

We Maintain Our Right to
Commit Genocide

Anti-War
Movement



More Sit-Ins
GRADING FOR DEATH-

STANFORD, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, MAY 20,

Night-Long Sit-In Protest Draft Test

Following a noon meeting in White Plaza yesterday, approximately 90 students marched past Engineering Corner into Inner Quad, and into the F of the administration, and then a city cooperation with the Selecti

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, Thurs., Apr. 21, 1966

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS,
Wednesday, April 20, 1966

Professors Decry Use Of Grades In Drafting The Vietnam Draft

-A Status Upheld for Protester: To Grades

A presidential appeal board has upheld the I-A re-classifications of six University of Michigan youths who joined a sit-in at an Ann Arbor Draft Board office last

Resist



STANFORD UNIV
Palo Alto, Calif
FOR: US ARMY
MISSILE COMMAND
Redstone Arsenal
Huntsville, ALA
SURFACE/BASED MISS
FIRE CONTROL SYSTEM

PROJ
PHAS
AMT



The War Is Campus-Bound

documentary
STANFORD SIT-IN
May 1966

STANFO
Menlo
FOR:

ARMY CHEMICAL
Edgewood, MD
CATEGORY: CHEMICAL WARFARE S
PHASE: RSCH
AMT: \$1, 132, 000
PROJECT: CLASSIFIED CONTRACT

A young marine says 'No War Crimes in Vietnam'
at the Aug. 6 Hiroshima Day peace demonstration in New York. Marine corporal John M. Morgan Jr. said: "I not serve one more day as a e." Five days later, on Aug. 11, where he explained a news con- to Marine Corps C. Following Aug. 6 m-
SERVICEMEN BALK TOO

"The CIA has damaged the reputation of the American academic community

STANFORD RSCH INST
MENLO PARK, CAL
FOR: ARMY CHEMICAL CNTR
CHEM-BIO-RADIOLOG
Edgewood, MD
CATEGORY: CHEMICAL WARFARE SYSTEMS
RSCH 000

A SCHOOL GOES
TO THE ARMY
Question

Resist-draft Campus Sit-in

ON THE PEACE FRONT

Defier of draft

Hundreds of thousands of college students now face the possibility of being drafted because the U.S. government is expanding the Vietnam war. Along with the millions of draftable men not in college we don't want to go to Vietnam. Despite twenty years—a whole life time—of cold-war propaganda, we don't want to risk our lives to

INTRODUCTION

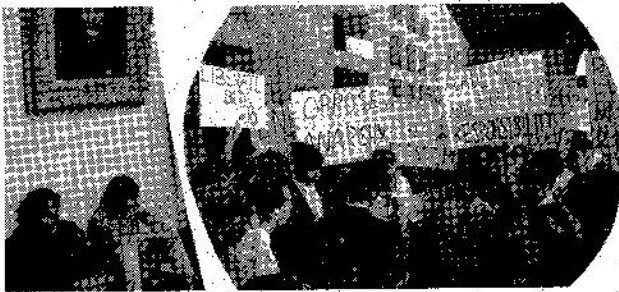
Ending the sit-in of last May 19-21 against conscription and the university's complicity with the Selective Service System, the militants pledged to continue and intensify the struggle. This booklet is a beginning.

Besides the reprint from Viet Report of Tom Hayden's essay, which represents the intellectual basis of most of us who sat-in, the booklet consists mainly of letters and statements issued by the group. This gives from our point of view a blow-by-blow account, which as reportage fills a great need, since the Daily covered the events sketchily and ceased publication for the academic year before we had the opportunity of presenting our case before the Judicial Council.

The booklet does not attempt to give the variety of views held by the scores who sat-in at the President's office before the university police blocked access, or who gathered in support outside; or even by the 26 who were eventually summoned before the Judicial Council. Some saw their act as an individual moral witness, a laying down of the person to obstruct an evil machine that reduces young men to professional killers; others saw it as a collective political attack on a death-dealing hierarchy of power flowing down from President Johnson to President Sterling. However, the documents issued by the sit-ins from the President's office were each discussed by the whole group, revised and unanimously agreed upon.

Was the sit-in spontaneous? Nationally, it was not, for the Stanford protestors were very conscious of being a part of the wave of sit-ins protesting the draft exam, notably at City College of New York, Roosevelt University and the University of Wisconsin. Locally, it was. The militant march on President Sterling's office was, following the do-nothing meeting of the faculty's Academic Council, in angry response to his evasion of our grievances. Moreover, the impetus of the sit-in was provided as much by those who had been protesting, in the weeks before, Stanford's CIA contract and the undemocratic structure of the university, as by those who had been opposing the Vietnam war and the draft.

At their trial, the sit-ins pleaded nolo contendere. We argued that we had in fact been occupying the office of the president, but that we were indeed upholding Stanford's Fundamental Standard which expects students to show "respect for order, morality, personal honor, and the rights of others." We were put on one year's probation and required to attend four meetings with deans on decision-making in the university.



