

# STREET WALL JOURNAL

Vol. II, #2 Monday, April 30, 1970

Stanford University, Stanford, Cal.



## You Can't Jail The Movement

Five well-known Stanford anti-ROTC activists have been singled out for prosecution under an 11 month-old injunction for their participation in the struggle to rid Stanford of ROTC.

The contempt of court citations were obtained Friday by the University administration. The five students are ordered to appear in Santa Clara Superior Court on Thursday, April 16, to begin a court trial without a jury. The defendants face a maximum sentence ranging from six months to two years, on four counts each.

The five served with the court order are Janet Weiss, 23, a graduate student; Leonard Siegel, 21, a suspended student; Michael Sweeney, 22, a former student and editor of the *Chaparral*; John Shoch, 21, a junior, chairman of the Student Senate, and a candidate for student body President; and Art Busse, 21, a senior.

The alleged violations took place in demonstrations April 2, 3 and 7, including a "mill-in" at the ROTC building and attempts to ask questions about the Vietnam war at ROTC classes. The citations are not directly related to the night-time marches at which windows were broken at the ROTC building. The five stated:

We are not being tried for any specific criminal act, and we will not be allowed a jury. Our rights of appeal are restricted. The administration has attempted to single out "leaders" because they think that without them, there would be no anti-ROTC movement. They are wrong. They are incapable of understanding a people's movement at Stanford; just as they are unable to defeat a people's army in Vietnam. In a way we are in contempt of court. We have contempt for any court that allows itself to be used as a tool to defend the war in Vietnam.

The injunction now being used to intimidate the anti-ROTC movement grew out of last year's April Third Movement. It was issued in reaction to a sit-in in Encina Hall, and followed a temporary restraining order and a preliminary injunction issued previously. The injunction simply defines certain disruptive acts (basically anything interfering with business as usual, violent or nonviolent) as illegal. The strength of the injunction lies in the fact that it names approximately fifty people whose presence at any disruption constitutes a violation of the

## THE VIETNAMESE ARE NOT VOTING BUT WE CAN SAY NO

On Wednesday and Thursday of this week the ASSU is holding a referendum on the ROTC question. While it will be less ambiguously worded than last year's referendum, it raises the same questions: is it legitimate? How should the anti-ROTC movement relate to it?

The answer to the first question is clear. No vote, no matter how overwhelming, can legitimate the presence of ROTC at Stanford. That program, along with the hundreds of similar programs on other campuses throughout the country, provides a large percentage (40%) of the officers for the U.S. military machine. Our opposition to the war in Vietnam and to America's domination of the third world has never been and never will be based on the notion of majority rule. Only a vote which included all those people affected by ROTC (Vietnamese, Cambodians, etc.) could be considered legitimate. Apart from this consideration, the notion of a vote on a program to train men in the art of death is at best ludicrous and at worst criminal.

The answer to the second question is less clear. Despite its illegitimacy, the referendum will take place. Those who

oppose ROTC should encourage people to vote against it on the ballot while at the same time pointing out that their vote is essentially meaningless unless they are willing to do more than just vote. The referendum should be used to move more people towards a better understanding of the ROTC issue.

Hopefully, people will also begin to see that the purpose of all too many referendums and elections is to discourage real political participation. Those who provide the mechanisms for "democratic decision-making" are usually serving the same interests as those who, by virtue of their control over the institutions which shape people's lives, exercise control over the limits of debate. It is they who determine over what issue, among whom, and when the voting will take place.

With regard to the upcoming referendum then, the responsibility of those opposed to ROTC is threefold:

- (1) to vote against continuation of ROTC at Stanford
- (2) to point out the illegitimacy of the vote to others
- (3) to vote "with your feet," again and again, until ROTC is forced off this campus.

DARE TO

STRUGGLE

DARE TO WIN

Domino Theory

## Dear Dinosaurs

April 10, 1970

Board of Trustees  
Stanford University  
Dear Dinosaurs:

We are the Off-ROTC Movement. Our struggle is growing in numbers, conviction and spirit.

We demand an end to military training at Stanford. You may have heard us condemned for "violent" tactics in our struggle. We reject the hypocrisy of this criticism.

