

PARTICIPANT

The Pitzer College Magazine

Winter 1976



The real issue is the right of man to a better life.

The younger generation intends to "go places" with the New Deal. These men are all talk; what we need is action — action. Keep Cool with Coolidge. *This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper — the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.*

Equal rights for all, special

privileges for none.

IF THE PEOPLE BE GOVERNORS, WHO SHALL BE GOVERNED? **The**

spirit of Jefferson

lives in America —

the spirit of freedom.

We must fight forces of privilege and greed. It is

exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great

Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Ask not what your country can do for you, but rather what you can do for your country. **Our responsibility is to stand by the U. N., man's hope for peace.**

Give me liberty

or give me death. **There**

is no definite assurance that the three-horse team of the American system of government will pull together.

Great men of history have a common denominator of service to the country despite party allegiance. Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own

federal and republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government.

Today, the public scrutinizes every move of government officials. *The immortality of Thomas Jefferson does not lie in any one of his achievements, but in his attitude toward mankind.* **The Democratic party must work for the people.** **VOTERS KNOW THAT PEACE**

IS HARDER TO WORK FOR THAN WAR. Parties are

for explaining issues, stimulating interest in elections, and improving the breed of candidates in office. **The republican**

is the only form of government which is not externally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind. People can no longer be completely fooled.

We take politics less seriously, government more seriously.

There is nothing I dread so much as the division of the Republic into two great parties, each under its leader —

This is to be feared as the greatest political evil under the Constitution.

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The real issue is the right man to a better life. The younger generation looks to "go places" with the New Deal. These men are all talk, who we need to action — action. Keep Cool with Coolidge. This great nation will endure as it has endured, will prosper and will prosper — the only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

Equal rights for all, special privileges for none. If you **PEOPLE BE GOVERNORS, WHO SHALL BE GOVERNED?** The spirit of Jefferson lives in America — the spirit of freedom. We must fight forces of prejudice and greed. It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of the great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Ask not what your country can do for you, but rather what you can do for your country. Our responsibility is to be fixed by the U. S. man's hope for peace.

Give me liberty, or give me death! There is no definite assurance that the three-party team of the American system of government will pull together. Great men of history have a common denominator of service to the country despite party allegiances. Let us, then, with courage and confidence pursue our own federal and republican principles, our attachment to union and representative government. Today, the public scrutinizes every move of government officials. The honorability of Thomas Jefferson does not lie in any one of his achievements, but in his attitude toward mankind. The Democratic party must work for the people. VOTERS SHOW THAT PEACE IS HARDER TO WORK FOR THAN WAR. Tactics are for explaining issues, stimulating interest in elections, and inspiring the breed of candidates in office. The republican is the only form of government which is not externally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind. People can no longer be completely fooled. We take politics less seriously, government more seriously. There is nothing I dread so much as the division of the Republic into two great parties, each under its leader — This is to be feared as the greatest political evil under the Constitution.

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The Participant is mailed without charge to friends of Pitzer College in the United States and abroad. The magazine is planned around themes of current and broad interest, and features articles by the Pitzer College faculty, staff, and alumni, with occasional contributions by outside writers.

The magazine also brings to its readers accounts of the faculty's research, writing and other professional involvement in their respective fields.

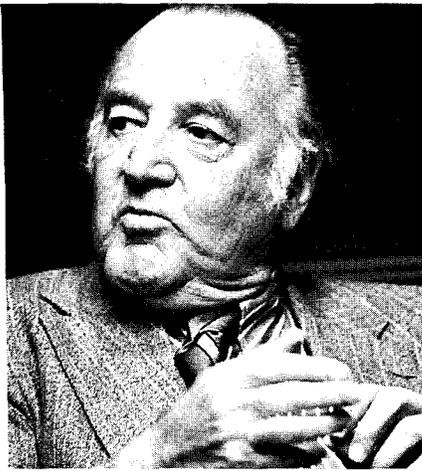
Contributions to further this area of the College's effort toward visibility and communication are appreciated and may be sent to *President's Office, Pitzer College, 1050 No. Mills Ave., Claremont, California 91711.*

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Edmund G. "Pat" Brown



Kristin L. Olsen

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

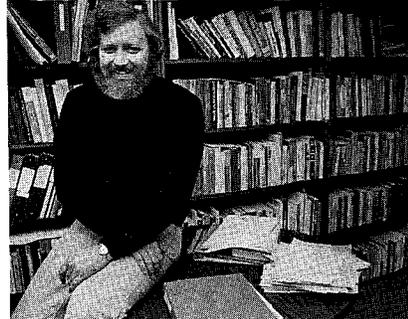
... Edmund G. "Pat" Brown began his governorship of California in 1959. Ten years later *Newsweek* magazine hailed him as "The Man Who Beat Nixon". By the time he had chalked up his second term as governor, he had developed education and conservation programs that were widely hailed as models for other states. He is an active proponent of legal reform, and was Chairman of the President's Commission on the Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. From his Beverly Hills law office, he handles a wide range of corporate and criminal cases, and is currently at work on his autobiographical experiences as a lawyer and as California's attorney general. He became a member of the Pitzer College Board of Trustees this fall.

... Professor John D. Sullivan is Director of the Program in Public Policy Studies of The Claremont Colleges as well as Associate Professor of Political Studies at Pitzer. He has a long-standing interest in international conflict and cooperation, particularly quantitative approaches to these topics. Over the past few years he has developed an interest in the politics of resources management particularly at the regional and international level. He is currently working on computer simulations of decision-making in certain resource areas.

... Professor Carl Hertel is director of the Thompson Ranch Workshop and co-director of the Interdisciplinary Desert Colloquium with Professor Paul Shepard. Hertel will work with aspects of pre-historic and pre-industrial art in deserts of the world and with architectural and shelter forms in arid climates. The Desert Colloquium, funded by the Norman foundation, will take students to Baja California, Arizona and the Mojave deserts for projects in cultural and natural history.

... Kristin L. Olsen describes her life as comparatively settled, "catching up with my sewing, reading and sanity. Since graduating from Pitzer in '72, I've campaigned with Senator Charles Percy as his '72 staff photographer; survived New York City while working for a church mission board; finished an M.S.J. at the Northwestern School of Journalism; traveled again to the Middle East; and married Peter Schwartz, my Hungarian-Rumanian, Israeli friend of five years."

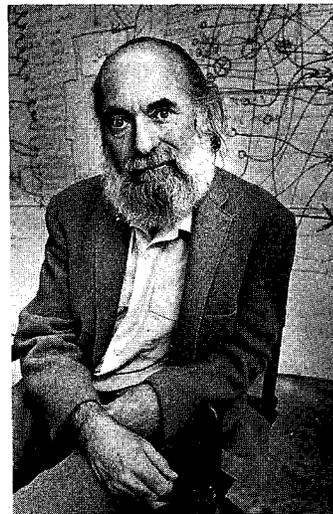
... Professor Jose Cuellar's article is based on his larger study on aging and age stratification in the Los Angeles Chicano community, conducted as a Research Fellow with the "Socio-Cultural Contexts of Aging and Implications for Social Policy" Project at the University of Southern California Andrus Gerontology Center.



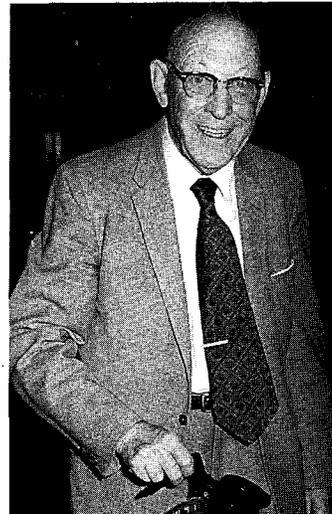
Professor Sullivan

For the past three years, Professor Cuellar's research has centered on problems of urbanism, aging, and death, particularly in the Chicano community. This past fall he co-authored "Attitudes Toward Death and Dying: Contrasts by Age, Sex, Race, and SES." His "La Ultima Patado: The Impact of Age-Grade Voluntary Associations on Older Urban Chicanos" will soon be published as part of an anthology of cross-cultural studies of aging.

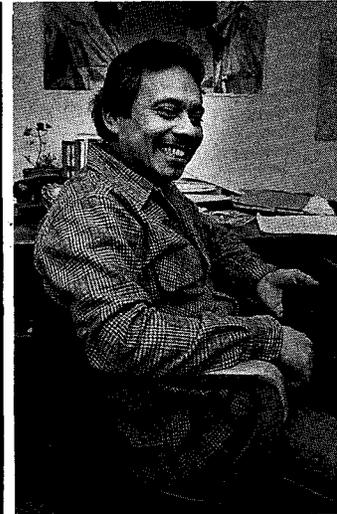
... Robert J. Bernard is founding chairman of the Pitzer College Board of Trustees, and because of his affiliation with The Claremont Colleges since 1917, and his distinguished and dedicated service to them, he is known as "Mr. Claremont." He is currently writing a history of The Claremont Colleges.



Professor Hertel



Robert J. Bernard



Professor Cuellar

from the President

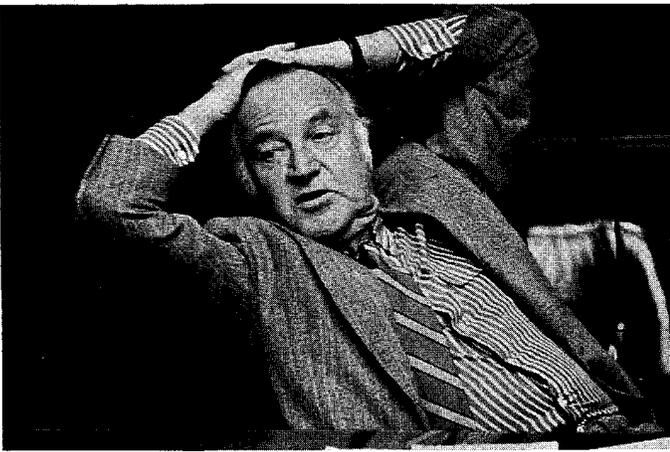
One of the nicest things that has happened at the College this Fall was the Trustee-Faculty Retreat, held from November 7 through 9 at the Inn at Rancho Santa Fe. The retreat was an effort to improve communication between the two groups and was very successful in doing so. Faculty members talked about their roles in the College and trustees did the same. People in both groups came to respect each other as professionals, to understand each other's interest in the College, and perhaps, most importantly, to like each other as people. Administrators are too often looked upon as persons in the middle of the relationship between trustees and faculty members, with the duty of keeping them apart since they tend to view each other with suspicion. Having long struggled against that stereotype, but often being frustrated by not finding ways to promote communication between the groups, it was particularly heartening to me to see some considerable success in the form of the retreat. At the end of the retreat, someone expressed the feelings of almost everyone by saying that trustee-faculty relations at Pitzer will never be the same again.

