

23F

The War Research Controversy

1965-March 11, 1969

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History 3S.  
Mr. Mellini  
June 3, 1969

"In Vietnam, better living through chemistry."

--Steve Weissman

### Introduction

On April 9, 1969, a few hundred student liberals and radicals calling themselves the April 3rd Coalition occupied the Applied Electronics Laboratory (A.E.L.) of Stanford University, remaining there for nine days in an effort to stop the war research done at the University and at the Stanford Research Institute (S.R.I.). The sit-in followed the Stanford Board of Trustees' rejection of a set of demands<sup>1</sup> issued by approximately 800 people at a meeting on April 3rd. When the sit-in finally ended, ASSU President Denis Hayes called a meeting of the student body, at which over 3000 students voted in a poll on the issues of the sit-in. The results were as follows:

- 1) 2332 to 475 against chemical-biological warfare (CBW) research on campus and at S.R.I.
- 2) 2395 to 772 against counter-insurgency research
- 3) 2414 to 684 against war-related research
- 4) 2120 to 1045 against classified research
- 5) 1633 to 1468 willing to participate in a future "sit-in" or similar action of<sub>2</sub> protest" if the trustees did not take appropriate action by May 14.

5671 students and 671 faculty participated in a similar poll taken by the University administration. The results were as follows:

- 75% voted to restrict chemical warfare research
- 77% voted to restrict biological warfare research
- 57% voted to restrict counter-insurgency research

56% voted to restrict ~~to restrict~~ research related to the war in Southeast Asia

51% voted to restrict classified research

*Source? #  
Factors are  
confused*

A poll taken by The Daily in October, 1968, asked students if they supported demands issued by Students for a Democratic Society (S.D.S.) that Stanford and S.R.I. cease all classified research and that Stanford faculty and trustees publicize their corporate and government connections. *3 in a leaflet?*

70  
9  
According to this poll, 25% of the students supported the demands, and only 4% planned to participate in a legal demonstration at S.R.I. in Menlo Park in support of the demands.

This change in student opinion, *reflected in the difference between the October and April polls,* was a result of two factors: (1) leaflets, demonstrations, lectures, and discussion groups designed by radicals to inform the Stanford community of the University's and S.R.I.'s involvement in the war; and (2) the frustration felt by liberals who tried to work within the system but failed because of the political views held by the ruling bodies of the University, the trustees and the administration.

*There is  
posture  
#5.*  
The A.E.I. sit-in was not a radical sit-in, but mainly a liberal one<sup>4</sup>, led by a small group of radicals. The radical contingent was somewhat larger in April than in October, but not significantly so, and did not account for the vast numbers of people supporting the demands of the April 3rd Movement. The sit-in did not have the militant atmosphere of the sit-ins at Columbia and other universities, and there was virtually no violence on the part of either the demonstrators or the administration.

*Certainly a  
significant  
change*  
The opinion of the Stanford student body toward S.D.S. had changed little since the beginning of the year, but the attitude toward the trustees, primarily because of the March 11th open forum, had radically altered. At that forum, many students saw the trustees for the first time, and for the first time began to realize that the trustees should not have the power they possess. The students

saw that the trustees did not hold themselves responsible to student opinion, and that the trustees' political and moral views were vastly different from those of the student body.

*from "most" of the student body - not all!*

Paul Rupert, a leader of the Resistance and a representative on the panel at the March 11th forum, <sup>wrote</sup> ~~writes~~ in a subsequent article in the Peninsula Observer:

Five powerful and legitimate trustees came before the people they ruled... by the meeting's end, the rulers had lost control of their audience and the people were demanding an open meeting...

The trustees were frequently defensive, evasive, and far from candid. They were reluctant to commit themselves on anything of significance, and refused to say how they felt about chemical and biological warfare "until they read the committee report."<sup>6</sup>

This forum was the turning point in the controversy over war research at Stanford. The A.E.L. sit-in does not represent a radicalization of the student body over political issues as much as it does a liberal student power struggle over "humanitarian" issues, namely the CBW research and the war in Vietnam.



Background (1965 - 1968)

The war research controversy at Stanford started in 1965, when members of the Stanford Committee for Peace in Vietnam (S.C.P.V.) discovered that S.R.I. had two CBW contracts. This information was reported in a newsletter from the Graduate Coördinating Committee (organized in 1964), referred to in the S.R.I. Committee Minority Report as "the grandfather of the Stanford left."<sup>7</sup>

In the spring of 1966, the question of classified research came up during a sit-in in the President's office over draft tests. The research issue, however, was considered only secondary to the issue of the draft tests by the steering committee of S.C.P.V.<sup>8</sup> As a result of the sit-in the Baxter Committee was set up to review classified research, but the committee only eliminated a small part of the controversial research. *(and its process of review has been shown to be questionable!)*

During the spring of 1967, as a part of the nationwide Mobilization for Peace, <sup>the</sup> Experiment, (the on-campus forerunner of the Mid-Peninsula Free University), published two issues of a newspaper called Resistance, containing information on S.R.I., the Stanford industrial park (the location of many defense industries), and the Stanford Electronics Laboratories. The Experiment also printed posters with the words "We Accuse," with the pictures and names of President Sterling, and Trustees Hewlett, Packard, Ducommun, and Lewis, along with pictures of war horrors. These posters received extremely adverse public reaction on campus. An article in The Daily by Clay L. Miller called the protesters a "pestilential freak pack of witless political weirdos."<sup>9</sup> The posters were followed by the first march to S.R.I. in Menlo Park (April 14, 1967), in which 150 students (half of them <sup>allegedly were</sup> from local high schools)<sup>10</sup> protested the war research at the Institute. <sup>N</sup>

After this march, the issue apparently lost <sup>its point</sup> interest, even though David Ransom (formerly a member of the Experiment) published information about S.R.I.'s role in economic imperialism and CBW research in the Mid-Peninsula Observer

*issue is don't lose interest they lose the interest of someone*

through 1967 and 1968.<sup>12</sup> Finally, at a meeting of S.D.S. in the spring of 1968, Leonard Siegel, who had been involved with the Experiment and the Anti-Draft Union, proposed a demonstration at A.E.L. The proposal was discussed in S.D.S., but not adopted.

During the summer of 1968, Steve Weissman, a graduate student and a leader of the radical movement at Stanford, led a group (organized as a class of the Mid-Peninsula Free University) in researching information on war contracts at S.R.I. and Stanford. In a series of meetings during the summer, S.D.S. decided that the focus of the coming school year would be on an anti-imperialist program against the involvement of S.R.I. and Stanford in the war in Southeast Asia.

and, I think, not enough faculty involvement.  
6.  
Autumn, 1968

September started off with a student power issue. Despite requests from students, the Board of Trustees had selected the new President of the University with virtually no student involvement. Trustee John Gardner promised that a student advisory committee would be involved next time. He also said that increased communication between the trustees and students was essential, but added, "If you get beyond communication, you're in considerable danger of eroding the President and getting the trustees involved in day-to-day decision-making."<sup>13</sup>

S.D.S. came out with a different analysis in a booklet entitled "Through the Looking Glass," which contained much of the information found by Weisman's research group. S.D.S. implicitly denied the value of increased communication, <sup>(see this, 21)</sup> stressing the conflict of interests that existed between the trustees who owned defense industries and oil and mining interests in Southeast Asia, and the students who opposed the war. A review in The Daily (Sept. 24) by Dan Snell called S.D.S.'s view of society "naïve" but did agree that America wearing her "jewels of industrial expansion...has to a very large extent forgotten her people."<sup>14</sup>

The radical analysis was given some impetus from three speakers who came to Stanford in late September and early October: David Harris, a founder of the Resistance, Art Melville, an ex-Catholic priest who became a revolutionary in Guatemala to fight U.S. imperialism, and Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panthers, all of whom sharply criticized U.S. policy, foreign and domestic, and advocated various illegal methods of fighting it.

On October 1st, the first meeting of S.D.S. was held. Three hundred students attended, many just to find out what S.D.S. was about. Four speakers, including Weisman, spoke on Stanford's involvement in Southeast Asia and U.S. imperialism, and easily convinced the students that S.D.S.'s focus should be on ending war-related research at Stanford and S.R.I. The only public acknowledgment coming from the administration at this time was Acting President Robert J.

of what? exactly -

Glaser's interim policy on disruption, which made it a violation of University regulations to prevent or obstruct any University ~~and~~ activity.<sup>15</sup>

On October 8th, S.D.S. held a meeting and issued a set of demands to the University and S.R.I. The demands read as follows:

- This would be more effectively presented in the College*
- 1) The war in Vietnam and economic programs in conjunction with it are oppressive to Southeast Asia.
  - 2) The University is aiding this oppression.
  - 3) We have the obligation to act against this oppression.
  - 4) We have the power and the right to act.

We the members of S.D.S. demand that the University, its wholly owned subsidiary the Stanford Research Institute, and all members of the Stanford community cease forthwith all operations and programs concerned with Southeast Asia.

