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# RESIST

a call to resist  
illegitimate authority

September 30, 1976 - 720 Massachusetts Avenue, Room 4, Cambridge, Massachusetts #108

## A Little Clarity About Lebanon

EDWARD SAID

President-designate Elias Sarkis of Lebanon is to take office on the 23rd of this month, and there are indications that events in that troubled country may also take a decisive turn. But before we can understand the coming phases in the Lebanese conflagration we must be a little more clear about what has been taking place there for almost two years. Reports from Lebanon have recently deserted the front page, not only because the political complexity of events has finally seemed to wear down the patience and knowledge of Western, in particular American, reporters. For what by common consensus has been a religious war between Christians and Muslims, has become a little more peculiar than that, what with Palestinians, Israelis, Syrians, various groups of Lebanese Muslims and Christians, to say nothing of Saudi, Libyan, and Sudanese forces, all involved, and all on often comically changeable sides of a very vague line of combat.

The war has been brutal and enormously destructive, but there has been a tendency to view it either as an essentially religious conflict, or as a conflict too Byzantine and irrational to unravel. Both of these views are radically insufficient. We ought to remind ourselves first of all that the prosperous Lebanon of yesteryear was principally a conduit for Arab petro-dollars, a playground for the Arab rich, a service center for U.S., European, and Japanese firms, and a mini-stage on which various regional interests acted out their debates and paid for their views to be aired. But in addition—or rather, in subtraction—Lebanon's central state authority was both inordinately corrupt and almost totally powerless. Inflation hovered near 20 and even 25%; a wide belt of poverty (shantytowns, refugee camps, squatters' shacks) completely surrounded Beirut; there were no national institutions of any consequence; the governmental system was too anomalous in its Ruritainian power-sharing schemes to work, and too lucrative to change the traditional politicians who, without any accountability, ran the country as they have since the 40's (with perhaps one exception no major Lebanese political figure is under 65); the national bourgeoisie, for all its squawks of dismay during the past months, was an active

(continued on page 2)

## Explaining Educational Failure

WAYNE O'NEIL

(The following essay is reprinted from The Radical Teacher, volume 1, number 2 (1976). This journal - a news journal devoted to a discussion of socialist literary theory and practice - is available from either of the Editorial Chairpersons: Susan O'Malley, 14 St James Place, Brooklyn, NY 11025 or Reamy Jansen, 316 West 107th St, Apt. 3A, New York, NY 10025. The subscription rate is \$8 for four issues, half that for parttime and unemployed people. The present essay is a slightly revised version of the one that originally appeared in the journal.)

At present there is furor over declining SAT scores and over the apparent collapse of written verbal skills and facility so that it is useful and instructive to look closely at the reasons being popularly advanced in explanation of these phenomena and to consider the way in which the explanations are presented: their logical absurdity, their intellectual emptiness, and the political purposes they served. In what follows I will focus mainly but not only on the discussion of the problem of writing. I then end briefly with what I assume to be a more reasonable set of questions for approaching these problems, a set of much more vital questions to ask and to try to answer. I provide none but the most tentative of answers - working hypotheses, for firm answers presented with great confidence are premature in advance of a serious and detailed investigation of the questions.

In its December 8, 1975 issue (pages 58-65) Newsweek added 'write' to 'read' and 'add' as a proper completion of the formula 'why x can't y'. (x remains fixed at Johnny, i.e. young Americans of either sex and 'young' seems to mean something like 'younger than the author of the article or study in question'.) Twenty years ago Rudolf Flesch had presumed to explain J's inability to read by blaming the sight methods of beginning reading instruction then in use. He stayed on the best seller list for over thirty weeks, calling for a return to phonics. Evidently J is still not able to read - though some very recent data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) suggest that things are not so bad as some people would have them be. In any case the problems remain, not because

(continued on page 6)



(LEBANON, continued)

collaborator with the corrupt Franjieh regime, and made its untoward commercial profits without any positive contribution to the degenerating polity; sectarianism flourished, as well armed political organization for the most part built on quasi-monarchical dynastic lines, with little horizontal solidarity between the sects; the Palestinian presence in the country politicised every issue, since the very articulation of a definite and militant Palestinian position dramatised the surrounding incoherence of Lebanese identity, institutions, and national will.