TOM HAYDEN
SDS organizer
April 1966

A Protest Against the Draft and Death of Intellect

Until recently, the Johnson Administration has pursued a "soft" line toward those in the universities who express dissent about the war. The President claims to welcome debate and protest, and even has sent his representatives to our teach-ins. But this public tolerance is more than offset by the gradual tightening of the Selective Service measures which now touch every student in the country. Those who protest, those who worry in silence, and those who assent to our country's Vietnam policy, now are made to face together this question: will they take a Selective Service test to determine who will study at home and who will risk death overseas?

Long before the invention of these tests, of course, the draft has affected the lives of young people. The young poor, especially black but also white, go to places like Vietnam when they lack the money to put them into college. Other young people seek careers outside of the draft-exempt university, those for instance who would rather die registering voters in Mississippi than live to shoot those who want to vote in Danang, are threatened or drafted by their local boards. And now, with the current tests, the more privileged young people are being drawn nearer the war machinery themselves. Some will be taken away, the victims of their fellow students' higher aptitude for answering questions on a test. Others will be using their pencils to avoid using the gun; they will consciously rededicate themselves, in time of war, to avoid the draft and let others go. Students who already are out of touch with the world's bitter poverty will believe more firmly that they are "chosen" to be the nation's educated elite, deserving of exemption. The values of primitive capitalism reappear: the "fittest" are preserved because the "unfit" defend them.

These issues appear before the academic community as a whole, not simply the students. University administrations choose to become part of the Selective Service system itself by setting aside places for the testing; and by notifying students of their opportunity to escape

the draft. Teachers who give grades are becoming part of a system which determines who will die. The university as a whole, already dependent in numerous ways on the military and industrial power centers, by this process falls further from its ideal of independence. The depth to which our universities are involved in good-natured complicity with the war is illustrated by this notice pinned to the bulletin board at Rutgers Law School, and signed by an assistant dean:

... We have been able to learn that a student cannot be hurt with respect to the draft if he registers for and takes the test to be given by the Selective Service. In fact, a student can be hurt by not taking the test. It is therefore recommended that any students who are in doubt should register for and take the test. Forms are now available in the Dean's office. For those students who are tremendously worried about being drafted, please note that you have working for you an expert in draft-dodging. After several unsuccessful attempts, the Army finally gave up on me.

Generally speaking, it may well be a positive sign that avoiding the draft seems "to be even more prevalent now because of a decided lack of enthusiasm--and sometimes a definite opposition--to the war in Vietnam," as the April 11 *Wall Street Journal* put it. This means, perhaps, that at least the young cannot be aroused by God, country and Cold War rhetoric as much as our national leadership might desire. But we must also ask, what kind of a country is it where those who willingly support the war system are desperately unwilling to serve it, and where law schools are used as information centers about avoiding every young man's legal duty?

Students and intellectuals are being insulted by the Johnson Administration, however soft the insults have been. Like the rest of the American people, we have never been consulted adequately about this war. We helped to elect a President pledged not to "go North" in Vietnam. Three months after his election, in a situation which was not an emergency, without public debate in the country, without a Congressional declaration of war or a United Nation's sanction, the President did what he said he would not do. This war has been opposed by men of international stature in the fields of history and political science, philosophy and law, and the arts, science and medicine; by thousands of scholars and religious men; by thousands of graduate, undergraduate and high school students. Despite this outpouring of protest, unprecedented during wartime in our national history, the war grinds on and on, widening gradually but consistently, as

if it were too much for our Administration to reveal at once the military future that has been chosen for us.

The reason our protest is not taken seriously enough by the government to end the war is that it is assumed, not only in the White House but throughout the country, that we will only protest intellectually, and be satisfied with maintaining a constant dialogue with the Administration while the war escalates. This the Administration can tolerate, even subtly turn to its own uses since the debate "proves" the democratic nature of our society. To break this image of passivity, we can enter politics and demonstrations as we have done, but unless we fully emerge from the protective cover of the Ivory tower, and unless we defend at all costs the independence of our classrooms, schools and organizations, we still will be classified, at best, as those queer intellectual critics and, at worst, as draft-dodgers who fear war. On the other hand, if we break the image by refusing the shelter of exemption, the country might more easily take us to mean what we say, and the government would face the dilemma of whether to silence its intellectual critics in jail or let them break loose from their manageable role as the "loyal opposition."

This war will be ended when its domestic costs are too high. We often discuss the sacrifice of Great Society programs as a kind of material cost of the war, but that point can be made more clearly by the poor when they revolt against the spending cutbacks. We whose universities are part of the military-industrial complex ought to revolt against the conditions which humiliate us directly. The cost of this to the country will be social, perhaps spiritual, and it could be a heavy cost.

If our revolt needs a political goal it should be that each individual draftee should have some voice about what he is asked to die for. Therefore, we believe the Selective Service law should be tested to see if there can be included individuals whose conscientious objection is to particular wars. If not, the law should be changed to include such political objectors, and to broaden the forms of alternative service which objectors may perform to include anti-poverty or civil rights work in the United States, and other work which builds democracy in this country and elsewhere, including Vietnam. The base of objection to war that should become legitimate, in other words, is not pacifist but political.

