

CHAPARRAL

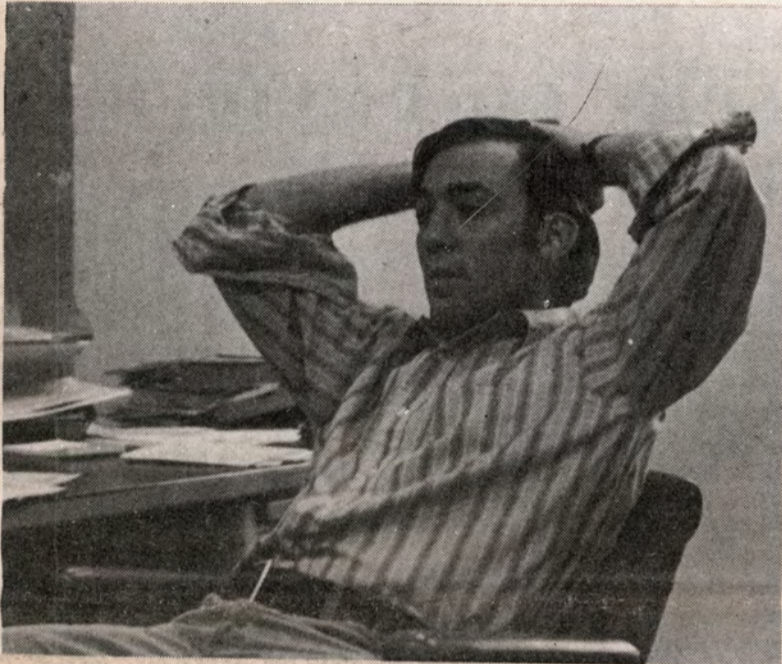
The Stanford Weekly

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Huseby: The Man With The Power



By MARK CUSHING

A Lesson in Stanford Student Government and Politics:

Fact No. 1: The Council of Presidents is not the most powerful student force on campus.

Fact No. 2: The Student Senate is not the most powerful student force at Stanford, though its authority extends beyond that of the Council.

Fact No. 3 (Most Important): Stanford is no more successful than other governments, large or small, in avoiding that rule of thumb of the political game—the man with the money is the man with the power.

The man who holds this dollar authority at Stanford is the Student Financial Manager, a title unfamiliar to the majority of

students. Both Chuck Peterson, 1970-71 manager, and Tom Huseby, current manager, recognize the need to inform the student community of the nature and powers of the office. They do this with a dual purpose in mind—one, that it is neither safe nor proper for students to have so little understanding or knowledge about an office with such power, and two, that it is important for students to determine whether or not the Student Financial Manager has too much, too little, or sufficient authority in the present situation.

POWER

The present power of the office "has been acquired both directly through the Constitution and its by-laws, and indirectly by default of an ineffective Senate and a virtually powerless Council," emphasized Chuck Peterson.

The Student Financial Manager has the following power under the ASSU Constitution:

1. The Manager is comptroller for the ASSU, with a yes or no say on all ASSU expenditures.

2. The Manager is in charge of the student banking operation, consisting of over 250 student organizations' accounts and a

large investment portfolio.

3. The Manager has the power to fill the following positions: Head Lifeguard, Travel Service Manager, Special Events Chairman, Duplicating Center Manager, Chief of Student Police, and two personal assistants. All are salaried positions and all are directly responsible to the Manager.

4. The Manager has the power to make rules for the handling and protection of the ASSU Fund.

5. The Manager is not elected but appointed by a Senate committee, the Council of Presidents, and the outgoing Manager.

6. No method for recall exists.

According to the ASSU By-Laws, the Student Financial Manager must approve every contract of a student organization, and has the power to refuse, without show of cause, all demands for money even if they have been allocated by the

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Urban Tactics Made Real

By BUZZ TOUPIN
and TIM CLARK

Representatives of a community organization are meeting with executives of an electric company, negotiating minority hiring practices. The community representatives maintain that the company is hiring far fewer minority employees than the law requires. The electric company denies the charge, but states that the actual employment statistics are very difficult to tabulate. The community representatives become flustered; the smooth-talking executives are clearly in control of the situation.

A knock on the table. "People's representatives, stand up and start to walk out. Accuse the electric company of negotiating in bad faith. Further actions will be necessary since the company will not even release employment statistics. They'll cave in; they do every time."

The scene is a classroom session of "Strategy and Tactics of Mass Organization," offered under the auspices of the Urban Studies Program. The advice to the community representatives has come from Mike Miller, the self-styled "have gun, will travel

organizer" who teaches the class. The class deals with the problems a low-income minority community organization can expect to face: housing, unemployment, police relations, urban renewal, tenant-landlord relations, and education.

NEGOTIATING SESSIONS

In each class session students act out a negotiating session between people's representatives and representatives of the power structure. By negotiating for both sides, students discover the strengths and weaknesses of each position. Miller constantly reminds his students of their limits as negotiators. For instance, community leaders must keep in mind that they are limited to tactics acceptable to the people in their organizations. "What you get depends on what the other party thinks you can do to him *outside* the negotiating table. You must demonstrate that you can hurt him." Often the difficulties student negotiators encounter have recent historical analogies, and Miller is quick to show the real implications of these negotiations. A basic principle is that "A negotiating session is *not* a discussion of the merits of an

issue. It is a power confrontation."

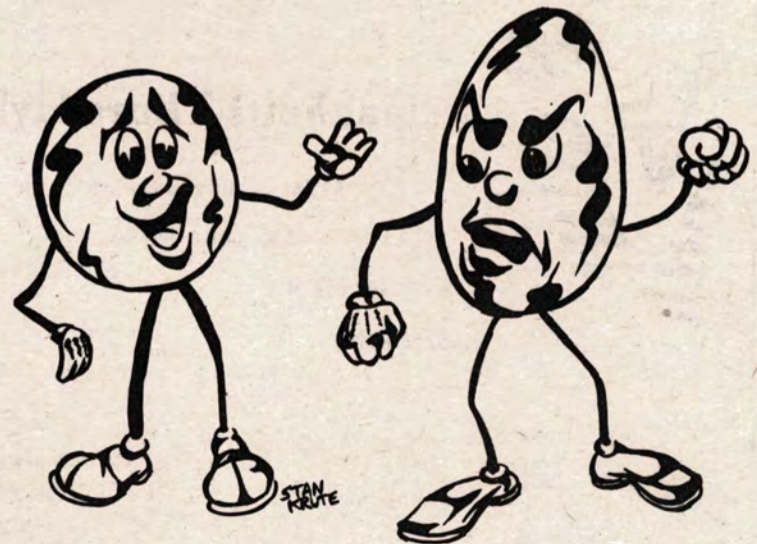
Mike Miller has been an organizer since 1959, when he organized tenants in New York City under a pilot project funded by the Ford Foundation. He was fired within six months for being too militant. He has worked with SNCC, for the farm workers on the wine boycott, on a Saul Alinsky project in Kansas City, and most recently with the Mission Coalition in San Francisco. Miller describes himself as a product of the SNCC and Alinsky organizing experiences. (For further discussion of Saul Alinsky, see page 8.)

STUDENTS' EXPERIENCE

When first asked to conduct the seminar, Miller expected that students would have difficulty adjusting imaginatively to confrontation and the politics of mass organization. He expected them to be vaguely socially concerned, but slow to become engaged in the material issues at stake. Instead he found that several class members had previous experience in community organizations. Even so, it took several weeks before students stopped debating and began

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There will be a regular staff meeting of the *Chaparral* in the tradition of the Hammer and Coffin society at 8 p.m., Thursday evening, November 4, in the *Chaparral* office.



Recently M&Ms, their differences and similarities, have come under the close scrutiny of Stanford Professor Wilhelm Schmuckley. For the starting results of his research, see page three.