Broadly speaking then, a national progressive front emerged whose positions opposed the traditional Lebanese way of doing (or not doing) things, on class, generational, economic and social grounds. But so much is sometimes evident from press reports, except that these have tended to call this front "Muslim", a very misleading label. It is a national front (led by a Druze politician) opposed to partition and sectarianism; its alliance with the Palestinians is a natural one, because the Palestinians contend that Zionism is in its regional essence a minority and partitionary movement. It is no accident therefore that from the start Israel has been supporting the anti-national forces in Lebanon both because they oppose the Palestinians and because they favor the partition of Lebanon into religious cantons. Shlomo Avineri, the director general of the Israeli foreign ministry, made exactly this observation in early August.

It is in not being clear about the "Christians" of Lebanon that most people in the West are considerably at fault. First of all, the coalition of Phalanges Libanaïses, the Chamounist National Freedom Party (not "Liberal Party" as it has been continually mistranslated) and Franjieh's Zgharta Army is Maronite, not Christian in the large sense of the designation. Lebanon's Christian population includes large numbers of Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Armenian and Protestant Lebanese citizens, none of whom, singly or in the aggregate, is represented by the three Maronite parties. Second, the right-wing coalition has a specific ideology which has literally never been reported on in the west. This ideology is representative of marginal, and repressive, minority consciousness everywhere, but it is concretely representative of a former Ottoman minority in whom the mosaic millet-organization idea is deeply ingrained. In addition, the Phalanges -- which is the largest and best organized -- is directly modeled on National socialism, draws on facism and anti-Islamism, as well as on an ante-diluvian philosophy of Phoenecian (yes, Phoenecian) nationalism; this is laced up in arguments about Lebanese-Christian sovereignty, prettified with phrases chosen at random from Michel Chiha and Said Aql, delivered demagogically to a frightened

Maronite and lower middle-class which is told to see itself as an Apostle of light in a dark Muslim jungle.

Far from being "Christian", the right wing has advocated Maronite separatism, and has perpetrated outrages against every other non-Maronite Christian sect, plus of course de rigueur outrages against Muslims and Druzes. During the summer there was a wholesale massacre of Greek Orthodox villages in Koura (north-central Lebanon) by the Phalanges and the Zgharta Army: not reported.



Resist/cpf

The Dbye camp was routed and tens of Christian women and children murdered by National Freedom soldiers: not reported. Many of the Jisr al Basha and Tel al Zaatar Palestinians were Christians, and also murdered: not reported. Why the parallels are never drawn, say between the white minority ideology in Africa and Maronite right-wing chauvinism which has declared war on the entire non-Maronite population in Lebanon, is a strange mystery. Not also that there aren't many Maronites who do not identify with any of the Christian isolationist parties; there are, but even their presence and activity are ignored.

Still, if the Israelis supply the Lebanese right-wing with arms, one can understand the coincidence of interests that dictates such policy. But what about the Syrians, who support the Right against their former allies, the Palestinians, and the nationalist progressive coalition? What about the Algerians, the Iraqis, the Egyptians -- all those "radical" Arab states? Why have they not come to the aid of their fellow radicals? And why do the Saudis supply the Christian Right in Lebanon as it wages an open war against Islam? Such apparent contradictions



(LEBANON, continued)

are difficult to understand only if one relies upon the simplistic analyses offered by harried reporters, for whom their theories about the Left have kept them not only from seeing what the Right is, but what the Left is about as well. The Arab states and Israel are now locked into a policy of gradualism and bilateralism. Reasons of state, and the world market-economy which for them means essentially the West, dictate a policy of anti-radicalism what goes hand in hand with local, partial solutions to what in effect are regional, trans-national questions. For Syria, Lebanon is not a Muslim/Christian struggle, but among other things a struggle between the PLO and the Phalanges, between Kamal Jumblatt and Chamoun, and so forth. It will not lose its domination and management of Lebanon by tolerating the overwhelming victory of one side, of one party, or one protagonist. This is the way Syria has interpreted the Middle East both during and after the 1973 War, and it is a conception shared by the U.S., Egypt, and Israel as well.

