the left will be left alone.

Then, if a peaceful transition to socialism is possible that is what the Spanish left would like. But so far the record is not good--peacefully elected leftist governments have a way of falling to fascist coups--as in Spain itself.

Forty years ago Spain stood at another "cruentura" and after a bloody war, ended up going to the right. If this time the direction taken is to the left it will only be the first of many "elbows" that must be passed. Further down the road is probably still the decision between Fascism and Revolution, a question that as yet, has never been resolved peacefully. ■

MIDEAST VIEWPOINT

by Joe Wehrin

Respecters of radical and liberal sentiment no doubt share a certain confusion and ambivalence about events in the Mideast and the relation of United States policies to those events. Few of us grew up in barracks, as do many Palestinian children, or under a state of siege, as Israeli children do.

Beyond this general detachment from the scene, Stanford itself fails to provide any formal Middle Eastern studies. Granted, a smattering of related coursework is offered in the history, international relations and linguistics departments. Given that conflicts in the area could easily catalyze nuclear catastrophe, one must ask why this university neglects it.

The answer lies in part on the volatility of all related issues. "True cocktail party sentiment" in local business and academic circles, says one Stanford historian, is remarkably pro-oil trade and sympathetic to the Arab world... that is, when pro-Zionist colleagues are not within earshot.

Funding problems, security risks, or sheer cowardice may be cited as answers. They are inadequate, indeed inexcusable.

At the very least, publications such as this one ought to debate the political issues.

How many students even recognized the term "Zionism" when it was bandied about by the press and the United Nations this winter? How many claim to have any grasp of the ethnic-religious-cultural traditions of the peoples living between Iran and Morocco? Precious few.

For instance, consider your reactions to these developments. On the weekend of Feb. 28, Egyptian President Anwar Sadat told a news conference of "three secret agreements" linked to the Sinai Agreement of last October. They provide that the United States: 1) guarantee that Israel not attack Syria; 2) help include the Palestinians in making any settlements; 3) create another disengagement agreement for the Israel-Syria border.

And an arms deal with Egypt is rumored by the State Department. Naturally, certain Congressional factions have again issued indignant statements about Administration contempt for the American people. But both events stir complicated reactions for some.

Merely informing oneself of the strategic aspects of conflict in the Mideast is a formidable task. Perhaps the following discussion will motivate some letters to this paper.

Stanford foreign policy scholars often take the paradoxical position that the United States has moral but not military obligations to the defense of Israel. Many hold that Israel should never have been created in the first place. At the same time, they say its founding demonstrates Europeans' contempt for their own minorities (i.e. the Jews) and for the Third World (particularly Arabs).

*Could the presence of the 200 U.S. technicians in the Sinai as part of the U.N. buffer force serve as a trip-wire for further U.S. involvement? Why were other nationalities not chosen for the task?

*Do disclosures of Israeli tactical nuclear weapons preclude the possibility of direct U.S. intervention with troops or with an air attack.

*Who really represents the interest of Palestinians?

*Does the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) intend to destroy Israel, or would it negotiate? Would Israel?

*What legal dilemmas does PLO participatory status in the United Nations raise?

*Is it not in Israel's long-range interest to occupy smaller quarters? That is, given that further militarization may destroy her from within. And that Arabs of non-Israeli origin may become so numerous within her bounds before the century's end that Israel will be forced to choose between occupying a smaller territory, thus retaining a relatively democratic government, and becoming an authoritarian state not necessarily Jewish in nature.

*Mideast policy-making in the U.S. State Department has traditionally involved pro-Israeli and pro-oil trade conflicts. Would American interests not be better served by promoting exchange of Arab raw materials for Israeli technologies, by examining Mideast, rather than Western, economic problems?

For those wishing to introduce themselves to the area, here is an informal resource list:

1. issue #12 of Sceptic, a contemporary history magazine
2. works by the French Marxist, M. Rodinson
3. Middle East Mobile Education Project, American Friends Service Committee.
4. The Israel-Arab Reader, ed. by Walter Laquer
5. Frontiers of a Nation, H.F. Frischwasser
6. publications of the Institute for Palestinian Studies, Box 329A, B.D. #1, Oxford, Pa. 19383
7. Israel and Africa, Nordeci E. Kreinen

S.B. 1 cont.

Federal jurisdiction extends to cover such radio when interstate communications (w.g., calls and telephones) are used. Penalties: maximum three years, \$100,000 fine.