Anti-War March Saturday

Anti-war marches, sponsored by the National Peace Action Coalition and the People's Coalition for Peace and Justice, will be held Saturday in San Francisco and 16 other cities across the nation. These marches will mark the culmination of the NPAC-PCPJ fall offensive against the war. March organizers hope for 100,000 people in San Francisco and one million nationwide.

These marches will be open to all persons and all groups demanding an end to American participation in the Indochina war, either through unilateral withdrawal or through a negotiated peace settlement.

Yesterday, as part of the fall offensive program, the Stanford Peace Action Coalition held an anti-war informational fair in White Plaza featuring a noon rally, tables, booths, and displays sponsored by a variety of Stanford anti-war groups from Venceremos to McGovern for President.

CITY MARCH

The San Francisco march will leave from Embarcadero Plaza at 9 a.m. Saturday. Seven additional contingents representing various constituencies will join it (see the diagram for details) on the way to Golden Gate Park. Persons willing to help monitor the march should call Northern California Peace Action Coalition (398-3274) by Friday.

At 1:30 p.m. a rally in the park polo field featuring between

fifteen and twenty brief speeches will begin. Among the speakers currently scheduled are Senator Fred Harris of Oklahoma, candidate for the Democratic Party presidential nomination; Dolores Huerta, vice-president of UFWOC; Andrew Pulley, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party; John Ong, editor of the *Chinese Voice*; Alma Barrera of the Chicano Conference of Houston; tapes of Melina Mercouri and Angela Davis; a Vietnamese student; an ex-convict; a member of the *Coral Sea*, much of whose crew opposes its ordered return to combat in Vietnam; and a native American. Clover, Alvin Bishop, and possibly Country Joe McDonald and Kris Kristofferson will provide entertainment.

ENDORSEMENTS

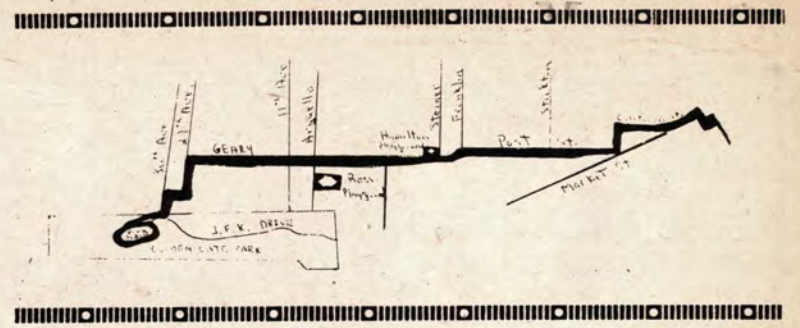
The march has been endorsed, among others, by the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Coretta Scott King, Rep. Ron Dellums, Al Lowenstein, Carl Stokes, Senators Vance Hartke, Mike Gravel, Philip Hart, and John Tunney, Joe Alioto, Warren Widener, various student body presidents including the ASSU Council of Presidents, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and Nathan Hare.

Currently two Stanford contingents are being organized for participation in the march. The Stanford Peace Action Coalition is organizing a general contingent of members of the Stanford community opposed to the war. This will assemble at

Rossi Playground in San Francisco at 10 a.m. SPAC is providing bus transportation to the march; tickets for the buses will be on sale for \$2.50 today and tomorrow from 10 till 2 in White Plaza. The buses will leave at 9 a.m. Saturday from the Oval across from the Law School.

SECOND CONTINGENT

A second, "anti-imperialist" contingent will assemble at Hamilton Playground at 9:30 a.m. This contingent supports "the Vietnamese people and their representatives, the National Liberation Front and the



Provisional Revolutionary Government" and the PRG's seven-point peace proposal. The group is currently arranging car pools.

In a statement issued earlier this week, SPAC called on all members of the Stanford community to join the march in some capacity "to indicate that the American people find Nixon's policies in Indochina

unacceptable." SPAC contends that a poor turnout will allow President Nixon to claim the American people support his Vietnamization program, so that "the price the peoples of Indochina will have to pay if we don't march is too great for us not to spend Saturday demanding an end to the war."

—PHIL GOLDSMITH

More Huseby on Finance ...

Continued from page one
Senate. This power acts as a financial check on the Senate.

ASSU NECESSITY

Moreover, in addition to these official responsibilities, the Manager traditionally runs the ASSU office. Tom Huseby remarked that historically this "was a necessity. You can't hold a person responsible for large amounts of money and not give him the authority to design and control the office procedures. You also can't run a banking operation on a political platform."

The handling of this enormous power must be studied from three perspectives. Initially, it must be understood that the bulk of the Manager's power has never been fully employed. "This power has never been abused," noted Chuck Peterson. "I personally turned down no check requests arbitrarily." Tom Huseby commented that "these potential powers would probably become meaningless if used arbitrarily."

Second, the fact remains that the majority of the Manager's time is spent conducting a large banking operation that necessitates a strong authority. "Only a few years ago," according to Huseby, "the ASSU banking operation was a very shaky, inconsistent, and ineffective

service. However, under the direction of Chuck Peterson, the operation turned around and acquired a stronger foundation." Huseby feels that it is now providing very reliable, dependable, and hopefully convenient service to students. In this area, employment of the Manager's authority has provided students with a valuable service certainly not bordering on the edge of abuse.

The final area of concern focuses on a question raised by Peterson—that is, "Is such a strong financial administration consistent with the intent of our student government at Stanford? In effect, are the powers granted to the Financial Manager too large for the scope of the office's concerns?" The problem here is twofold: at the same time that Peterson and Huseby were and are attempting to limit their powers as Manager, the University would like to increase their area of responsibility, not just in trivial matters but in the much larger question of the effect of student organizations on the University's tax status.

Huseby commented that "for years the University has used the Student Financial Manager to make two difficult decisions. The first is what material can or should be excluded from the Reg

packet and what organizations should be allowed to set up Reg tables. The second is the question of granting access to White Plaza. I see no reason why the ASSU should be held responsible for protecting the University's tax status."

The Financial Manager's office is presently a catchall not only for Administration tasks, such as Reg packets, but for miscellaneous student problems as well. Huseby noted that there is frequently nowhere else for a student to go when confronted with a problem and no University service to handle it. He used the Tresidder uproar as an example.

Peterson felt that the answer to this proliferation of responsibility lay in "making the University do the things they should do and in turn limiting the ASSU similarly. The solution is a strong Director of Student Services." Tom Huseby cites this as one of his goals for the following year. He also intends to maintain and improve the efficiency and reliability of the banking service in addition to upgrading services such as Special Events, Travel Service, and the Duplicating Center.

"The key to improving ASSU services," said Huseby, "lies in appointing effective Student Managers. I think that this has been done." By default, student government is dependent to a large extent for its effectiveness on the Student Financial Manager. Whether or not this is the best distribution of power remains an open question.



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WE DELIVER

WE DELIVER

M&M's Show True Colors

By JIM BAER

The most recent assembly of the National Academy of Arts and Sciences attacked M & M Population Studies conducted by Stanford's Wilhelm Shmuckley as "racist and bigoted."

Dr. Shmuckley, a Nobel Laureate in physics and part-time geneticist, contended at the assembly that Green M & Ms (referred to as Mutant M & Ms by Shmuckley) are inferior to other members of the M & M species, which he refers to as "normal M & Ms." Shmuckley defended his conclusions as "relevant, crucial, and essential to the biochemical well-being of the American public."

MOTIVATIONS

Professor Escherichia Coli, Emeritus Biochemist from Harvard, harshly criticized Shmuckley's report. "I simply don't understand how any responsible scientist could draw such aggravating conclusions from his meager data. Certainly his motivations must be suspect."