Lebanon is paying the price of 1973. What is left of the Arab nationalist idea of the 50's and 60's is now advocated by the national progressive coalition; its interpretation of the 1973 war is that the War was an Arab War, and its successes not Egyptian or Syrian, but national and Arab. Opposed to this view is every variety of ethnic or statist parochialism, from Zionism to Christian zealotry. President-elect Sarkis faces unattractive alternatives; either prolonged conflict or divisive partition. Looked at more closely they will turn out to be two sides of the same coin. Without a total Middle East peace that gets at the root of the problems of the area, there is only the pair of alternatives in Lebanon -- and elsewhere in the region. (Edward Said is professor of

English at Columbia University and has written widely on the Middle East.)

## Gonna Rise Again!



### Economic Organizing for Hard Times

The working people's movement is on the rise once more. Gonna Rise Again! gives an overview of their fight against the economic crisis. This 48-page booklet describes groups combating unemployment and cutbacks, organizing women and Third World workers, supporting strikes and opposing utilities companies. Articles analyze the crisis and evaluate organizing strategies and tactics. Concise reviews describe print and audio-visual organizing resources. \$1.75. Resources for Community Change, P.O. Box 21066, Washington, D.C. 20009.



## Orlando Letelier

The assassination of Orlando Letelier, former ambassador to the U.S. during the government of Salvador Allende, again exemplifies the frenzied efforts of the Pinochet regime to wipe out all those who oppose its brutal policies.

While fighting for the unity of all democratic forces inside and outside of Chile, Letelier militantly and consistently denounced the fascist regime now terrorizing Chile. The fascists thus responded in the only way they know: wholesale murder.

The assassination of Letelier raises grave questions for the people of the U.S. As Senator James Abourezk (D-SD) said on the Senate floor following the assassination: "The tyranny of that dictatorship has now been extended to the U.S." It is up to us, as citizens of the country most responsible for the overthrow of the democratic government of Salvador Allende in 1973, and most responsible for the survival of Chilean fascism for the past three years, to voice our outrage at this brutal murder.

WHAT WE CAN DO: Send letters to Attorney General Levi at the Justice Department demanding a full investigation of this political assassination. Because the DINA (the Chilean secret police) murdered General Carlos Prats in Buenos Aires (1974) and attempted to murder Bernardo Leighton in Rome (1975), both of whom opposed Chilean fascism, it is obvious to all democratic forces that the DINA is behind the murder of Letelier.

We also urge you to send letters to all elected officials and to Sec. of State Kissinger demanding the expulsion of the current Chilean ambassador to the U.S., Manuel Trucco. Trucco, as the highest ranking representative of the Chilean government in the U.S., must be held accountable for this murder.

Please send copies of all letters and cables to the National Chile Center, 156 Fifth Ave. Room 516, New York, NY 10010.



# BOSTON BAIL PROJECT

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Pre-trial detention means locking people up without trial, giving them bails too high for them to meet so that they will have to remain in jail before trial. It means denying citizens the right to be presumed innocent and the right to a trial before being punished. It is a police state practice, making the idea of "preventive detention" a reality, incorporating the notion that anyone the police arrest should be jailed.

Pre-trial detention exists on a large scale in the Boston area. Jails (as opposed to prisons) are pre-trial detention centers. Charles Street Jail holds more than 300 men, all of whom are pre-trial prisoners being held because their bails are too high for them to meet. Billerica Jail holds around 80 such prisoners, and the Awaiting Trial Unit (ATU) for women at Framingham Prison often has 20 or more.

Many of these prisoners wait months or even more than a year in jail for their cases to be settled. The majority of them are non-white and poor.

Constitutionally and legally, this pre-trial detention should not exist. The 8th Amendment to the United States Constitution states that "no excessive bail shall be set." This means no bail higher than the defendant can afford should be set. The Massachusetts Bail Reform Law provides that every defendant should be released on recognizance-- R.O.R. or non-money bail-- unless there is a strong reason to believe that (s)he would not appear for trial. Even then, the bail set is not supposed to be higher than the defendant's ability to pay. It is supposed to be a financial incentive to return to court, not a way to keep the person locked up.