ROTC is part of the most violent, murderous war machine in the world. This war machine kills hundreds of human beings each week, so that our government's policies will prevail. We will resist this oppression by whatever means necessary.

We address this letter to you because you are the legal owners of Stanford University. President Pitzer is your employee. If you tell him to keep ROTC, he will try to do it. If you tell him to get rid of ROTC, he will.

You are coming to campus for meetings April 13 & 14. We have some questions for you:

- 1) Why did you direct President Pitzer one year ago to "improve and vitalize" ROTC after the faculty had voted to take away many privileges from the program?
- 2) What pressures to keep ROTC came from your business



was issued of a temporary restraining order and a preliminary injunction issued previously. The injunction simply defines certain disruptive acts (basically anything interfering with business as usual, violent or nonviolent) as illegal. The strength of the injunction lies in the fact that it names approximately fifty people whose presence at any disruption constitutes a violation of the injunction. Their mere presence is enough to warrant arrest whether or not they committed any illegal act. Siegel, Shoch, and Busse were among those named on the injunction. The other two, Sweeney and Weiss, are being prosecuted under a catch-all clause that prohibits "aiding or abetting" these individuals. In practice this can mean anyone present at the same demonstration. Obviously, the injunction cannot be enforced if none of the fifty persons named on the injunction are present. Before one can be named on the injunction, he must, according to normal service rules, be served with the notice by hand. It is important to remember, that unlike the Policy on Campus Disruptions, which will be discussed later, the injunction need not be read aloud at a disturbance before arrests can be made.

The Permanent Injunction is just one of the tools the Trustees and Pitzer can use to intimidate anti-ROTC activists. A student can also be charged with violating the Policy on Campus Disruptions and be brought before the Stanford Judicial Council for punitive action which, depending on the seriousness of the alleged violation, can range from expulsion, to suspension or probation, or simply censure by the University president. Disruption is defined in the policy as (1) prevention or disruption of the effective carrying out of a university function or approved activity, or (2) obstruction of the legitimate movement of any person about the campus or in any university building or facility. In the past SJC has been the usual vehicle for handling disruptions and, from the approximately 75 cases brought before the SJC from the Encina sit-in last year, a first offender can expect probation and a fine of \$75. Those found guilty of a second violation might expect suspension for one quarter and another fine.

We should realize that as the movement to off ROTC gains strength Pitzer will increasingly turn to repression to keep the Defense Department happy, but we should follow the lead of the five singled out so far and refuse to be intimidated by his attempts to harass the Movement.

## Domino Theory

"The Department of Defense is facing the reality of the domino theory. Although ROTC programs at Stanford and the Ivy League schools are expensive, they represent prestige value. Already there are stirrings of opposition to ROTC at state institutions, and if the prestige schools drop the programs, other schools well could follow suit."

This statement by E. Howard Brooks, Vice-Provost of Stanford University and ROTC consultant to the Department of Defense, (quoted in *Campus Report*, March 19, 1969) is being proven true. Harvard, Dartmouth, Columbia, and Brown are already phasing out their ROTC programs. Last year the prestigious Ivy League schools, this year it is spreading from Stanford to other West Coast colleges and universities. Indeed, the anti-ROTC movement at Stanford is helping to fulfill his prophecy. Our fight to "off ROTC" is affecting the struggles against military leadership programs at other Bay Area schools.

At San Jose State, this week RAVE (Radicals for Anti-Visual Experience) will initiate the struggle against ROTC with a rally on Tuesday. The anti-ROTC campaign at Berkeley began last Thursday. On that day, following a rally sponsored by SDS and the Radical Student Union, fifteen hundred people marched to Callaghan Hall, which houses Naval ROTC. There, an effigy of an Army general, with a green beret and a yellow sash, was burned in protest of the ROTC program on the Berkeley campus. Future activity at Berkeley will center on the anti-war demonstration in San Francisco on April 18th. In helping to educate the community, a Teach-in will be held on April 14th with speakers rapping about the war research being conducted at Livermore, where U.C. does research for the Atomic Energy Commission. The struggle will be escalated on Wednesday the 15th.

have some questions for you:

- 1) Why did you direct President Pitzer one year ago to "improve and vitalize" ROTC after the faculty had voted to take away many privileges from the program?
- 2) What pressures to keep ROTC came from your business associate, friend and former fellow trustee David Packard, who is now Deputy Secretary of Defense?
- 3) Most of you are corporate directors. Why have your corporations continued to make profits by producing the weapons and technology needed for the Vietnam War? We ask this question of Ernest Arbuckle of Hewlett-Packard, Utah Mining, and SRI; Robert Brown of Hewlett-Packard; Charles Ducommun of Lockheed and Ducommun Inc.; W.P. Fuller of SRI; Richard Guggenheim of SRI; William Hewlett of Hewlett-Packard, Watkins-Johnson, Rand Corp., and FMC; Thomas Jones of Northrup Corp. and SRI; Lawrence Kimpton of Standard Oil of Indiana; Roger Lewis of General Dynamics; Thomas Pike of Hewlett-Packard and SRI; Wallace Sterling of Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical; Gardner Symonds of Tenneco Inc.; and Kenneth Pitzer of Rand Corp.
- 4) ROTC and the entire military are defending your corporate investments overseas, especially in Southeast Asia. Is this why you have kept ROTC at Stanford?
- 5) Will you grant our demand for an end to ROTC?

We want you to answer these questions and any others the community may ask. You should not remain behind closed doors when you come to campus. During your two-day meeting, there will be two public forums: Monday night at Memorial Church, and Tuesday afternoon at our "open mike." We believe the entire board should attend both these meetings. We will await your answer to our invitation at a noon rally on Monday in White Plaza.

All Power to the People  
The Off ROTC Movement  
Coordinating Committee

## Pat Shea Smiles And Smiles

"one may smile, and smile, and be a villain"

--Hamlet

Pat Shea seems determined to deceive and mislead students who want to work for an end to ROTC at Stanford. This is not the first time that Shea has tried to subvert a radical movement.

In his year as student body president at Stanford, Shea has consistently adopted a radical-sounding but totally ineffectual position on key issues. Meanwhile he has worked behind the scenes to isolate and destroy any serious radical efforts at change. This stance has won him great rewards and honors from the administrators and businessmen who consider him a "responsible" student critic.

Shea first showed these tactics last year during the April 3rd Movement against secret war research at Stanford and SRI. During a closed-door meeting of the University Advisory Committee, composed of trustee, faculty, and student representatives, Shea told the trustees that he believed there was "a malignant element that must be removed from campus", according to three students who were present. He was referring to radical students. Soon

afterwards, during his campaign for ASSU president, he publicly joined 1,500 other students in signing the Movement complicity statement: "I am sitting-in at AEL. Wish you were here." Shea was chosen as a member of a delegation of four sit-in representatives to negotiate with SRI executives about meeting between students and SRI researchers. Once behind closed doors, according to the other representatives, Shea told SRI that he was against continuation of the sit-in and thought that SRI would be wise to make gestures that would help bring it to an end.

Later in the April 3rd Movement struggle, the administration was picking out students for prosecution by the Stanford Judicial Council (SJC) for the Encina sit-in. Each student was contacted in secret and pressured to agree to appear alone for a secret SJC hearing. The Movement was trying to find out who was being prosecuted and unite the defendants to demand a joint hearing that would emphasize the political aspects of the case. Pat Shea obtained a list of student defendants from the Dean of Students and telephoned each one to urge compliance with the administration's wishes. Shea refused to show his

list to the Movement.

Shea's consistent support for administration repression led to his appointment in summer 1969 to the American Council on Education's "Special Committee on Campus Tensions." This group's expressed goal is to devise ways to prevent disruptive student protests, without regard for the moral or social issues at stake. The Committee's report soon to be released, recommends a large number of superficial reforms that leave unchanged the basic undemocratic governance and war-related activities of the universities.

As student body president, Shea has worked tirelessly to weaken the radical movement. He has encouraged the administration's Public Events Committee in a proposed scheme that would prohibit the use of campus facilities for fund-raising concerts. These concerts have provided thousands of dollars for Movement legal defense.

Last summer, Assistant Dean of Students Bill Stone revealed that Shea told administrators that they would be wise to thwart the revival of the *Chaparral* by radicals. Later, he

(continued on back page)



# STREET WALL JOURNAL

Page 2



## FESTIVITIES

MONDAY April 13

7 a.m. Nude-in at Navy ROTC drill in parking lot behind Encina gym.