That leads me to wish to compliment our Board of Trustees. I have always known and stated that we have a superb faculty. What became apparent at the retreat, and some of us were aware of this before, is that we do not have a typical board of trustees. We have amaz-

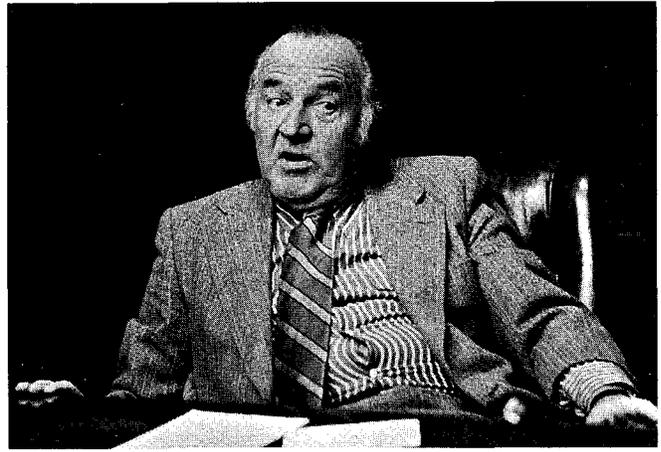
ing and refreshing diversity in terms of age, sex, race, politics, and a variety of other measures of diversity. That diversity revealed itself in very salutary terms during the recent Angela Davis matter. There were many trustees and parents and others who very much hoped that The Claremont Colleges would not hire Ms. Davis to teach a course in the Black Studies Center. While many of those people expressed themselves on this subject, there were other trustees, parents and friends who conveyed a contrary view to me. More importantly, not a single trustee resigned or even talked about such a step with me. This reflects a considerable tolerance for divergent viewpoints and a clear understanding that academic institutions worth their salt will inevitably and frequently be embroiled in controversy. I am pleased to be associated with a college that recognizes and permits this important role of higher education.

Robert H. Atwell





A governor is really better equipped to be president than certainly a congressman or even a U.S. senator.



You compromise on many things, but in some things you just have to take the lead and fight up and down the state selling your program to the legislature and the people.

LANGER: Your administration was responsible for getting aid to higher education. Do you believe there's now a de-emphasis on college? And are schools like Pitzer going to be able to make it in the future?

BROWN: That's a complex question with many different angles. First, let me say I don't think education will ever be de-emphasized. I think that you have to look at the purpose of life both on a short term and a long term basis. At my age, I can look back and see that the value of going to college is not essentially economic. I think you have to contemplate earning a living and supporting a family and things like that, but going to college and receiving a university education makes your whole life more complete. I can say that because I didn't go to college at all. I went directly from high school into night law school. I've had to supplement my legal education by extension courses and reading, but I have always felt the lack of a college education.

You're very anxious when you're young and ambitious to get going. That's why I didn't go to college. I wanted to get it over with. During my last two years of law school, I worked for a blind lawyer. He said, "Please don't go into politics. You'll make a good lawyer, and law is a great profession." And to show you how I took his advice, I passed the bar examinations in October of 1927.

The first election was in November of the following year, and I immediately ran for the State Assembly.

College is never going to be diminished. I think it's going to increase. I think that governors and the Federal government too must make it possible for private schools to exist. It would be tragic if you had all public education. The diversity and greatness of our country is due to the fact that we have private schools like Pitzer, Occidental, USC, and Loyola and Immaculate Heart. I believe the states could save money by a voucher system that would be an indirect subsidy to private colleges.

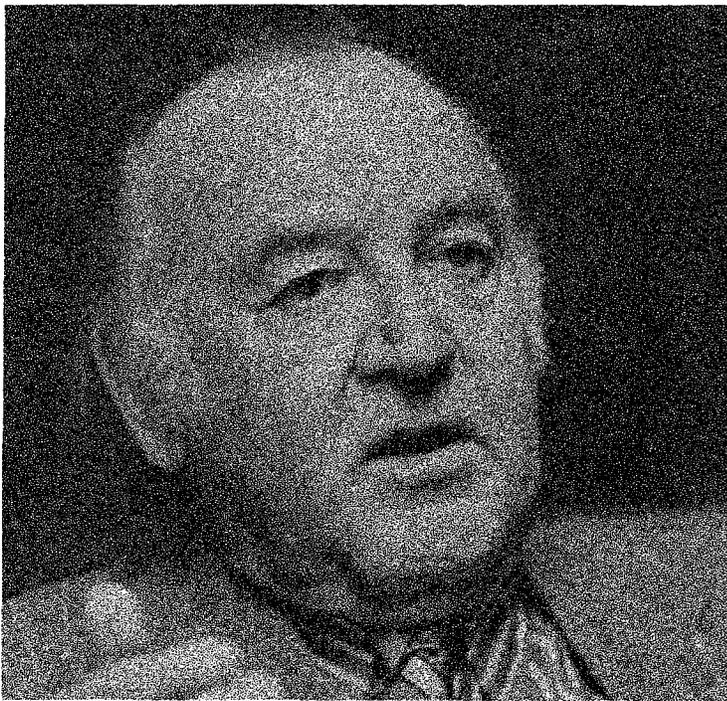
BARRETT: What are the limitations of a university or state education?

BROWN: Well, I don't think there are any limitations. The University of California, with Santa Cruz, San Diego, the School of Oceanography, the School of Forestry and Agriculture — the University of California is a great place. I used to sit on the Board of Regents meetings and listen to the reports of President Clark Kerr, and the diversity of accomplishment of the University of California is simply fantastic. But there certainly are places for a private school of 750 students, where there is an intimacy between the faculty and students that you lack at a big state University.

"Pat" Brown

LOWRY: Clark Kerr is noted for a bigger view of the role of a college presidency. He doesn't see the president as being able to introduce any kind of radical changes. He was forced to be a mediator, not necessarily being able to choose the best possible course to take, but the course with the least possible number of adverse consequences. Do you have any comment on that? Were you as a politician forced to take similar kinds of actions?

BROWN: Well, president of a big university like the University of California is a tough job. You have the faculty on one side, the students on another, you have the Board of Regents on another; you have the legislature and you have the governor; and then you have the parents, who are probably the least of these many-faceted pressure groups that exist in a state university. The president has to be a lobbyist for the university. He has to lobby for the governor and the legislature. He has to be spokesman for the faculty and to sense the feelings of the generation of students that are at the university during his incumben-



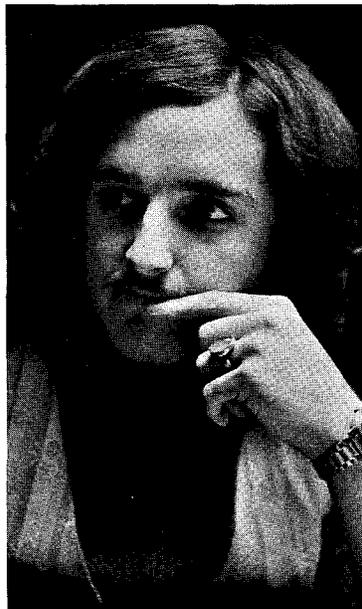
The liberal, the civil libertarian that will fight like hell to prevent the police power of the state from depriving you of your right of liberty without just compensation, will, with a wave of the hand toss away your property rights.

Shares Some Views

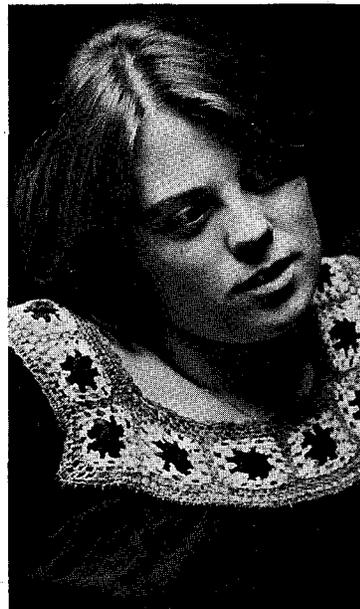
The following discussion between Edmund G. "Pat" Brown and four Pitzer students took place in the Beverly Hills office of the former governor of California.



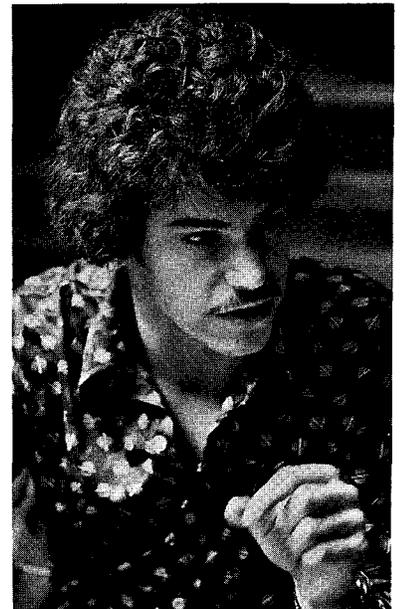
Betse Youd



Houston Lowry



Dolores Barrett



Guy Langer

cy. He does have to find compromises amongst all of the groups in a state university. Whereas a president of Pitzer can be much more of a leader. He's closer to the smaller faculty and he's closer to the students. Although he too will have to compromise. If he gets too individualistic he won't last long.

Either he'll make the donors or the trustees or the faculty angry and he won't be able to do the job. But life is a compromise anyway.

LOWRY: Would you see your political role as Clark Kerr viewed his academic role? In other words as mediator instead of an initiator?

BROWN: Well, I'd been Attorney General of California for eight years, and I had been the lawyer for two Republican governors, Warren and Knight. I had to work with a Republican legislature. I had to have a program when I ran against the Republican nominee, Senator William Knowland. I was

the first Democratic governor in 16 years after the election in 1958. So I viewed myself as a leader, as a person who had to initiate a program to get things done in the state. The number of children entering the elementary schools in 1959 were 200,000 more than the year before, 1958. I knew that we had to expand the state colleges and the universities in the public arena, and do something for the private schools. So we increased the state scholarship program. I could see the growth of the state, so I fought like hell for the California Water Project. If I had been wishy-washy about it and had not enunciated a program of my own, and led the fight, there never would have been a California water program. There was the need for the minorities of California to have leadership in Sacramento so we fought for the Fair Employment Practices Act. I'm trying to point out that the role of leadership in government is of extreme importance. You'll compromise on many things, but in some areas you just have to take the lead and fight up and down the state — selling your program to the legislature and to the people.

YOUD: In view of how active you were as governor, do you see the role of governor changing? Is there a different kind of person entering office?

BROWN: The philosophy of life has changed substantially since I took my oath of office in 1959. I had to think primarily of growth factors and facilities to avoid overcrowding in every phase of life in California. I also had to think of environment. There had been no work done on the causes of smog. What air standards should we set up? People were migrating into

California at the rate of 250,000 a year. We didn't have the abortion law. We didn't have the pill. As a result, we had a whole lot more babies born than we have today. I had to emphasize preparation for literally millions more people.