Responding to Coli's accusation, Shmuckley said, "I felt it was my duty, not only as a Nobel scientist, but as a dedicated humanist, to prove, once and for all, what had been obvious to me about M & M populations for some time: that the differences run much deeper than the color of the thin candy shell, and that, indeed, Green M & Ms are inferior."

Among Shmuckley's early observations about the nature of Green M & Ms that he claims inspired his experiments are these: Pregnant women who eat only Green M & Ms during their gestation give birth to a disproportionately large number of pimply idiots; this was first demonstrated by Dr. Agnew Spirochete in his mid-century studies. Green M & Ms have a significantly lower melting point than "normal" M & Ms—frequently Green M & Ms melt in your hand, not in your

mouth. The "Candy Dish Phenomenon," in which Green M & Ms are always found to be the last M & Ms left in the candy dish, indicates their widespread undesirability. And then there is the "Spectrum Problem" or "Alien Factor," which Shmuckley explained to be the most compelling of his initial observations. "The appearance of a Green subspecies in the midst of Brown, Yellow, Red, Orange, and Light Brown populations was disturbing. Greens just didn't belong in this otherwise spectrally homogeneous colony. Hence, my original hypothesis that Green M & Ms are a relatively recent mutation."

SUB-SPECIES

Professor Shmuckley insisted that his earliest tests, Carbon-14 bores, and fossil samplings confirmed his educated suspicions that Green M & Ms only recently infiltrated the "normal" body of M & Ms. "The emphasis of my study took on new implications and directions once it had been established that Green M & Ms were, in fact, mutations dating back 6.30201×10^{-12} fewer years than "normal" M & Ms. With it finally established that Green M & Ms are a mutant subspecies, it became necessary to investigate and compare the behavior and aptitude of Green M & Ms with the rest of the M & M population."

In his lengthy presentation, Shmuckley cited several of the experiments in which the performance of Green M & Ms was "abnormal and unfortunate." According to Shmuckley nearly 237 times as many Green M & Ms, per capita, are crushed, crumbled, or otherwise unrepresentable as compared to any other color; controlled alpha wave experiments show that Green M & Ms do not dream; Green M & Ms are always the last out of the bag, proving that they are by far the laziest of the M & Ms. There is a high degree of illiteracy among Green M & Ms—approximately 43% of all Green M & Ms misspelled their "M's" as "W's." Green M & Ms are evanescent, and tend easily to lose feelings of self-identification; when Shmuckley dropped a study group of M & Ms into a container of Deluxe Prell Liquid, the Greens were visible only when they smiled, while all other M & Ms remained constantly in sight. When M & Ms were put through an electromagnetic coil, all the colors except Green were

attracted to the positive pole, while the Greens sped to the negative pole. "Surely, this scientifically demonstrates the negative orientation that we all know to be characteristic of the Green subspecies," Shmuckley proclaimed.

OBJECTIONS

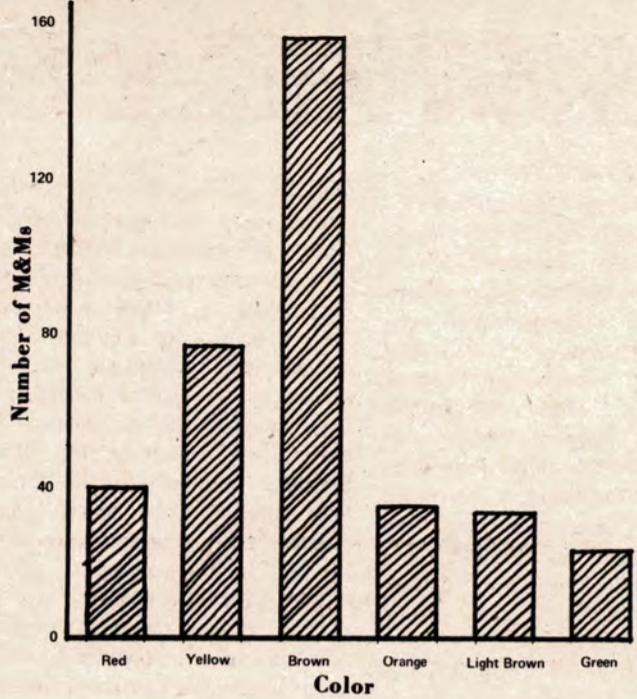
Several members of the Academy interrupted Shmuckley's presentation to voice strenuous objections. After several outbursts, Dr. Irving Zygote, geneticist from the University of California, forced Shmuckley to admit that in tests of physical ability, particularly speed and rhythm, Green M & Ms performed remarkably well. The most dramatic of Shmuckley's concessions to Zygote was the acceleration sequence. "When a heterogeneous sample of M & Ms was dropped simultaneously from the top of Hoover Tower, invariably the Green M & Ms struck the ground first," Shmuckley reported. Few were in a position to argue with the Nobel Physicist on this point.

Rebutting criticisms that his tests were culturally biased, Shmuckley explained the setup of his darkroom experiment. Dishes of mixed M & Ms and dishes consisting only of Green M & Ms were labeled and placed in a dark room. Members of the Independent Testing Association were then directed to enter the room and eat candies from one dish only. The results were astonishing. "The system cannot be fooled," Shmuckley exclaimed. "After the long-awaited release of my assistants' previously withheld data accumulated during painstaking stool analyses, it has become clear to me that Green M & Ms upset the sensitive balance of the lower digestive tract."

In answer to questions about the results of the maze series in which green M & Ms failed to learn the proper course, Shmuckley replied, "I was amazed."

SAMPLING

The genetic data gathered by Shmuckley created the greatest disturbance. By sampling 10,000 three-quarter-pound bags of M & Ms gathered from urban centers throughout the United States (a method of geographic sampling



begun during the 1930s in the famous Necco Wafer Reports; see S.A., Vol. 32, No. 17), Shmuckley and his staff discovered not only that Green M & Ms are consistently the least numerous, averaging a mere 24 per bag (while other color populations are brown, 156; yellow, 76; red, 40; orange, 35; light brown, 34—see graph 27-A), but that Green M & Ms are reproducing at unnatural and unhealthy speeds. In 1965, similar studies showed that M & M populations consisted of only 21 Greens. "It didn't take a genius to realize that something was fishy," Shmuckley stated.

"The startling reproductive rate of these alien, inferior M & Ms can only be viewed as a sexual plot of aggressive inbreeding," Shmuckley warned. He explained this statement by demonstrating the recessive nature of Green genes: Green + Brown = Brown; Green + Orange = Brown; Green + Light Brown = Brown; Green + Red = Brown (occasionally an undesirable and troublesome mutation occurs, known as the H. Rap Green Dilemma, when Greens and Reds are mixed); and Green + Yellow = Sterile Green. "Clearly, Greens can increase their population only by inbreeding," Shmuckley pointed out.

The greatest danger of inbreeding among Green M & Ms (called the Green Revolution) was explained by Dr. Shmuckley as "the genetic perpetuation of inferior characteristics." The most

serious hereditary abnormality resulting from aggressive inbreeding is a condition Shmuckley has named "sickle-shell anemia." "Although M & Ms suffering from sickle-shell anemia are blessedly immune to chocolate blight, the concavity of their basic structure deprives them of their full share of brown matter," Shmuckley reported. "Furthermore, I have been able to ascertain that an M & M's performance capabilities are directly correlated to the quantity of brown matter which it contains."

The corollary to Shmuckley's Brown Law contended that in the less common Peanut M & Ms, as well as in Plain M & Ms, Greens have less brown matter. "As we all know, Green M & Ms have abnormally large peanuts—this leaves far less space for brown matter. Therefore, in both Plain and Peanut M & Ms inferior performances are to be expected due to the arrested development of brown matter."