Noon Rally to await trustee's reply to invitations to answer questions at open forums Monday night and Tuesday afternoon. Search for their meeting and vigil outside if they don't accept.

2:15-4:15 Dinkelspiel Auditorium. Forum on "Southeast Asia: War, Imperialism, and Our Trustees." With Franz Schurmann, Berkeley historian, and the new findings on university counterinsurgency research.

3:15 p.m. Nude-in at Navy ROTC drill in parking lot behind Encina gym.

7:30 p.m. "March Against Violence" which the Off ROTC Movement has voted to join, from White Plaza to Memorial Church, where trustees have been invited to answer the questions of the entire community. Paul Rupert will attempt to speak.

TUESDAY April 14

9 a.m. Presence at the Board of Trustees' final session, scheduled for room 74 of the Business School. They are expected to consider the Off ROTC demand.

3 p.m. The Trustees have been invited to answer questions on ROTC and Southeast Asia during an open mike session in Memorial Auditorium.

7:30 p.m. Soto house, Wilbur, forum on ROTC. Prof. Philip Rhindlander will explain why he thinks ROTC provides a humanizing civilian influence for the My Lai Marauders. Other speakers too, with a Movement contingent.

WEDNESDAY & THURSDAY April 15-16

Student referendum on ROTC: yes or no. Voting at several locations on campus, including Engineering Corner and Post Office. No student vote is a legitimate way to decide on the acceptability of ROTC, but the Movement does need a victory in this referendum to aid our struggle.

SATURDAY April 18

8 a.m. The Off ROTC Movement will attend the Army ROTC's monthly battle drill in the foothills.

11 a.m. There will be a rally at Palo Alto's new civic center on Hamilton Avenue to help dedicate the new police station and question corporate plans for the future of the town.

## Questions?

QUESTION: WE recognize that the War in Vietnam and U.S. imperialism are wrong. But ROTC is just one small part of the system that is killing people in Asia and dominating the economies of Third World countries. Why bother to attack ROTC at Stanford?

ANSWER: Members of the anti-ROTC movement differ on many important political questions. But most of them agree that the system which dominates the United States, based on advanced capitalism and expressed in imperialism is fundamentally corrupt. They see the Southeast Asian War, the racism of American society, the recent series of nationwide strikes, the destruction of the environment and the cultural alienation of many young Americans as related to the structural crisis of this system.

If the system is expansionist, militaristic, racist and insatiably greedy in its very nature, the question is how to destroy it so that a new system can be constructed.

Everybody recognizes that the system is powerful and violent. Such a system can only be taken apart one piece at a time, and each weakness in the system is used to advantage.

The most basic weakness in the system is that it does not work to benefit the great majority of the people. Most people work hard to keep the system going, but are rewarded with only a small fraction of the value of what they produce.

The material rewards available to Stanford students are much greater than those allocated to most other people. Their social background and the fact that they have been trained at an elite university will open many doors to wealth and power. But even so, many members of this community have concluded that the system does not operate in their real interests, much less in the interests of most people.

For many young men, it is intolerable that they are asked to kill and perhaps die in Southeast Asia to protect the economic interests of very rich individuals and corporations.

Many women have come to see that the system offers them only a subtle second class citizenship, economic exploitation, and alienation from their own sexual identity and human potential.

For many people, it has become clear that life on the side of the oppressors is not worth all the riches that the oppressors have to offer.

An attack on ROTC is just a first small step in the direction of destroying this system. But it is an important step for several reasons.

Reserve Officer Training programs are of significant importance to the Army. Forty to fifty per cent of their newly

## KNOW YOUR VILLAIN

(continued from first page)

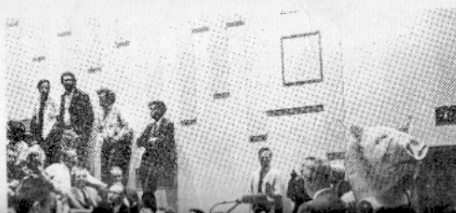
tried unsuccessfully to have the ASSU Publications Board set up a censorship board—with himself as a member—that would preview any controversial stories in the *Daily* or *Chaparral*.