Obviously, the spirit of the Constitution and the bail laws is not respected in Boston area courts. Money bail should be the exception. Instead, it is the rule. Many judges believe that the community should be "protected" from almost anyone the police choose to arrest and use bail deliberately to keep people locked up. The trial is a technicality which can happen later, at the Commonwealth's convenience.

Judge Margaret Scott of the Dorchester District Court said of one defendant; "All I know is he didn't get arrested because the police had nothing better to do...He would not have been arrested if he wasn't guilty."

Chief Justice Walter McLaughlin of the Massachusetts Superior Court put it this way: "The present bail law and proposed new bail laws are just too liberal. We should begin thinking about preventive detention."

Pre-trial detention is an important issue for people who want basic social change. Not only does it have a tragic effect on the lives of many poor, especially Black and Spanish speaking people, but it also serves a vital function in maintaining power relationships in this society. It is one important way in which the "criminal justice system" creates a class of criminals on which people can focus the fear and anger which would be revolutionary if aimed at those who profit from the enormous injustices of this society. Whether or not a person is locked up before trial is a critical factor influencing whether (s)he will be found guilty and given a prison sentence. A thoroughly documented study done by the Manhattan Legal Aid Society proved what defense attorneys and others familiar with the courts had already known: Being in jail before trial in and of itself makes a person more likely to be found guilty and sent to prison. The study found that a person in jail who had not made incriminating statements and on whom no evidence was found was almost twice as likely to get a prison sentence as a person who had made incriminating statements or on whom evidence had been found but who was able to be free before trial. Pre-trial detention is a primary way of tracking poor and Third World people into prison.

Bail and pre-trial detention help to ensure that some poor people will become ensnared in the criminal justice system--end up in prison, on parole, in prison again-- and become "the criminals" whom we are encouraged to fear and hate. This belief that there are many "criminals"



who are responsible for the "breakdown of law and order" is an important way that people are kept divided from one another, scapegoating one another rather than working together for change. It is a myth which serves the interests of those few who monopolize money and power in this country very well.

The Boston Bail Project is a collective of women who, for the past two and a half years, have worked against pre-trial detention and the myths about "criminals" which help to perpetuate it. The Bail Project collective administers the Boston Bail Funds, raising money and making the Funds available to Boston area people who are locked up before trial. In addition, the Bail Project works to educate as many people as possible about the disastrous realities of bail and jail in the Boston area. One part of the Bail Funds has been a Women's Bail Fund. Women's Bail Fund workers visit the Awaiting Trial Unit at Framingham Prison (where all Boston area women being locked up before trial are held) and meet every woman who wishes to talk with us about use of the Bail Funds. The Bail Funds are made

each case is settled. A contingency fund has been raised, and is being added to, to cover losses to the loaners in cases of default and forfeiture of the bails. (Willful defaults, we have found, are relatively rare.) Putting up no more than \$2500 in loaned resources (bank books and municipal bonds) or \$250 in cash for any one individual, the Bail Funds have enabled 92 people to be released from jail before their trials since 1973.

In addition to the work of fund-raising for and administering the Bail Funds, educational work--making people aware of the realities of jails and pre-trial detention and helping people to see that these are neither necessary nor inevitable--has been extremely important to Bail Project workers. It is clear that any amount of money which could be raised for use as bail would be a token amount in relation to the need. By themselves, the Bail Funds can never make a significant dent in the number of people in jail before trial. That is why it is so important to Bail Project workers to carry on the educational and organizing work against jails, as well as maintain the Bail Funds.

In the past two and a half years this educational work has involved: preparing pamphlets and newspaper articles about money bail, pre-trial detention, and the necessity to work against the opening of new jails; talking on numerous radio broadcasts and to many church, school, and community groups; and organizing tours, followed by discussions, of the new, as yet unopened Middlesex County Jail (the 17th through 20th floors of the infamous Middlesex County Courthouse in East Cambridge).