The assembly's feverish reaction to Shmuckley's concluding remarks may best be illustrated by Dr. Carlos Gmetete's thorny question, "Does greatness in science consist of successfully solving theoretical and practical problems, or in creating them?"

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Crows Attack Copters

By JOEL YUDKEN

This week's Red Hot Professor Contest has provoked varied reactions around the campus from surprise to outrage, and even humor. However, facts and information have been noticeably lacking in many of these exchanges. Here is background material on the technology with which campus research is involved culled not from top secret, red hot Pentagon documents, but from military publications, technical journals, and public statements.

Among the Top Twenty contracts are three research contracts in Stanford's department of Aeronautics and Astronautics (A&A) that are part of the U.S. Army's helicopter development effort. They are (with principal investigator): **STUDY OF THE DYNAMICS AND CONTROL OF ROTARY WING VTOL AIRCRAFT**—Arthur E. Bryson, Jr., Professor (jointly with A&A) and department head of Applied Mechanics; **BASIC STUDIES IN ROTOR AERODYNAMIC NOISE**—Krishnamurti Karamcheti, Professor of A&A; **RESEARCH IN AIRCRAFT STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND DESIGN**—Jean Mayers, Professor and Associate Chairman, A&A.

TOP PRIORITY

Based on ten years of "successful" experience in Vietnam, the Army has designated air mobility as its number one development priority. (Air mobility means primarily helicopters, Vertical/Short Take-Off and Landing (V/STOL) aircraft, and small fixed-wing aircraft, for support of Army operations.) As early as 1965, the Army began to develop several new advanced helicopter systems and supporting research and development (R&D) programs. At the House Department of Defense (DOD) Appropriations Hearings for FY1971, Lt. Gen. A.W. Betts, Chief of Research and Development, Army, argued that "...the present fleet of helicopters uses technology no less than ten years old. We require a rotary wing technology base no less thorough and current than that of fixed wing aircraft."

The Army Research Office—Durham's publication *Military Themes for Oriented Research of High Scientific Merit* (February, 1970) further stresses that "the Army's reliance on air

mobility has steadily increased in recent years. The success of the Army air mobility concept has been demonstrated in SEA (South East Asia).... Research studies are needed to provide the aeronautical technology so that advanced Army aircraft developments will be possible in the future." Each of the three Stanford contracts falls under at least one of the "specific and relevant areas in which research is needed" for this subject.

BRYSON LOOPS

The Bryson research project has two parts. The first aims, according to the contract proposal in the SWOPSI report, to "develop techniques for helicopters to make pinpoint landings and hover precisely in bad weather and poor visibility." The researcher has called this part the "inner-loop" control problem. The second part aims to develop techniques for guiding the helicopter along "prescribed (or computed) flight paths to the target," which the researcher calls "outer-loop" guidance.

The Bryson research is part of one or two Army R&D programs that are supported by the sponsoring agency, the Air Mobility Research and Development office at NASA Ames Research Center, Moffett Field, California (also known as the Army Aeronautical Research Lab). The first program is the *Mechanics* research program for work in aerodynamics which "directly supports the Army's air mobility concept." (DOD appropriations hearings, 1971.) The second is the *Aerodynamics Technology* exploratory development program concerned with stability and control investigations for "fulfilling the operational objectives of improved performance, all-purpose, all-weather air vehicle systems that meet future Army aircraft mission requirements." (DOD appropriations hearings, 1971.)

These two areas of research are then applied to the various helicopter systems being developed and produced under the overall management of the Army Aviations Systems Command (AVSCOM), which has the major responsibility for building all the Army's helicopters.

APPLICATIONS

Both parts of the Bryson project relate to requirements and problems of actual and proposed

aircraft. For example, it has already resulted in improved methods for designing "inner-loop controllers." According to the SWOPSI report, these methods were applied "to design a controller for... a rotor-fuselage (mathematical) model and analyze the controlled behavior of the vehicle in the presence of random disturbances (i.e. air turbulence, bad weather, wind)."

Further applications of this work seem obvious. The ability to "hover precisely" or to make "pin-point landings," especially in bad weather or light conditions, is crucial for accurate use of sensor and surveillance equipment on light observation helicopters, quick and safe transport, troop carrier helicopter operation, and accurate use of weapons systems on attack helicopters.

For example, an article in *Electronics* magazine ("Vietnam the First Digital War," Oct. 1970) illustrates the necessity of aircraft stability for accurate weapons firing. It notes that the effectiveness of Gatling miniguns on the Iroquois and Huey Cobra killer copters is a result of

"a set of hardware called SCAS (for stability control augmentation system)... The system stabilizes the chopper's yaw, roll, and pitch, picking up its control inputs from three rate gyros... With SCAS, the miniguns spray an area about 75 yards; without it, the helicopter bucks, and the ordnance disperses over a zone about a quarter-mile wide."

The new Lockheed AH-56A Cheyenne attack helicopter has high standards in this area. One of its major difficulties, which almost resulted in the program's demise, is in its rotor control system. In 1969, a prototype Cheyenne crashed, killing the pilot, during a test run. The crash's causes included "rotor instabilities," and "inadequate directional control during hover and sideward flight." (*Defense Market Service Report*, 1970.)

The "outer-loop" guidance research also has immediate applications. The Army is already testing and implementing systems for computerized control and guidance of helicopters in flight. For example, the Tactical Aircraft Guidance System (TAGS) is a computer controlled electronic "fly-by-wire" system designed to help replace human and mechanical control of helicopters in flight. In 1971 a prototype of the TAGS was supposed to have flown on a CH-47 Chinook.

KARAMCHETI

The Karamcheti contract is a study of noise generation due to the movement of a rotor (such as a helicopter rotor blade) through the air. It includes the development of a general rotor noise generation theory and



applications to "selected problems." The sponsoring agency for Karamcheti's research is the Air Mobility R&D office at NASA Ames and is the principal performer in these two programs.

Rotor blade action is the primary cause of helicopter noise. This noise increases aircraft detectability by the enemy, thus hindering the effectiveness of reconnaissance craft like the OH-6A Cayuse helicopter, and of attack helicopters like the Huey Cobra. As General Betts pointed out in the House DOD Appropriations Hearings, "For obvious reasons we would like to reduce the noise of helicopters if it is possible... We are beginning to learn more and more from our experience in Vietnam that quiet machines for certain special purposes would be very useful."

MAYERS MATERIALS

The Mayers contract is concerned with establishing design and analytical criteria to be applied to problems of using composite materials and structures in helicopters and V/STOL. This work falls within the Army's area of "Aircraft materials of composites utilizing advantages of strength, stiffness, lighter weight, structural efficiency and ability to form improved aerodynamic shapes." (Emphasis is the Army's.)

Mayer's research directly supports the Army's *Aircraft Structures Technology* exploratory development program, concerned with the "use of advanced material and structural design concepts" in order to "establish additional design criteria and techniques permitting increased aircraft performance and life." (Senate DOD appropriations hearings.) A major performer in the program is the sponsoring agency of Mayers' contract, the Army Aviation Materials Laboratories (AVSLAB). AVSLAB is the principal R&D support agency of the Army Aviations Systems Command (AVSCOM).

APPARENT PROBLEMS

Prior to the Vietnam conflict, helicopters were a minor part of the Army's weapons inventory. In 1962, with the advent of American involvement in Vietnam with military "advisers," the helicopter was given its first real combat test. Although proving successful in its first year,

technical problems were discovered. An *Aviation Week and Space Technology (AWST)* article on the use of helicopters in SEA that year reported that the "strain of combat flying indicates some needed improvements. Tail boom skins have been cracked, for example, due to stresses imposed by numerous sharp rudder deflections when flying... Sharp maneuvers are common to avoid enemy ground fire or to thread between trees in nap-of-the-earth flying to avoid detection and present a minimum target to the enemy." (Dec. 24, 1962.) Coincident with these developments was the beginning of a continuing materials and structures program between AVSLAB and Stanford in 1963, of which the Mayers composite structures research is part.