Shea tries to exclude radicals from public forums. He tries instead to substitute himself as the most "radical" spokesman. To this end, he gained a key role in the Moratorium at Stanford. In the Moratorium's planning for the March program on draft resistance, Shea succeeded in barring Paul Rupert from the list of speaker. Rupert, a charismatic speaker with an uncompromising radical analysis, burned his draft card in 1967 and has been the leader of the Palo Alto Resistance since his friend David Harris went to jail. After blackballing Rupert, Shea (who still has his draft card) got himself a position on the speakers panel on draft resistance.

Shea has been up to his same old tricks in the ROTC struggle. Last January 22, when the Faculty Senate was being asked to hastily approve restoration of credit to ROTC, Shea came out in favor of Pitzer's plan. According to faculty who were present, Shea urged immediate approval of ROTC credit,

## WORKERS

United Stanford Employees (USE) will sponsor a discussion of ROTC in the Tresidder Large Lounge at 5:15 on Wednesday afternoon. Two speakers will represent the anti-ROTC movement and two will present the case for keeping ROTC. All university employees and other members of the community are urged to attend.





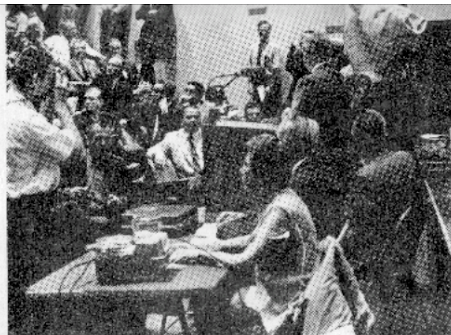
Shea has been up to his same old tricks in the ROTC struggle. Last January 22, when the Faculty Senate was being asked to hastily approve restoration of credit to ROTC, Shea came out in favor of Pitzer's plan. According to faculty who were present, Shea urged immediate approval of ROTC credit, because "any delay would play into the hands of irresponsible elements"—meaning anti-war activists.

As student protest began to build against ROTC, Shea flip-flopped. At the Academic Council meeting March 2, he tried to protect his standing with students by coming out against credit for ROTC.

What tricks will Shea try now? Based on his past behavior, we can make a safe prediction. Since anti-ROTC feeling on campus is at an all-time high, Shea will speak louder and louder of his "opposition" to ROTC. He has already urged a "no" vote to ROTC in the referendum. He has also tried to organize a substitute "movement". Shea will continue to condemn the "violence" of property damage which has been an essential tactic for the growth of the anti-ROTC Movement. By the use of so-called "channels of communication"—like lukewarm petitions and perhaps a new study committee—Shea will try to divert anti-ROTC feeling into time-consuming, ineffectual activities (just like the Moratorium).

Shea will continue to work in close cooperation with President Pitzer to create the illusion of a middle-road or "compromise" solution to the ROTC issue. Meanwhile Pitzer will have as many radicals as possible arrested and jailed to weaken the movement. Through this two-pronged strategy, Shea and Pitzer will try to preserve ROTC.

This strategy is the administration's last hope. It will work if enough students are deceived. It will fail if we prepare ourselves for a struggle in which there can be no compromise.



IT IS SUSPECTED THAT CERTAIN PERSONS IN THE ABOVE PHOTOGRAPH CAN BE HELD IN CONTEMPT OF THE PEOPLE. Those persons who can identify any of these people should contact the Movement Coordinating Committee. Those who have contempt for the people must be permanently restrained.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

## You Can Count On The Faculty To Look Out For Themselves

How should the off-ROTC movement relate to the Stanford faculty? The answer lies in an understanding of the faculty as one of several groups on campus with conflicting interests. The political struggles at Stanford during the past several years have seen an active minority of the student body pitted against the power of those in whose basic interests the University is run—men like the Stanford Trustees. This university is understood by both the Stanford left and the American ruling class to be a strategic center for the production of highly skilled personnel that contribute to the continued growth and protection of the American empire. The Department of Defense, the Stanford Trustees, and the Stanford administration are united in at least one goal: stopping political movements which threaten to undermine the present relationship between the university and the military.