*No #* ← In addition to the demands, a dorm education program was decided upon, to enable S.D.S. members to discuss the demands with other students.<sup>16</sup>

On Thursday, October 10th, S.D.S. announced some additional demands:

All contracts, both classified and unclassified be made public, complete with information on the values of the contracts and the individuals performing the work; Stanford and S.R.I. trustees make public all their corporate and governmental connections; and the Stanford faculty make public all their governmental and corporate contracts and connections.

← A rally was announced for the following Monday, the deadline set for the demands. S.D.S. announced that if the demands were not met, they would march to S.R.I. to protest the war research.<sup>17</sup>

On October 11th, acting President Glaser announced that he was calling for a "student-faculty investigation of the Stanford Research Institute (S.R.I.) and its connection with the University," with a six month limit set on the investigation.<sup>18</sup>

Glaser's announcement met with a mixed response. S.R.I. Board Chairman Earnest Arbuckle (also a Stanford trustee and a director of Utah Mining and Construction, which builds B-52 bases in Thailand) and Kenneth Pitzer, the incoming

*and ex-Dean of the Div. School*

president of Stanford agreed with Glaser on the investigation,<sup>19</sup> but the radicals believed that the investigation was merely a stalling tactic of the administration. They argued that if these men really wanted an investigation, they could have the material ready in a day, and that six months was ridiculous. They also argued that the committee was merely examining the ties between S.R.I. and Stanford, and would probably propose severance, instead of attacking the main issue, the war research done there. The majority of the student body, however, seemed to think the investigation was reasonable.

At the same time, The Daily began publishing facts about S.R.I. An article on October 14th stated that 75% of S.R.I.'s work was for the government (and that 75% of this was for the Department of Defense), and that 5% of S.R.I.'s work was for international industry and foreign governments.<sup>20</sup> A later article revealed that "Research efforts in such things as village security programs, combat problems, logistics and intelligence work are not uncommon..."<sup>21</sup>

On Monday, October 14th, the S.D.S. demands had not been met, so the students held a demonstration at the main branch of S.R.I. on Ravenswood Avenue in Menlo Park. The Daily featured a somewhat biased and factually incorrect article the next day, which stated that "...members of S.D.S., gathered at the main entrance of S.R.I. in an unsuccessful attempt to provoke a public confrontation," and "an S.D.S.-S.R.I. confrontation fizzled out yesterday, but was replaced by a two hour dialogue..."<sup>22</sup> The "confrontation" actually came as S.D.S. had planned-- they had wanted to talk to the researchers at S.R.I., not provoke police action. As a result of the demonstration, S.R.I. public relations man Homer Meaders invited Stanford students to come to S.R.I. in small groups during the next week, to discuss the problems with S.R.I. personnel.

Although the negative attitude of Stanford students toward S.D.S. changed little, more people began to agree with their goals. On October 17th, Denis

Hayes recommended to the Board of Trustees that S.R.I. accept no new research contracts for CBW or counterinsurgency during the investigation,<sup>23</sup> but the recommendation was not accepted. A Daily editorial on October 21st made a recommendation similar to the S.D.S. demands, asking S.R.I. to stop accepting classified government contracts. The editorial also opposed severance, saying that "...severance of ties might make S.R.I. an arm of the Pentagon, if it is not already one."<sup>24</sup> The next day's Daily ran an article stating that one half of S.R.I.'s research was funded by the D.O.D., and that half of this was "basic research" while one half was "highly mission-oriented." Even some of the "basic research"<sup>25</sup> in radio-defence however, was considered easily applicable to ballistic missile radio systems.<sup>26</sup>

*identified - the author of...*

On October 17<sup>th</sup>, the radicals gained more liberal support when Seymour Hersh spoke at Stanford on CBW. He said that five hundred million dollars was being spent by the U.S. government on CBW, and also said that 6,400 sheep were killed in Utah as a result of the malfunction of a nozzle that released a cloud of nerve gas. Hersh said he believed that the nozzle may have been designed at S.R.I.<sup>27</sup>

*was not?*

On October 30th, the first whisperings of the conservative reaction were heard. In a column in The Daily, Harvey H. Hukari, Jr. a leader of the Young Americans For Freedom (Y.A.F.), called the white liberals and radicals "masochistic". He wrote:

"Every week some speaker from the outside world will come to Dinkelspiel or Cubberly and share with them the vicarious thrill of being an exploited grape worker in Delano, a downtrodden peasant in Guatemala, or a black person living in poverty and despair in East Oakland.

Understandably, the average great white hope for the future of America becomes concerned. He puts a Cranston sticker on the back of his Pontiac, and decides not to eat grapes for a week. Commitment."<sup>28</sup>

S.D.S. actions in November began with a "sit-out" at A.E.L. <sup>on the 5th,</sup> to protest the

*Sadly - Harvey  
was not for  
how the  
much there!*



war research there (electronic warfare).<sup>29</sup> The "sit-out" consisted of blocking one door and leaving the other open. Approximately 100 demonstrators "exorcized" A.E.L. with a chant and then talked to researchers. David Pugh, a leader of S.D.S. described the kind of work being done at A.E.L. and informed the others ~~there~~ that the Systems Techniques Laboratory there received about one million dollars from the D.O.D., and that 40% of its projects were classified. "The stuff they're doing now," he continued, "will be used to prosecute colonial wars of the future. We're going to act as proxies for the people of the Third World."<sup>30</sup>

Professor Stephen Kline of Mechanical Engineering objected to the protest saying that, "Basic research is always neutral," but Steve Weissman replied that only the U.S. and Russia can "take basic research and use it. You know in advance who'll use it."<sup>31</sup>

← One researcher complained that by asking him to make moral judgements in regard to his work, the students were expecting him to be a scientist and a philosopher at the same time, something that he thought was impossible.

The research issue lost public interest after November 5th, due to the "Eleitoral Wake" arrests and charges of political intimidation by the police. The situation was reflected in a Daily article by Philip Taubman on November 26th, in which he wrote, "Several members of S.D.S. call the experience [of the war research demands] 'a total bust.' The evident reason for failure, they say, were the overly general and off-campus nature of the demands."<sup>31</sup>

*in 1945 (The A Bomb worked!)  
It's been said that at Alamogordo, the Physicists lost their  
"sovereignty" - but a few seem to realize it!*

*I know what you mean, other readers will not.  
needs some more explanation!*

Winter, 1969

On January 14th, the issues were suddenly brought back into public consciousness when about 50 students, mostly S.D.S.<sup>members</sup>, broke up a Board of Trustees meeting at the Faculty Club. S.D.S. had demanded that ~~the~~ three trustees, Rodger Lewis (President of General Dynamics Corporation), William Hewlett (President of Hewlett-Packard Corporation), and Tom Jones (President of Northrop Corporation) either resign from the Board or from their positions in defense related industries. They also demanded: 1) that S.R.I. cease all C.B.W. research; 2) that all faculty who were members of D.O.D. boards resign from them; 3) that the S.R.I. counterinsurgency office in Thailand be closed; and 4) that the development of "people sniffers" at S.R.I. be stopped.

S.D.S. tried to force open the trustees' meeting to discuss the demands. The trustees refused to let the demonstrators in, but one of them entered the Faculty Club through the back and let the others in. They forced themselves past Administrators and demanded that the Trustees open the meeting. There was some shoving and name calling and finally the Trustees left.<sup>33</sup>

The Daily's editorial on January 15th asked the University Community to overlook S.D.S.'s tactics and think about the real issues behind them:

S.D.S. maintains that the United States' political involvement in Southeast Asia is immoral...they believe that Stanford Trustees and powerful men of their ilk are responsible for this involvement, for the war...and for the deaths of hundreds of thousands of human beings.

S.D.S. is right.

The radical students wanted to talk to the Trustees yesterday...not surprisingly, the captains of industry refused to hear them.

...the liberals know as well as everyone else that the Trustees will probably never listen, and if they do, it will just be a way of sapping their opposition.

...It is not constructive to carp ~~at~~ the style of the activists.

...And despite any shortcomings, <sup>in tactics</sup> they are the only ones who are putting themselves on the line to oppose evils that many others quietly accept.

We ask for the University Community to ~~to~~ share the frustrations of S.D.S. rather than taking their frustrations out against it.<sup>34</sup>



*Was done  
what you mean  
12. wait  
"accept"  
"understand"  
"tolerate?"*

But the University community had not yet reached the point where it could overlook S.D.S.'s tactics. The Daily was accused by many of "whitewashing"<sup>35</sup> the entire episode, not only in its editorial, but in its news coverage, and S.D.S. was accused of using "Nazi like tactics".<sup>36</sup> The majority of the student body thought that the S.D.S. had gone too far, that they should have shown respect for the trustees, and that their "violent" tactics were inexcusable. L.A.S.S.U. condemned the tactics, objecting both "philosophically and tactically..."<sup>37</sup>

S.D.S. used the uproar created by the disruption as a means to educate the community. On January 20th, they held a teach-in about the demands, explaining the class interests of the Trustees, and claiming that the Trustees used the University to serve their class interests. Harry Cleaver, one of the students in Weissman's summer research group, and also a member of the President's Committee on S.R.I., spoke about the war research at S.R.I.<sup>38</sup> Students showed an increased interest in the demands and the teach-in, largely as a result of the disruption.