Composite structures are already being developed by industry for use in military aircraft. For example another *AWST* article (June 22, 1970) reports that "advanced composites have shown particular applicability for future helicopter components such as drive shafts, in a Bell Helicopter Co. program." Bell is the producer of the Army's UH-1 transport and attack helicopter, and the Huey Cobra attack helicopter, both Vietnam veterans.

There are of course civilian applications for each of these research projects. In the late 1980's a computer controlled helicopter mass transit and transport fleet may be economically feasible. Projections for commercial use of composites are also in the late 1980's, since as reported in *AWST* (June 22, 1970) "...drastic reductions in the cost of (composite) materials combined with lower manufacturing costs will be required before widespread application can be made to commercial aircraft." Karamcheti's work may contribute to noise abatement, such as quieter police helicopters over East Palo Alto. In the meantime, the Army is the world's largest user of helicopters, and the research at Stanford will be making important contributions to specific military problems, for the improved defense of American interests around the world.

(Joel Yudken is a member of the Pacific Studies Center and one of the Young Crows.)



A Bicyclist Takes To The Hills

This is the first in a series of articles on outings in the Bay Area that will appear in the Chaparral.

One of the more pleasant routes for bicycling in the Stanford area lies in the hills behind the campus. The trip makes a loop around the Stanford University lands in the foothills, lands whose future will be decided soon—whether they will be developed, and if so, in what manner. Anyone interested in the future of these presently undeveloped Stanford lands should go out and get a first-hand view of them.

I would rate this bicycle trip as only moderately difficult, meaning that there are some hills, but they are neither very long nor very steep. Allow at least a full afternoon for the outing: the total distance is around 20 to 25 miles. The Chevron Oil Company's "San Francisco Peninsula—Central Section" road map completely covers the area described. Carry a water bottle—there is little water available on the route.

THE ROUTE

Begin this outing at the Tresidder parking lot. Go up Lane W to Mayfield Ave., turn right, and follow Mayfield Ave. past the Lake fraternities to Junipero Serra



Blvd., turning right onto it. Junipero Serra Blvd. marks the boundary between the campus and the undeveloped Stanford lands to the south. Follow Junipero Serra Blvd. to the north through the golf course to its intersection with Alpine Rd. A right turn onto Alpine Rd. is quickly followed (in about 100 yards) by a left turn onto Sand Hill Rd. As part of the widening project recently completed on Sand Hill Rd., a bicycle path has been built along most of the right (north) side of Sand Hill Rd. The path is a little more hilly than the road, so you may prefer to ride on the paved shoulder.

Sand Hill Road climbs moderately, passing Sharon Heights (and its shopping center) on the right. Sharon Heights provides an object lesson of what can happen to inadequately planned developments in these foothills. Naturally unstable soil conditions in the hills have been aggravated by carving roads and building homes, so that downhill sliding or "creep" of the soil layer has caused extensive structural damage to many of the homes in the development.

A little farther, and the entrance to the Stanford Linear Accelerator Center appears on the left. All the land to the left (south) of Sand Hill Rd. is owned

by the University. This area around SLAC may soon be the center of great debate over whether it should be developed as an industrial park.

Continuing on Sand Hill Rd., you soon reach the crest of the hill and head downhill towards the Interstate 280 freeway. Don't build up too much speed on this downhill stretch, however, because the stoplight just before the freeway invariably turns red just before you get to it. While waiting for the light to change, you can observe the linear accelerator marching straight across the landscape like a long freight train.

UNIVERSITY LANDS

Across the broad swath cut by the freeway, a long darkly-wooded ridge rises from the surrounding oak-studded grasslands. This is Jasper Ridge, part of the Jasper Ridge Biological Preserve, set aside by the University for biological studies.

Once across the freeway, Sand Hill Rd. climbs again, somewhat more steeply this time. Here, the land on both sides of the road is owned by Stanford University. A good downhill run awaits you on the other side of this hill. You pass Whiskey Hill Rd. on the right, leading to the town of Woodside, and cross San Francisquito Creek. After riding uphill a short way, you will come to the junction with Portola Rd. Portola Rd. leads north to La Honda Rd., and south to the town of Portola Valley. Sand Hill Rd. officially ends here, though the intersection gives the impression that Portola Rd. (coming from the north) ends instead. Across Sand Hill Rd. from the junction is the entrance to Searsville Lake Park. This area is leased from the University and operated as a private park.

Portola Rd. quickly passes between two large marshy ponds, both on University lands, and then runs through an area of large estates in the town of Portola Valley. You are now completely beyond the extent of Stanford lands. The hills to the east of Portola Rd. are heavily developed with large estates, those to the west less so. The wide valley through which you ride defines the trace of the San Andreas Fault Zone, which is quite wide here and in the town of Woodside to the north.

SHORTCUT

Throughout the length of this valley, the road climbs steadily until its junction with Alpine Rd. Turning left onto Alpine Rd., another gentle uphill stretch takes you over into the watershed of Los Trancos Creek. Near the junction with Los Trancos Rd. on the right, you find the Portola Valley Town Hall on the right and a small shopping center and gas station on the left. A good

downhill run through this pretty valley takes you to the intersection of Arastradero Rd. If your time is limited, a quick downhill ride continuing on Alpine Rd. brings you to Junipero Serra Blvd., where a right turn takes you back to the campus. A bicycle path runs on the right (east) side of Alpine Rd. along much of its length. For those with more time, I strongly recommend a longer route, turning right onto Arastradero Rd. Everyone might consider a brief pause at Rosotti's (right here at the corner of Alpine and Arastradero Roads), however, especially if it's a hot day.

Turning right from Alpine Rd. onto Arastradero Rd., you quickly cross the creek and then climb, alternately steeply and moderately, through open grass-covered hills dotted with oaks. Most of the land to the left (north) of the road is owned by the University. That on the right consists largely of ranches. At the crest of the uphill climb is a fine view of rolling hills. A good downhill run takes you away from Stanford lands to Page Mill Rd., where you turn left.

THE RETURN

Page Mill Rd. can be taken directly back to the campus by continuing under the freeway and then turning left onto Old Page Mill Rd., which follows winding Matadero Creek to the west of the new Page Mill Expressway, rejoining it just before the junction of Junipero Serra Blvd.—Foothill Expressway and Page Mill Rd. The left turn onto Old Page Mill Rd. can be difficult to manage, though, especially when the traffic is heavy on Page Mill Road. An alternative is to turn right from Page Mill Rd. onto the continuation of Arastradero Rd. just before the freeway entrance.

Arastradero Rd. then climbs steeply from here, paralleling the freeway for about half a mile, and passes under the freeway in a steep downhill stretch. Continuing on Arastradero to the junction of Hillview Ave. on the left and Fremont Ave. on the right, you pass between Stanford lands on the left and the homes of Los Altos Hills on the right. Turning left onto Hillview Ave., you pass around the east side of Coyote Hill and past some industrial sites. The west side of Coyote Hill has been slated for further industrial development by the University. Cross Foothill Expressway and continue on Hillview up a hill to Hanover St. Turning right onto Hanover St. leads you through the heart of the Stanford Industrial Park. Hanover St. bends around to the west (left) and crosses Page Mill Rd., continuing on to Stanford Avenue, where a right turn and then a left leads to Escondido Rd., which takes you back to the campus center, ending the outing.

—PHIL FARRELL

Urban Bargaining ...

Continued from page one confronting each other. Not unexpectedly, the students did better in establishment roles than as representatives of the people. Miller does not attribute this exclusively to class background. According to him, until the past six or seven years community organizations themselves were operating on the basis of discussion and not power conflict.