The Stanford faculty, for the most part, would like to view itself as a group which can somehow transcend this basic political conflict. Most of them feel that Stanford is a comparatively nice place to work and live; that the kind of research and teaching they do requires a relaxed, non-threatening atmosphere which promotes detachment and objectivity. The faculty as a whole are not issue-oriented. Rather, they are power-oriented. They want to be on the winning side of any conflict between the interests of the ruling class and the student left. If it looks as though the administration has the up-

per hand, the faculty will support it. But if the faculty perceive that the student movement is sufficiently strong in numbers and commitment to successfully disrupt the tranquility of the campus (which the faculty prize above all else), they will support the goals of the student left.

Whenever possible, the faculty have avoided a confrontation with the real issue. Rather than acknowledge that the struggle is between those who are actively attempting to disrupt an important sector of the United States war machine and those who are attempting to prevent that from happening, they speak to the ROTC issue in terms of academic credit. They have continually avoided taking sides by depoliticizing the issue; by delegating responsibility for the issue to a bureaucratic credit-granting committee. This form of non-action de-facto places the faculty on the side of the American ruling class.

Rational dialogue with the faculty won't work. As a group, they see as their own priority a peaceful, smoothly-running campus. The left must convince the faculty that this campus will never again run smoothly until its complicity with the murder and exploitation of third world peoples is ended. The only way we can do that is to show them, by our actions, that the off-ROTC movement will succeed. To the extent that the faculty perceives the seriousness of our own commitment, they will support our goals.

HAVE TO CHIEF.

An attack on ROTC is just a first small step in the direction of destroying this system. But it is an important step for several reasons.

Reserve Officer Training programs are of significant importance to the Army. Forty to fifty per cent of their newly commissioned officers each year come out of these programs. It would be difficult to find other ways to recruit and train officers. It would be more difficult still to attract young men with elite backgrounds into the Army if ROTC did not exist on the campuses of elite universities.

The fate of the ROTC program at Stanford is particularly important because it may help set a trend. ROTC was eliminated or denied credit at many schools last year, including most of the Ivy League and upper class institutions. This year the Defense Department is trying to re-establish itself at many of these same schools, and Stanford is one of the primary targets.

But perhaps more important than ROTC itself are the lessons that can be learned through fighting it. It is relatively easy to maintain liberal illusions about the system until we try to change it in just one small way. The violence that the system uses to protect itself at Stanford teaches us something about the violence that imperialism is using to extend itself in Asia. The struggle over a relatively small issue at Stanford leads us to ask questions about the system as a whole.

ROTC is just one part of a big, powerful system. But ROTC is right here, right now. If we are going to take this system apart, there is no better place to start than right here, and no better time than now.

**QUESTION:** A leader of the Peninsula Moratorium has written, "If it should come to a choice between violent revolution and repression, the majority of the people will choose repression, as they have done in the past." How can you talk about changing the system if the majority of the people will eventually oppose and punish you?

**ANSWER:** The person who wrote that statement is wrong. In the long run, the majority of the people will not support the system because the system does not work in the interest of any but a small minority.

This is obvious if we look at the world as a whole. Most countries are losing ground economically while the United States gets richer. Imperialists must kill people in order to protect their stake in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Certainly the peasants and workers of the Third World will not fight to prevent a revolution in the United States.

But the system does not even work in the interests of most people inside the United States. If workers anywhere were going to benefit from imperialism they would live in Santa Clara County where industry is devoted largely to defense and the Cold War. But the real wages of workers in Santa Clara County have been falling since 1965. (That is, inflation has eaten up any wage increase and more in each of these years.) Many of these workers—the men on the production line at Owens-Corning Fiberglass in Santa Clara, for example—are exposed daily to unbelievable pollution and hazardous working conditions inside the factory. These people have no stake in the system.

It is true that the majority of the ruling class will choose repression. But only in an isolated, elite environment like Stanford could one believe that the majority of the people will fight against revolutionary change. Only people who belong to the ruling class and are determined to serve it could foster such misconceptions about the people as a whole.

When the movement against ROTC says that it is fighting in the interests of the vast majority of the people, this is more than rhetoric. It is the objective truth.