Secrecy and National Defense Information - A whole range of provisions punishes those who leak, receive, and/or publish information relating to the national defense or officially "classified," regardless of whether the classification was proper and despite the fact that almost all classified information is needlessly so designated. These sections are manifestly designed to restrict the public's knowledge of what the government is doing, and seek to remove certain issues from public political debate. There can be little challenge to U.S. involvement in Angola, Chile, Italy, etc. if nobody knows about it.

Other dangerous sections of S.1 include criminal restraints on wildcat strikes and union organizing, the undermining of the rights of criminal defendants (most particularly in the legislative repeal of the Miranda and exclusionary rules), penalties for the refusal of telephone companies and landlords to cooperate in wiretapping efforts, restrictions on insanity and entrapment defenses, re-introduction of the death penalty, harsher criminal penalties all around, and appropriately enough, a Nuremberg defense for "public servants" charged with criminal behavior (a belief that the illegal conduct was "authorized" would be sufficient to immunize the official's behavior.) Watergate's impact has indeed been profound -- especially upon officials attempting to escape prosecution for abuses of power in the future.



Many of the provisions of S.1 appear blatantly in violation of Constitutional protections of free expression and rights of criminal defendants. It would be a severe miscalculation, however, to expect the judicial system to vindicate those rights jeopardized by S.1. The capacity of all courts, and especially the Burger court, to manipulate facts, ignore and law to reach results seemingly contrary

RADIATION cont.

to the atmosphere, and internally, by ingesting or inhaling radiated substances.

Sagan has worked in Japan on the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission and witnessed the effects excessive radiation can have on human life.

People who have been sufficiently exposed would develop radiation sickness within hours to days, he says. The symptoms would be similar to those seen in Japan after the atomic bomb explosion: nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, vomiting, bleeding infections, anemia and death.

RASMUSSEN REPORT

Brown says he has many criticisms of the Rasmussen report which is often quoted by nuclear energy proponents as definitive proof that reactor accidents are a small risk. "But, still," he adds, "the estimates they give for a worst case accident in a 1000 megawatt reactor are staggering."

Those estimates are: 3000 early deaths, 45,000 early illnesses, 45,000 cancer deaths, 240,000 thyroid illnesses, and 5000 genetic effects in the first generation after the accident. Early deaths and illnesses refer to those occurring in the first month after the accident.

"One problem with the Rasmussen Report," Brown says, "is that it is often quoted incorrectly by people who have looked only at the estimated number of early deaths."

Immediate deaths from a reactor accident are but the "tip of an iceberg," Brown stresses. He estimates that cancers and genetic effects would raise the total number of deaths from an accident 100 to 1000 times.

Sagan says that although it is widely agreed that radiation probably does have an impact on future generations by affecting genes of people exposed, the precise nature of those effects is not known.

Both Brown and Sagan agree that a major problem in estimating the health impact of a major reactor accident is that it is dependent on probability estimates of various events that have never occurred. "We're dealing with the unknown," Brown cautions.

Sagan maintains that it is senseless to object

to what one would expect from the trend of past cases in a primary feature of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

Within the past few years the Burger court has announced decisions significantly at odds with the trend of past decisions, for example, by failing to hold discriminations based upon wealth suspect under the equal protection clause, by denying due process rights to those whose property is privately repossessed by finance companies, by redefining "immunity" to permit further harassment by grand juries. So, too, have First Amendment cases been faring poorly before the Court, as in the denial of reporter's privilege, refusal to grant newspaper access to prison inmates, and upholding the prevention of Belgian Marxist Ernest Mandel from entering the U.S.

S.1 may not have been inevitable, but neither is it accidental. Throughout American history, but especially since World War II, the concentration of power and information into fewer and fewer hands has typified this nation's political character.

By outlawing demonstrations outside the realm of the conventional mainstream political apparatus, S.1 curtails "legitimate" political activity in the electoral arena, where powerful and wealthy institutions (the Democratic and Republican parties and the interests to which they must be subservient) effectively prevent the participation of challengers to the fundamental structure of political and economic power in America and the world.