Miller expects that most of his students will become involved not in low-income community organizations, but rather in professional associations or in middle-class organizations concerned with issues like ecology. Low-income neighborhoods have become increasingly less open to outside organizers. Still, these middle-class and professional organizations can act as allies of the poor if they understand the problems faced by low-income community organizations. Miller believes that the organizing principles are the



same for both. He stresses the clear separation of the roles of organizers and leaders. Organizers do not assume any leadership roles, and, for example, never participate in negotiations.

Students in the class have reacted favorably: they feel they are learning something of real practical value. Some have expressed an interest in even more realistic experience, however, suggesting it would be valuable to sit in on a real negotiating session.

POLITICAL RE-EDUCATION

Mike Miller sees a large part of

his teaching as political re-education. He believes that most people who have been trained in social work schools have to unlearn what they have learned. The liberal world teaches "a mental quality of ambiguity," and in order to engage in the politics of community organizing, the organizer has to prepare himself for situations of black and white. Students may learn this point of view in campus political movements, but seldom in class.

Miller is convinced that his present students are beginning to understand the power relationships involved in mass organizations, and can act on that understanding. He would not teach the class if he thought his students would use their skills against community organizations; he feels they have a genuine social concern. "If people start with a commitment to social justice, they have to go beyond liberalism."



Recruiting Goes On and On and ...

This week's Placement Center recruitment controversy is the latest episode in an on-going struggle to integrate the decision-making process at Stanford with significant community input. In various specific conflicts over the last several years, the struggle has been to overcome the pervasive alienation on this campus of people existing as indentured academics or imported laborers. The Stanford Community, made up of those who live, work, and study here, has little actual control over the Stanford campus, and even less over the whole Stanford Corporation.

There are two simultaneous concerns of the people protesting on-campus military recruitment. The first is opposition to this country's military exploits and the militaristic posture of American industry. However, the protesters recognize that bringing an end to military and para-military recruiting, like prohibiting defense research and ROTC, will not immediately dismantle the war or the Pentagon. These goals are

laudable, and will be helpful in the long haul against militarism. The second concern of the protesters this week, though, is more immediate. It focuses on Stanford and the illegitimate wielding of power by those in official authority here.

FORMER VOTE

In 1968 the University News Service reported that by a six to one margin, 4500 Stanford students had voted to allow all recruiters, including those of the military and defense industry, to conduct interviews at the Student Services Placement Center. At that time the University referred to the student vote to lend legitimacy to its continued decision in favor of that recruitment by the military and its suppliers.

Last spring the student body voted on two proposals—one that would ban any use of Stanford's resources by the military, and another that would prohibit recruitment by those industries "directly producing" war materials, "directly producing" to be defined by a committee of faculty, students, and staff. That vote by the students was 1947 to 1496 that the military be banned from any use of Stanford, and 1758 to 1596 that the appropriate recruitment be banned.

DISCREPANCIES

Yet this week at the Placement Center, six months after that referendum, several war-related industries and branches of the military were scheduled to interview students. Ralph Keller, director of the Placement Center, responded to inquiry from concerned members of the community that only those recruiters for whom there had been specific request by students were invited to Stanford. However, Columbae learned that the Air Force, originally scheduled for recruitment this week, had decided not to come after all. Their reason? No students had signed up for the interviews, and so obviously the Air Force felt no need to show up either.

Why the discrepancies? Why is it that administrative bureaucracies at Stanford seem to work for students only as long as students' interests amiably coincide with the administration's original decisions? Why is it that whenever administrators are opposed, their bureaucracies cease to be an effective means of instrumenting new policy, and

instead become insidious tools for thwarting those people agitating for change?

QUESTIONS ON POLICY

After the referendum last spring, students from Columbae sought out the Acting Dean of Students, Bob Freelen, on ways to implement the new policy on campus recruitment, including formation of the committee that would judge recruiting industries. But Dean Freelen would not discuss any policy change without Vice-Provost Robert Rosenzweig present. So the administration was necessarily brought into the matter. Ed Jackson, Larry Cooke, Bob Bone, and Dave Josephson, students from Columbae, met for a very revealing, if unproductive, exchange with Freelen, Rosenzweig, and Ralph Keller of the Placement Center. The first approach of the administrators to the student decision made in the referendum was philosophical equivocation on the validity of a referendum in which every student did not vote.

"How then is the democratic process to work at Stanford, if legitimately conducted student elections are not considered to be valid?"

The administrators were also reminded that in 1968 the vote by 4500 students in support of the University's policy had been publicized by the University itself, and supposedly was taken as a valid one.

"Some students," the administrators said, "wish to be interviewed by military and industrial recruiters, and these interviews should not be considered impositions on any other individuals at Stanford."

"But," the students countered, "the business concerns of these industrial and military men are a direct imposition on the lives of people around the world. Members of the Stanford community must take responsibility for the fact that corporations like Honeywell, makers of anti-personnel cluster bombs, are using Stanford facilities to recruit Stanford-trained talent to continue their operations."

STUDENT POWER

In the course of the discussion Rosenzweig made explicit the administrative view of power relationships on this campus.

"Is there any way students as a body can implement a new policy resultant from their collective decision?"

"No."

"Is there any power that students have to effect change in this University without going through the administration?"

"No."

It was finally agreed in that meeting that the students had indeed made a specific decision on recruitment policy, but the question was left as to how that expression by the student body would be dealt with. "What committee could we refer this to?" asked Rosenzweig. "We need a committee. Ralph [Keller], do you have any ideas?" Keller suggested that the Committee on Student Services had once had something to do with the Placement Center. Rosenzweig took that as a godsend. "Of course, the Committee on Student Services, this referendum will be referred to the Committee on Student Services, thank you, gentlemen, and good day." So the referendum remains with the good committee, while the Navy and Honeywell are scheduled to recruit this week at the Placement Center.

LEGITIMACY

As before, protesters at the Placement Center this week are asking that the administration help, not hinder, the student body in implementing their decision on campus recruitment. It is appropriate that the Committee on Student Services study the referendum from last spring—that

is their designated responsibility. But in this scheme the ultimate power of decision resides with President Lyman. And the crucial discrimination remains to be made between the legitimate authority of a community deciding on the use of a community facility, and the illegitimate authority arrogated to administrators by the mere fact of their official position.

The Placement Center is not meant to be an advertising bazaar for any recruiter who wants to come here; rather, only those who fulfill actual student requests and do not violate the wishes of the community are to be accommodated at the Placement Center. The standard response by administrators to any impulsive thrust for innovation or change on this campus has been: "You must go through established channels. There exist authorized procedures for you to use if you honestly wish to effect meaningful change." A student referendum is one of those authorized procedures. Results of student referenda have been used by the University to indicate the validity of certain policy decisions. But only certain ones, mark that clearly. Last spring's referendum was surely never used to defend this week's schedule of recruitment at the Placement Center.

—JEFF WRIGHT

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Chaparral Goes On Pizza Run

By DIRCK JAHSMAN

One of life's finer delicacies is the ever-delightful Italian pizza. As served by the Stanford Food Service, this dish is not always inedible, but it lacks the special tantalizing quality acquired in the better pizza parlors. The various parlors in this area that feed on their customers' hunger vary distinctly in quality. Consequently, in the best interests of students and their stomachs, the *Chaparral* has surveyed the pizza houses.

Belching all the way, we visited six of the favorite pizza parlors close to Stanford. First on the roster was the frivolous fantasy of Shakey's Pizza Parlor. Illustrated by the decor of silent movies and a player piano, Shakey's guided the visitor into the light-hearted family atmosphere of the nineties, when time was abundant and no one had to hurry. True to form, Shakey's took a disappointingly long thirty-five minutes to produce pizza. The pizza was very good, crisp and delicious though somewhat thin. Altogether, Shakey's was an innocent and deservedly popular pizza retreat.