Our resistance should not be nay-saying alone. We should also affirm the kind of intellectual spirit which ought to flourish in this country,

but which exists today mostly at the fringes. We have demonstrated the possibilities for the forming of an authentic intellectual community in the teach-in. Now ought we not to consider carrying the teach-in into the community, and so completely that a national town meeting on Vietnam would be virtually created? Could we not make the dialogue in the country drastically different from that at the Defense Department and the LBJ Ranch? In certain places there is going to be violence, for as Senator Fulbright warns, an atmosphere of war hysteria will grow as the war is escalated but continues to fail. But in other places, and we believe in most places, we might rely on the more generous feelings and serious doubts of the American people to create dialogue rather than domestic civil war. The spirit of a town meeting is that those affected by public decisions meet together to seek common solutions. The Selective Service tests, by contrast, reflect a spirit of destruction; in them, each student is invited to compete with the person next to him so that one will be drafted to a possible death neither are willing to risk voluntarily.



THE MILITARY DEFINITION AT WORK

"The assumption of the government is, right or wrong, that college graduates are better citizens. Deferment is a privilege."

—Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Director of Selective Service in the *Daily Pennsylvanian*, 4/19/66.

(After supporting the reclassification to 1-A of the University of Michigan students who lost their deferments after sit-ins at the local draft board, General Hershey volunteered his general opinion on all "minor lawbreakers.")
"What crimes? A joy ride in a stolen car? I'd induct them all, it's a lot quicker than prosecution."

—*Daily Pennsylvanian*, 3/4/66 (Ann Arbor, Michigan. CPS).

Monday, May 16, 1966

Dr. J.E. Wallace Sterling, President
Stanford University

Dear President Sterling:

We do not believe that it is the honest function of any institution, and particularly of a university, to comply with the Selective Service System, whose criteria for selecting men to kill or be killed discriminates against the poor, the uneducated, and racial minorities.

The conscription of American youth is a far more serious issue for the University than freedom of speech, basic civil liberties and secret military contracts. The issue concerns the dignity and value of a human life. Grades furnished by the University and tests administered by the University have now become one of the criteria for determining whether a young man is sent abroad to kill or be killed. The other criteria for selecting the most expendable of the population may or may not be more irrelevant and unjust than formal academic performance; the least the community of scholars can do is to refuse to be itself an instrument of these discriminatory processes of conscription.

To most Stanford students, the current foreign war is alien and meaningless; and to many, it is criminal and genocidal. We ask, as Professor Assemblyman William Stanton has asked, why university administrators, presidents, congressmen, owners of military industries and all others who justify the war in Vietnam do not go there and fight that war. Why should the youth, most of whom are not even eligible to vote, be ordered to die to preserve the *status quo* at home and the *pax Americana* abroad?

President Sterling, we cannot allow the institution of which we are a part to help dispose of our lives through the unjust process of the Selective Service System to prosecute an unpopular and unjust foreign war. We therefore ask that Stanford terminate all the services it now provides for the Selective Service System. We specifically request that:

- 1) all grades, class standing, and other ranking devices for all undergraduate and graduate students be withheld from the Selective Service System;
- 2) the Selective Service exams to be given on campus on May 21, and all such exams for the future, be cancelled immediately;
- 3) the National Service Office, if it is to remain on campus, serve no function other than to advise students on the draft, and that information and advice include detailed information on legal alternatives to the draft.

We are aware that the Academic Council plans to take up these matters at its meeting on Tuesday, but if this body has neither the will nor the power to realize our requests, we students must do what is necessary to restore dignity to our existence in a time of war, to bring justice to American young men and to lead the University on a moral path.

Very sincerely yours,

The Steering Committee

STANFORD COMMITTEE FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM

cc. Professor Ernest Hilgard,
Executive Committee, Academic Council

STANFORD COMMITTEE FOR PEACE IN VIETNAM
Box 2684
Stanford, Calif.
May 17, 1966

Dr. J.E. Wallace Sterling, President
Stanford University

Dear President Sterling:

Yesterday we presented you in a letter our objections to our university's compliance with the Selective Service System and our petition in three parts that this be discontinued.

The draft, as you are no doubt aware, affects the lives of male students quite directly. With the imminence of wider war and the administering on campus last Saturday of Selective Service examinations to help determine who is sent to kill or be killed in Southeast Asia, there has been a tremendous increase in student preoccupation about the draft.

In response to this growing concern, we are calling a special meeting of the entire community of scholars at noon on Thursday, May 19, in White Memorial Plaza to discuss the issue.

We invite you to come and speak to us, either justifying current university policy on the draft or acceding to our three requests.

We are sure you will agree with us that since this is a life-and-death matter for some students, assurance from the highest level in the university would be appropriate. We shall be happy to make arrangements for your speech. Please contact us at the ASSU office, telephone extension 4341.

We remain,
Sincerely yours,

The Steering Committee, SCPV

(delivered by hand)
(copies given to professors attending Academic Council)

The following statement of the FACULTY COMMITTEE ON SELECTIVE SERVICE, 5512 S. Everett Ave., Chicago, was reproduced by SCPV and handed to Stanford professors as they entered the Academic Council meeting of May 17, 1966.