But today the emphasis is on planning, upon the quality of life. You could never have gotten through a Coastal Commission in 1960. An anti-nuclear initiative would have been laughed at in those days. Nuclear power was just coming into being. Everyone thought it was the answer to the energy crisis of the '60's. I think the average young man or woman today, whether he's in college or not is thinking of what kind of life he or she is going to have. What is the purpose of life? They don't have the same dream to make money — the saving, putting money in the bank, working hard so that in your old age you can retire. Today you have Social Security and Medicare. You didn't have any of those things then. People are more concerned with air and water pollution — with conserving our beauty, our coast, our mountains, and our forests than they were then. However, I do think they've lost sight of some of the need for jobs — for the economic phases of life in their desire to preserve the quality of life and they have lost some of the other values of existence. I think you can do both. I think some of the environmentalists have become extremists and have just gone too far in trying to return to the so called "good old days".

I heard a young man talk and he stated that we all should ride bicycles to and from work. Well, that might be a good idea, more healthful if we happened to work close to our homes. But people are

not going to abandon their automobiles. It's just ridiculous. He's doing it and he's enjoying it. But to try to get all the 21,000,000 people in California to change their way of life borders on insanity.

LANGER: You mentioned something about environmentalists going too far, not weighing the economic repercussions of some of their programs. You seem to be obliquely referring to the Coastline Commission.

BROWN: Yes, I was.

LANGER: My question is now that we have a Coastline Commission regulating what people can do with their private property, do people have the right to do what they want with their piece of property?

BROWN: Well, for a long time all property in this city has been subject to regulation as to its use. We've had county planning commissions, city planning commissions, and boards of supervisors to whom you go for review of use of your property. And we've had residential, industrial and commercial business areas long before the Coastal Commission ever came into existence. So when you talk about being able to use your property in any way you want, you haven't been able to do that for at least fifty years.

The Coastal Commission is a good thing. It came at the right time. If we hadn't had it, we would have seen high rise apartments all over the state of California and along the coast. This would have deprived you and me of right of access and right of viewing the beauty of our coast, both of which are very important.

We've got 1100 miles of coastline. Half of it is already owned by the state of California or the Federal government, or the county. On a state-wide basis they should plan for the next fifty years in the use of coastline property. Most of it must be set aside for recreation and scenic easements.

If the property is zoned residential, and the state comes in and says we're going to take that right away and use your property for the benefit of all the citizens, I think that the total citizenry should pay for that dedication to public use — not just one individual. If you take property away from an owner, under the Constitution, he's entitled to just compensation. I'm willing to pay my share of taxes for it. Under the Constitution, there is a provision that states that no person shall be deprived of his life, liberty or property without due process of law. It's Amendment V of the Bill of Rights. I feel very strongly about those mandated constitutional rights. The liberal and the civil libertarian both will fight like hell to prevent the misuse of police power of the state when they seek to deprive you of your right of liberty without due process but they will take your property with a wave of the hand and toss away any semblance of property rights. If you talk this way they think you are an economic royalist. They are so intolerant.

LOWRY: What do you think of the accomplishments of Robert Moses of New York?

BROWN: I've read a little. I believe there's a book about him. Someone is responsible for some very beautiful roadways and freeways. I was in upper New York and drove through some of

his "thru-ways". It was a real pleasure. He also built the tunnels and the bridges, and everything else, but I'm not really familiar with what Moses has or has not done. I think that book was very critical of him, wasn't it?

LOWRY: Yes it was. He was apparently a master . . .

BROWN: He was a czar. Sometimes you need czars, if they are good czars. But the trouble is, who measures a good czar? But it takes people like Moses to get things done, too, because if you let all of the diverse forces stop everything* suggested you would never get anything done. Here in Los Angeles you must have better mass transportation. I really don't think costs are out of reach. We've nearly reached the end of the road as far as freeways are concerned. I'm glad to have them, but we can't build too many more.

I played a big part in rapid transit in San Francisco. I'm proud of what I did; if this is conceit, make the most of it. The Bay Area Rapid Transit would never have been built if I hadn't fought for it. I took \$150,000,000 away from the bridge tolls to build that tunnel under the bay. When I say I did, I mean I used the power of the governor to build that tunnel under San Francisco Bay. They have had an awful time getting those trains to work. They have them on a computer and the computers have not worked. The finances were good, the politics were good, but the engineering in some instances has been bad. But nevertheless over all it was a plus; if you live over in Contra Costa county, you can leave your car at home and come in without an automobile. It is cheaper, more efficient and diminishes air pollution.

BARRETT: Do you believe it's the role of the state government to get into Los Angeles county?

BROWN: I think everybody ought to help. This business of looking at the city of Los Angeles alone or any city trying to solve the problems of people with a political entity created 100 years ago is a mistake. You've got to look at it in terms of human beings and people and not political entities. California adopted its Constitution in 1879. New York is a tragedy. I look at human beings. Maybe the politicians in New York were wrong. Maybe the politicians did bad things in the way they financed the city of New York, but whatever happened, there are human beings living there — eight or nine million people. You cut down on the police force, you take away the firemen, you cut back on welfare, you take away the free colleges, the free hospitals — maybe in all these things New York has been profligate. Let's reform it, let's re-view it. But the city can't do it all by itself. They're going to put a 2 cent sales tax. Well, who pays it? The poor guy pays that, and I think we all ought to share the problem. There's more crime, the taxes have gone up, and business moves out because they can go to Fairview, to Connecticut where they don't have these things. And the only people that are left are the people that are dependent upon the government. It's a vicious circle. And when President Ford made that speech about not helping New York, it was the worst political diatribe I've ever heard.

BARRETT: What do you think the repercussions of that kind of action are for the rest of the nation in the terms of the Federal government protecting or not protecting a city?

BROWN: Well, I think that some of the cities have been very prudent in their operations. New York has used its bond money to pay for current expenditures. That has to be rectified. There must be conditions attached to it — New York reducing its budget and paying it out over a long period of time, and the bond holders who have made that investment, taking lesser interest and extending their loan. The Federal government can do that. And I think they should do it. I think we can set up a criteria, where the Federal government will help.

LOWRY: Would you care to comment on the diversity between national and state governments? It seems like there are no more governors becoming presidents. We haven't had one since before FDR, and it's getting more and more difficult to interchange figures from state and national government. I was wondering if you as a former state governor would see that as desirable, or less desirable.

BROWN: I think the reason for it is primarily that governors have been tied down by the demands of their own state. They've not been able to leave it to campaign nationally. The United States Senator is away from home anyway; he can move out into the national field. Kennedy had lots of money and he had an airplane in which he could travel. He had a big family which helped him to campaign. Lyndon Johnson, of course became president when Kennedy was shot. Nixon had been a private lawyer, Vice President. There was national attention directed at him. There's no governor that gets national publicity, except my son and the governor of New York.

I think a governor is really better equipped to be president than

a Congressman or even a United States Senator. But I don't care where they come from as long as they have a political sense of what has to be done, both nationally and internationally.

U. S. Senators like Mansfield or Albert or Fulbright or Proxmire are in the papers every day. They get more publicity. When I was elected by 1,000,000 over Knowland in 1958, I immediately became a subject of speculation as to whether I would be a candidate for the Presidency. But to run for the presidency one year after you're elected governor is almost impossible. You just can't do it. You can't leave the important job of being governor. If Jerry, my son, should now start leaving Sacramento and flying around the country making speeches, pretty soon people would start saying, "We didn't elect you to run for president. We elected you, young man, to run the State of California for four years and you're going to sit here and run it." After I'd been re-elected governor and defeated Nixon, I would have been a good candidate, with a national reputation, so I could have run in 1964. But it was a question of circumstances. Kennedy was shot, and Johnson had been president for only a year, and he had promised to carry on the work of Kennedy. It was futile. It would have been ridiculous.

You know, that Nixon was disgraceful. I was frightened of what he would do. A funny thing, I thought he was nuts. When I was running against him, when we got through the debate, he was acting like a tennis player who had defeated me — like jumping over the net and congratulating me. He came up to me and said, "You did a great job, Pat." I said, "Bull_____."

Pitzer Courses

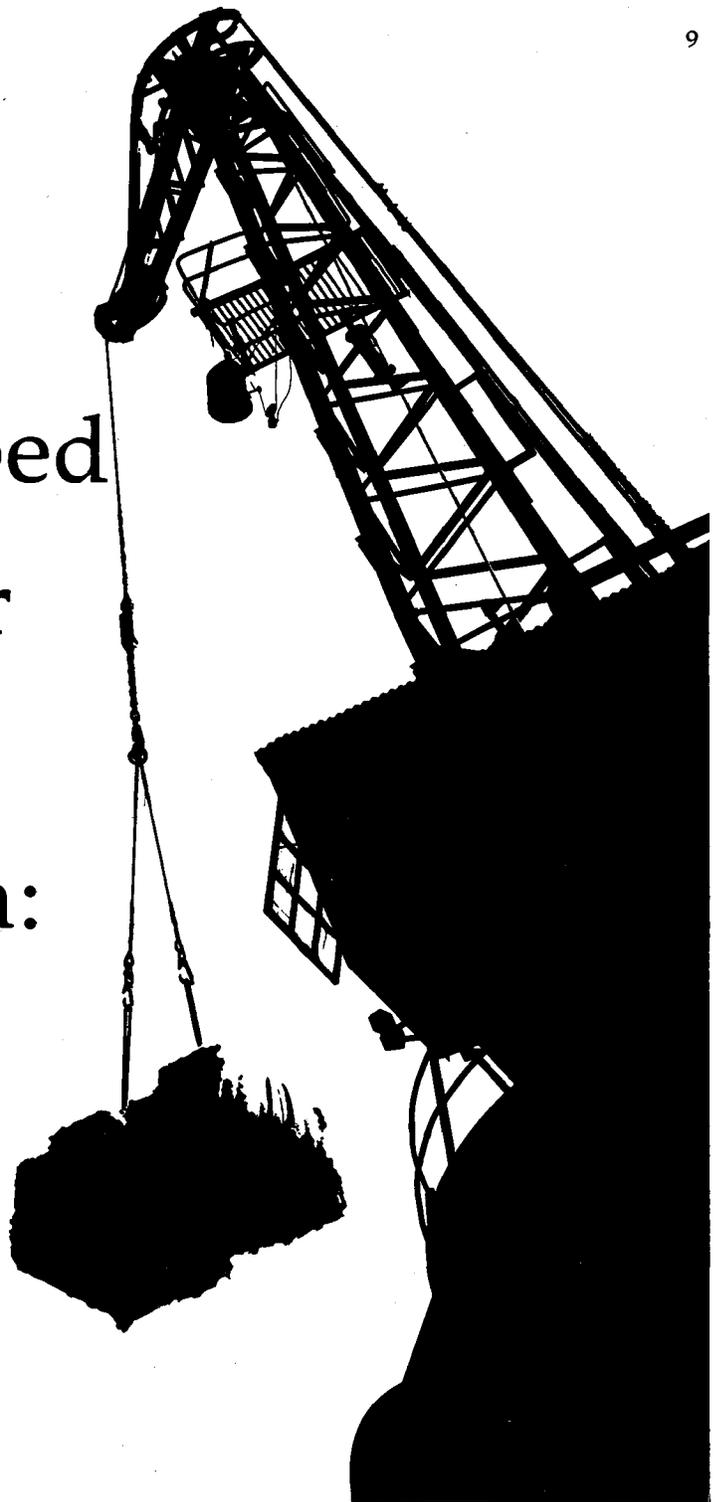
The Comparative Analysis of Political Behavior. The course will explore the empirical literature dealing with individual and collective political behavior developed by Political Scientists and Sociologists in the 20th century. Attention will be directed to such analysts as V. O. Key, Dahl, and Miller and survey research materials from the U.S., Great Britain and Western Europe will be examined. Such concepts as political efficacy, political involvement, ideology, as well as selected concepts from social psychology will be examined in terms of their usefulness in the analysis of political behavior.