Oh, yes, keep Shakey's green. Bring money—the pizza and beer will run from \$1.75 up.

NO PEOPLE

From Shakey's we moved to the Village Host. Both the pizza and its price were good. The service was quick—the pizza was ready in twenty minutes—and a variety of sandwiches were also offered. Unfortunately, the Host lacked atmosphere. A few couples broke the monotony of the otherwise empty room. The jukebox ground on, but without the hum of human accompaniment. The Host has the potential to be a fine pizza joint—all it lacked was people.

A large but sparsely filled parking lot welcomed visitors to the Amber Lantern. The dimly lit, split-level interior was neatly arranged, though it lacked the soft elegance of a fine restaurant. The few visitors present sat in corners on hardwood benches patiently waiting the call for their ordered pizza. After a dull half-hour wait the visitors seemed ravenous enough for even this mediocre pizza to taste good. Bland cheeses limply covered the thick crust of the palatable but unexciting Lantern pizza.

Steak and various sandwiches filled out the expensive menu, and several drinks were available to fill out the rather long evening at the Lantern. This parlor lacked the character and atmosphere of Shakey's. Even the red and white party cups failed to animate the bland quiescence of the place. Pictures of roaring seas hung on the wall, and pots of symmetric flowers rested near the door, but both seemed out of place and awkward in the pizza house. Leave early (by the back door, as we did) if you like, but don't pick the flowers; they're artificial.

OLD WEST

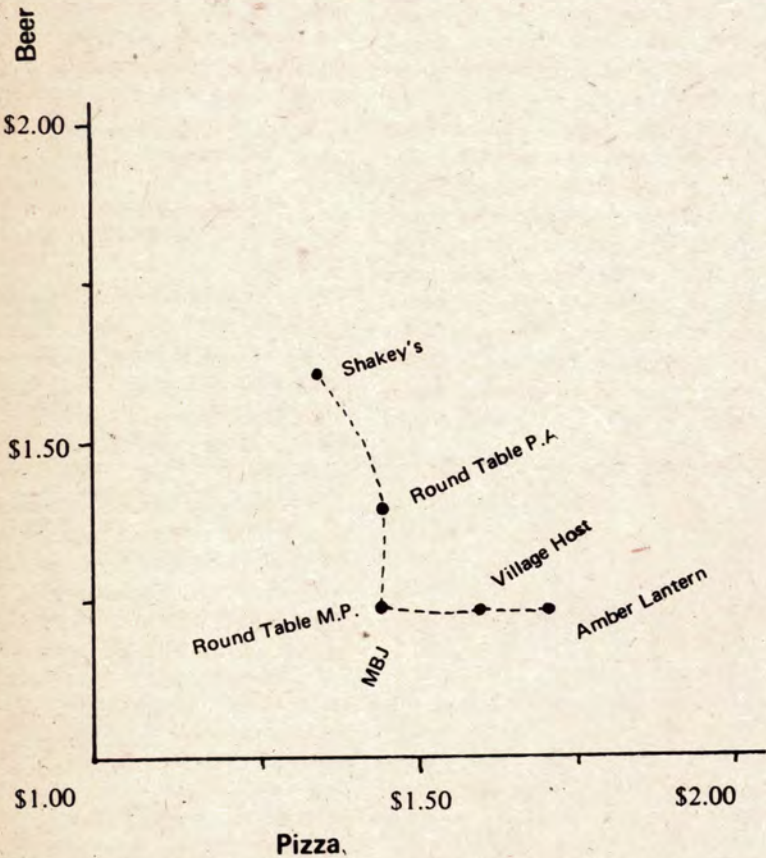
The MBJ Ranch Room attempts to mix pizza with the Old West. Horsy pictures adorned the walls, a saloon-like bar served the crowd, and a deer's head protruded rigidly from the wall. At the same time, a jukebox and pinball machines waited invitingly behind the Old West facade. A band played, and, though it lacked quality, it stimulated spirit. The chief drawback at the Ranch Room was the pizza. The service was fairly quick, as the preparation of pizza took only twenty minutes. Unfortunately, though it had a fine thick crust, the pizza had very little topping. Filling, but not very substantial. The beer was plentiful and very reasonable in price. But don't drink too much; the rest rooms are a long way up a dark flight of stairs.

The finest pizza parlors visited were the Round Tables, on University in Palo Alto and on El Camino in Menlo Park. Menlo Park's Round Table was inconspicuous but remarkably popular. This pizza joint was small, but its size combined with its casual atmosphere to produce a

special intimacy lacking in the other pizza houses. The bar was at least as large as those in other pizza joints, significantly adding to its sometimes roaring atmosphere. For amusement (besides the bar and the people) there were a jukebox, pinball machines, and even a television. The pizza was excellent. Waiting time was minimal, and the hot pizza had both an excellent spicy topping (somewhat greasy) and a magnificent crust. Unlike the atmosphere, the charges for beer and pizza were average.

Playing humorously on the legends of King Arthur was the Round Table in Palo Alto. Its more formal atmosphere was richly embellished with round hardwood tables, softly glimmering electric candles, stained glass windows, and other medieval charms. A jukebox added to the politely convivial atmosphere. After a reasonable wait of twenty-five minutes excellent pizza on an imitation pewter platter was ready. A thin crunchy crust was thickly topped by fine cheeses and other tasty garnishes. Beer, hamburgers, sandwiches, and salads were also available at fairly expensive prices. Considering all factors, a visit to either Round Table is most worthwhile.

(Dirck Jahsman hitchhiked to three pizza parlors for lunch on one day, managing to consume 2½ small sausage pizzas. For further information, he can be contacted at the Cowell Student Health Center.)



'Millhouse': Stranger Than Nixon

MILLHOUSE: A WHITE COMEDY.
Produced by Emilio De Antonio.

There is a certain similarity between driving up to The City to see a movie of Dwight D. Eisenhower watching Richard Nixon on TV and sitting at home on a Sunday evening, listening to KZSU play a tape recording of the Saturday afternoon session of the Franklin hearing. Both the movie and the radio program are entertaining. And educational. And somewhat convoluted media(ted) events.

One doesn't expect attendance at the Franklin hearing—even in the air-conditioned unreality of Physics 101—to have the same sort of political effect as sitting-in at the computer center or heckling Henry Cabot Lodge. And one shouldn't expect going to the movies to be a political act either.

Yet after reading the review of *Millhouse* in the *Chronicle* and watching an interview with De Antonio on KQED's *Newsroom*, I had the distinct impression that this movie was bound to be different. The media transmitted the message that watching *this* mediated event would be a political act. (Do the media intentionally mislead? Or are they blinded by their own kliegs?) So I wore my boots (good for running) and pea jacket (padding against swinging billy clubs) to the Presidio Theater.

But of course nothing happened. *Millhouse* doesn't even include footage of the only time I saw Richard Nixon, at the San Jose "riot."

(The riot was a media event too. It didn't really happen at all. If you didn't know that, or don't remember, go back and read the retractions in the *Chronicle* and the *Mercury* two days after they blazed the headlines about Nixon's car being stoned. But don't feel dumb about having forgotten that it never happened. Papers outside California never got around to printing the retractions, so most of the country never learned there was no riot.)

Millhouse is a fine display case for Richard Nixon. It includes footage of his political debut as investigator of Alger Hiss's supposedly un-American behavior, his entire Checkers speech, and his press conference "bowing out" of politics after being defeated by Pat Brown in the California governor's race in 1962. De Antonio happily allows Nixon to hang himself with old videotape and film footage.