CRUMBLING MYTHS

Yet we should not be surprised by such crude attempts to eliminate genuine opposition from the political scene. Nixon, and now Ford, have presided over an era which has witnessed the crumbling of the myths of the inherent inviolability, stability and legitimacy of the United States. The decline of the dollar, the victories of third world revolutionaries, the unrest in Europe, the dispute into which the U.S. has fallen internationally, the inability of the system to deal with inflation and unemployment, the breakdown of traditional American family life, and the desecration with which Americans view their own system exemplify the crisis of American capitalism and the realization that the United States is not saved by a few "social problems," but is corrupt at its core.

Given such a situation, tendencies toward repression are magnified immensely. Simply because thousands of people are not demonstrating in the streets every day does not mean that the traditional social fabric which has maintained a loose stability until now has not broken down. The potential for political activism may be latent, but it is there--perhaps more threatening than ever. That political elites should respond to that potential in, however outrageous, not a strategy inconsistent with the history and structure of American and world capitalism.

to the health risks of nuclear power without examining those of other energy sources.

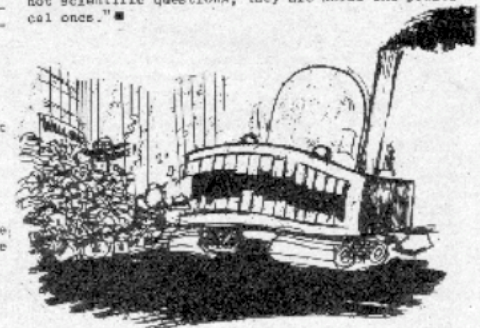
"We're going to have to generate a lot more electricity in some way," he says, "and coal plants, at present, are the nation's main alternative to nuclear plants." After considerable analysis, Sagan has concluded that nuclear power is about 100 times safer than coal-generated electricity.

"Our knowledge may be imperfect," Sagan notes, "there may be errors. The greatest possible error would be if accidents occur in nuclear plants far more commonly and are more disastrous than we have predicted."

Brown is convinced that the present health risks of nuclear power outweigh the importance of providing more energy. The alternative to nuclear power, he argues, is to generate less electricity.

"We can and should do with less energy than we now use," he says. While noting that such a statement is more of a value judgement than a scientific fact, Brown asserts that a final decision on the nuclear power issue cannot be reached by objective analysis.

"The final issues in this debate," he says, "are not scientific questions, they are moral and political ones."



(Not Man Apart)

Review

Power Shift
Kirkpatrick Sale
Grandt House, \$12.95

by Robert Friedman

A decade of American involvement in Vietnam, marked at its outset by the assassination of one President and at its end by the abdication of another, has left as its legacy a host of theories, each claiming to make sense out of ambiguity.

At the heart of many of these theories is an analysis of the disaffection with the Vietnam War that spread to the inner circles of power: some hold that the American corporate system was cohesive, agreeing that the war had become too costly, though disagreeing over the strategy for bringing it to an end; others read into the Vietnam debate a fundamental split within the ruling class that reached its highest expression during Watergate.

Kirkpatrick Sale's new book, *Power Shift*, as its title suggests, describes such a split. For Sale, the fracture is not the traditional ideological one between liberals and conservatives but a regional one (a prefectory map neatly divides the country along the 37th parallel), demarcating what Sale calls the Southern Rim, which manifests itself in opposing industries, cultures, climates, moralities and politics.

The origins of this geographical analysis can be traced to the writings of a Soviet scholar, S. Maslowski, whose book *Millionaires and Managers*, published in 1960, catalogued various financial groups in the U.S. and their spheres of power.

But it took an American radical, former SDS president Carl Oglesby, to christen the combatants "Yankees" and "Cowboys" and announce that the war had already begun. In articles in *Resist*, the *Guardian*, and the *Boston Phoenix*, Oglesby turned his metaphor into an hypothesis that explained Watergate, the Kennedy assassination, and Vietnam in terms of this confrontation.

ECONOMICS OF THE SOUTHERN RIM

Now Sale has taken the theory one step further, filling in the economic details, fleshing out the historical context.

The defining characteristics of the Southern Rim are centered on growth: its population doubled in the thirty years since the end of the war; its chief industries—agriculture, defense, technology, real estate, and leisure—multiplied during the same period; and its political power, from the John Birch Society to the Democratic Party, expanded proportionally.

The Southern Rim found its true action and Sale's true protagonist in Richard Nixon: "the culmination of Cowboy influence in American affairs." Indeed, for Sale, Nixon's rise to power parallels the rise of the Southern Rim: from his early years working in the family grocery store in Southern California; to his first days of glory attacking the Eastern establishment in the form of *Alger Hiss*; to his close association with such Cowboys as C. Arnholt Smith, Bebe Rebozo, and Murray Chotiner; to his "Southern Strategy" designed to win the political support of conservative Democrats.