Public Policy and the Chicano Community. A course intended to analyze and research the impact of Federal, State and Local Public Policy on Chicano communities. Inter-disciplinary in nature, the course will investigate the process of public policy decision-making and explore models for influence on the process by Chicano communities.

Physiological Homeostasis. A course dealing with the physiology of organisms, chiefly vertebrate animals, and the principles by which organs, organ systems, and animals maintain stable functioning in a changing environment. Prerequisites: Introductory Biology, one semester of college chemistry, and permission of instructor.

Parties, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior. This course will examine the electoral process in America. Attention will be paid to the internal structures of the two parties as they bear on nominations and campaigns. Recent and upcoming elections will be examined in detail with a view toward discerning trends in current American politics. Comparisons will be made to the electoral process in other democratic societies.

Controlling Seabed and Other Resources on Space Ship Earth:



New Issues in Foreign Policy

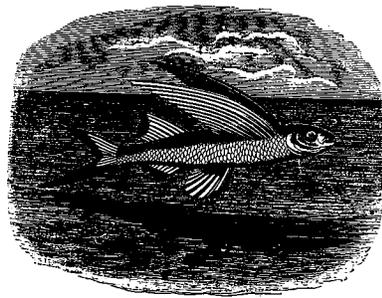
For a long period after the end of World War II, one could analyze any issue in international politics in terms of ideology and the East-West confrontation. The dimensions of many conflicts had to do with the expansionistic tendencies of Soviet Communism and the inherent evils of Western Capitalism. To be sure, many points of conflict between East and West were much more subtle than this and often hinged on very real national security interests —

the status of the Eastern European nations, and Berlin, and missiles in Cuba, to name but three. However, the basic structure of the international system was bi-polar in nature; that is, two superpowers with attendant bloc members — with ideology defining the parameters of conflict and the whole system threatened by nuclear holocaust.

This basic two-superpower system persisted for some years after World War II but then gradually

began to break down. While it is difficult to identify any particular date or event which signaled the beginning of the end of this "cold war" system, some things stand out as significant.

Certainly, De Gaulle's return to power in France in 1958 created tensions in the Western Alliance which threatened, in part, United States leadership in confronting the Soviet Union. China and Albania began to drift away from the Soviet Bloc — signaling what



came to be known as the "Sino-Soviet" split. Finally, in the fifties one began to see the emergence of so-called Third Powers or neutralist, primarily underdeveloped, countries, which signaled the beginnings of a "north-south" confrontation. In more recent times, we have witnessed the withdrawal of the United States from South Vietnam and the development of the "Nixon Doctrine", both of which marked radical changes in U.S. foreign policy. Concomitantly, they were symptomatic of changes in the international system. The United States was no longer willing to play a "Global Policeman" role, while at the same time it identified significant changes in the world power structure and made moves to reinforce some of those changes through the policy of *détente*. In sum, by the late 1960s, it became clear that the international system was in transition and that the issues which had defined interaction among most of the nations during the '50s and '60s were decreasing in importance.

Resources and Interdependence

In the late 1960s, it became increasingly obvious, especially in industrialized countries, that the globe faced the environmental crisis or the problem of "space-ship earth". Briefly put, individuals in pursuit of reasonable goals — goals of improving man's quality of life — were willy-nilly creating what an economist would call "negative externalities" for other people. Increasing attention was focused on air and water pollution, on human congestion of various types, and on the increasing rate of depletion of natural resources such as petroleum and coal. At about the same time, it

became clear that many of these problems ignored traditional *political* boundaries which suggested that existing political institutions might not be capable of resolving conflicts created by these "negative spillover" effects. Many have wondered, in fact, if mankind might not be at the end of its rope, so to speak, or alternatively, if technology would again find some solution to these many problems as it had to others in the past.

The United States was no longer willing to play a "Global Policeman" role.

Whatever the future of the planet earth, it became increasingly clear to many observers that the question of environmental quality, and most particularly the availability of natural resources, was playing an even more important role in international affairs and in the foreign policies of both developed and underdeveloped countries. Put another way, some began to see new issues in world politics, issues involving resources as bases for political power and influence in a way not experienced for some time. Somewhat suddenly, the availability of petroleum, ocean resources, land-based mineral resources, population, and the alleged mal-distribution of global resources came much more to the forefront of nation-state interaction than had been the case in the recent past. In short, many have felt that a new era, a post "cold war" era, may be looming on the horizon and portend significant alterations in the overall distribution of power in the international system we have known since about 1948.

I would like to describe two areas in which such changes seem

to be underway, which will no doubt have a profound effect on U.S. foreign policy in the long run, namely, the current debate on ocean resources and the use of oil as an instrument of foreign policy by the OPEC countries.

Ocean Space and Human Needs

For centuries the oceans have been a multi-use environment for nation-states and have been a source of food resources and an extension of defense capability. Without the capability of transporting men and material over the oceans, much of the world's political map and many past and present international political conflicts would not have come into being. It would appear that growing population levels in all countries, coupled with a decline in land-based resources are creating new pressures on ocean space. The pressures indicate that new political cleavages in the international system are taking place. Briefly put, the issues involve distribution of the ocean's resources — both biological and mineral — as well as the extent of ocean space which any coastal nation may claim and the manner in which conflicts of deep seabed mineral resources will be managed.

The issues have been debated on a number of occasions since the end of World War II, most recently at the Law of the Sea Conference at Caracas in the summer of 1974, and its continuation in Geneva in the spring of this year. The issues at hand in these conferences can be briefly, if somewhat simplistically described. To begin with, the question of the rights and obligations of the coastal states with respect to their "territorial" waters has been a point of continuing debate. It

appears, going into the Caracas Conference, that the notion of a 200 mile economic zone — a zone within which the coastal state would control marine and mineral resources — would emerge as integral in a new Law of the Sea Treaty. Such has not yet happened and the key impediments may be problems with international straits and claims of land-locked nations. Most observers concur, however, that this will be a part of

lem of over-exploitation of certain fisheries might continue with each individual fishing unit seeking to maximize its catch while, in the long run, reducing the total catch available to the entire fleet.

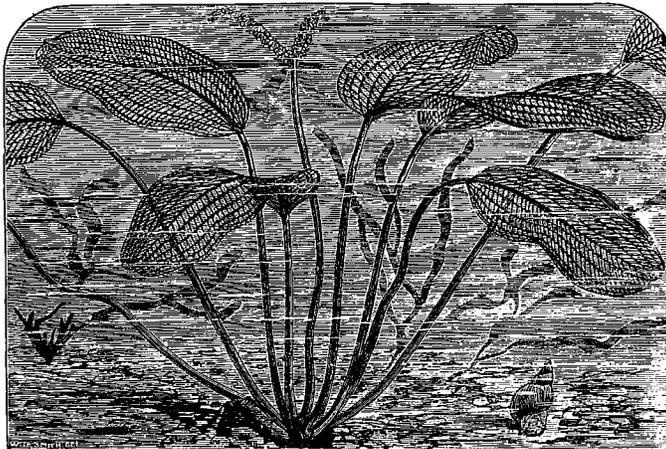
In all of this, it is important to note that new political coalitions appear to be developing and it is no longer possible to look to "cold war" cues to anticipate the action of any particular nation. For instance, it would appear that Japan

At the same time, many observers have noted a clear split between developed and underdeveloped countries on the management of ocean resources. It would appear that the underdeveloped nations are more interested in redistribution of such resources than are the developed nations. And China seems to align itself with the underdeveloped nations on this issue.

Thus a capsule picture that emerges is one in which the continuing debate over ocean resources does not conform to "cold war" lines; in which cleavages exist within the East and the West; and in which the rather long-standing "North-South" confrontation seems somewhat exacerbated. It is important to note, however, that some observers at Caracas detected the beginnings of a cleavage in the underdeveloped groups of countries which might portend even more complex political maneuvering over ocean resources. It began to appear that the non-mineral-producing underdeveloped countries might perceive some advantage to themselves in having an alternative — ocean-based — resource of important minerals, even if those minerals were exploited by private firms from the developed countries. Thus, one might expect these countries to begin to break away from the coalition of underdeveloped countries at least with respect to seabed resources.

Natural Resources as a National Power Base

In the fall of 1973, the Oil Producing and Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed an embargo on Middle East oil that normally would have been sold to the in-



the final treaty should it emerge from the conference.

Another point of discussion has been the question of access to deep seabed mineral resources such as manganese nodules. In general, the conflict is between the developed nations, which tend to favor a principle which would allow exploitation of resources by those with the capital to extract them, and the underdeveloped nations which tend to look to a principle which would redistribute ocean resources in terms of "need" rather than ability to exploit that resource. Fishing and fishing rights have been a particularly troublesome problem which might be resolved somewhat if a 200-mile economic zone were agreed upon. In the absence of such an agreement, the prob-

and the Soviet Union acted together in pre-Caracas negotiations regarding fishing rights because they both are "global" fishermen. That is, their fleets fish many of the major types of fish on the globe and would work against a treaty which would limit such activities. In some respects, the United States has felt forces moving it in that direction and against an extension of territorial waters, in that the U.S. Navy and oceanographic research interests have argued against the 200 mile economic zone. At the same time, commercial and sport fishing interests and certain wildlife and restaurant groups in this country have lobbied for congressional legislation which would unilaterally extend U.S. territorial water to 200 miles.

dustrialized countries — especially Europe, the United States, and Japan. The effects of this embargo were startling. Within the United States, the individual automobile owner was affected in terms of the unavailability of gas to power his car. There were long lines at gas stations and there was much talk of rationing.

Some have argued that there was, in fact, no shortage of oil in this country, but rather, it was not being used for gasoline but for other petroleum products. Whatever the merits of this argument, for the individual car owner, it was *as if* there were a shortage of gas.