*Do you accept this? at risk of saying the future of all things!*

A defence of the disruption, written by Cary Dictor of S.D.S., claims that "...since we strive to eliminate wars, killing, violence, exploitation, and oppression, as long as our methods contain less of these things than [that] which we want to do away with, they are preferable and justifiable. So if 200 Vietnamese are destroyed by the United States Government in a day, we have a veritable Carte Blanch to brutalize and destroy anything of less value than 200 lives during that day..."<sup>39</sup> A letter written to The Daily by Georgia Kelly of S.D.S. states that, "The American Government and Corporations can more appropriately be compared to Nazis."<sup>40</sup>

Subsequent events played into the hands of the radicals. In January a panel discussion about the recent S.E.S. proposals was held. S.D.S. used the opportunity for a teach-in on imperialism, and Stanford's involvement in the war.

On January 27th, The Daily announced that S.R.I. had accepted a new top secret, counter-insurgency contract with Thailand in December despite Hayes' request. S.R.I. Vice President Brunsvold defended the contract saying, "This is an extension of our work-- not a new contract. We don't know what they do with our results, at least not here. Those that feel about our work should take their complaints to the Department of Defense."<sup>41</sup>

On Wednesday January 29th, S.D.S. held a rally in the Old Union courtyard, to which they invited President Pitzer to explain why he had not met their demands, and invited Prof. William Rambo, the director of A.E.L., S.R.I. V.P. Brunsvold, and Trustee William Hewlett to answer questions. Only Rambo accepted the invitation. Pitzer made a statement to S.D.S. saying that "it is... unacceptable to me to consider, as the S.D.S. has proposed, that we interfere with individual freedom of choice of trustees or faculty."<sup>42</sup>

The S.D.S. rally was disrupted by militant Young Republicans and Young Americans for Freedom, led by Harvey Hukari. The right-wing protestors carried signs denouncing S.D.S.'s "facist" [sic] tactics, and continuously shouted down S.D.S. speakers. At the rally, Hukari declared that S.D.S. did not speak for the majority of the students. Fred Cohen of S.D.S. replied, "Of course S.D.S. doesn't speak for the majority of Stanford Students. Why should the majority of Stanford Students decide for the Vietnamese people? The Vietnamese people have the right to make their own decisions."<sup>43</sup>

After the rally, S.D.S. held a mill-in at A.E.L. to disrupt the research there. The conservatives blocked the doorways, not letting the S.D.S. members through, but about 50 of them managed to get in a back door. After the mill-in, S.D.S. moved to the S.R.I. facilities on Hanover Street in Palo Alto, but were unable to get past the locked doors and security guards.

The militant action of the right wing caused a student backlash. After

Feel  
and do  
better  
than  
this is  
disappointing  
Harry

having denounced S.D.S. tactics for so long, the Y.R.'s and the Y.A.F. members were considered hypocrites for using similar tactics. The student body was generally disgusted with both sides, but was probably more sympathetic to S.D.S. who at least had a coherent analysis.

On February 11th, the Judicial Council commenced the hearings concerning the disruption of the January Trustees meeting, and found 29 students in violation of Glaser's policy on campus disruptions. The second half of the hearings <sup>5</sup> were devoted to the motivation behind the disruption, and the defendants used this session as a teach-in. They divided their defense into five parts: 1) Wealth and Power: the existence of a ruling class with control over the University; 2) the University and Local Affairs; 3) the University as a Channeling Institute in Society, stressing its connections with industries; 4) Stanford in Southeast Asia; S.R.I. and A.E.I.; and 5) Confrontation and the Fundamental Standard. <sup>44</sup>

At the hearing on Friday, February 4th, the students blamed the Trustees for the confrontation, saying that it was their failure to listen to the student demands that produced the disruption. James Johnson, (S.D.S.) a defendant, stated that, "The people who should be on trial are those God-damned mother-fucking Trustees...they're the criminals." James Schoch, (S.D.S.) another defendant, declared, "The differences between us and the Trustees are not ones of communication, but definite political, ideological, and non-negotiable differences...We've been charged by the Trustees that we threatened violence, yet they're making decisions that further the violence of the Vietnam War. If we had played by their rules, we would have napalmed them." <sup>45</sup>

50 Alan Cristelow, a defendant and a member of S.D.S., said, "Violence results from the insistence of the dominant powers that the hierarchical distance between them and us is going to be maintained...when confrontation is suppressed,

then it becomes violent." <sup>46</sup>

Doron Weinberg, the informal defense counselor, gave the final and most powerful speech:

The law is supposed to judge both students and Trustees impartially...but that's not true. The law is no more a value free than anything else in this society and the law is, in fact, a tool of the Trustees...The fact that you, (the council), have to uphold the law as it exists means that...you have already put yourselves on the side of the Trustees and against the students... If that's the law, then yes, ~~we~~ broke it, but join <sup>47</sup> us, break it with us, because that's where justice is.

The defendants were found guilty of violating the disruption policy. Twenty-six of them were fined fifty dollars each, and <sup>given</sup> suspended suspensions and one year probation. Stephen Smith was fined \$300 for breaking into the meeting and letting the others in, and for taking a copy of the agenda for the meeting; Fred Cohen was fined \$200 for threatening a University official and several trustees; and Jim Johnson was fined \$100 for kicking and beating on the doors and windows of the trustees' room with his heavy boots and a stick. The fines were to be paid to the Martin Luther King Fund to aid Stanford's minority group program.

The Council stated in its report that "...the University administration and the Board of Trustees failed to make clear to the defendants what proper channels, if any, existed for communication between students on one hand and the administration and the Board on the other," and that this failure "was a contributing factor of the disruption."<sup>48</sup>

S.D.S. had alienated what little support it had through its disruption of the trustees' meeting and its "disrespectful" attitude during the first S.J.C. hearing. Normally, liberal support contributed little to the radical movement, but at this point, any action taken by S.D.S. alone would have been almost completely hopeless. With most of its leaders on probation, any action could

result in their immediate suspension. In an editorial, The Daily said that S.D.S. had to get liberal support and find better tactics.<sup>49</sup> S.D.S. responded to the situation by doing so.

On March 4th, an article in The Daily announced a new "S.R.I. Coalition," composed of both liberals and radicals, who urged that S.R.I. be brought under tighter controls by the University, and that S.R.I. end CBW and counter-insurgency research. A petition expressing this position was circulated, and signed by Yale Braunstein(LASSU), Robert McAfee Brown(Prof. of religion), David W. Jones (chairman of the Committee for New Democratic Politics), Philip Taubman(editor of The Daily), and twenty others.<sup>50</sup>

On March 5th the S.J.C. defendants announced that "In light of the SJC's failure to examine corporate violence by the trustees, we have decided not to pay to the University the punitive \$1900 fine..." and that they would raise as much money as possible and give it to the Black Panther party. They also wrote a letter to the trustees, inviting them to an open meeting on campus the following Tuesday, when the trustees had a scheduled on-campus meeting. The letter was also signed by Yale Braunstein and Vic von Schlegall, ASSU Vice President. President Pitzer asked the student members of the new University Advisory Committee (Michael Sweeney, Patrick Shea, Roulette Smith, Al Spector, and Denis Hayes) to consider the problem. The students changed the invitation from an open meeting to an open forum on Tuesday, March 11th.<sup>51</sup>

The trustees accepted the proposal, which proved to be a fatal mistake.

They sent as representatives Mrs. Allan Charles, Charles Ducommun (a director of Lockheed Aircraft Corp.), <sup>Judge</sup> Benjamin Duniway, <sup>wife of an attorney</sup> W.P. Fuller, III, and William Hewlett (President of Hewlett-Packard Corp., a director of FMC Corp., and a director of the Chrysler Corp.). The students were represented on the panel by Jeanne Friedman(S.D.S.), Bill Klinge(S.D.S.), David Pugh(S.D.S.), Mike Kuhl(YR's), Pat Shea(University Advisory Committee, and presently ASSU President), Michael Weinstein(LASSU), and Paul Rupert(Resistance). Doron Weinberg was the

*no one did - but some illusions did*  
*serious mistake*  
*Your metaphor could be better*

*identical*  
*not*  
*clearly*

moderator.

Paul Rupert opened with a statement condemning the trustees' use of power to further their own interests, and finished his speech by asking Ducommun, "will you lay down your weapons?"

Ducommun said no. The meeting continued with various accusations against the trustees. A speaker from the floor asked Hewlett if FMC was making lethal nerve gas, and Hewlett said no. Then Rupert interrupted and quoted two sources stating the opposite. Hewlett replied, "...I happened to check with the president of FMC, whom I consider superior to your sources, and he says that they are not making nerve gas at the present time." *How marvelous you should have this.*

The speaker from the floor asked, "Have they ever made nerve gas?"