Bail Project workers are now working on two important projects. The first is a pamphlet (based on years of experience in bailing people out as well as on research) for use by families and friends of pre-trial prisoners, as well as by the prisoners themselves, about how to negotiate the system to try to gain your right to pre-trial freedom. The second project--a slide show about Jails and Pre-Trial Detention--was funded in part by RESIST and is currently almost complete. The slide show will not only be informative, but will also provide analysis of the role of pre-trial detention in our society and hopefully will stimulate action around criminal justice issues. It will include four sections: "Pre-Trial Detention--How It Feels"; "Jails in the Boston Area"; "Law and Order for Women"; and "Tracking--Who Goes to Prison and Why". When it is finished, a major part of the Bail Project effort will go into showing the slide show and leading discussions around it.

Anyone interested in learning more about the Boston Bail Project or anyone who can contribute energy or money is encouraged to contact them at 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge (basement of the Old Cambridge Baptist Church) 491-1575.



available on a first-come-first-served basis to whomever has been in jail the longest without regard to charge, circumstances of the arrest, past record, etc.

The Bail Funds' money is raised through donations and loans from individuals, church groups, and Friends Meetings and from New England War Tax Resistance. The money is put up as full bail (as opposed to non-returnable bondsmen's fees) and revolves back into the Bail Funds as



(EDUCATION, continued)

Flesch and followers weren't listened to - on the contrary, but because they had nothing vital to say.

A couple of years ago Morris Kline offered an explanation about why J couldn't add: because the J's of the country weren't being taught to add; they were being taught to reason mathematically. Kline's book marked a turn away from the New Math and a return to more traditional ways of doing math. These conservative moves allowed the newspapers and other news media to indulge themselves in calling the Old Math the New Math; schools of very traditional sorts, the new experimental schools; and other such drollery.

Now J is charged with being unable to write. The basis for this accusation is the findings of NAEP that "in 1974 13-year-olds and 17-year-olds wrote in a shorter style, with a simpler vocabulary and less coherent paragraphs than their counterparts in 1970. Nine-year-olds, however, showed an improvement over their 1970 counterparts" (Boston Sunday Globe, December 7, 1975). There are other significant details: the problems were not in the mechanics of writing but rather in the "big drop in coherence and a trend toward more sentence fragments."

Now NAEP was quite reluctant to make anything of these fragmentary and conflicting findings - for what seem to me obvious reasons. However, Newsweek (i.e. Merrill Shiels and his bureau reporters), not fearing to tread, rushed in - conveniently ignoring in its haste the contradictions in the data, ignoring, indeed, the data themselves. For example, Newsweek worries a lot about spelling and punctuation, which according to NAEP doesn't seem to be part of the problem. More significantly - and this should be noted at the outset - none of the explanations advanced by Newsweek (or elsewhere in the popular press) has a shred of scientific or statistical support in the article or in fact. For there is none; indeed, it is difficult to see how to go about getting any. Newsweek's set of demons includes the following - at least:

- (1) "the simplistic spoken style of television";
- (2) the recent emphasis in education on media of communication other than writing: film, videotape, photography, etc.;
- (3) the recent emphasis in writing instruction on the creative rather than the expository;
- (4) un- or under-educated teachers of writing who themselves have not learnt to write;
- (5) structural linguist(ic)s - by which is meant most, if not all, of modern American linguistics. This last is a complex demon, for it/they spawned a great number of vile notions:
  - (a) that speech is more basic than and superior to writing;

- (b) that at the age of five children have full mastery of their language so when they arrive at school what's to teach?

- (c) that the standard dialect has no inherent claim to superiority and that to impose it on people for whom it is not a natural way of speaking is simply another manifestation of the racism and classism prevalent in the society - though here political activists take part of the blame off the shoulders of the linguists.