And *Millhouse* is a political education, even in the narrow sense of teaching you a lot you probably didn't know about California electoral politics. (Remember Helen Gahagan Douglas? Senator Jerry Voorhis?) There's more than that narrow sort of education, too. Watching newsclips of Whittaker Chambers taking a roll of "microfilmed State Department secrets" out of a pumpkin in his backyard pumpkin patch is a haunting reminder of the so-called McCarthy era.

Most educational, though, is Nixon's constant awareness of,

constant stress on, constant use of the media and the mediated event. His constant berating of newsmen who don't serve his political purposes (long before he thought of running with Spiro Agnew). *Millhouse* includes a good interview with Joe McGinniss, author of *The Selling of the President*, who talks about the way Frank Shakespeare manipulated the media for Nixon's 1968 Presidential campaign. (They don't tell you in the movie, but Shakespeare's now director of the United States Information Agency.)

Slowly, as the movie progresses, it dawns on you: Nixon lives in a mediated world, as separate from the reality of death in Vietnam or in American ghettos as the Franklin hearing on radio is from Lodge's war crimes. By the last scene of *Millhouse*, which is much too good and unreal to reveal, the lesson is complete.

—JUDY STRASSER



Mr. Nixon

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Alinsky's Handbook for Radicals

RULES FOR RADICALS: A PRACTICAL PRIMER FOR REALISTIC RADICALS. By Saul D. Alinsky. Random House. 196 pages. \$6.95.

Saul Alinsky is America's most successful outside agitator. He has organized industrial workers, and he has organized poor communities in Chicago, Rochester, northern Canada, and California. He has organized Blacks, Chicanos, whites, and Indians. He has taken on Kodak and Mayor Daley and the University of Chicago. Alinsky describes himself as a professional organizer; his enemies have described him as a "subversive menace."

Rules for Radicals is a straightforward, entertaining discussion of Alinsky's organizing principles and the political philosophy, or rather the political impulses, on which they are based. Alinsky describes his own purpose:

The Prince was written by Machiavelli for the Haves on how to hold power. *Rules for Radicals* is written for the Have-Nots on how to take it away.

As the Have-Nots of the world turn to revolution as a solution to their problems, they find the only revolutionary writings are those of the communists. Because of his belief in a "free and open society" and his distrust of dogma, Alinsky attempts to split this political atom, "this exclusive identification of communism with revolution." He seeks to establish principles by which the Have-Nots can take power and use it for their own purposes.

ALINSKY'S ANALYSIS

In the first part of the book, Alinsky puts forth his version of our present problems and his vision of their solution. Alinsky is an activist and not a philosopher, and his discussion here is admittedly an after-the-fact justification of his impulses in the heat of battle. Yet it commands our attention because, in this time of pessimism, here is an old-fashioned optimist. Alinsky is a democrat and a populist. "If people have the power to act, in the long run they will, most of the time, reach the right decisions." Democracy itself is not an end, but the best political means for achieving freedom, justice, equality, peace, and an open society. Our problems come from the misuse of power by those who

hold it now, the Haves. It's the people against the interests, the powerless against the Establishment. Yet Alinsky refuses to romanticize the poor and the powerless; they are no more virtuous than anyone else and are just as likely to be lazy and complacent. Thus the second part of the book tells how to mobilize and organize people to assert power in their own interest.

But does Alinsky make any more sense than Mao, Che, and Castro, whom he considers irrelevant to our advanced industrial society? Do our problems come merely from misused power and will the people really manage things better if they are allowed to? Clearly the problems are not nearly so simple; both power relationships and social problems are immensely complex in America today. Not only is Alinsky's analysis intellectually unsophisticated, but it is not at all clear that the amateurism implicit in his vision of democratic participation will be an improvement.

Despite these theoretical shortcomings, however, Alinsky is basically right. No one will ever organize political masses around a sophisticated analysis. People respond to concerns that are close to them, and they respond to a political program that affirms what they know and believe. The man on the street knows who has power and who is running things; only the powerful claim not to know. And the average American believes in democracy and that people should decide things. Alinsky is right because he captures much of the truth about our political situation, and because he does so in a way people understand and respond to. A sophisticated political analysis it is not; it is a practical political program.

ENDS AND MEANS

The most interesting chapter of the book deals with the problem of ends and means. Alinsky does us the great favor of taking the question out of philosophy and putting it into life: "Does this particular end justify this particular means?" Alinsky is a

realist and an ethical relativist; "To me ethics is doing what is best for the most." He lays out eleven rules of "the ethics of means and ends," some of which will outrage nearly everyone. The tenth rule is that "you do what you can with what [means] you have and clothe it in moral garments." He discusses at length Mahatma Gandhi as an illustration of this principle, arguing that Gandhi simply chose the only realistic course of action and then surrounded his policy of passive resistance with an essential moral cover.

Alinsky believes that most of the people trying to change the world are going about it wrongly. When Alinsky puts forth his own rules, however, they are vague. They come down to the necessity of communication, imagination, intuition, and a lot of hard work. The organizer must begin with the situation as it is, not as he wishes it were. Since the right things generally get done for the wrong reasons, the organizer must remain flexible, feeling out the situation and adjusting his tactics accordingly. In themselves these principles are not very helpful, but Alinsky illustrates them with incidents from his own experience and from that of other organizers, including the episode in which Moses calmed down God when the Jews were worshiping the Golden Calf.

STOCK PROXIES

Alinsky ends the book with a discussion of the proxy tactic, using stock proxies to pressure corporations into living up to their political and social responsibilities. The leverage comes not from the number of votes, but from the publicity. Alinsky used the proxy tactic against Kodak in Rochester, and believes it has great possibilities for the future. His emphasis on the proxy tactic indicates the degree to which Alinsky believes that the next group to be organized is the middle class. The middle class is disheartened and confused, and if it is not organized by realistic radicals, it will turn to the reactionaries.

Besides, the Have-Nots need allies against the Haves, allies who can only come from the middle classes, the Have-a-Little, Want Mores. It is here that young people with their middle-class backgrounds can most effectively use their energies.

How are we to judge Alinsky's program? We cannot deny that he has achieved his limited goals in several communities, and that Alinsky-trained organizers are effectively using his techniques in many other communities. It is not clear that community organizing will be able to achieve anything other than just these limited goals. Alinsky believes that changes at the national level can occur by organized communities joining together, but that accomplishment lies far in the future, if it ever comes. Furthermore, efforts at community organizing have frequently been unsuccessful. Alinsky is an overachiever; ordinary people try, fail, and become disillusioned. Bernardine Dohrn of the Weathermen was once an admirer of Saul Alinsky.

ON IDEOLOGY

Another aspect of Alinsky's program we must deal with is his dismissal of ideology. According to Alinsky, ideology tends to become dogma in the heat of conflict. To avoid this tendency, Alinsky dismisses ideology, replacing it with "a bit of a blurred vision of a better world." The danger is that the vision may be too blurred and the goals too ambitious. Richard Nixon also wants both peace and justice. Christopher Lasch, in a recent review of Alinsky's book, offers another criticism on this point. One of Alinsky's organizing principles is to personalize the problem: "Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, and polarize it." Lasch argues that to do so is "to regress to a more primitive level of political awareness." The answer to Lasch's criticism is that people are organized at a fairly primitive level of political awareness, since that is the level most people possess. This is not to say however, that the organizer does not need a more sophisticated analysis. This kind of ideology develops out of political experience, and members of a community organization will presumably develop such an ideology out of their participation in its actions.

Perhaps it is misleading to deal with *Rules for Radicals* simply as a book on organizing, for it is also a highly personal statement by a successful man. Alinsky comments on our present human condition, he challenges, and he inspires. That alone is reason to read his book; it is rare enough these days to find anyone capable of inspiring.

-TIM CLARK

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