Of more interest here were international implications of the embargo. One economic result, of course, was to allow the OPEC to manipulate the price of oil to its satisfaction. These countries also used this resource to achieve certain political goals, and in particular, goals relating to the Middle East conflict. By raising the specter of an oil pipeline closing, the OPEC countries were able to induce Japan to move from a neutral position toward the Middle East conflict to one of supporting the Arab cause. In one sense a symbolic gesture, to be sure, but one which represented a rift between the U.S. and Japan. One can understand the Japanese reaction to an extent given that 85% of the oil consumed by Japan comes from the Middle East. Loss of that oil would no doubt have caused tremendous political and economic turmoil in Japan.

The OPEC countries also managed to induce many European countries to move from a pro-Israel stand to a more neutral position. Again, European countries depended heavily on Middle East

oil and were reluctant to threaten that source of energy. Thus, politically, the OPEC countries were able to use a natural resource to create stresses in the Atlantic Community and between the United States and Japan. Noticeably absent here was any overtone of "cold war" conflict. Rather, a new "have" group ("have" in the sense of possessing a much needed natural resource) had coalesced and was able to translate a resource it controlled into political power.

The continuing debate over ocean resources does not conform to "cold war" lines.

After the fall of 1973, there was discussion of the staying power of OPEC — many observers felt it could not last long — and speculation about the possible emergence of other natural resource cartels dealing with such resources as copper, bauxite, and cocoa. OPEC has exhibited considerable stability despite obvious tensions and stresses within it and continues today to determine without interference the price of oil. At the same time, other cartels have not emerged and at this point do not seem likely to do so in the near future. One important factor in the formation of OPEC, of course, was the existence of an ongoing conflict with a common enemy — Israel. Other potential resource cartels do not appear to have such common threats.

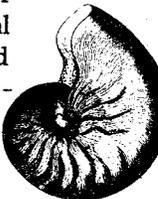
In any event, the very dramatic use of oil as a political weapon can be taken as yet another signal that new issues are emerging in relations among nations and that many of these issues will involve debates over "who gets what natural resources, and how?"

Future International Power System

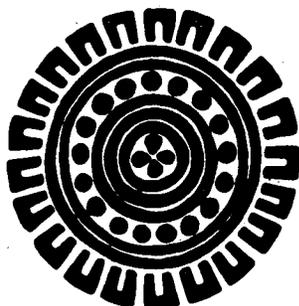
The breakdown of the cold war coalitions and the emergence of new power groups portend the emergence of new distributions of power in the international system. At this point, the exact shape of the future is only dimly perceived. It does appear, however, that we are leaving an era in which many conflicts *reinforced* each other, and moving into a period in which more and more conflicts will prove to be *cross-cutting*. To put it another way, it appears that we can expect nations in the future to have both areas of agreement, (for example, Japan and the U.S.S.R. in agreement against restrictions on international fishing rights) and areas of disagreement, (Japan and the U.S.S.R. disputing fishing rights around the Kuril Islands). Furthermore, I would judge that we can expect to see many of these conflicts to be devoid of ideological conflict.

This is not to say, however, that ideology is no longer of any importance in international affairs or that superpower relations are irrelevant. Recent events in Portugal and most especially in Angola attest to the continuing role that ideology will play in certain conflicts. Furthermore, the United States and the Soviet Union continue to be very important powers — we must, of course, add Communist China to that list — and they will still play important roles in international affairs. We are, however, witnessing a period of changing power and ideological relationships in world politics and observing the transition, I believe, to a new type of system.

John D. Sullivan



My son, . . . Revere and salute thy elders, and never show them any sign of contempt. . . . Honor every one, but especially thy father and mother, to whom thou owest obedience, fear, and service. Take care not to imitate the example of those bad sons, who, like brutes devoid of reason, do not respect those who have given them life; who do not listen to advice, and do not wish to submit to the punishment their elders judge necessary. He who follows the path of these evil-doers will come to a bad end; he will die in despair, thrown into the abyss, born by the claws of wild beasts. Never mock at old men my son, . . . Never pass before elders unless forced by necessity, or unless they order thee to do so. When thou takest thy meal in their company, drink not before they do, and offer them what they need in order to gain their good will. . . . (The Aztecs by L. Biart, 1892).



Chicano Power in Old Age

Introduction

There was a time when the older urban Mexican lived an indulgent and respected life as a powerful member of the family, the *calpulli* (barrio or district), and city-state. The elderly enjoyed a great deal of influence on the political and social systems of the highly stratified and complex ancient Mexican society. Their advice was generally sought regarding all matters. Their judgments and pronouncements on questions of marriage and kinship, custom and ritual, property and justice were followed by most. They controlled and supervised the education of the young at the local schools and the centers of higher learning. The Mexican elderly held the highest, most powerful and prestigious positions in the religious, political, military, and social structures. From among the oldest, wisest, ablest, and most honorable Mexicans, the *tlenamacac* (high priest), or *tecuhitl* (a ruling class person of importance), or the leader of the *pochteca* (trading class) was selected. The *tlenamacac* could have been asked to serve on the

body that elected the emperor. The *tecuhitl* was the governor and representative of the people, the judge, the tax collector, and the military commander. Even a *maceualli*, the common worker undistinguished in war, could expect to join the district's *ueuetque* or council of elders when the time came.

The elderly had special rights and privileges in ancient Mexico. In a society that emphasized the value of "service and reputation," the older Mexican, regardless of social ranking, could be expected to indulge in lengthy discourses whenever deemed appropriate. Among the ascetic Mexicans, only the person over seventy could get drunk and over-eat without committing a moral violation. Indeed, the older Mexicans were always at the forefront of all fiestas and social functions.

But significant historical events can alter the nature of a society and the lives of its people. The first conquest and colonization of Mexicans by Europeans was such an event. The Mexican military was eliminated. The religion, political system, and social organi-

zation of the Spanish colonizer was imposed on the Mexican. Under these conditions, the status and role of the Mexican elderly changed. The loss of power was dramatic. The aged Mexican soldier, or anyone with limited means due to extended public service, no longer received the pension to which he had become accustomed. Because the old men and old women in general were of little concern to the colonizer, they were no longer fed, clothed, and housed at public expense as they had been under the indigenous system. Yet, within the family, the barrio, and the local community, the older Mexican continued to enjoy the respect, trust, and care of others.

Mexicans have experienced two other events of similar magnitude during the nineteenth century. The first was freedom from the colonial rule of Spain in 1821. The second was the conquest of Mexico less than three decades later, the basis for the formal colonization and annexation of the northern half of the Mexican nation and its inhabitants, by the United States in 1848.

In the aftermath of the Mexican American War, the Mexican living in the northern half of the country came under the direct political, economic, social and cultural control of the dominant Euro-

The conquered Mexican in the United States was politically ineffective, economically impoverished, socially discriminated against, and culturally different.

American United States. The descendants of the pre-1848 Mexicans who have lived or are living in the United States are now interchangeably called Mexican Americans or Chicanos.

Since 1848 the Chicano has undergone a number of historical phases in American society. The first, which lasted until the 1920's, was one of post-colonial conflict. This period was characterized by violence, oppression, and repression. The conquered Mexican in the United States was politically ineffective, economically impoverished, socially discriminated against, and culturally different. The second phase, the period prior to World War II, was characterized by less violent resistance, even a stoic acquiescence, to the lower strata of a society experiencing an economic depression.

World War II was a pivotal historical event. Technological and political advances during and after the war contributed to the population explosion, increased urbanization, and the decolonization and nationalization of Third World peoples. During the early post-war period, Mexican Americans with increased frequency evidenced their dissatisfaction with their general second class status. Their concerns were with issues of poor housing, health,

education, and welfare, as well as with racism, socio-cultural discrimination, and adequate political representation.

The impact of the population explosion, urbanization, and nationalism among Third World people was experienced during the last decade by the Chicano. More than half of the Chicano population is now under the age of eighteen. Four out of every five Chicanos live in cities. This historical phase belongs to the Chicano Liberation Movement. This social movement shares certain characteristics with others during this period: its generators are the urban youth; its guiding principle is self-determination; and its focus is primarily on the needs of the young urban population.

Technology, the population explosion, and urbanization, have also contributed to an increase in the number of elderly persons, particularly those living in urban centers. This, as well as the stigma and conditions generally associated with aging in the United States — illness, poverty, and social isolation — have contributed to the definition of "old age" as a social problem during this era of rapid social change.

Little is known about the conditions of aging and the aged among Chicanos. What is the status of those older descendants of Mexicans who in the past have honored, respected, obeyed, and cared for the elderly members of their family and society; what is the role of the Chicano elderly in the modern American state? Until recently one could only speculate on the extent of their influence on the social and political life of the family, community, and state.

This discussion is based on the

recent interfaced findings of a multi-staged area-probability community survey and an in-depth ethnographic investigation. The community survey involved 1264 residents of the Los Angeles metropolitan area. These were selected according to their rank on the Duncan occupational scale, their age (between 45 and 74), and their race — Euro-American, Black American, or Mexican American (n=449). The ethnographic materials were collected among the members of age-grade voluntary associations for senior citizens, and the residents of an age-segregated public housing project in East Los Angeles.

Among the ascetic Mexicans, only the person over seventy could get drunk and over-eat without committing a moral violation.

The Findings

Given the historically-based status of the Chicano, as well as the general status of the elderly in contemporary urban America, it is not surprising that the majority of older Chicanos were found to be in need of better health care, housing, nutrition, transportation, and social services; living on a fixed "poverty-level" income. At almost every level, we find that the older Mexican American faces a kind of "double jeopardy" by virtue of being both "older" and a "Chicano," exemplified by the differences in health and income between the two groups. Whereas fewer than three out of ten Euro-Americans over 45 reported having less than good health, and living on an income of less than \$6,000, the majority of Chicanos interviewed live on such an income, and most did not consider

themselves to be in good health. Indeed, the majority of Chicanos over 45 reported less vigor and worse financial conditions since the last decade. As might be expected, they sometimes felt that things keep getting worse as they grow older.

Given both the objective conditions of the Chicano in later life and the traditional relations between the older Mexican and the family, other findings were more surprising. For example, who might expect that the majority of the older Chicanos interviewed would report that they did not expect financial aid from their families even if they found themselves without enough money; and even further, that they did not expect to live with their children even if they couldn't live alone? Indeed, the majority of them preferred not to live in the same household with their adult children, with most holding the belief that older persons should live apart from, and independent of, their families. Not only that, but it was also surprising to find that the great majority of Chicanos reported that their parents have not been dependent on them for support, or ever lived with them after they had established their own home. This may help explain our finding that only one of every two Chicanos interviewed agreed it was the obligation of adult children to care for their aged parents.

Who then is responsible for the well-being of the aged Chicano? The great majority of Chicanos believe that the responsibility for satisfying the needs—health, housing, and transportation, in particular—of the elderly belongs to the government, particularly the federal government, rather than to the family or individual.

Furthermore, when we consider that older Chicanos are not quite satisfied with the amount of contact they have with relatives other than their children and grandchildren, it becomes clear that our findings contrast sharply with expectations based on the notion that the older Mexican American by tradition can expect to find solace, comfort, and security in the bosom of the extended family.