In order to support this view of things Newsweek gathered evidence from as conservative a bunch of folks as it could find: E. B. White (of the New Yorker), S. I. Hayakawa (a California politician), Ronald Berman (head of the National Endowment for the Humanities), Lincoln Barnett (author of that classic work, Treasure of our Tongue), and other such types: Mario Pei, Carlos Baker, etc. From them and a cast of lesser lights Newsweek was able to piece together its explanation. For example, Berman tells us "that the decline of written English is only one among many symptoms of a massive 'regression toward the intellectually invertebrate' among American academics." Pei enlightened the Bureau with "If you scoff at language study, how, save in terms of language, will you scoff. E. B. White added, "Short of throwing all the television sets away, I really don't know what can be done about writing." And so on.

Presumably, then, all would be well if Mario Pei, say, were allowed to cart away all the TV sets, banish the linguists and language meddlers among the political activists, and burn all the remaining copies of the third edition of Websters, the dictionary that wouldn't tell us how to behave. E. B. White would thus be left entirely free to lecture us on his principles of writing:

1. Place yourself in the background . . .
11. Do not explain too much . . .
17. Do not inject opinion . . .
21. Prefer the standard to the offbeat . . .

(Strunk & White, The Elements of Style, pages 56ff)

In this way does Newsweek provide us with a pretty casual explanation of what may be a rather severe decline in the basic skills of literacy that American education ought to be providing its captives. For there is not even a half-hearted attempt there to show why any of this could be true, how it would rationally all hang together, why this set of demons was chosen rather than some other, etc. Furthermore there is in this article never a word about the violence and turmoil in and around the schools of America's cities; hardly a mention of the overcrowded classrooms, the overworked teachers, the bureaucratized conditions of servitude for both students and for teachers; nothing at all about the social and political context in which an education exists.



(EDUCATION, continued)

For Newsweek it is all a matter of propriety and standards, shibboleths and getting ahead. Thus it is typical of popular, establishment explanations of crucial social and political issues. But these explanations do have their purposes - a matter to which I return below.

First let us consider some better questions to ask, more interesting lines of investigation to follow. Grant then - for the sake of this part of the discussion - that students at all levels are in fact writing worse - presuming for the moment that we can characterize 'worse' in a non-trivial way - than they used to and that it is getting worse and worse. That is, let us ignore for the sake of argument the contradictions in the data. Furthermore, let us imagine that there has been a real decline of SAT and ACT scores over a decade and more, a decline which cannot be accounted for by controlling or correcting for or taking into account, say, the fact that the tests have increasingly been taken by a population that includes a greater and greater percentage from the working class, people who would show less test-taking savvy and who would have had less practice. So let us clear our heads of all reasonable questions that we might have about these data so that we can consider what kinds of useful questions could be asked in order to explain the putative facts, the answers to which would be of some interest.

I have a couple of candidates. First, I think it would be informative to look at the literature on job dissatisfaction in America for a part of the explanation. We have all seen and read the facts and perhaps learnt a context in

which to place them from, e.g., Harry Braverman's Labor and Monopoly Capital: the Degradation of Work in the 20th Century (Monthly Review Press, 1974). Dissatisfaction follows from the degradation of the job, from the destruction of its integrity. Its symptoms are a high rate of employee turnover, job absenteeism, drugs and alcohol in the work place, etc., and it results in lowered productivity and a decline in the quality of work. We tend to imagine such things in the factory and the secretarial pool only: actually they are everywhere about us. In the schools of America, where the teachers are the workers - part of that work-force, the jobs have not been immune to routinization and to attempts to empty them of all meaning and challenge and intellectual content. See, for example, the following statement from the National Educational Association National Director, Terry Herndon:

At last check, 46 percent of those having taught five years thought that teaching as a profession was worsening. Five years earlier the comparable portion was 10 percent. The question is "Why?"

Teachers are denied the excitement of formulating their own programs and accounting to their colleagues and patrons for the results. Instead, even the most competent are frequently reduced to the routine performance of specified tasks in specified ways at specified times at specified stations. (NEA Advocate (November 1975), page 8, underlining added)

Now why shouldn't such degradation of the craft in and of itself lead to lowered productivity in the schools as well as in factories and offices? Here productivity would be measured by the quality of the "products": the performance of the students on routine examinations and other such tasks.