Hewlett answered, "The answer is yes. They were asked by the government to build a plant, which they built and operated at the request of the government and they turned that plant over to the government about six months ago."<sup>52</sup>

As the meeting went on, the trustees began to lose their power over the students. The meeting proved to be the turning point in the anti-imperialist movement at Stanford. As Paul Rupert writes in the Peninsula Observer:

The successful meeting was a decisive point in the long struggle against the trustees and their political and military involvements. It grew out of the research of the early Vietnam years, a time that saw the campus plastered with posters accusing the trustees of war crimes. The meeting was also possible because of dorm discussions and newspaper articles, numerous demands, and the SDS 'opening' of January 14... The meeting saw a steady erosion of their [the trustees'] position, a transfer of the crowd's identification from them to us. It may have been the beginning of the transfer of some of their power as well.

*I wonder?*

*The helpful too have gone for quite awhile - One can question its direction or force of it.*



The open forum of March 11th began a shaky liberal-radical coalition, that lasted through the A.E.L. sit-in. The alliance was necessary to both groups-- the liberals lacked leadership, a coherent ideology, and effective tactics, while the radicals lacked the <sup>means - most support</sup> ~~power~~ to accomplish any of their goals. The coalition gave to both groups what they needed. It was cemented not by a sudden change in liberal ideology, but rather by a feeling of complete frustration on their part caused by the lack of positive response from the trustees. The liberals did not lose their faith in the future of American society, they only lost their faith in a small group of men who, according to the radicals, rule American society. But the liberals did wake up to the fact that there is more than a communication gap between themselves and the trustees, that there is at least a contradictory world-view if not a genuine conflict of interests.

For the radicals, the meeting was the most effective educational tool that had ever fallen into their hands. It brought them into contact with the student body, something they had been hopelessly trying for all year. It meant that they had to tone down their tactics and rhetoric for a while, but it also meant that they were no longer working in a <sup>political</sup> vacuum. Their "cries" about the ruling class finally hit home: the power of the trustees had come into conflict with the "will" of the students for the first time. S.D.S. had avoided the student power issue carefully, believing that the student body was not sufficiently politically educated to use power properly, but the trustees forum gave the liberals both the education and the sense of conflict and power that S.D.S. had failed to give them during the year.

The demands of the April 3rd Movement were a reflection of this change. CBW research was the main issue now, and no longer imperialism. A liberal-moral issue had replaced the radical-political issue that S.D.S. had been trying to organize around. Although the Movement failed to achieve its goals, the

best - <sup>large #s of the</sup> heads of ~~the~~ students - "will of students" is <sup>from</sup> ~~from~~.

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demands showed S.D.S. what type of issue would arouse the liberals. The liberals, incensed by their moral goals and the perceived immorality of the trustees, were finally willing to challenge the trustees' right to make decisions for them: the actual issue beneath the demands was a struggle for power. To succeed next year S.D.S. will have to organize around this issue; the legitimacy of the trustees, and their right to rule in an undemocratic fashion. The <sup>behavior was</sup> trustees ~~were~~ the catalyst that brought the liberals and radicals together for a short time during April, and if S.D.S. operates effectively, they can use the trustees as a focal point for next year's movement, and again form a coalition with the liberals. (By the way, my position has changed from the opportunism suggested here) D.H.

Doug,

It's a good paper - and you've kept a sense of analysis in sight - First - watch your paragraphing ~ it's too jagged at times and hampers the flow of narrative Second - be <sup>consciously</sup> more critical of your sources - see my remark on p. 4 for examples

The definition of radical & liberal - whose footnote I've left out should be in the body of the paper. It would help!

You keep ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> attention of the reader on Stanford - that is proper but I think the movement reflects the frustration felt from within outside - in DC, U.S. Navy, SF State & Berkeley



## Notes

1. The Coalition demanded closer ties between the University and S.R.I., with guidelines to ensure "socially acceptable research" at S.R.I. and Stanford. There were further demands for cessation of all classified research, all chemical and biological warfare research, all counter-insurgency research, and all research in support of the war in Vietnam Laos and Thailand. The final demand was for an open meeting of the Board of Trustees during the week of April 21st. The trustees responded with only a moratorium on new CBW contracts, and a promise of closed hearings with selected witnesses. (Cleaver-Bauer Minority Report of the President's S.R.I. committee, "SRI Supplement," Stanford Daily, April 5, 1969, p.13.)

2. Stanford Daily, April 21, 1969, p.1.

3. An unsigned, untitled leaflet, apparently published by the April 3rd Movement. *But how reliable with no notion of its source?*

4. Stanford Daily, Oct. 11, 1968, p.1.

5. The distinction between liberals and radicals can be made in terms of party membership and ideology (including both objectives and tactics).

The majority of the radicals associate with either S.D.S. or the Resistance.

Their goals include democratic, decentralized socialism (S.D.S.) and an end to the draft and the war in Vietnam (S.D.S. and the Resistance). They generally do not consider illegality a sufficient reason for refraining from using potentially effective tactics, since they regard the legal system as a tool of the ruling class used for political suppression.

The liberals are less organized, with some of them belonging to reform groups such as the Committee for New Democratic Politics. Many of their goals are outwardly similar to those of the radicals: they want

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to end the war and stop CBW, but their motivation is usually more humanitarian than political. They reject the radical analysis of imperialism, and see the war in Vietnam as an isolated exception rather than the logical outcome of corporate capitalism. They reject the radicals' tactics because they are "violent" and illegal, and believe that disagreements should be resolved through increased communication("rational dialogue") rather than by force and confrontation.

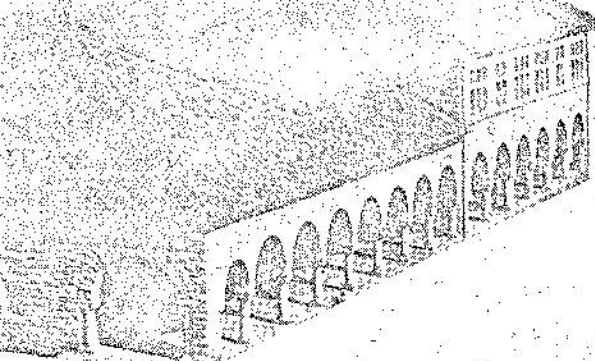
The distinctions between the two groups became unclear at A.E.L. because the liberals were using what appeared to be radical tactics. However, many of the liberals participating in the sit-in viewed it as a symbolic demonstration and not coercion, and their general ideology remained the same. Few of them joined S.D.S. even after the sit-in.

- 6: Peninsula Observer, Through March 3, 1969, pp.9,12.
7. Cleaver-Bauer Report, p.12.
8. Letter from the steering committee of S.C.P.V., May, 1966.
9. Stanford Daily, May1, 1967.
- > 10. Leonard Siegel, interview, May, 1969. *How does he prove this?*
11. The response from S.R.I. to the growing student dissatisfaction appears to be purposefully deceitful. Homer Meaders, the public relations man at S.R.I., stated that "No chemical or biological warfare weapons are being developed here at S.R.I."(Stanford Daily, April 14, 1967.) Although his statement was probably technically true, a statement from S.R.I. to the S.R.I. Committee set up by Acting President Glaser in October, 1968, clarifies the situation: "The Institute has conducted and is conducting research for agencies of the Government which have a preparedness mission in the field of chemical and biological warfare."(S.R.I. Committee Majority Report, "SRI Supplement," Stanford Daily, April 5, 1969, p.2.
12. Midpeninsula Observer, Aug. 8-22, 1967; Feb. 19-March 4, 1968; and April 8-22, 1968. (The name of the paper was later changed to the Peninsula

Observer.)

13. Stanford Daily, Sept. 23, 1968, pp.1,4.
14. Ibid., Sept. 24, 1968, p.1.
15. Ibid., Oct. 7, 1968, p.1.
16. Ibid., Oct. 9, 1968, p.1.
17. Ibid., Oct. 11, 1968, p.1.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., Oct. 14, 1968, p.1.
21. Ibid., Oct. 16, 1968, p.1.
22. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1968, p.1.
23. Ibid., Oct. 18, 1968, p.1.
24. Ibid., Oct. 21, 1968, p.3.
25. S.R.I. and A.E.L. employees continually make a distinction between "basic" and "applied" research, even if both are being funded by the D.O.D. and will eventually be used in the same weapon. S.D.S. rejects this distinction, and this example illustrates the reason why. (see above, p.10.)
26. Stanford Daily, Oct. 22, 1968, p.1.
27. Ibid., Oct. 17, 1968, p.6.
28. Ibid.
29. The Goods on AEL, April 3rd Movement, Stanford, Calif., April, 1969.
30. Stanford Daily, Nov. 6, 1968, p.2.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid., Nov. 26, 1968, p.1.
33. Ibid., Jan. 15, 1969, p.1.
34. Ibid., p.2.
35. Ibid., Jan. 22, 1969, p.3.
36. Ibid., Jan. 17, 1969, p.4.