PEACE CORPS cont.

room, board, and a small monthly stipend for volunteers. Thus, the VIA members are expected to live more closely to the material conditions of their hosts than are many Peace Corps people. One more barrier is removed.

According to Ken Barrow, one of VIA's student coordinators, the organization is most concerned about setting up for students what will be a "concurrence role in the community."

Rich Rawson, assistant director, said VIA teacher English to people who could not otherwise afford such services. "In Indonesia, we end up going to outer islands where most people won't go." He added that VIA turns down requests for volunteer companies or institutions which could hire a regular teacher.

VIA cannot overcome all of the difficulties inherently part of volunteerism, but exemplifies the kind of active search for a structure allowing more from companies or institutions which could hire a regular teacher.

Americans have a great deal to learn from the people in Third World countries. For all of our economic might and technical know-how, we have yet to find a way to put together a just and equitable society. Most volunteers are truly interested in world peace and international understanding. At the same time, every volunteer must think deeply about whether his actions further his stated goals, whether he is not really doing harm to those the volunteer wants to assist. ■

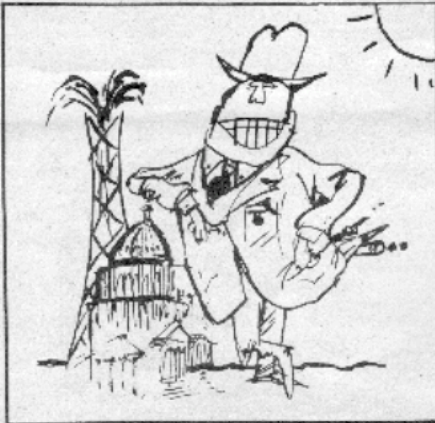
Nixon's attempt to consolidate his power during the 1972 reelection campaign, by applying to his liberal opponents the repressive tactics he had used against the Left, finally opened the floodgates of Yankee counterattacks. The Watergate and House Judiciary hearings were appointments for Nixon and his Southern Rim confederates.

KISSINGER

There is a certain attractiveness, neatness, even catchiness to Sale's analysis. But history has its limitations and Sale's theories have their ambiguities. Most glaring is the treatment of Henry Kissinger, reduced, for the sake of orderliness, to a footnote in which we are told that Kissinger never played a particularly important role in the White House.

Quite clearly, the alliance between Nixon and Kissinger—a product of the Northeastern foreign policy establishment and a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller—the virtual harmony of their views, does not fit Sale's theory. Kissinger's rather prominent role during the Nixon years was a sign that while Nixon may have been the quintessential Cowboy everybody bought tickets to his rodeo.

Another weakness is that perceived cultural differences—and there certainly are such differences



between the Northeastern establishment and the Southern Rim pervades—and sometimes mistaken for genuine economic differences. In another loaded footnote, Sale tells us that though there is considerable Yankee control of Cowboy industry through finance capital, the location of a company is more important than actual stock ownership.

This sleight of hand disguises significant collaboration between New York bucks and Houston oilmen, Southern California aerospace companies, and Florida real estate developers. A similar distortion was behind the recent score over petrodollars and the new power they would bring to the Arab countries. But most oil money eventually flowed to Western financial institutions, just as much Southern Rim money gets routed through Wall Street.

These limitations do not eclipse Sale's important study of the growth of the Sunbelt. But they do cast some shadows on an analysis based so rigidly on regionalism. ■

NOT FOR PUBLICATION cont.

If you would like a closer look, the Operating Budget Guidelines 1976-77 are an essential tool for understanding Stanford's financial direction. They are now available at no cost from the Office of the Vice Provost for Budget and Planning in Building One, Future Budget Relations.

A confidential memo to the University Budget Priorities Advisory Commission from Vice Provost Ray Sacchetti concerning possible future budget-tightening measures outlines six proposals. Several may have direct effects on undergraduate education, including "increasing undergraduate self-help expectations", saving approximately \$250,000. Nearly half of this total is already included in the 1976-77 budget. Also, "increasing charges in the Ph.D. program" (These are discussed below.) Another method is to "reduce funded improvement fraction... by 15%." This simply means that slightly less funding will be available for new or innovative programs at Stanford, and is expected to save \$200,000. Of possible concern to staff members, one proposal suggests reducing the rate of staff benefits increase. Benefits were once projected to amount to 21.5% of salaries in 1979-80; at the current rate of increase, it is expected that they will reach 22.9% or higher. By holding the increase to 21.5% by 1980, a savings of up to \$200,000 is projected.