There are some profound incompatibilities between the aims of education and the aims of warfare. Among the various costs of the war in Vietnam is a corrosive effect on education. This corrosive effect on education would be decreased if the Selective Service Administration would cease systematically involving colleges and universities in its operations.

It has been announced that draft boards are being advised to decide draft status of students on class rank as determined by grades. The Selective Service Administration also intends to use a general aptitude test of the kind which was used during the Korean war. The test presumably handles the objection that the significance of class rank varies among colleges.

When deferment is tied to performance in class, an atmosphere is generated which seriously interferes with the educational process. Those who taught during the Korean War can well remember such things as the students' panic when a book on reserve was not immediately available, the dampening of free exploratory discussion, the increased tendency of students to critically evaluate material presented to them, and the excessive concern with grades manifested, for example, in anxious bickering over examinations and how they were graded. This is to say nothing of the effect on the professors who know that their grades were relevant to draft status decisions.

Educators have often pointed out the negative effects of excessive emphasis on grades. Requests by draft boards for grade information only exacerbates these negative effects. Experimentation with alternatives to grading, which may result in better education, is handicapped by the necessity of supplying grades to the Selective Service Administration.

There are no ultimately just criteria by which to decide who shall and who shall not be conscripted. The interest of the Selective Service Administration in making these decisions less arbitrary is laudable and understandable. These decisions are difficult. However, the professor should not be made a party to these decisions since it interferes with the performance of his duties. Furthermore, the seeming precision of rank in class cannot overcome the intrinsic arbitrary character of the decision. It is important that we do not lend a cover of pseudo-objectivity when, in the course of so doing, we impede the educational enterprise of all college and university students.

For the sake of the national welfare there should be as radical a separation of the activities of the Selective Service Administration from the educational enterprise as possible. Even in such things as the administration of tests, it would be better if this be done without call upon the colleges and universities, that the two enterprises not be confounded. It is hard to believe that rank in class really predicts the contribution to the national welfare that a student will eventually make. It is, however, easier to see how interference by the Selective Service Administration in the educational enterprise has a negative effect.

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STANFORD UNIVERSITY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

May 18, 1966

Stanford Committee For Peace In Viet Nam
Box 2684
Stanford, California

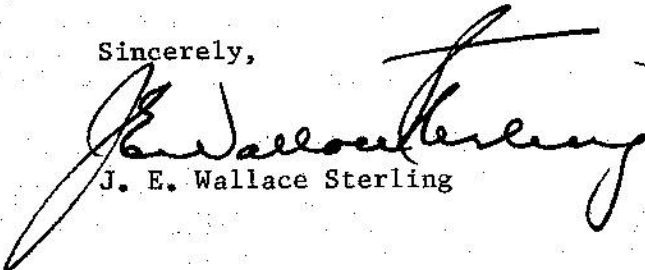
Gentlemen:

Thank you for your letters of May 16 and 17.

University policy towards Selective Service procedures is under review by the Academic Council. When the Academic Council has acted on this matter and recommendations have been made to University officers who are charged with responsibility of administering University policy, I shall be glad to discuss the decision with representatives of your Committee or to see that this is done by appropriate officers of the University.

May I point out to you that those members of the Stanford Committee for Peace in Viet Nam who are also members of the Academic Council are free to participate in the Council's discussion; it is possible therefore that your Committee's point of view will be represented there.

Sincerely,


J. E. Wallace Sterling

STATEMENT ISSUED LATE AFTERNOON
MAY 18

A group of concerned Stanford undergraduate and graduate students is sitting in at President Sterling's office to protest the University Administration's decision to provide facilities for and administer the Selective Service Examination. This decision was arrived at without the participation or approval of those affected by it.

There has been great confusion over what our position is, and we would like to clarify it.

We believe that students do not exist for the university, but that the university exists for its students; consequently, it must recognize our right to a major role in making university policy. We demand the right to make the decisions which affect our lives. This protest initiates our campaign to democratize the university.

We also oppose the administration of the Selective Service Examination under any circumstances, at any place, at any time because it discriminates against those who by virtue of economic deprivation are at a severe disadvantage in taking such a test. The white middle class has had the education which will enable it to do well on the test. Thus, those less privileged, Negroes, Spanish-Americans, and poor whites, must fight a war in the name of principles such as freedom and equality of opportunity which their own nation has denied them. Even if such an examination could accurately measure intelligence or some other valuable quality, the use of such criteria in order to determine who shall fight and who shall stay safely at home is unjust.

Such discrimination poisons the lives of us all: professors cannot escape the knowledge that the grades they assign their students may condemn them to the front lines; a struggle for survival has been made out of what should be an intellectual endeavor.

The Selective Service Examination is intimately related to the larger issue of the institution of student deferment. While we favor abolishing this institution, we recognize the grave implications confronting any student who decides to oppose the discriminatory nature of student deferment by renouncing his privileged status.

As the Selective Service Examination is intimately related to the issue of student deferment, so is student deferment related to the still larger question of conscription, which, since its appearance in the U.S. in the late 18th century, has invariably been biased in favor of the wealthy and privileged.