37. Ibid., p.1.
38. Ibid., Jan. 21, 1969, p.1.
39. Ibid., p.2.
40. Ibid..
41. Ibid., Jan. 27, 1969, p.1.
42. Ibid., Jan. 29, 1969, p.1.
43. Ibid., Jan. 30, 1969, p.1.
44. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1969, p.1.
45. Ibid., Feb. 24, 1969, p.1.
46. Ibid., Feb. 25, 1969, p.1.
47. Ibid., p.4.
48. Ibid., March 3, 1969, pp.1,5.
49. Ibid., p.2.
50. Ibid., March 4, 1969, p.1.
51. Ibid., March 6, 1969, pp. 1-2
52. Peninsula Observer, Through March 31, 1969, pp.9-10.
53. Ibid., pp.9,12.



# Transcript of the meeting

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In the wake of "opening up" the January 14 meeting of the Stanford Board of Trustees, Students for a Democratic Society at Stanford invited the trustees to an open forum to explain their involvement, and Stanford's involvement, in Southeast Asia. Shortly afterwards, the University Advisory Committee--a student, faculty, trustee group--issued an invitation for a more general discussion between representatives of the trustees and "concerned students." The following is an edited transcript representing about forty-five minutes of that two-hour meeting, held in Memorial Auditorium on Tuesday, March 11.

Representing the trustees were Mrs. Allan Charles (whose husband is a partner in the San Francisco law firm Lillick, McHose, Wheat, Adams, and Charles), Charles Ducommun (president of Ducommun, Inc., and a director of Lockheed Aircraft Corporation and the Security First National Bank), Benjamin Duniway (federal judge in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals), W. P. Fuller, III (a director of the Western Pacific Railroad, Wells Fargo Bank, Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, and Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company), and William Hewlett (president of the Hewlett-Packard Company and a director of the FMC Corporation and the Chrysler Corporation).

Representing the students were Jeanne Friedman (a member of SDS), Bill Klingler (SDS), Mike Kuhl (Stanford Young Republicans), David Pugh (SDS), Paul Rupert (The Resistance), Pat Shea (University Advisory Committee), and Michael Weinstein (last year's speaker of the student legislature). Doron Weinberg was moderator.

Ladies and gentlemen of the board of trustees, we are here today because of who you are and what you do -- both in this community and in the outside world. You are wealthy white businessmen, bankers, or lawyers, or the wives of such men. You have ultimate control over this university, which men of your choosing staff and run. You help run a variety of commercial empires in which you dictate basic policy. In both cases, your power is immense, and your right to that power is seldom questioned. You would probably agree that you make decisions in the

best interests of the people you touch: we are here to challenge that assumption.

Ultimately, you control the finances of this university; you allocate the resources. Today you reviewed the budget prepared by your president. Over the years you have created a university in which engineering, aerospace, chemistry, business and electronics are emphasized. You have not created a university in which critical analysis of society and its goals is encouraged. You can decide which strata of society you will serve by setting admissions standards and providing financial aid. On the land you hold in trust for the community's use, you have built an industrial park, luxurious homes, and SRI. You are now building luxury apartments, and preparing to build a new industrial park. Clearly, such decisions largely determine the context and limits of our education.

The well-trained graduates of this university will enter your corporations or those of your associates, they will enter your university or one like it, they will work for your department of defense. And their work, like their education, will be in your interest. If that work is the planning of the Thai economy, the annihilation of Vietnamese who want to plan their own society; if it is the pacification of the demands of urban ghetto-dwellers who feel a need not for pacification, but for change; if it is the development of your industrial parks in a misshapen Peruvian economy, the creation of more lethal forms of chemical and biological warfare; if it is the development of a sociology or a political science which studies primarily the defense and expansion of your ideology and power, without challenging its basic assumptions--then Stanford graduates will do that work.

Or at least, many Stanford graduates. But a growing number of us look upon a different world, a world in which your interests -- those of the corporations and the university -- are in fact not the interests of a majority of the world's people: the poor and the black at home, the underfed, the undereducated, and the overpoliced of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. We came to this university to learn about that world, to discover how we and other men can best live in it. We found not an

(cont. on p. 10, col. 1)

Observer



# 10 Transcript

cont. fr. p. 9, col. 3)

institution dedicated to finding the truth, to doing research on fundamental human problems, to teaching democracy through practice, but rather a research and training institute which processes men and women to fill hierarchical social roles. In the face of Vietnam and the American hettos, the intrusion of daily news, the overwhelming fact of human suffering and plundered resources, we have had to mold our own education. And that education has led us to you: we are asking that you justify your inordinate power over the lives of men.

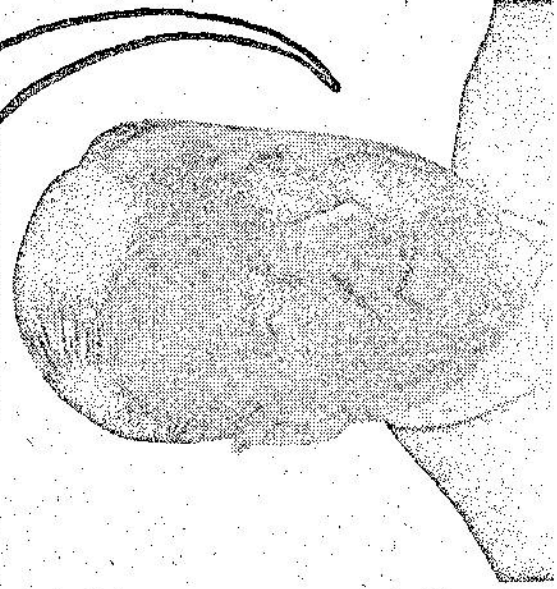
We recognize that you have the power to remain silent and to evade our questions. We have seen you meet in closed session for years, inaccessible to us and our inquiries. And recently, when a group of SDS members attempted to open the door to air the question of your individual and collective activities in Southeast Asia, they were met with your adjournment and their subsequent punishment. An SDS request for an open meeting with all the trustees was apparently rejected; in its place we have this meeting, with selected participants, at a time and place of your choosing. There is no question that you have the power. If we do not like the university, we are told we should go elsewhere -- in much the same way the Vietnamese or Thai or Colombian guerrillas are told that things shall be a certain American way -- or else. We cannot accept your principles of exclusion: we demand that our politics be inclusive, that we involve all those affected by the university and the corporation in their decisions. You have decried the use of force on campus; we insist that you abandon your weapons of control and coercion on campus, and your weaponry of

our country, but also, of course, is one of the largest builders of commercial aircraft in the world. You are asking me to do something that I think is completely unreasonable if you want this country properly protected, to protect your freedom that you're trying to fight for today. (Laughter.)...

(At this point questioners described the overseas investments of the Trustees' various corporations, and pointed out that SRI was very much involved in economic research and counter-insurgency work in those countries.)

Klingel: ... Union Oil is now drilling in Thailand, where SRI--as the gentleman pointed out--is doing quite a bit of research. In addition, Utah Mining and Construction Company, which is represented on the Board of Directors by, let me see, well, Mr. Arbuckle, and also Mr. Littlefield who is not here, is doing quite a bit of the building of bases, air bases, in Thai-

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Stanford Board was all-white, why there were no black or Third World people on the Board. The Trustees said there might be some in the future, that they were considering expansion, and so forth.)

Floor: I would like to know why there are no Third World people (presently) on the Board of Trustees.

Fuller: I guess the honest answer is that we have not gone out and looked for one. (Laughter and applause.)

## HEWLETT'S FIB ABOUT GAS

Floor: I want to see if there is some sort of credibility gap in this university. SDS has said that your FMC (FMC Corp., a conglomerate of which Hewlett is director--ed.) is producing lethal nerve gas. Do you deny that categorically? And if you don't, then I really question your humanity. If you are the sort of person who can direct a company which can make lethal nerve gas, then you're the sort of person I don't want running my university. (Applause.)

Hewlett: FMC does not make nerve gas.

Rupert: Seymour Hersh, in what I understand is a definitive study called Chemical and Biological Warfare attributes the Newport, Indiana chemical plant, which produces Sarin, a version of nerve gas, to your corporation; and further checking on that by David Ransom of the Peninsula Observer got a clarification and an affirmation from one of the public relations men in your office in San Jose. So either the book and your P.R. man are wrong, or in fact it's true.

Hewlett: I'm amazed by the accuracy and reliability of your sources, but I happened to check with the president of FMC, whom I consider superior to your sources, and he says that they are not making nerve gas at the present time.

Floor: Have they ever made nerve gas.

Hewlett: The answer is YES. They were asked by the government to build a plant, which they built and operated at the request

er. If we do not like the university, we are told we should go elsewhere -- in much the same way the Vietnamese or Thai or Bolivian guerrillas are told that things shall be a certain American way -- or else.