In a related memo, A.B.C. Walker Jr., associate

dean of graduate studies, outlines three possible plans for increasing the income from Ph.D. candidates. Currently, the financial requirements include payment for a total of nine quarters of full tuition. Since a candidate will rarely finish his/her thesis in three years, an additional Terminal Graduate Registration (TGR) of \$100 per quarter is charged for the use of university facilities.

Future candidates may have to complete three quarters of a proposed "Advanced Graduate Standing" (AGS), involving eight units of thesis research registration, or nine units for research assistants or teaching assistants, before he/she is eligible for TGR status.

A second proposal would require TAs and RAs to register for nine units of thesis or individual research for each quarter they are employed even beyond the AGS period; thus TAs and RAs would be ineligible for TGR status.

Finally, it is suggested that the TGR fee could be increased (by 25% if the first two proposals were put into effect.)

It should be emphasized that these are still in the form of proposals before the Budget Priorities Advisory Commission.

Graduate students concerned about the proposals predict that the increased charges would initially be put into effect only for students sponsored by grants, and for new incoming graduate students, thus providing a minimal incentive for protest on the part of currently-enrolled candidates. In any event, the chances appear good that graduate study at Stanford will become substantially more expensive.

To Bell With Mandel...

...appears to summarize the current attitude of the U.S. Department of State toward the Belgian Marxist. Ernest Mandel, publisher and economist invited to Stanford as an ASU guest professor this spring, was denied a visa to travel to the United States by the American Embassy at Brussels under provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act that prohibit Communists, anarchists and other unseemly sorts from entering the country.

Exemption from the action of the McCarran-Walters Act, a legal holdover from the McCarthy era, requires two actions: first, sponsorship by an institution (Mandel was officially sponsored by Stanford); second, approval of the waiver by the Department of State and the Attorney General. Despite appeals by Stanford President Richard Lyman to U.S. Atty. Gen. Levi, and requests for a speedy exemption sent by several California congresspeople, the State Department appears to be dragging its heels.

At the opening of spring quarter, the application for waiver was still working its way slowly through the bowels of the State Department in Washington. By last Thursday, however, the application was sent to Brussels. Washington didn't want to make the decision.

"I think the State Department is stalling until it is a moot issue," reports Andrea Halliday, ASU guest professorship board member. "I'd guess it represents an election-year hardening by the Ford administration toward leftists."

If Mandel cannot reach Stanford by the second Monday of Spring Quarter, his invitation will probably have to be dropped, according to Halliday. Problems with scheduling and credit allocation would otherwise grow out of hand.

Halliday also praised the efforts of President Lyman and Stanford's legal advisor, James Sims, for their efforts on behalf of Mandel's visa.

NOT FLASH: As *Against the Grain* goes to press, news arrives that Mandel has again been denied a visa to enter the country by the State Department.

Deadline:Academe

March 16: Over 10,000 students converged on the New York State capitol building in Albany to fight cutbacks in the state university system and the City University of New York. They were joined by faculty in a brief sit-in. (The Guardian)

Late February: Nearly 10,000 students at the New Jersey state college system gathered at the Trenton capitol building to demand an explanation for \$30 million in budget cuts and a 32 per cent tuition increase. Club-swinging police kept students from entering the building, and the crowd was ultimately cleared by police using dogs. (Grass Roots)

Stanford Shorts:

Election time again. Keep your eyes on the Progressive Council of Presidents (COP) slate of Dan Howard, Bill Tyndall, Keith Archelata and graduate student Liz Ryll.

With Proposition 13 rolling around, it is time to get informed concerning nuclear power. The spring issue of the *Catalyst*, a Stanford publication, will consist of differing analyses of the nuclear debate. Watch for it around mid-April.

Got Any Hot Tips?

Please drop a note (or better still, an official memo) if there is stuff coming down that you feel we should know about. We'll spread the word. All sources will be held confidential. Not for Publication, c/o Seth Foldy, Box 8947, Stanford CA 94305 493-3706. ■