WE THEREFORE DEMAND:

1. THAT THE SELECTIVE SERVICE EXAMINATION SCHEDULED ~~FOR~~ SATURDAY, MAY 21 BE CANCELLED. SIT-INS WILL CONTINUE UNTIL THE EXAM IS CANCELLED; IF THE EXAM IS NOT CANCELLED, SOME STUDENTS ARE COMMITTED TO DISRUPTING IT.
2. THAT NO GRADES BE RELEASED, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, TO THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM. THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT CAN REQUEST A TRANSCRIPT WHICH HE CAN THEN SEND TO HIS DRAFT BOARD.
3. THAT THERE BE AN OPEN MEETING WITH PRESIDENT STERLING AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STANFORD ADMINISTRATION TO DISCUSS OUR POSITION AND THE ABOVE DEMANDS.
4. THAT NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN FOR INCREASING STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN THE FORMULATION OF UNIVERSITY POLICY.

An Administration appeal to "orderly, normal university processes" is, in this context, nothing but a diversionary tactic. The Academic Council in effect abdicated its responsibility in a life and death matter to students by shelving the decision until after one of the deferment tests was to have been given. President Sterling did not come or send a representative to our White Plaza public meeting, as we requested. The urgency of the selective service question makes Administration obstruction and faculty indecisiveness intolerable. The time for rhetoric about reasoned action is over, the time for reasoned action is now.

President Sterling's Office
Thursday, May 19, 1966 4:30 p.m.

VIGIL

As you read this, a number of your fellow students are sitting-in here in President Sterling's office. We are here to restore our dignity as men -- our right to choose freely whether we will kill or be killed. As citizens in a democracy we are protesting the conscription system and its discriminatory practices. As students, we are protesting the university's giving and endorsing these exams and thus becoming an instrument of the Selective Service System.

One intention of the exam, together with the class ranking to determine student deferment (2S), was to set students against the rest of society and to pit students against each other. No student must be demeaned into bursting his brains to save his own skin and send someone else to die. We oppose the draft and we oppose student deferment and all other criteria which would determine what human beings are expendable. If they want to fight a war in Vietnam, let them send all who want to fight -- and only those.

WE DO NOT HAVE THE POWER TO END THE WAR, TO CHANGE THE SELECTIVE SERVICE CRITERIA -- BUT WE HAVE THE RIGHT AND THE DUTY AND MORALLY THE POWER (IT'S OUR LIVES AT STAKE, NOT THOSE OF THE FACULTY OR THE ADMINISTRATION) TO ENJOIN THE UNIVERSITY FROM COOPERATING WITH AND ENDORSING A ROTTEN SYSTEM BY GIVING THE NEXT DEFERMENT TEST ON SATURDAY, MAY 21.

The Academic Council in effect abdicated a life-and-death matter to students by shelving their decision until after both deferment tests would have been given. President Sterling did not come or send a representative to our White Plaza meeting today. We have gone to him to demand our rights.

COME AND JOIN US. VIGIL ALL NIGHT OUTSIDE TO SUPPORT THOSE INSIDE AND TO IMPRESS THE POWERS-THAT-BE THAT OUR LIVES ARE NOT TO BE DISPOSED OF IN COMMITTEES.

May 20, 11:30 p.m.

Professor Kenneth Arrow, Secretary
Executive Committee of the Academic Council

Dear Sir:

As you know, we students sitting-in at President Sterling's office now seek an open meeting in which there will be real and substantive participation by students and faculty on the issue of Stanford's compliance with the Selective Service System. We intend that this meeting will indicate a change in university decision-making which will insure substantive student participation in university decisions in the future. Thus far, President Sterling has refused to discuss anything with us even though we have made a number of compromises since we began the sit-in.

We feel that, since the President has categorically refused to deal in any way with us while we are sitting-in, and yet will not assure us of an open meeting if we terminate the sit-in, you on the faculty should now seek to resolve this impasse by urging President Sterling to agree to such a meeting.

As a matter of course, we feel you on the faculty as well as we in the student body should participate in such decisions as those concerning classified contracts and university administering of draft exams. In the present situation, we are expecting you will exert yourself all the more to bring about the open meeting. We specifically request that the Executive Committee of the Academic Council call upon President Sterling immediately to convene such a meeting.

Respectfully yours,
STUDENTS IN PRESIDENT STERLING'S OFFICE

ACCOUNT OF THE SIT-IN, circulated May 23,
the Daily ceasing publication that day

BACKGROUND TO EVENTS OF MAY 16-21: Although there was "direct action" on many campuses when the first draft test was given May 14, the Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam (SCPV), knowing there would be an Academic Council meeting on May 17, merely expressed verbal opposition to the test and handed out the SDS counter-test to students coming out of the test. Faculty members of SCPV promised to take the matter up in the Council. It was well known at Stanford that on April 19 the Academic Senate of San Francisco State College voted unanimously that the university not administer the test nor furnish class rankings.

MONDAY, MAY 16: The SCPV steering committee delivers letter to President Sterling requesting cancellation of the second Selective Service exam, scheduled for May 21. Copy of letter to Prof Hilgard, chairman of the Exec Comm of the Academic Council.