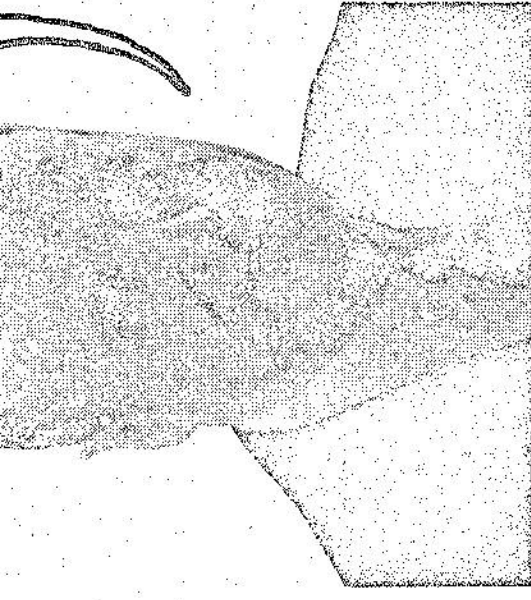
We cannot accept your principles of exclusion; we demand that our politics be inclusive, that we involve all those affected by the university and the corporation in their decisions. You have coerced the use of force on campus; we insist that you abandon your weapons of control and coercion on campus, and your weaponry of death and oppression around the world, and thus demonstrate your faith in the ability of the world's people, and the people of this community to create a democracy. Then as advisors, as men dedicated to open, democratic decision-making, we ask you to join us in the creation and direction of a real community.

Essentially I am asking that you transform your lives and your businesses; that you share your power. I am saying that such faith and such willingness are prerequisites for participation in an educational community. If you cannot show that faith, if you do not lay down your weapons, then I can only predict a steady erosion of the hope of non-violent change. Ghettos will burn again, guerrilla strength will grow, your campus will be torn apart. In the face of growing militarization, revolutionaries will study and steal your weaponry, and you will have lost your chance.

I urge you to lay down your weapons and your defensiveness; if you will not, then please resign and let the community replace you with men who will lead by the strength of their vision and not by their power.

Mr. Ducommun, as a trustee and a director of Lockheed, will you lay down your weapons?

Ducommun: I have to answer that categorically NO. (Applause.) Lockheed not only builds articles for the defense of



in your office in San Jose. So either the book and your P.R. man are wrong, or in fact it's true.

Hewlett: I'm amazed by the accuracy and reliability of your sources, but I happened to check with the president of RMC, whom I consider superior to your sources, and he says that they are not making nerve gas at the present time.

Floor: Have they ever made nerve gas.

Hewlett: The answer is YES. They were asked by the government to build a plant, which they built and operated at the request of the government and they turned that plant over to the government about six months ago. (Loud laughter and applause.) . . .

## DUCOMMUN: SRI IRRELEVANT

Floor: Research down at SRI, funded by the Defense Department, is used to help exterminate Vietnamese and those Vietnamese to date haven't had a whole lot to say about that--at least in your Board meetings; and I'm just wondering whether research criteria that don't involve people who are being affected and in some cases being killed by the decisions that are being made, whether in fact that kind of policy is tolerable. I hold that there's no such thing as academic freedom to commit genocide in Vietnam, and I'd like Mr. Ducommun and Mr. Hewlett, as the leading war profiteers on the panel, to respond to that.

Ducommun: First of all, I would challenge your statement that I'm a war profiteer. I'm not. You keep constantly harping about this idea that those who are on the Board are mixed up with the military-industrial-scientific complex. I think your common sense has gone someplace when you try to identify us in that kind of a conspiracy. There's not a single person on the Stanford Board that I've worked with for so many years who isn't trying with the best common sense to do a job for all of you students, all of the university as a whole. I think the statements that Judge Dunaway made that we try to find the finest

land. That's just to clear up that fact.

Ducommun: What's the connection? (Laughter.)

Pugh: First, Mr. Hewlett said that he's not connected with SRI. Well, as I understand it the Stanford Board of Trustees appoints the SRI Board of Directors; in fact, the Stanford Board of Trustees actually owns SRI. So there is a connection there, there's a legal connection. Secondly, Mr. Ducommun doesn't quite understand the connection between the trustees' corporate interest in Thailand and SRI's counter-insurgency office in Thailand. There are forty-three permanent staff members in Thailand now working for SRI. Now, we're not subscribing to any conspiracy theory, like Ar buckle or Littlefield or Alf Brandin, who's the Vice-President for Business Affairs at Stanford, who's also a Utah director, that they go over to SRI and say, "How about a little counter-insurgency to protect our investments?" It's not a bunch of cigar-smoking ogres up in the board-room. It's rather that these men form a class who have interests in investments in the Third World, and SRI was formed to do research for government and industry in 1946.

(A number of people asked why the



faculty for you, we do not try to . . .

Floor: That wasn't what I asked.

Ducommun: I'm getting to your question. The job we're trying to do for the university as a whole is one of building a great university that is going to serve all of mankind, and the problems at SRI are completely irrelevant to this discussion. Completely.

Floor: The SRI study group is going to come out with a report in the middle of April either recommending severance of SRI from the university or that it be brought under tighter control by the university, and YOU as trustees are going to have that decision, and that's where the bulk of the offensive research that we're talking about is done. Now, if you won't talk to that point, then why are you here?

Ducommun: Are you convinced that all of the research that Stanford Research does is done to kill the Vietnamese?

Floor: Enough of it.

Ducommun: Does SRI do anything that's good in your opinion?

Floor: Can I . . .

Ducommun: Answer the question, answer the question.

Floor: I'm asking YOU to answer the question. I asked the question why SRI should be permitted to do research that takes the lives of Vietnamese, that decisions are made for which you people who make decisions are held in no way accountable--now is that tolerable?

Ducommun: Do you think that SRI does anything to help protect the lives of American soldiers in Vietnam? (Shouts from the audience of "Answer the question!") (Trustee Hewlett intervened here with a general response to the line of questioning that had been going on for some time.)

Hewlett: . . . Now, in a sense you've asked a lot of questions about what are our morals, if you wish. Really, each person has to live with himself and to accept a position like this . . .

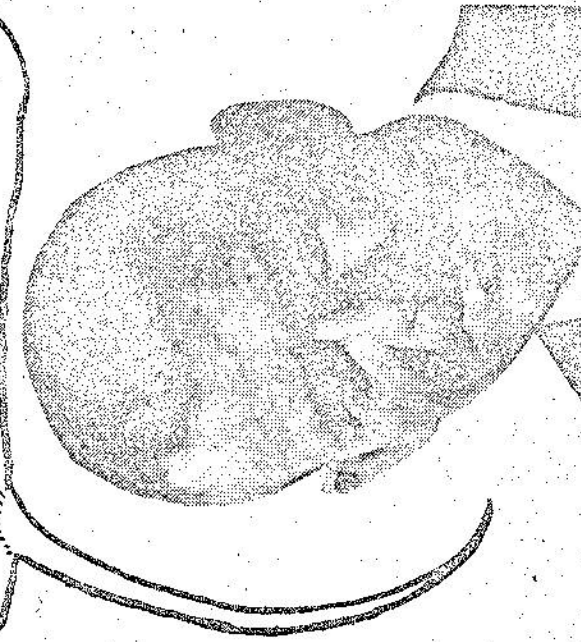
Friedman: But the Vietnamese have to live with you!

itical issue?", something like that?

All right, let me take those two if I may, just briefly. Stanford ought to be a place where you have a first class faculty in all of the major disciplines of learning, offering the very best quality of teaching and doing research along the lines that are of interest to them, to students who come here to learn and to work with them. There ought to be free inquiry, there ought to be free discussion, there ought not to be repression of the truth on the part of either faculty or students--by anybody.

Now, the second question is, "Should the university take political positions?" I say that if the university gets into taking political positions it will be destroyed. (Cheering and applause.) I don't care whether it's fascist, Republican, Democrat, communist, whatever you want to call it. Where it becomes a political instrument, then it's going to become con-

**S.U.'s services are performed for the U.S. I hardly call that political**



of your office with a picket sign. Thank you, that is not doing my thing, and you doing your thing, and all things are equal, and everything is lovely. (Applause.) That is not what an educational community is.

Gentlemen, I would like to say to you that a real educational community means that all the people who are part of that community--the black workers on this campus, the students on this campus--have the same degree of authority to put into practice what we agree we want. We do not have that authority. You do.

What's more--you say, Mr. Ducommun, you will not lay down your weapons but that the war is a terrible thing. If you will not lay down your weapons and your friends don't lay down their weapons (I don't have weapons to lay down) how does the war end? Mr. Hewlett, you say to me: shut up: you say that people should live together and everybody should be free, but the Vietnamese live with the consequences of your power. I don't on this campus, but the Vietnamese do. And I'm saying, since they're not here, I am saying to you that the kind of man who makes his living out of producing nerve gas six months ago--I know you don't make it this week (laughter)--but the kind of man who did it six months ago is not the kind of man I want to set the framework in which I study freely. I don't study freely when I'm in that framework. (cheers and applause.)