The extent to which older Chicanos are honored, respected, and obeyed in the family and the wider society may be reflected in the views they hold about the aged, like themselves. For example, the majority agree that old people are not necessarily valuable because of their experience, or necessarily wiser as they get older. And although the majority are not ready to accept that old people are not necessarily useful to themselves or others, most do agree that the old should make room for the young; the old cannot learn as well as the young; older people are apt to complain; and that the old are set in their ways, unable to change, against reform, and want to hang on to the past. Furthermore, a majority also agree that old people are treated like children. Thus we can see the extent to which the stigma of old age has permeated the Chicano experience, and the level of prestige that the Chicano enjoys by virtue of reaching the last stage of life.

If power and prestige are really closely related, then what power do the Chicanos have in later life? The answer may be found in their own perceptions. Despite their high dependence on, and expectations of, the federal government, the majority of older Chicanos felt that people like

themselves had little or no influence on the decisions made by the government.

Given the hostility of past political eras, and the present social conditions, it is not surprising that the majority of older Mexican Americans do not participate more in Euro-American political processes. Although they do not vote, engage in other types of political activities, approve of social protest, or have illusions about their political power, a majority of them do have some type of age and ethnic consciousness. Furthermore, a significant majority did agree on the need for an active political group of senior citizens.

The General Conclusions

Unlike older persons in the highly stratified and complex urban Mexico of the past, older Chicanos in contemporary urban America do not live an indulgent and respected life as influential members of the family, the community, and the state. The needs of the older Chicano are not being met, especially outside of the family. Instead of prestige and respect, the older Chicanos are experiencing the shame that accompanies old age in society. And as far as the political system is concerned, the one that directly affects their lives, older Chicanos only have hopes of some future measure of control.

If by power we mean the ability to influence the nature of one's life, as well as the lives of significant others; then for the Chicano, there is no power in this society, not even in old age.

José B. Cuellar



Pages From a Journal . . .

Heaven and Earth are the foundations of all that exists. The Summer Solstice reminds us that the character of success is determined by the effect of mutual attraction. Attraction between affinities is a law encompassing the entirety of nature. A wise man through humility influences the hearts of men. In like manner all can attain peace.

Taoist Book of Days for June 22-27, 1975

. . . . The trip across the ridge road provided a glimpse of red tails flying low over the ridge and a view of the canyons stretching endlessly down Cattle toward the East Fork. The ranch was up one of those myriad steep canyons filled with mist. . . . We greeted each other in front of the main house beside Coldwater. It was a quiet, expectant, immediately affectionate kind of experience. We all seemed to realize that this quiet place and this time was – somehow – correct. We accepted being together simply, honestly and without reservation. We also accepted the feeling that we were guests of “the place”. As a sign of our guesthood rattlesnakes waited out of sight discreetly. Rainbows remained in

dark recesses of Coldwater’s pools, invisible. Rocks and trees stood their ground, silently. Only the deer flies feasting on new blood seemed to really notice our arrival. . . . The image from the ridge seemed far away in both time and space. We had decided collectively to enter the labyrinthine canyon world under the mist; elected to come off the ridge with its tree sentinels and give over time and ourselves to the complexities of what the mist concealed from mere traveler’s eyes. We silently agreed to see what we could about natural spaces and natural energies in relationship to our affinities for beauty, living beautifully, and making beautiful things. . . . We were also to discover something about the origins of human yearnings for a more primary state of being than that afforded by the various lifestyles we followed in the valley beyond the ridge. . . .

(The Taoist Book of Days is a calendrical arrangement of the I Ching or Book of Changes which is a Chinese oracle dating from the first millennium B.C.)

The Well means union. For any successful organization of Mankind there must be a principle that is recognized as the very foundation of life. This brings people together. A superficial ordering of life is ineffectual because it does not satisfy the deepest needs of man. Every man can reach into the wellspring of his divine nature and be nourished as to how to behave. Escape from convention satisfies the thirst for beingness.

Taoist Book of Days for June 28-July 3, 1975

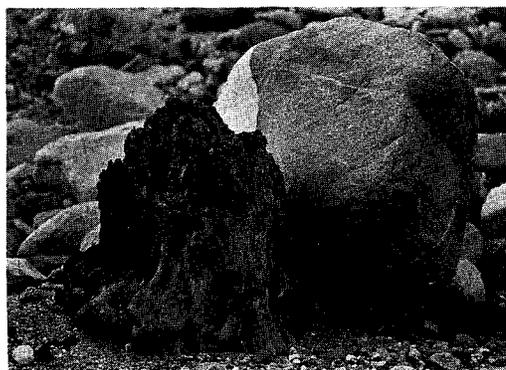
. . . . The Tuesday before the Solstice Carl brought the sculptor Charlie Stivers up the hill. Charlie was the first of six or seven artists, poets, musicians, photographers and philosophers who visited the workshop. We became deer flies to Charlie's new blood. He had us hauling huge rocks to a place in the meadow where he worked his subtle magic with native materials, setting stone beside stone, making "a place". It was a place with magic we felt all around us. It was there by the hand of man, but without affectation. You wouldn't notice Charlie's place unless someone took you there. Yet it is in plain view. . . . The night of the Solstice moon we all sat out there singing. Then quiet, agreeing silently again that there wasn't another place in the world we would rather have been at that moment. We were moonstruck. Solstice-struck, rock-struck. Charlie had led us close to the way natural forces make places. We had begun to participate in the rhythms of the place, our guesthood seemed about to end and the residency to begin. . . .

The foundation of family is the relationship between husband and wife interacting in loyalty together, each taking their proper place in accord with the law of nature. When family is in order all the social relationships of mankind interact harmoniously. The five relationships are: Rectitude, Chaste Conduct, Correctness, Faithfulness to Duty and Loyalty.

Taoist Book of Days for July 4-8, 1975

We were all teachers and students. We had passed by the convention of some are teachers and some are students. We were taught by rocks, waters, trees, sun, the illusive bighorn up Cattle and all manner of things. . . . We began to perceive the sounds of inexorable natural rhythms. Subtle clocks measuring processes, properties, weights, orders and divers verities relating to the energetic harmonies making up the natural "family". We began to feel a sense of belonging, of at-homeness. Discomforts became incidental and visitors began to look at us like they did the jumbled rocks and dead trees unwilling to fall. Those who required conventional, ebullient, greetings were often disappointed. In a short time we had come to appreciate what made mountain people taciturn. For those who could share our communications in silent modalities there was always a place at the table. The urbane, I'm afraid, had a rather rough time of it. . . . The quiet, beautiful place had its harshness, its tests of endurance, of patience and tolerance. We realized you had to be loyal to love it. . . .

Carl Hertel



The Thompson Ranch Summer Workshop on the Arts and Natural Energy was conducted during June and July, 1975 in the bighorn wilderness area of the San Gabriel Mountains. The project brought together students and faculty in experiments with natural energy systems applied to the making of art.

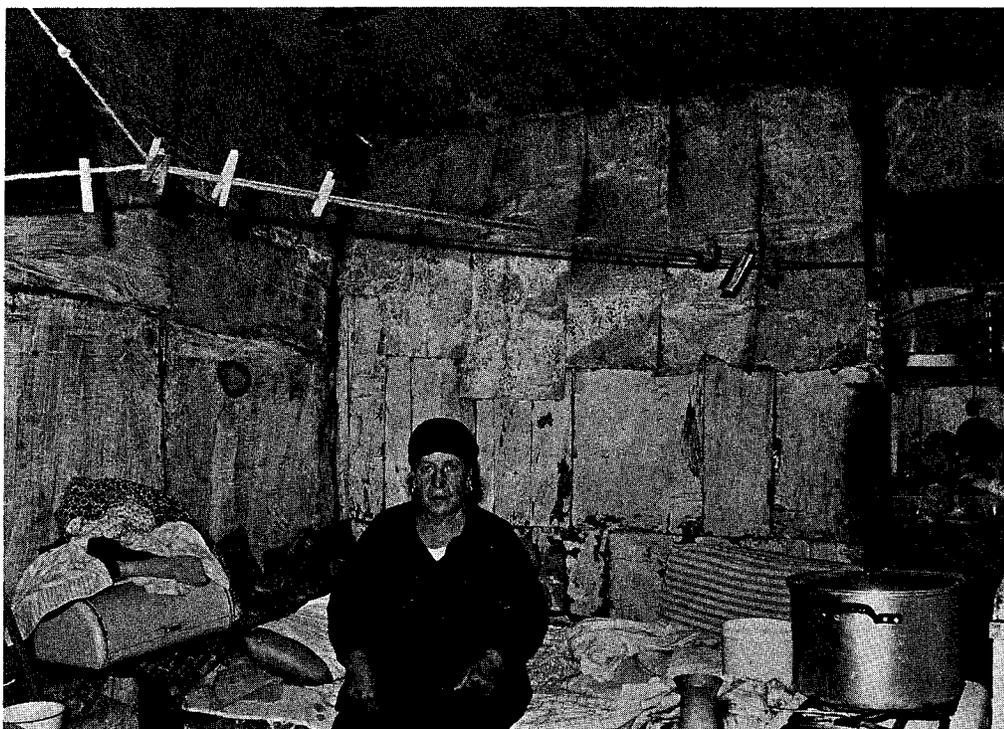
Middle East: Two Realities on a

A small pensive face gazes down from my living room wall, a photographic memory and a symbol of my return to the Middle East last year. The trip was a journey through dreams and realities on a collision course — the pioneering Israeli Zionism and Jewish State . . . the Palestinian exile and proposal of a democratic secular state of Palestine — and a taking to heart of the children of this land.

Bombarded with facts, ideas, and arguments by intellectuals and spokesmen and absorbing the raw emotions of people caught in the injustices and violence of the conflict, I pursued an understanding of the people and politics there and felt swallowed up by history-in-the-making.

I had lived among Israeli kibbutzniks and interviewed new immigrants to the country in 1970 and continued my immigrant research there in 1974, but I also traveled to Lebanon and Jordan to visit church-related projects near refugee camps and interviewed PLO spokesmen — my first close look at the Palestinian side of the story.

Each side believes and pursues two *completely* different views of the present reality and future disposition of the Middle East Crisis. This collision of ideals bends historical and political arguments to fit both sides (argued again and again) but also draws Arabs and Jews into wars and acts of violence



Cameras are forbidden in refugee camps and I was lucky even to enter two of them. This is an Armenian Arab woman in an Armenian slum camp that was even worse than the Palestinian camps. She says that she can't sleep some nights because she has to watch to beat off rats from her bed. Beirut is bursting with illegal immigrants and refugees packed into camps such as those I toured. Denied work permits, they live by scrounging, charity, or working as maids or housemen (if they are lucky).

that kill targets and bystanders alike.