(continued next page)





And aren't students also school workers - non-metaphorically - whose performance on their school job is also measured by the tests, workers who also exhibit the characteristics and symptoms generally associated with job dissatisfaction. This line of questioning seems to me to be well worth pursuing, for it has the virtue of seeing or at least trying to see society as a whole and not in the usual fragmented, anecdotal way.

And there are other lines that are worth following. For example, it is generally assumed that because the school-leaving age and the average number of school years attended have increased over the years, the people who have gone those extra years know more or have gotten more of an education than the people of a generation or of ten years ago, say, who went to school for fewer years. That is, there is a belief that a 10th grade education is a 10th grade education is a . . . regardless of when it happened. Suppose, however, that we entertain a different and not unreasonable hypothesis: that what remains fixed is how much on average a person who goes to school the average number of years and completes the average number of grades is expected to know. On this view an education is invested with just so much to be learnt and taught and this amount is simply spread out over more and more years as the average number of grades completed increases. Thus in order to compare fruitfully the school achievements from year to year we would have to compare students at equivalent levels of education - yesterday's 8th grade with today's 12th, say. This is by the way close to another popular view of modern progress in education as well as in other institutions of the society. And it may well be the correct one.

Now this also seems a quite reasonable approach to follow in order to try to account for the decline in scores and achievement. Explanations along this line follow from a belief that schools are not, after all, meant to provide anything other than minimal skills in literacy and arithmetic, that their main purpose is the inculcation of proper attitudes toward work and authority, meanwhile keeping young people off the streets and out of the labor market. The various certificates and diplomas given along the way provide a convenient and arbitrary screening device for employers who need in some way to control the numbers of job applicants that they have to deal with. See Braverman (pages 436ff) and the many essays of Bowles & Gintis, now integrated in their Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life (Basic Books, 1976).

I suggest these as quite interesting areas of investigation that we might look into, never questioning the data as given or mis-given. No doubt there are other interesting suggestions.

(continued next issue)

# GRANTS

PORTLAND MILITARY AND VETERANS COUNSELING CENTER- 633 S.W. Montgomery St., Port., Oregon

The Portland Military and Veterans Counseling Center provides veterans counseling, military counseling, pre-enlistment counseling, repatriation counseling and public education. RESIST's grant will go toward the purchase of a typewriter.

## STUDENTS RIGHTS PROJECT

Legal Aid Society of Louisville, 317 S. Fifth Louisville, Kentucky 40202

The Students Rights Project is a coalition organization which formed in response to the numerous problems which surfaced as a result of the school merger and desegregation process in Louisville. RESIST's grant will help to publish a Students Rights Handbook to be distributed in the Jefferson County Schools.

PEOPLE UNITED FOR INTEGRATION AND QUALITY EDUCATION - P.O. Box 92271 Milwaukee, Wisc.

People United for Integration and Quality Education is a city wide multiracial organization working for non-assimilationist integration which was started in Milwaukee last June. RESIST's grant will facilitate the organization of a Speak Out on the conditions in the schools.

## CAMBION STRIKE SUPPORT COMMITTEE

UE Local 262, 538 Dorchester Ave, S. Boston, Mass.

Two hundred and seventy workers at the Cambion (Cambridge Thermionics Corp.) have been on strike since April 14. The organization of Cambion was a major break through in the electronics industry as over 90% of this industry is unorganized. RESIST's grant was to the strike support fund.

## TENANTS FIRST DEFENSE COMMITTEE

2 Park Sq. , Rm. 611, Boston, Mass 02116

The Tenants First Defense Committee was formed to defend a group of Mass. tenant unions against a civil conspiracy suit filed in Superior Court, which alleges that the tenant unions in FHA housing developments constitute an illegal conspiracy to deprive Max Kargman, of First Realty Management Co. of his private property. RESIST's grant will support the educational and fund raising work they are doing.

## CULTURAL WORK CONFERENCE

1305 S.E. Salmon St. Portland, Oregon 97214

RESIST's grant will support the organization of a cultural work conference in the Portland area, to bring together performers, artists, and media people from the Northwest who view their work as a political motivating force. It will include performances and workshops- raising discussion of how cultural work is relevant to politics, and encouraging leftists to use art as an effective political tool.