Floor (A foreign student): I feel embarrassed to talk after this applause, but I was trying to establish a train of thought, and first of all, the fact that a university should be, which was very well put just now, the fact that a university should be an open place is neither good nor bad. It's the results that come out of that kind of university (these noble abstract notions to me don't mean anything.) A university is not supposed to be just a place where the criminal war-monger has the freedom to do what he



anything to help protect the lives of men, can soldiers in Vietnam? (Shouts from the audience of "Answer the question!")

(Trustee Hewlett intervened here with a general response to the line of questioning that had been going on for some time:)

**Hewlett:** . . . Now, in a sense you've asked a lot of questions about what are our morals, if you wish. Really, each person has to live with himself and to accept a position like this . . .

**Friedman:** But the Vietnamese have to live with you!

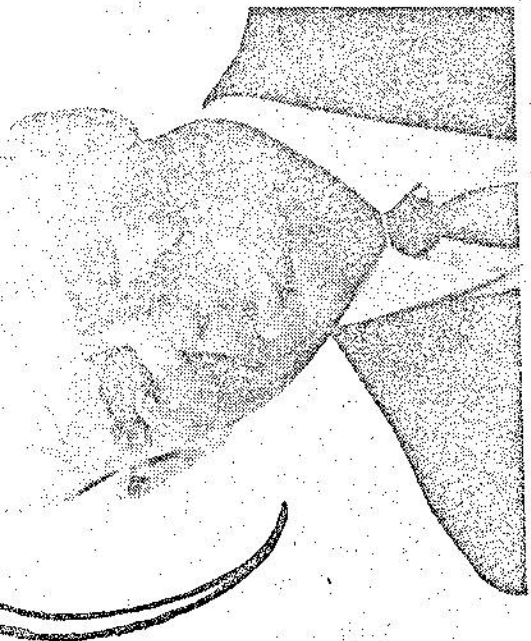
**Hewlett:** Will you shut up! (Laughter and applause.) And each man has to live with himself in making decisions like this. Now, he must appoint . . . he must approach jobs like this with a clear conscience, and to do this he must have reviewed what he is doing on the outside and I can tell you that I have done this, and whether you share my view or not, I approached this job with a clear conscience. I consider that if people do approach their job with a clear conscience and a sense of good will, we can make progress.

In a similar way, I respect many of the people who are in the SDS, because I feel that there are many people in the SDS who are of good will and who are conscientiously trying to make improvements. And as long as they are willing to work in a rational fashion, I feel very strongly that they are an important element of the community, and I would no more ask that a member of the SDS be turned away from the Stanford campus simply because of the views they held or their membership in the organization.

In a similar way, if the members of the Board of Trustees approached their jobs with good will and honesty, I would see no reason why you should ask them to be turned away from the Stanford community.

(An extended question was asked, which Judge Daniway summarized:)

**Duniway:** Let me see if I have it about right. The question was "What do I think Stanford ought to be?", and then the question, "Should it take stands on a pol-



trolled by the political society, and its freedom is gone, and the kind of community of scholars that it ought to be will cease to exist. We have seen this happen. (Cheering.)

(At this point several persons from the floor asked why Stanford University was participating in the war.)

**Duniway:** I don't think it's fair to say that the university is participating in the war. (Groans from audience.) If it's true that some people in this university are doing some work that may aid the armed forces, it is certainly also true that there are many people within the university who are vigorously and actively opposing the war on the political front and in every other way they know how. This is precisely what I was speaking to. The university as an institution should neither be waging the war nor opposing it. It is the business of individuals within it according to their own beliefs as to what they do about it.

**Friedman:** It's a very nice thing to view the university as an open place where I do my thing and you do your thing, only your thing happens to be doing research on weapons of destruction and death in the name of this university and using them, having the facilities, being part of the world that uses them. I can go out and stand in front

**Floor:** (A foreign student): I feel embarrassed to talk after this applause, but I was trying to establish a train of thought, and first of all, the fact that a university should be, which was very well put just now, the fact that a university should be an open place is neither good nor bad. It's the results that come out of that kind of university (these noble abstract notions to me don't mean anything.) A university is not supposed to be just a place where the criminal war-monger has the freedom to do what he wants along with the peace-loving person and the human, real human, to have freedom to do. It should be a place where only constructive research and constructive study and development should be done. So it's not an abstract form of freedom for the criminal and the non-criminal at the same time.

Secondly, I find it completely absurd to stipulate that Stanford is not politically involved. This is just completely ridiculous -- anybody who stays two days in here realizes that SRI is definitely involved in the political struggle in the world today. They are aiding one side. We in the Third World have not received any research from SRI, but the American government gets a lot of it--so they have taken a side. Don't tell me they don't take a side.

And I'm not against the university taking political sides--positions. I think they should. I think institutions of higher learning, and as human beings in here, we have to take a political stand. The only thing is that I'm questioning which side should we take?

Until now Stanford University . . . it's no doubt that they have taken the side that I think they should not take. SRI should be transformed. I would not say throw SRI away--it's a very useful tool to get all these scientists together; but don't have them doing research for the Defense--I call it the Offense Department,

(cont. on p. 12, col. 1)

# Transcript...

(cont. fr. p. 11, col. 3)

you call it what you want. They should not be doing research for them. Have them do research to solve the problems of the ghetto inside the United States, if you don't want to give your resources to the rest of the world. (Applause.) We have a lot of problems. You want research problems? I will give you a list that will take you fifty years! (Roar from the audience.)

So I would suggest, if you wanted our ideas, that you as the Board of Trustees should try to transform Stanford University. First of all, kick out all of the professors that know nothing but to do research in war projects, and there are many of them--I can give you another list on that. Secondly, take political stands, even more vigorous political stands, but take the political stands on the side of the people who are oppressed and the people who have the right to ask for what they are asking, not on the side of the oppressors. (Loud applause.)

## THE QUESTION IS POSED

Floor: We're not going to question that you're conscientious and that you're moral, because these are words that can be thrown around and don't necessarily relate to what you do. Now the university's resources, the institution that was mentioned by one of the men on the panel, have been made consistently available to one side in a war which is now going on. The resources of Mr. Ducommun's companies have been made available to one side. I would like to ask Ducommun and Hewlett, "Will you make the resources

Floor: The point is that you previously stated, and the man you selected as president of this university--Pitzer--stated, that the university is neutral. Yet its resources have been utilized by one side in a war which is now going on; and you have said previously that you wouldn't make those resources available to the other side. Now, it seems that if you're going to be neutral that you should say that the resources here, if they're not available to both, should not be available to either side. And, what this means in plain language: are you going to get Stanford out of its involvement with the Department of Defense and its involvement in Southeast Asia?

Duniway: Did you say the resources

# Fantastic...

(cont. fr. p. 9, col. 1)

their intolerable commitments all along. As Dean of Students Joel Smith is rumored to have said: "SDS is back in business."

The trustees' power has relied on several things: most students saw their own interests as identical to the trustees' interests; the trustees have seemed honest and earnest in their work; and our side has lacked credibility, coherence, and support. At the meeting, a combination of the SDS members' good statements and probing questions and the trustees' blunders and deceptions pointed up the disparity between their interests and ours as well as their lack of honesty with us.

## NOT MY KIND OF GUY

One of the most significant incidents occurred when Nick Selby, a junior who is

of this university?

Floor: That's right. It was stated before by Hewlett and Ducommun, less than two minutes ago, in fact, that they would not make these resources available to either the North Vietnamese or the National Liberation Front, and you stated yourself that the university shouldn't take a political stand. Now, would these people up here on the stage suggest that the resources of the university--meaning its faculty, meaning its laboratories, meaning its students--not be made available to the Department of Defense or for any actions taking place in Southeast Asia?

Hewlett: Stanford University is an organization in the United States.

(applause) . . . supported by the laws of (cont. on p. 13, col. 1)

the North Vietnamese and the NLF.

The trustees were frequently defensive, evasive, and far from candid. They were reluctant to comment on anything of significance, and refused to say how they felt about chemical and biological warfare "until they read the committee report"--the report of the faculty-student committee studying the work of Stanford Research Institute.

In contrast, we made ourselves very clear. We described a vision of a democratic university, where certain standards would control research and the institution would serve its people--by which we meant the world's people. We had done our homework; we knew who they were, what they did, and where they were vulnerable. We were honest and deadly serious in our questions, and the audience responded to that.

The meeting saw a steady erosion of



that you're conscientious and that you're moral, because these are words that can be thrown around and don't necessarily relate to what you do. Now the university's resources, the institution that was mentioned by one of the men on the panel, have been made consistently available to one side in a war which is now going on.

The resources of Mr. Ducommun's companies have been made available to one side. I would like to ask Ducommun and Hewlett, "Will you make the resources of this university, the resources of your companies, available to the sides that are opposing America in the war--that of the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong?" (Applause.)