At the core of the Arab-Israeli wars is the Palestinian-Zionist dispute over the land of Palestine. Both claim historical right to the land. In conversations and interviews, the Palestinians stressed an illegal and violent take-over of their land as the country was

flooded with Jewish settlers and refugees; the creation of refugee camps after the '48 war; and a western disregard of the Palestinians as a people. They see Israel as the progeny of Zionism, a colonial movement that pushed them out of their homes, comparing the British White Man's Burden in civilizing Africa to the Zionist

Collision Course

The collision of ideals bends historical and political arguments to fit both sides . . . but also draws Arabs and Jews into acts of violence.

Jewish Man's Burden in creating a Jewish State and making the desert bloom.

'A Land Without People for a People Without Land' was a Zionist slogan at the turn of the century, said Sirriyeh Antonius, daughter of an Arab historian. "But Palestine *did* have people. We were not all nomadic Bedouins. We had towns with over 60,000 population." She tossed her long hair off her shoulder and took another long breath of smoke from an American cigarette. "It's that we were not a 'civilized' people so we just didn't count." I looked around her apartment filled with books and a fabulous collection of oriental art objects.

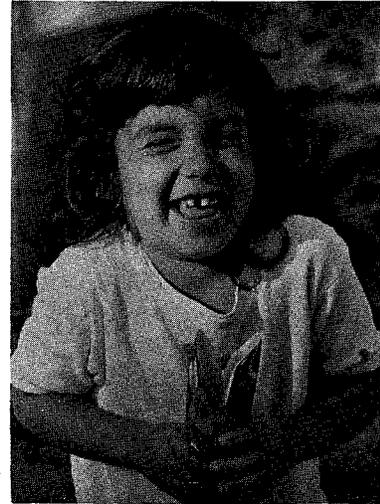
"And for 26 years, the 'civilized' world let us rot in refugee camps!" she added, bitter frustration showing through her British cool for a moment.

Israel is the stepchild of the whole western tradition of exporting its problems, explained Nabil Sha'ath, deputy chief of the special PLO delegation to the U.N. last year, after a speech at the American University of Beirut.

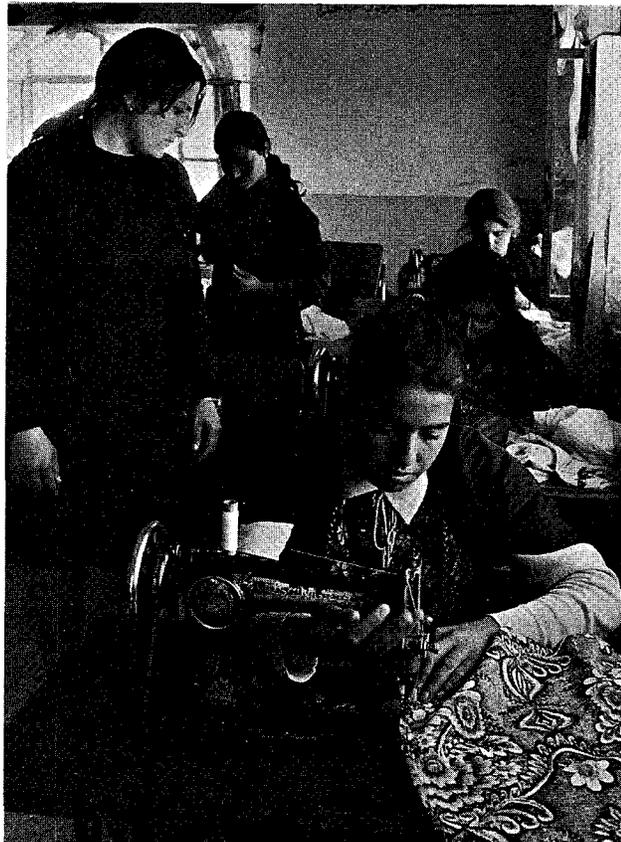
"The West first created the 'Jewish Problem' . . . then created a 'glorified ghetto' for the Jews in the East — in Palestine . . . instead of solving the problems of *why* the Jews were persecuted (and) fighting against this discrimination in Europe." Sha'ath, an Economics professor had just

returned triumphantly from the U.N. and delivered a humorous version of the Arafat's appearance at the U.N., but over his shoulder I could see two (unarmed) commandos check his car for bombs before letting us approach, a reminder of the tenuous security of most Palestinians.

"The PLO proposal of a democratic secular state is supposed to signal Palestinian willingness to share in the solution of the Jewish



Yiali, a kibbutznik girl.



Young Arab women learn sewing, cooking and other homemaking skills at a school sponsored by their local society of women. This society in Dura, a large town south of Hebron in the occupied West Bank, is unusual in that it is a women's committee. Normally only the men would participate in such societies but Dura has a girls' high school so the women are more educated and more active in community life.

Question." Sha'ath continued, his English rolling off his tongue but in staccato phrases. "Even in Palestine — but as co-equal people, where Jews live without privileges . . . but without discrimination, exactly as Arab Christians and Moslems."

In contrast, Jews cited the Bible and the Exile as historical proof of their rights; retold the horrors of the Holocaust; pre '48 Arab attacks; stories of the struggle to settle the land; and pointed out the current development and good use of an otherwise near wasteland. Sabras (native born Israelis) have a simpler argument.

"This is where I was born. This is my home. I fight because I don't want to be thrown from my home. Where else do I have to go?"

Most Israelis, native-born and immigrant, I spoke with do not trust the Palestinian proposal of a democratic secular state. Some feel that it is just another way of "sweeping the Jews into the sea."

"The Palestinians can present a very reasonable-sounding case . . . as though why can't the lion and the lamb lie down together?" American Israeli, Miriam Burnhart told me. "If you know history, you know that it is not going to happen — it *can't* happen — (you know) that the Jews have been kicked too many times and that this thing they (Palestinians) talk about is an impossibility." A life-long Zionist, Miriam's face flushed with anger. "I don't believe they believe it."

Miriam is one of the more political and committed American settlers I interviewed. People who left the physical comfort of America for the spiritual fulfillment of "returning to Zion" and reclaiming the Jewish homeland after 2,000 years of exile.

The Burnharts are members of a struggling moshav (co-operative village) near Jerusalem. We were sitting in a cluttered living room in the fading light of day because their house had no electricity yet.

"There are adjustments to be made," she said with a small smile, waving at the American-style appliances stashed in half-unpacked crates. "It only took the government four years to build our new houses so perhaps we'll get power in a year or so. But you get used to the way things work in Israel." Her son plopped down on the couch, looked wistfully at the silenced stereo and turned on his transistor radio instead. "In the meantime, we eat and study by lamplight (sounds romantic, doesn't it) and the kids take showers up in the old part of the *meshic* (settlement)." The moshav took over the site of an abandoned kibbutz, and the renovated buildings have electricity.

Most Israelis I spoke with do not trust the Palestinian proposal of a democratic secular state. Some feel it is just another way of "sweeping the Jews into the sea".

We paused to enjoy the sunset reflecting pink on the Judean hills then carefully picked our way along a path through construction debris and thorny brush back to the main road.

"We've had our share of problems — business failures and a high attrition rate in the community . . . and a war. And it's not easy pulling up roots at age forty plus. But I am glad we stuck it out for Israel's sake and for the sake of our children. It is easier for them to be Jewish here."

Not so much the sabras but mostly the immigrant Israelis em-



A Palestinian girl born in Jordan, her mother fled northern Israel in '48 as a child and grew up in a refugee camp in southern Lebanon. Her grandfather left his family and children in the camp to spend years working in oil fields in the Arabian Peninsula and is now a construction entrepreneur in Amman.

phasized over and over — there must be an enclave: one last refuge for Jews when the world has turned its back. A place where they are not a minority.

"For the first time, I am a majority!" one young American student said in amazement. "On Yom Kippur, the holiest Jewish day, there were no cars on the streets of Beer Sheva. Not one!" Zvi grabbed the top of his head, almost knocking off his *yamuka*. "Everyone was walking to temple or observing at home with their families. If this was back in Cleveland, the streets would be full of people and cars going about business as usual. I feel here I am among my own people."

Israel is not only a refuge for oppressed Jews but the fulfillment of the temple cry in diaspora, 'Next Year in Jerusalem.'

Intellectually, I could see myself being propagandized with each

arranged interview or spontaneous encounter, each side rebutting the other through me. But emotionally, it was hard to completely detach myself from experiences such as talking to residents of Nabatiyeh, a large town in southern Lebanon, the night and day after an Israeli shelling; or an evening's conversation with a prominent Israeli newsman, steeped in a depressing fatalism about the march of politics and the inevitability of Israel fighting for the Jewish State to the last man, woman and child in *ha'erezt*, or brief tours of well-guarded refugee camps where I looked into the faces of Palestinians . . . young men's faces frozen with bitterness and frustration and children with a direct and piercing gaze, the innocent sparkle of childhood suppressed or gone forever.

I returned to the States in a kind of personal shock, fighting a deep depression about the future of humanhood in my lifetime.

Now, after one year's distance from these experiences, the personal shock has worn off and I am left with a deep abhorrence for all the violence, both physical and psychological, I saw and still see carried out in a sickening spiral. And the clashing political realities are merging into one human story — the people caught in the political maneuvering and violence on both sides.

"We are not a great power that pushes a button and bombs people." Sirriyeh Antonius told me. "A man, our young men, takes a gun and shoots it at somebody. It is a very direct, human violence and we Palestinians are worried about its effect on these future generations of our citizens.

"We want a healthy nation.

And after all, we have used violence only six years . . . the length of a world war. There will be people who have done things . . . commandos . . . and they seem quite healthy in themselves. But if it goes on for 15 . . . 20 years . . . who knows what kind of people we will be . . . what kind of nation."

Whatever the effect on the Palestinians, the shock effect of this personal violence of Munich . . . Ma'alot . . . Beit Shean . . . Kiryat Shmona . . . has only hardened Israeli resolve. The picture of angry, grief-stricken Israelis attacking and burning the body of a Palestinian commando at Beit Shean is engraved in my mind. The government continues its no-negotiation policy with terrorists and the Palestinians call this resolve a 'Masada Complex' (after the 79 A.D. mass suicide) and wonder whether the Israelis are fanatical enough to kill every last citizen before surrendering the land.

Israel retaliates with institutionalized violence. The army bombs and shells. The army occupies land and displaces tribes and farmers. Israeli commando raids into Lebanon are mostly secret operations. Their own aggressions are seen remotely by the Israelis . . . though not by its targets.

"When I hear the news of another bombing of a Palestinian army base I think 'Good, the army got those terrorists.'" Michal, a Sabra kibbutznik friend tells me today. "But if I think deeply, then I think there are women and children killed or hurt, too, and I don't understand why they let the commandos have these bases in the camps where they live."

And the cycle continues. Each

generation of Palestinians grows up with bombs and in a silent acceptance of death and destruction, the children emulate heroes of violence and vengeance.

Each generation of Israelis grows up accepting terrorist attacks, serves in the army two to three years, and returns each year after that for one to three months reserve duty to maintain a conditioned alert.