TUESDAY, MAY 17: SCPV invites President Sterling, by letter, to attend an open meeting, May 19, to discuss the Academic Council decision on the draft issue, which, along with classified contracts, was known to be up for consideration. All faculty members attending the Council meeting that afternoon are presented with a copy of the letter to Sterling requesting cancellation of the test as well as the second letter inviting him to the May 19 meeting.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 18: We learn that the Council failed to act. The Selective Service exam issue was referred to a committee, which would report on June 10, i.e., after both exams scheduled for Stanford would have been given. Stating that no representative of the Administration would be at the May 19 meeting, Deans Winbigler and Smith briefed SCPV leaders on the university's relations with Selective Service. Dean Winbigler states that he himself, with President Sterling's concurrence, made the decision that Stanford administer the test. Dean Winbigler is asked if he knows the contents of the test, and he replies that he does not. He is asked if the moral implications of the test are relevant to his decision, and he replies that they are not.

THURSDAY, MAY 19: Noon: We hold meeting in White Plaza. President Sterling does not attend. Deans Wert and Winbigler are present in the audience but have not been authorized by Sterling to speak. We make three demands:-

- 1) a moratorium on the draft test
- 2) a public investigation of the social and moral implications of the test
- 3) a public report on the finds of the investigation

1.15 p.m. We march to the President's office to give him our requests. He is in San Francisco at a Board of Trustees' meeting. We speak

with Deans Winbigler and Wert and ask them for a public decision-making meeting with the President, or someone authorized to speak for him. They cannot speak for President Sterling, but inform us that he replied to our invitation, saying that he would meet privately with the SCPV after the Academic Council committee's report. This letter, dated May 18, was received by the SCPV May 20 at its Stanford post office box. Our letter requested a telephone reply. Dean Winbigler said that he would not negotiate with students on any matter at any time, and he would never recommend that President Sterling negotiate with students on any matter. Sterling offers by phone, through Dean Wert, only a private meeting to discuss our demands. Feeling that acceptance of such an offer would violate the spirit of our demands, we reject this proposal. No other offer comes from the Administration.

3.30 p.m. We sit-in. The group sitting-in involves many persons not in SCPV. We agree that each person is there as an individual, and that there are no leaders. Our demands are:

- 1) that the exam be cancelled
- 2) that no grades be released by the University directly to the Selective Service system
- 3) that there be a public decision-making meeting with President Sterling or his representative
- 4) that negotiations begin on increasing student participation in decision-making.

We stay the night in President Sterling's office.

FRIDAY, MAY 20: Morning: Sterling offers, through Winbigler and Wert, to have a closed meeting with several delegates from our group about the possibility of an open meeting (i.e., he would not guarantee an open meeting), but on condition that we end the sit-in. In attempt to meet the President half-way, we drop our first two demands, but continue our request for an open decision-making meeting. Sterling rejects our offer. At 11:45 a.m., police barred all students then outside (except Daily reporters) from entering President Sterling's office, and we were told that the judicial procedure of the University was in process. Afternoon: We request to speak with members of the Executive Committee of the Academic Council, again hoping to suggest a compromise that President Sterling would find satisfactory. Evening: We ask the Executive Committee in a letter to Professor Kenneth Arrow, Secretary of the Committee, if it would request that President Sterling attend a public meeting. We intended that if President agreed, we would end the sit-in. In a still further attempt at compromise, we drop our demand for an open decision-making meeting and make one final demand -- that there be an open meeting to discuss decision-making at Stanford, with the President or his representative in attendance.

SATURDAY, May 21: Morning: President Sterling rejects our offer. At 10:00 a.m. we are told by the police that we could not leave. Ten minutes later we are told by Dean Smith that the judicial procedure is irreversibly in motion. Shortly thereafter, as the police are about to take our names, Professor Packer of the Executive Committee enters with a reply to our letter to the Executive Committee. He states that the Executive Committee could not get a quorum and so could not make the request. The individual members available would call for a public meeting but would not agree to ask President Sterling to attend it.

We then ask Professor Packer as a last minute request if he personally would work for negotiations between ASSU President David Harris and the Executive Committee concerning ways of including students in that committee's decision-making on the Selective Service issue. We specifically inform Professor Packer that this would almost certainly end the sit-in. He refuses. We cannot reach any other members of the Executive Committee. We are told later -- Sunday, May 22 -- by a member of the Student Judiciary that Dean Winbigler stated that only those in President Sterling's office at 2:30 p.m. Saturday were subject to the judicial process.

Noon-2:30: We decide to leave. We issue statement that we are leaving and explain our decision. We leave at 2:30 p.m. and march to President Sterling's house to give him our requests. He is not at home and Mr. Glover receives them.



The most buoyant hour for the sit-ins was on Friday, just before 5 o'clock, when Paul Goodman, the foremost critic of the educational establishment, gathered a group of 200 students in support of the sit-in. Invited that day to speak on "Radical Education in a Time of Crisis" by the Stanford Committee for a Free University and the Free University of Palo Alto, Goodman moved his lecture from Memorial Auditorium and gave it in the corridor outside the President's office. He afterwards wrote an editorial on the anti-draft protests in Liberation, extracts from which are below. --

Probably the government made a classic bungle in giving the Qualification Tests. Students, often guiltily, were quiescent with 2-S; many were intimidated from any protest for fear of losing the 2-S. But the new tests instituted a change. Students were forced to choose to sign up or not, to think, to consult their consciences and discuss the matter with their peers. Thus, precisely the smart social engineering of Washington, aimed to confirm the system and heighten competitiveness, has, as often, tended to disrupt the system and strengthen the moral dissent of the community of youth. Indeed, it is evident that government intelligence on the temper of youth is as poor as on the temper of the Vietnamese.