Hewlett: No. (Slight applause.)

Ducommun: I want to qualify again--you keep getting my companies mixed up--my company is Ducommun, Inc. We sell all kinds of things that are not related to the war effort at all.

Floor: But you're director of Lockheed; am I right?

Ducommun: That is correct. But I'm not totally involved. I'm involved with Ducommun, Inc. (Laughter and shouts.)

Floor: Well, since you've decided that your resources are going to be made available to only one side, and you also said something that is totally contradictory:

that you're neutral, we're not even going to talk about your companies now. In this university, are you willing to say that the resources of this university, its laboratories and its faculty, will not be used on either side since they can't be used on both? (Long silence.)

Moderator: Would any of the trustees care to answer to that entire line of questioning?

(The trustees ask for a restatement of the question.)

HEWLETT CHOOSES SIDES

port. At the meeting, a combination of the SDS members' good statements and probing questions and the trustees' blunders and deceptions pointed up the disparity between their interests and ours as well as their lack of honesty with us.

## NOT MY KIND OF GUY

One of the most significant incidents occurred when Nick Selby, a junior who is not active in SDS, asked trustee William Hewlett (Asst. Secretary of State David Packard's partner in Hewlett-Packard Co.) if FMC, a corporation which he helps direct, produced nerve gas. Selby went on to say that if Hewlett did that, then he wasn't the kind of guy he wanted running his university.

Hewlett denied the charge, saying "We do not manufacture nerve gas." I interrupted and quoted sources that contradicted him, and asked how he explained this conflict of information. He chided us for having such bad sources, and then went on to say (in his inimitably elitist way) that his source was the president of the company, with whom he spoke only recently. At that point someone in the audience asked if they had ever produced nerve gas. Hewlett admitted that they had just sold the plant to the government six months ago.

Trustee W. P. Fuller III was caught in a similar deception. When he said students were consulted about the selection of the university president, Mike Weinstein, a student panelist, said that Steve Smith, one of the students at the selection meeting, told him the meeting was spent in discussion of sexual promiscuity in Grove House, a co-ed dormitory. Fuller denied that, but a student in the audience who had been at the meeting rose to challenge Fuller and corroborate Smith's account.

Subsequently, SDS member Fred Cohen caught trustees Hewlett and Charles Ducommun on the question of neutrality in the university, when they admitted their unwillingness to offer their facilities to

cratic university, where certain standards would control research and the institution would serve its people--by which we meant the world's people. We had done our homework; we knew who they were, what they did, and where they were vulnerable. We were honest and deadly serious in our questions, and the audience responded to that.

The meeting saw a steady erosion of their position, a transfer of the crowd's identification from them to us. It may have been the beginning of the transfer of some power as well. When we started the meeting, we were at their mercy--no more than a quarter of the audience was really with us. But by the time we ended, we were able to demand that they meet on campus publicly to discuss the SRI report. When Ducommun tried to be clever, asking me "Whose demand is this?", almost the entire audience roared back "Ours!"

Clearly we "won." But we are now left with the problem of mobilizing the campus, of consolidating our power, of maintaining and building our legitimacy. And as usual, as long as they have the power to maneuver and call most of the shots, it will not be easy. We have the task of continuing the educational work, finding actions that will build support, and delineating our alternative.

Most likely the trustees will put off their consideration of the SRI committee report until the summer. They will probably meet in April, before the SRI report is out. At their May meeting they will form a committee to "take the matter under advisement," thus avoiding the chance of any confrontation. Again, our interests clash. If we, as a community, feel that this matter is so important that it deserves prompt, open consideration with our participation, then we shall have to move quickly and together. The task of translating the possibility of power into the reality of power is ours. This encounter with the trustees felt good. The next one might just change things a bit.

# Transcript...

(cont. fr. p. 12, col. 3)

the United States and financed primarily through United States funds. In a sense this is an American organization. It is not a North Vietnamese organization. It is not a South Vietnamese organization. It is not a Chinese organization. It's an organization of the United States, and these services are performed for the United States of America. I hardly call that a political decision. (Roar from audience.) Now if the university chooses to teach in its courses what the issues are between North Vietnam, South Vietnam, the United States, I think this is a most appropriate function to be doing because this is an educational function. But, one must not forget that this university is an institution of the United States.

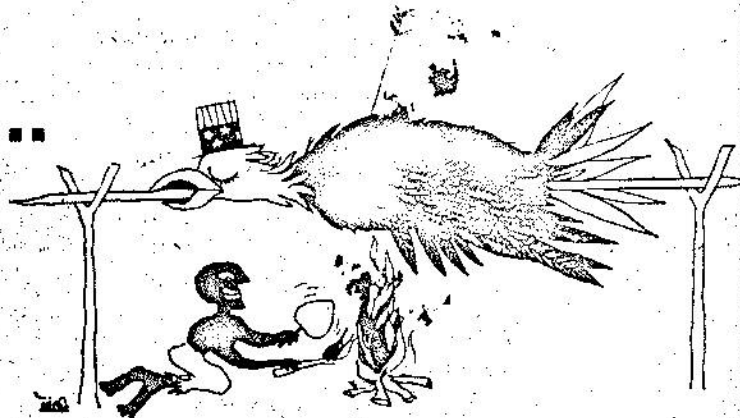
Floor: So, the policy that you would take for the university, if it's an institution of the United States, is the policy which is chosen by the United States government? Am I correct?

Hewlett: As far as I'm concerned, it is.

## REQUEST FOR AN OPEN MEETING

(Questions were asked about how the trustees felt about chemical and biological warfare, and if they thought that SRI should be brought under the closer control of the university so that moral standards could be applied in choosing research projects. The trustees declined to make any comment until they read the report of the university study committee.)

Rupert: We're very concerned about chemical and biological warfare, some of us to the point that we can see no conceivable reason why that research and development should proceed anywhere in the world by anyone. And we'll start here; and we want to end it. And we're very interested in your helping us end it. Therefore, we are very interested in that



meeting, that next trustee meeting where you're going to consider that recommendation.

And I think you've all professed a willingness to open yourselves up to the community and some willingness to involve minority groups--other sorts of people--with the trustees in the future. I would make a very concrete, not demand, but simply a request: would you--and I know you're not the Board of Trustees and cannot speak for all of them--would you five people, between now and then, lobby for an open meeting for the consideration of the student-faculty study committee on the SRI proposal, so we can watch you deliberate and understand that debate and then decide afterwards what course of action we'll have to take, because otherwise we're going to take some very uninformed actions. (Applause.)

Fuller: If I understood you correctly, you said would we mind having people lobby. Well, if we minded having people lobby, we'd be minding all the time. (Shouting.)

Rupert: What I asked was, "Would you five people--four men and one woman--take upon yourselves the task of lobbying for an open meeting for the discussion of the student-faculty recommendation on SRI?" I'm saying very simply that I see some very bad consequences if there isn't that meeting. That is not a threat. I'm very non-violent, so you can trust me. (Laughter.) But, I have friends. (Loud laughter.) And they're not all as reasonable as I am.

Fuller: I'll say in reply that I will not promise that we will have an open meeting in April (jeers)--or June, rather.

You asked me as an individual and I cannot promise you that we will have an open meeting. I think there are arguments for and against, and I don't think now is a particularly good time to discuss them.



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Rupert: No, I'm being very serious, and I would really like a personal response from each of the five people here on the very specific request that you will or will not commit yourself to working toward an open meeting on that discussion.

Fuller: Well, speaking personally, I will not commit myself to work toward an open meeting. I'm not saying we won't have one (applause), but I will not commit myself.

(Judge Duniway would not commit himself either way. Hewlett said that he would not promote an open meeting. Mrs. Charles agreed with Hewlett.)

Ducommun: I won't commit myself at this time either. I think we have a structure that has been set up by the university--we have five students, five faculty, and five trustees in that group who'll first discuss this and then perhaps we'll make a decision as to how it will be handled from then on.

#### THE PEOPLE ARE COUNTED

Rupert: Let me just ask a question. Projecting into the future, do you think you are going to be able to understand, after you make a closed decision, a closed-door decision, about this very sensitive issue, why if things become very murky down here, things are becoming very murky?

Ducommun: It will not be a closed decision of the Board.

Rupert: The decision will be made in a closed meeting of the Board, and we'll be issued the report.

Ducommun: The faculty will be involved, the students will be involved, as well as the trustees. The five members of the student body who have been selected by your own elected representatives--not one small group on the campus, but by the elected representatives of the student body--represent the student body on that committee.

Rupert: All I'd like to say is that our request was in fact an open meeting and that the fact that there are . . .

Ducommun: But whose request?

Loud yell from the audience, almost as a man, "OURS!"

Rupert: Shall I answer: theirs (pointing to audience). (More shouting and applause.)

I would like to point out as well, that it is dead week--these people have come, they have spent two hours listening to the meeting. I think they're very concerned, and I think if you underestimate the seriousness with which we make the very simple demand, that you are making a very serious underestimation. (Laughter.)

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