Bombings follow raids. Children become soldiers.

What is the difference between the deaths of children at Ma'alot, blown up by terrorist grenades, and the deaths of children at the Sidon refugee camp, blown up by an Israeli bomb?

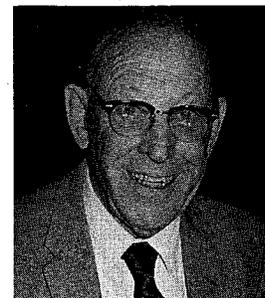
Bombings follow raids. Children become soldiers. Wars erupt.

And though each side sees and suffers from the death and destruction of this incessant warfare . . . sometimes justifying its necessity, sometimes condemning it . . . each side persists and pursues its own reality like an irresistible force meeting an immovable object.

Both sides formulate its own answer to my question: "What is the difference between the death of a child at Ma'alot, blown up by a Palestinian grenade, and the death of a child at the Sidon refugee camp, blown up by an Israeli bomb?"

Kristin L. Olsen

PARTICIPATING



Robert J. Bernard

What shall I say about the mission — the responsibilities and opportunities — of a friend of a college? When independent colleges and universities across the land depend primarily upon private philanthropy, it is not surprising that those institutions that have the most strongly supportive trustees, parents, alumni, and friends are those that are making the greatest strides in their development. This has been proven again and again and has become axiomatic.

After working with the Pomona Board for eight years prior to the establishment of the Group Plan in 1925, and then seeing five new colleges brought into being one after another between 1925 and 1963, and working with them, I can hardly plead ignorance of the process of building friendship and participation, or of the wide variety of people and professions involved in our six institutions. Pomona was founded in the late eighties and established an early tradition of very active and generous commitment. And each succeeding college at Claremont has sensed the same necessity of building unswerving support for the future. But enough of history!

What do I consider the first requisite of a loyal friend of a college? My answer is simple and unequivocal. It is the necessity to take the time to understand fully and if need be to defend what a college is and must be, as distinct from the social, economic, and political institutions and corporations that surround it. This understanding is not always as easy as it would appear, for none of us is immune to prejudice, and there is a kind of instinctive urge with each one of us to want to make over our institutions in our own image.

I am reminded of Artemus Ward who used to be quoted by Lincoln and who said, "It isn't that people are ignorant but that they know so much that isn't true."

So our first obligation is to discover and to enlist those who will support freedom of inquiry, realizing that the paramount necessity and indeed privilege of a college is to engage in the discovery and dissemination of the truth, a process in which students and faculty should collaborate continuously and through which the thrill of learning can become a passion. Thus we find that the duty and the privilege of a college is basically to assist students to develop themselves to the maximum of their ability. Though a college must ever be mindful of the harsh realities of human conflict, of the pitfalls of propaganda, and the dangers of extremism in the world around it, a college campus should be enough of an oasis to encourage and strengthen the habit of fairness and scholarly impartiality in reaching conclusions of far-reaching consequence. I well remember the day that a corporation president whom I had known telephoned me to ask if we had so and so on our faculty. He was referring to the Graduate School faculty. He said he couldn't understand how this man could hold the opinions that he did about the Berlin situation. I replied that we did have such a faculty member and that I would like to say two things, first, that this professor has long been an authority on Central Europe and that I could document his very considerable experience. My inquirer didn't challenge this point. Then I said, secondly, that "you couldn't possibly differ more vigorously with this professor

than some of his own colleagues!" "Well", he said, "that is basically what I wanted to know — that students in your institution are getting more than one point of view."

We all have learned that education is a process and not a destination. With the cooperation of faculty and administration we must work together to maintain a steady ship through present and future economic shoals, and we must consistently gather the ballast of endowed support by outright gifts and by will which will make us much less dependent upon tuition and current hand-to-mouth support. But it does take time to build a fine college into the deeper consciousness and concern of a nucleus of people who have the resources and the will to build. There is great companionship in giving and great happiness as I know from many years of cherished association with benefactors, who enjoyed a sense of destiny in their giving for education — to help man develop his greatest potentials and to defend him against the onslaught of ignorance and deception. A great college cannot only inform each succeeding generation, but it can reveal the meaning of what we know.

To be a college emphasizing the social and behavioral sciences in today's complex society is itself to have a special mission and timeliness, and this alone ought to make it a cause of the highest priority among a growing company of our friends.

We also should make clear what it means to be the youngest in a group of six cooperating colleges, all in the same square mile. The oldest has had at least three generations of alumni, trustees, and parents to draw upon, and en-



Elinor Nathan



Helen Juda

joyed a national reputation before we were founded. We have inherited the benefit of a fine library and other central facilities and services without having to make capital expenditures, but we have our own unique educational emphasis and objectives and must be strong enough to sustain a healthy and stimulating rivalry. The competition here and with other institutions, both public and private, is steadily growing keener, as is the competition for donor support. We know that our six college boards and constituencies have the job of establishing in Claremont in a generation or two, new institutions of the highest quality that older parts of the country have had 100 to 300 years to build and endow. What already has been accomplished is remarkable, and shows that with intelligence and steadfast devotion and effort it can be done. What we ever must emphasize is that such institutions are for the centuries; that they are born of public spirited people; and that already they have contributed enormously to the making of America.

At a White House Conference a few years ago I heard Dr. Sachar, distinguished president of Brandeis University, say that there are all too many signs that this country has been moving from "the courage culture that America was to the creature comfort culture of today." Now we see many people in public and private life who

seem to be acting on the proposition that anything that you can get by with goes. So we all should have a healthy concern that the college that we are undertaking to build in stature and in effectiveness shall fulfill as a prime responsibility the development of both the minds and the morals of its students. They will be much better off, their parents will be grateful, donors will be more willing to give, and the society of the future will be in better hands. How this is accomplished is a matter for the most thoughtful consideration; but an understanding of ethics, of basic integrity and decency, should not be left completely to chance during four of the most formative years of a student's life. It will make a difference in the lives of our graduates. It will make a difference in our appeal as a college and in our image.

Happily we are a small, more personal institution where the individual is paramount, and our future depends upon making the most of it. Osmosis counts, but unaided it will never do the job that today's world requires and for which we who believe in Pitzer College — trustees, alumni, parents, and friends — have a very real responsibility during four critical years for young people under our roof.

Robert J. Bernard



Robert Spencer

LEADERSHIP GIFTS

A number of generous leadership gifts have been received in 1975-76 by Pitzer, further enriching its program and building its financial resources! Some of the major gifts received by early December 1975 and their purposes are listed here as an expression of growing "participation" in Pitzer.

Trustees

(operating funds)

President and Mrs. Robert H. Atwell

Russell K. Pitzer

Carlos M. Teran

Mrs. Joel Newkirk

Harold Melcher — pledge

(restricted funds)

Frederick Salathé

Mr. and Mrs. Felix Juda —

pledge for art program

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Nathan —

gift for campaign

Robert Spencer

. . . Community Notes

. . . The first annual Claremont Summer Alumni College, to be held July 1-5, 1976, will explore ways in which American life (its social structure, cultural forms, and scientific problems) may be altered if economic and population growth become significantly slower in the next few decades. The college is sponsored jointly by Pitzer, Harvey Mudd, Claremont Men's College, Scripps, and Claremont Graduate School. Inquiries and registration may be made through the Center for Continuing Education, 160 Harper Hall.

. . . "Structural Parody and Innovative Power in *Tale of a Tub*" by Professor **Beverle Houston** will appear in Volume 10 of *COS-TERUS* later this year.

. . . Professor **Paul Shepard** was a participant in Sangamon State University's Public Affairs Colloquia, *American Identity: Tensions in the Myths*. He discussed "Nature and Technology in American Life." The four-day session, featured prominent scholars representing a variety of perspectives.

. . . Registrar **Ann Maberry** is listed in the 9th edition of *Who's Who of American Women*, published by Marquis *Who's Who*. Selection for inclusion in this reference work is limited to those who have demonstrated "outstanding achievement in their own field of endeavor and who have, thereby, contributed significantly to the betterment of society."

. . . **Seth Kravitz**, class of 1972, is attending Medical School at San Francisco State University. He was involved in heart disease research at Cedars Sinai Hospital last summer.

. . . **Susan Obrow**, Pitzer senior, made her debut as director of a Four Colleges Players production of Harold Pinter's *The Homecoming*. She teaches a class in improvisational theater, and has worked a summer as a production assistant on the television program "Insight", a weekly improvisational drama.

. . . Professor **Robert L. Buroker** discussed "Social Welfare Policy in the 19th and 20th Centuries" at a December history conference at the Center for Policy Studies in New York. In April he will read his paper, "Fascisms in Cross-National Perspective" at the Social Science History Association meeting in Wisconsin.

. . . **Setha Low**, class of 1969, is in San Jose, Costa Rica studying the concept of family health on a National Institute of Mental Health Fellowship. She is completing requirements for a Ph.D. in Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley.

. . . **Cathy H. Lewis**, class of 1968, is a practicing attorney after earning an M.A. in government at Claremont Graduate School, and a J.D. from the University of Denver.

. . . The recent edition of *Physics Education* contains an article by Professor **James Edmonds** titled, "Short Distance Gravitational Free Fall at Relativistic Speeds." His research on the foundations of physics has resulted in the following additional articles: "Second Quantized Quaternion Quantum Theory", *Foundation of Physics*, 1975; "Six Bits for Nine Colored Quarks", "Generalization of Einstein's Equation for Nonsymmetric Tuv" and "Mass Term Variations in the Dirac Hydrogen Atom", in *International Journal of Theoretical Physics*, 1975.

. . . Professor **Constance Atwell** has been awarded \$35,000 from the Grant Foundation for behavioral and neurophysiological research in "Vestibular Self-stimulation: Consequences for Vestibular and Motor Development in Infants and Preschool Children."

. . . Professor **Donald Brenneis** will present a paper at the Symposium on Conflict in the Pacific, sponsored by the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania at Columbia, South Carolina. His title is "Arbitration and Authoritative Witness in A Fiji Indian Community."

. . . Some paintings by Professor **Dennis Farber** will hang in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art through March of 1976. His painting, "The Birthday Cake" will be shown for a month in Los Angeles Valley College beginning in February. Other galleries showing his work in February are the Moreau Gallery Three at St. Mary's College, and the Allrich Gallery in San Francisco.

. . . **Nancy Martin Hinkley**, class of 1970, is a post doctoral fellow at the University of Chicago, Department of Medicine. She holds a Ph.D. in biology from Harvard University.

. . . "A Clean Slate" by Professor **Albert Wachtel** will appear in *Moment Magazine*, and concerns a young man's religious war with God. He tries to adjust his dawning sexual urges and his sense of guilt to his relationship with God.

. . . **Gladys Frankel**, class of 1972, is a part-time consultant for the Institute for Mediation and Conflict Resolution. In 1972, she was awarded a National Institute of Public Health Fellowship.