In this debate, however, there has been little mention of the political meaning of the government policy itself, taken at face value. In my opinion, the very face value of the government's reasoning is a more damning indictment of our society than any of the other glaring inequities. It is claimed that everybody should serve according to his capacity; therefore the academically bright are to work in maintaining and advancing the structure at home, in technology, the professions, the school system, etc., whereas others will serve in other capacities, including being cannon fodder. That is, war and dying in war are taken to be activities of our society and social structure equivalent and commensurate to any other activities.



Turning from their internal debates, the sit-ins look out and listen to the Goodman lecture.

We are ending the sit-in now at 2:30 p.m. Saturday May 21, 1966.

We have been in President Sterling's office for nearly fifty hours, finally trying to get an assurance from the administration of Stanford University that it would convene in good faith an open meeting, with students and faculty having a real share in decision-making, on the matter of the university's administering of the Selective Service deferment examination. We have been attempting also to get through to the university power structure that in an academic community students should have a fair share in making decisions which directly affect our lives.

We have met with harassment and intimidation. The punitive process of the university's judicial procedure has been set in motion. Our several concessions were met with no willingness whatsoever on the part of President Sterling to negotiate with us.

We could not obtain even a promise that the open meeting would be held if we agreed to call off the sit-in.

Faced with raw power and utter refusal to negotiate on our last honorable concession, we rejected certain faculty members' face-saving propositions, and with the full knowledge that the judicial process is irreversibly proceeding to punitive action against us, we have unanimously decided to leave President Sterling's office of our own free will, choosing this kind of withdrawal in the belief that this would strengthen our future struggle for our just demands.

We had come to protest the moral callousness of the administration which chose to comply with a discriminatory conscription system; to protest the power structure which allowed one dean, without consultation with faculty and students, to decide that the university should become an agent of Selective Service. We end by establishing the depth not only of this moral callousness and authoritarian decision-making, but of the utter unreason of a university which, instead of beginning a dialogue with students who come with just demands, turned a deaf ear and resorted only to policing power and punitive measures.

We wish to make it perfectly clear we had no choice but to come to President Sterling's office -- after the administration made a one-man decision on a matter of life and death to some students, after the Academic Council had in effect abdicated their responsibility by shelving their decision until after both tests scheduled for Stanford were to be given. Students therefore had to take the matter into their own hands, and when President Sterling or his appointed representative declined to attend the open meeting we had invited him to, we had no choice, with the imminence of the test within two days, but to come directly to President Sterling's office to impress upon him the urgency of our plight.

We who sat in will no longer allow our lives to be disposed of in committees on which we are unrepresented. We were defeated and we chose the manner of our defeat on the deferment tests in the first round of a wider struggle to democratize the university's power structure -- a defeat which clearly exposes the moral failure and the intransigence of the administration, as well as the irresponsibility of the faculty; a defeat which strengthens our movement and ended with our being firmly united in renewing and enlarging the struggle.

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CHARGES AND DEMANDS
made at noon rally, May 24

By noon Friday it became clear to us that the Administration position on our request for an open meeting was inflexible; we had run into a stone wall. By noon Saturday it became clear that the faculty was well as the Administration constituted that stone wall. The faculty at large, and the three available men of the Executive Committee who appeared before us upon our request, from before the Academic Council meeting through 2.30 on Saturday, abdicated their moral responsibilities and their professional responsibilities to the students of this university. We base this indictment on the following facts:-

- 1) That the Academic Council delayed a decision on the draft exam until June 10, that is, until both scheduled exams would have been administered.
- 2) That at a time of emergency, when students were willing to risk punishment in order to assert their right to share decision-making power in those matters which directly affect their lives, the Executive Committee of the Academic Council, the official arm of the faculty, was unable even to call a meeting to consider the situation.
- 3) That when, at the time of the impasse with President Sterling, we directed a request to Professor Arrow of the Exec. Comm. to call for an open meeting on the subject of Selective Service which President Sterling or his representative would be requested to attend, the four members available refused to request that President Sterling or his representative attend such a meeting.
- 4) That, at the crucial moment when the Stanford Police had come in to take our names, the only member of the Exec. Comm. present refused to give us even his personal assurance that he would work for negotiations between the Exec. Comm. and David Harris to include students in university decision-making on this particular issue, an assurance which would have ended the sit-in.
- 5) That during the sit-in there was no show of support whatsoever from the faculty for students who were requesting no more than that the President of their University address them in public on an issue that for many of them literally involves life or death.
- 6) That during the sit-in no more than seven faculty members bothered even to appear before us to ascertain what they could do to help, or even to get accurate information on the issues and negotiations that were under way.
- 7) That, at a time when unified action was called for between faculty and students, the faculty acted not independently but in effect as an arm of the administration.

GIVEN THESE FACTS, IT SEEMS CLEAR TO US THAT THE FACULTY OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS ARE THOROUGHLY UNCONCERNED WITH THE LIVES OF THEIR STUDENTS, ARE UNWILLING TO ACT IN ANY WAY CONTRARY TO THE ADMINISTRATION, AND EFFECTIVELY HAVE NO POWER WHATSOEVER IN UNIVERSITY DECISION-MAKING. THEIR ACTIONS DURING THE LAST FEW DAYS SEEM TO US AN APPALLING INDICATION OF MORAL BANKRUPTCY AND INTELLECTUAL COWARDICE.

We call on the faculty to prove us wrong in our opinion. This is what they must do:-

- 1) The Executive Committee of the Academic Council should immediately begin negotiations with David Harris to integrate all student and faculty committees.
- 2) The Executive Committee should immediately begin discussions with Harris as to how these committees can be given final decision-making power.
- 3) Twenty faculty members should immediately call for an emergency meeting of the Academic Council, and the Council should call immediately for an open meeting on the questions of Selective Service and classified contracts and insist that President Sterling attend such meeting to defend his policies before a panel of faculty and students.

Following is a report from an official publication of the university of the Academic Council meeting of June 10:-

Academic Council Acts on Draft, Secret Research

The Stanford faculty has expressed general approval of the University's present policies concerning both selective service and classified research, but criticized the national use of college grades for student draft deferments.

The Academic Council said the University should continue making facilities available for selective service exams and provide class standings to local draft boards at the request of individual students.

It said Stanford's National Service Office, as a university facility, should provide "all relevant information to students affected by selective service, including information as to the status of conscientious objection."

The Council said the present selective service system in relying on aca-

demic criteria for deferments "raises serious problems of conscience and of practice affecting the conduct of higher education.

"The grading system and student curricular choices may be distorted by pressures extrinsic to the purposes and functions of a university. We feel that the long-term loss to the nation attending such pressures will outweigh their short-term contribution to our military effectiveness.

"We therefore strongly urge upon the government that . . . selective service . . . not call for indices of academic performance."

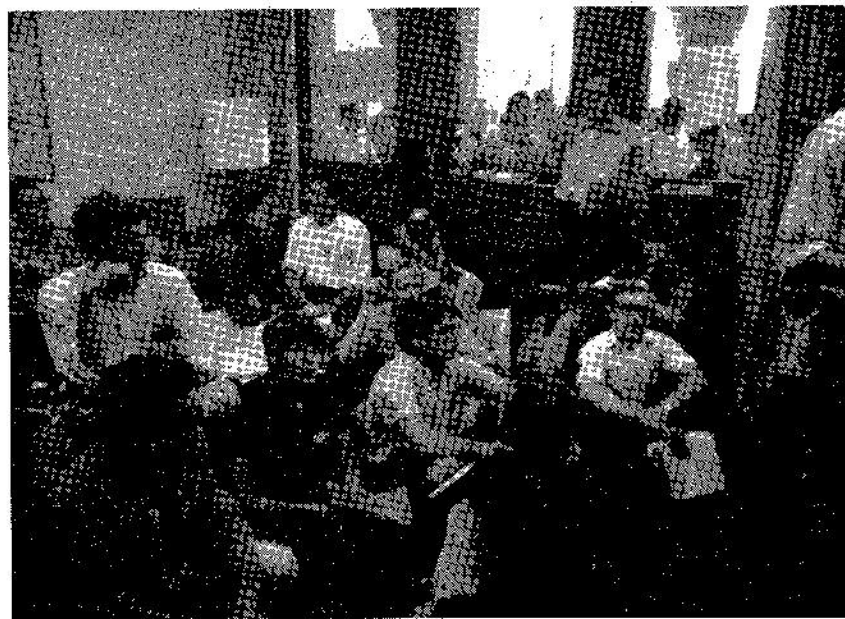
The Council also expressed its hope that President Wallace Sterling and other University officers "will seek the cooperation of other universities in taking multilateral action . . . to urge this position on this government and to explore alternative arrangements for meeting the nation's military manpower requirements."

In a separate series of resolutions, the Council established a new standing committee on research policy to consider the impact of grants and contracts "on the University as a whole" and to conduct a "continuing review" of problems related to classified research and work done for intelligence agencies like the C.I.A.



On June 12, the two committees most engaged in the sit-in, the Graduate Coordinating Committee and the Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam, handed out a leaflet at the commencement exercises. It said in part:-

It was the GCC, not the faculty, which initiated protest of the university's CIA and classified contracts, making the connection between the five man representation of Hewlett-Packard Company on the board of trustees, their tenancy on Stanford's industrial park, the phenomenal rise of the electrical engineering department and the increase in military electronic contracts. It was the Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam, not the faculty, which began the protest culminating in the sit-in against the university's collaboration with the unjust conscription procedures of the Selective Service System. The moral and intellectual feebleness of the faculty in those areas where the university functions as a business corporation and a military agency is the clearest proof of how the teaching-learning process has been vitiated and constricted by the property power of the trustees and their visible representatives, the administrators.



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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (Stanford Chapter)
and Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam