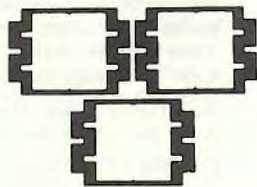


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HARVARD

ALUMNI BULLETIN





HARVARD

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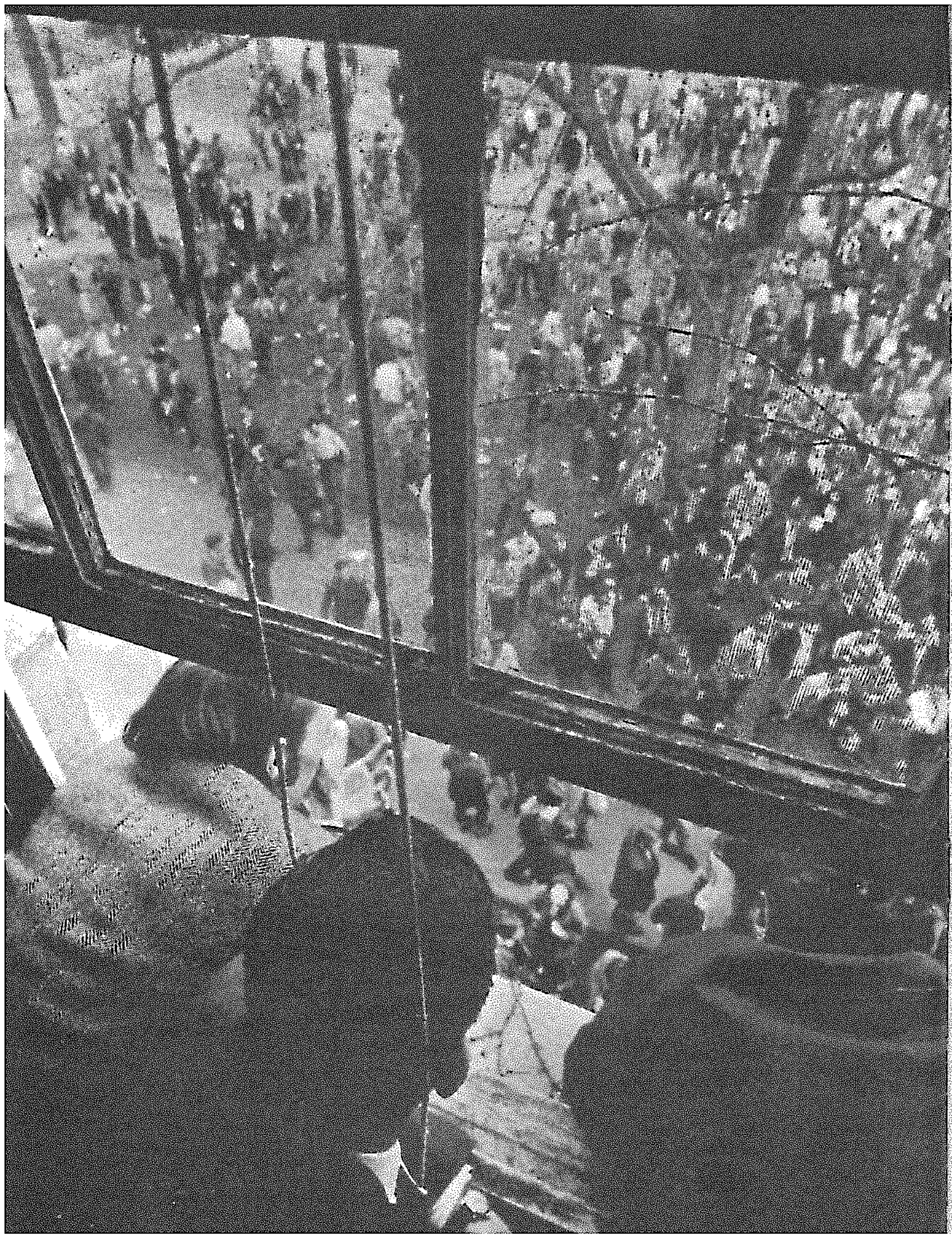
The occupation
The bust
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The aftermath

A special report, combining news coverage and interpretive commentary, begins on page 17.

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*The red clenched fist on the cover,
symbol of the strike,
was designed by Harvey J. Hacker '63.
In the photograph above,
students at the Graduate School of Design
silk-screen the fist to order.*



HARVARD

Upheaval: An Analysis

Countless numbers of people must have supposed that Harvard would somehow avoid any physical disruption of its intellectual community. Or, perhaps, that if Harvard were disrupted, it would unveil some kind of ultimate solution to this endemic problem. That it did not shows only that there is no satisfactory way to resolve such an anomalous confrontation.

Much remains to be said about what happened at Harvard in April. But in any constructive evaluation, these points should be considered.

The police. A first-hand appraisal of the temper of the University Hall occupation force, and the tactical tendencies of the SDS, reinforces the conclusion that only a police action could get the demonstrators out. The degree of force used by the police was anguishing, yet probably inevitable. The administration might have bought more community solidarity by waiting another twenty-four hours before calling in the police, but at the risk of more casualties and more sacking of files within the building. Almost surely, the warning before the raid could have been issued more vigorously and further ahead of time. And certainly, the administration underestimated the emotional effect of the raid on the University community. The police riots of Chicago last summer were a Damascus for the young people of this country, a

radicalizing experience that cannot be understated. The University Hall raid imported Chicago to the Harvard Yard. As James McEvoy and Abraham Miller put it in the March issue of *Trans-Action*:

... one of the results of the "police riot" in Chicago during the Democratic convention — Daley's Folly — is that it has hampered the effective use of the police against students for generations to come. Everywhere today . . . the reaction of students to the police is completely emotional.

Communications. Accepting the use of police as an imperative, such an action carries the obligation to rationalize it to an offended community. In this the administration failed. A week after the occupation, television station WGBH proved an effective medium for ventilating the critical issues through panel discussions and open-ended talks. It would have been just as effective earlier. At noon on the day of the bust, President Pusey, other administrators, even members of the Corporation should have appeared on television to initiate a dialogue. Once established, the dialogue should have been kept up unremittingly through various media. Instead, the prime objects of the community's hostility (with the exception of Dean Ford, who did hold two press conferences) remained virtually invisible for a week, and hostility and suspicion fed on their invisibility. Not only in this instance, but throughout the whole affair, communications were strangely deficient for a great center of learning. President Pusey's blunt comments on ROTC played into the hands of those who sought to distort the Corporation's handling of the issue. The Crimson's cover-

age colored the community's opinion further. Later on, by circulating confidential documents stolen from University Hall files, doctoring them, and presenting them with guile and innuendo, the *Old Mole* did incalculable mischief. When other issues arose—the institutional structure of Harvard, expansion into the community, black studies—hasty emotional reactions were compounded by appalling misinformation and ignorance of basic facts. The events of April showed an urgent need for an apolitical, factual news publication, edited for the entire University community. Even more fundamentally, they showed the need for patient, nose-to-nose education of those who don't know by those who do. This applies to factual situations, but even more importantly to moral ones. Faculty members as well as students have shown an urgent need to be educated on such gut philosophical issues as the meaning of academic freedom, the necessity of firm principles, and the vital role of restraints in a just society.

Mr. Pusey. A tough man who makes tough decisions every day of the week, he is undoubtedly reconciled to his own unpopularity in the University community. His record in defense of academic freedom is unsurpassable. He has managed the postwar transformation of Harvard with almost unerring skill, as measured by the distinction of his appointments and the enormous success of Harvard's fund-raising efforts. Warm, generous, even humorous in person-to-person contact, he appears to the community as remote, insulated, even icy. The number and variety of his adminis-

FACING PAGE: Students occupying University Hall look down on others who wouldn't. Photograph by Mark Silber '70. All pictures illustrating this issue's special report on the April upheaval are by Silber, except page 29. Boston *Globe*; 31 (top, bottom left), Michael Nagy '70; 31 (center, bottom right), Tom Ittelson '68.

News

trative concerns, along with the bent of his own personality, apparently make it difficult for him to establish the continuing personal contacts that might ameliorate his image and reinforce his leadership. In crisis, leadership is essential to the healthy survival of the University. In a time when communication is a crucial need, the president must communicate; in a day of student revolution, he must know his students. If all of this implies the need for expanded second-echelon staff support (and it does), so be it.

The faculty. It is time to press the question: Can any faculty whose members' primary obligation is research and teaching be expected to undertake any other major role in the University community? There

have been mounting indications in recent months that the faculty as a body is unsuited to play an administrative or even legislative role. As one faculty member's own motion put it, "The faculty under pressures of crisis has adjusted and hastened its decisions." The February 4 vote on ROTC is a case in point: badly drafted legislation that came home to roost two months after it was let fly. Out of the current crisis comes the question of whether the weakened position of the administration (caused partly by the faculty's failure to support it fully) will result in the emergence of a faculty with increased powers to do things it isn't suited to attempt. One hires administrators to administer. The primary job of the educator is to

educate. There are enough complaints about outmoded teaching methods today to suggest that the job isn't being done as it should be. On an even more fundamental level, the faculty should put its house in order on basic questions of academic freedom as posed by the controversy over Social Relations 149 (Radical Perspectives on Social Change).

The students. Brought up on electronic communications media—notably television—their perceptions are quicker, their expectations almost instantaneous. This puts them uniquely in step with the pace of present-day communications, and explains why their impatience contrasts so forcefully with the faculty's tendency toward deliberation and its discomfort under conditions of haste. Many of today's students are highly politicized; for them the university is not so much an institution as a small state, ripe for participatory democracy. They find it hard to love a disembodied institution, run by remote and seemingly uninterested men. And conversely, many students—in fact, a majority—are highly apolitical. It may therefore be suggested that the greatest threat to the university today is not from activism but from apathy. Too, almost all are sickened by the war. Unwilling to fight, and therefore unwilling to drop out for a year to refresh their juices, they understandably get the vapors.

Amnesty. The large number of students who will demand it for the University Hall demonstrators will argue that the University should not use punishment to break a political movement; that the demonstrators are valuable people who should not be read out of the community; and (perhaps) that they do not acknowledge the legitimacy of the University's rules and are therefore not bound by them. But the occupation of University Hall is the moral issue that overrides everything else that has followed (despite the faculty's refusal to take such a position). Ends do *not* justify means (though some students are sincerely convinced that they do). The administration long ago warned of the consequences of such a disruption ("Let there be no mistake," said Dean Ford in a widely pub-

REACTIONS

What is at stake now is nothing less than the perpetuation of universities as centers of reason in a free society. To permit them to be paralyzed or subverted by any lawless, coercive force of whatever political ideology or objective is to give up on the survival of free society itself.—*New York Times*

What happened at Harvard is that all concerned forgot they were Harvard men.—*Boston Globe*

In defending the autonomy of Harvard against McCarthyism in the 50's, and in countless speeches since then, Nathan Pusey has amply proved his deep commitment to intellectual freedom. That he should see no alternative to the use of force in defending that freedom is symbolic of the dilemma facing the American university today.

—*Time*

If Harvard—paragon harbor of rational doers and thinkers—cannot govern and restructure itself without violence, what lies ahead for the rest of the nation?—*Christian Science Monitor*

It's time the trustees and the alumni started doing something about universities that continue to pamper the SDS when the boys act like Fascists.—*Boston Herald Traveler*

I don't think there's much virtue in reaching eighty. My advice is, always wear a steel helmet when you're going to Harvard University. —CHARLES CHAPLIN, asked how it felt to become an octogenarian.

In meeting the crisis, the administration had failed to consult its own faculty and student leaders. Whether Pusey acted correctly or too quickly or too slowly was perhaps less important than the fact that he acted without seeking the support of the university community.

—*Newsweek*

It would be dangerous self-deception to pretend that the damage done can soon be repaired by any agreement among warring factions . . . an invisible wall of distrust will remain, perhaps for generations.

—*New York Times*



PROFESSOR IN ACTION

Roger Brown's chief academic interests is in the interplay of language and reasoning, and lately he's had volumes of the former and a little of the latter thrown at him. As chairman of the Social Relations Department, he was the man in the middle of the controversy over the radical courses, Social Relations 148 and 149. When the smoke of that battle cleared, Mr. Brown referred to himself wryly (and inaccurately) as a professor out of action, but he allowed that being an administrator is on balance pleasant work. This college generation, he observes, has an immense appetite for moral reasoning. Confronted by manifest hypocrisy and looming catastrophe, its members insist that nearly everything that is done be done only after asking "why." The number of concentrators in Social Relations increased by a third last year, and so Mr. Brown finds that the established procedures over which he has a measure of control are being re-examined by a great many people. But he has had no abuse and no rude phone calls, and the many students who knew him—perhaps as a teacher of the Department's introductory course — have fairly rejected the accusations that in his questioning of the radical courses, Mr. Brown was trying to suppress a political point of view. He is a tall, dapper, unstuffy man, who looks like a New Frontier politician. But politics isn't for Roger Brown. He returned to Harvard in 1962 as Professor of Social Psychology, after a spell at M.I.T., because he prefers Harvard's contemplative atmosphere.

licized speech last fall, "school will keep. Forcible interference with others' rights will not be tolerated."). The University should act severely and quickly to prevent repetition of tactics that are offensive to the spirit of the place and menacing to its survival.

Institutional change. After the emotional backwash of the crisis, the response of the University community has been rational. Out of the confrontation will come a heightened awareness of the fragility and value of the University, and new definitions of what it should be and should do. It is unfortunate, as John Gardner pointed out in his Godkin Lectures last March, that as a society we do not have mechanisms to renew ourselves in peaceful and orderly ways. That the same thing is true for universities is the more tragic. But tragic though this crisis has been, Harvard will be the better for it.

—J.T.B.

Up with pedagogy

Prompted by heated and divisive controversy over two radical courses, the faculty of the Social Relations Department has adopted regulations affecting *all* its courses, intended to preserve historic faculty controls over curriculum content and in the matter of judging the qualifications of teachers.

Professor Roger Brown, chairman of the Department, proposed last month (HARVARD, April 7, page 11) that Social Relations 148 (Social Change in America) and 149 (Radical Perspectives on Social Change) be dropped from next year's course offerings. Social Relations 149, in particular, seemed to Brown a hodge-podge of unrelated sections, many taught by undergraduates, or by teaching fellows not in the Social Relations Department, whose qualifications could not be established accurately by the leaders of the course. He felt that the courses should not remain in his Department, which has no mandate from the College faculty to sponsor courses over which it has not the usual controls. But the courses have a combined enrollment of over 900 enthusiastic students, and many of them objected strenuously to Brown's proposal, which seemed to

imply a stultifying respect for established procedures.

The faculty of the Department, after lengthy debate, adopted a proposal worked out by its Committee on Undergraduate Instruction in consultation with Brown and Assistant Professor Jack Stauder, head of Social Relations 149. Henceforth, the Committee will examine the credentials of anyone with major teaching responsibilities in the Department who is neither one of its faculty members or graduate students. Any undergraduate section man, for example, will have to demonstrate "good cognitive control of the subject matter" before he can teach. His political affiliation and commitment will not be a criterion of either his rejection or acceptance.

The new regulations also specify that if a faculty member proposes to have more than five "irregulars" teaching a course, he must present a plan showing how he will supervise them.

Finally, the awarding of grades is to be based on evaluation of scholarship by Corporation appointees. Undergraduate section leaders cannot give grades.

Roger Brown believes that the new rules need not take any of the "juice" out of the radical courses,

or deny the course leaders freedom to accomplish all that they desire.

The faculties of the Department and of the College will vote later this year on whether the newly regulated radical courses should be offered next year. Roger Brown expects a vote in the affirmative.

Sisson and Wyzanski

On March 21 a jury found John H. Sisson Jr. '67 guilty of unlawfully, knowingly, and willfully having refused to comply with the order of his draft board to submit to induction into the armed forces, in violation of the Military Selective Service Act of 1967. Judge Charles E. Wyzanski Jr. '27, LL.B. '30, LL.D. '58, postponed sentencing until April 1, and indicated to the defense counsel, John G. S. Flym, LL.B. '64, that he would entertain before that time a motion for an arrest of judgment. The proceedings of the trial were reported in detail in the April 7 issue of this magazine (page 16), partly because it seemed to the editors that if a reasonable man is convicted of a felony for doing what he and other

reasonable men conceive to be his duty, he should have as many witnesses as possible.

During the trial Judge Wyzanski allowed, indeed encouraged, Sisson to state his views about the illegality and immorality of the Vietnam conflict, and he permitted the defense to establish that reasonable men might share those views. But at the end he instructed the jury to disregard testimony about Sisson's motives or intent, and in effect demanded a conviction. He pointed out that it was the jury's job to decide only whether the law had been broken, not to interpret it.

After the trial Sisson said he was sorry that he had not stated his views more fully and forcefully. Mr. Flym said he regretted that he had allowed his emotions to become so evident during his summation. The defendant's father, Dr. John H. Sisson '40, said he was glad to see that at least a few members of the Lincoln community, where the Sissons live, had come to the trial. The defendant had had his day in court, with what most of the spectators regarded as a forlorn but inevitable conclusion.

Then Judge Wyzanski had *his* day in court. As was widely reported in the national and international press, on April 1 he upheld the defendant's motion for an arrest of judgment, ruling that the Selective Service Act of 1967 is unconstitutional because it is biased in favor of men who are religious. "Congress," he said, "unconstitutionally discriminated against atheists, agnostics, and men like Sisson who, whether they be religious or not, are motivated by profound moral beliefs which constitute the central convictions of their beings." The present law exempts from combat service only one "who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form." Sisson objects, and only to this particular war, on grounds of conscience alone.

Judge Wyzanski devoted the central portion of his lengthy opinion to a discussion of a broad issue, that of drafting conscientious objectors for combat duty in a distant and undeclared war. (See box, opposite.) The First Amendment right to free exercise of religion

John H. Sisson Jr. '67 and Kristen Lasker, the fiancée of Mr. Sisson's attorney, John Flym, LL.B. '64, who took the picture.





Landmark: Judge Wyzanski on Conscientious Objection

What follows is a partial text of the opinion of Federal District Court Chief Justice Charles E. Wyzanski Jr., '27, LL.B., '30, LL.D., '58, delivered April 1 in the case of John H. Sisson Jr., '67.

The precise inquiry this court cannot avoid is whether now Sisson may be compelled to submit to non-judicial military orders which may require him to render combat service in Vietnam.

Implicit is the problem whether in deciding the issue as to the constitutional claim of a conscientious objector to be exempt from combat service, circumstances alter cases.

This is not an area of constitutional absolutism. It is an area in which competing claims must be explored, examined, and marshalled with reference to the Constitution as a whole.

There are two main categories of conflicting claims. First, there are both public and private interests in the common defense. Second, there are both public and private interests in individual liberty.

Every man, not least the conscientious objector, has an interest in the security of the nation. Dissent is possible only in a society strong enough to repel attack. The conscientious will to resist springs from moral principles. It is likely to seek a new order in the same society, not anarchy or submission to a hostile power. Thus conscience rarely wholly disassociates itself from the defense of the ordered society within which it functions and which it seeks to reform, not to reduce to rubble.

In parallel fashion, every man shares and society as a whole shares an interest in the liberty of the conscientious objector, religious or not. The freedom of all depends on the freedom of each. Free men exist only in free societies. Society's own stability and growth, its physical and spiritual prosperity, are responsive to the liberties of its citizens, to their deepest insights—to their free choices—"That which opposes, also fits."

Those rival categories of claims cannot be mathematically graded. There is no table of weights and measures. Yet there is no insuperable difficulty in distinguishing orders of magnitude.

The sincerely conscientious man, whose principles flow from reflection, education, practice, sensitivity to competing claims and a search for a mean-

ingful life, always brings impressive credentials. When he honestly believes that he will act wrongly if he kills, his claim obviously has great magnitude. That magnitude is not appreciably lessened if his belief relates not to war in general, but to a particular war or to a particular type of war. Indeed a selective conscientious objector might reflect a more discriminating study of the problem, a more sensitive conscience, and a deeper spiritual understanding.

It is equally plain that when a nation is fighting for its very existence there are public and private interests of great magnitude in conscripting for the common defense all available resources, including manpower, for combat.

But a campaign fought with limited forces for limited objectives with no likelihood of a battlefield within this country and without a declaration of war is not a claim of comparable magnitude.

Nor is there any suggestion that in present circumstances there is a national need for combat service from Sisson as distinguished from other forms of service by him. The want of magnitude in the national demand for combat service is reflected in the nation's lack of calls for sacrifices in any serious way by civilians.

Before adding up the accounts and striking a balance there are other items deserving notice.

Sisson is not in a formal sense a religious conscientious objector. . . .

Some supposed that the only reliable conscience is one responsive to a formal religious community of memory and hope. But in *Religion in the Making*, Alfred North Whitehead taught us that "religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness."

Others fear that recognition of individual conscience will make it too easy for the individual to perpetrate a fraud. His own word will so often enable him to sustain his burden of proof. . . . [But] the suggestion that courts cannot tell a sincere from an insincere conscientious objector underestimates what the judicial process performs every day.

There have been suggestions that to read the Constitution as granting an exemption from combat duty in a foreign campaign will immunize from public regulation all acts or refusals to act dictated by religious or conscientious

scruple. Such suggestions fail to note that there is no need to treat, and this court does not treat, religious liberty as an absolute. The most sincere religious or conscientious believer may be validly punished even if, in strict pursuance of his creed or principles, he fanatically assassinates an opponent, or practices polygamy, or employs child labor. Religious liberty and liberty of conscience have limits in the face of social demands of a community of fellow citizens. There are, for example, important rival claims of safety, order, health and decency. . . .

Most important, it does not follow from a judicial decision that Sisson cannot be conscripted to kill in Vietnam that he cannot be conscripted for non-combat service there or elsewhere. . . .

Sisson's case being limited to a claim of conscientious objection to combat service in a foreign campaign, this court holds that the free exercise of religion clause in the First Amendment and the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment prohibit the application of the 1967 draft act to Sisson to require him to render combat service in Vietnam.

The chief reason for reaching this conclusion after examining the competing interests is the magnitude of Sisson's interest in not killing in the Vietnam conflict as against the want of magnitude in the country's present need for him to be so employed.

The statute as here applied creates a clash between law and morality for which no exigency exists.

When the state through its laws seeks to override reasonable moral commitments, it makes a dangerously uncharacteristic choice. The law grows from the deposits of morality. Law and morality are, in turn, debtors and creditors of each other. The law cannot be adequately enforced by the courts alone, or by courts supported merely by the police and the military. The true secret of legal might lies in the habits of conscientious men disciplining themselves to obey the law they respect without the necessity of judicial and administrative orders. When the law treats a reasonable, conscientious act as a crime, it subverts its own power. It invites civil disobedience. It impairs the very habits which nourish and preserve the law.

News

means that no statute can require combat service of a conscientious objector whose principles are religious or akin thereto, he said. But that right is not absolute. Judge Wyzanski said he assumed that the government in a defense of the homeland has the power to conscript for combat service anyone it sees fit.

So far, Judge Wyzanski's decision is binding only in his own court, but government attorneys are expected to appeal, and the ruling may in the fall come before the Supreme Court. The issue has been pressed.

Judge Wyzanski's opinion has been hailed as a model brief and a landmark decision in law. It gives, as well, a humane insight into the character of John H. Sisson Jr. "Sisson's attitude as a non-religious conscientious objector has had a long history. Sisson himself referred to his moral development, his educational training, his extensive reading of reports about and comments on the Vietnam situation, and the degree to which he had familiarized himself with the U.N. Charter, the charter and judgments of the Nuremberg Tribunal, and other domestic and international matters bearing upon the American involvement in Vietnam.

"On the stand Sisson was diffident, perhaps beyond the requirements of modesty. But he revealed sensitiveness, not arrogance or obstinancy. His answers lacked the sharpness that sometimes reflects a prepared mind. He was entirely without eloquence. No line he spoke remains etched in memory. But he fearlessly used his own words, not mouthing formulae from court cases or manuals for draft avoidance.

"There is not the slightest basis for impugning Sisson's courage. . . . Sisson's table of ultimate values is moral and ethical. It reflects quite as real, pervasive, durable, and commendable a marshalling of priorities as a formal religion. It is just as much a residue of culture, early training, and beliefs shared by companions and family. What another derives from the discipline of a church, Sisson derives from the discipline of conscience.

"Thus, Sisson bore the burden of proving by objective evidence that

he was sincere. He was as genuinely and profoundly governed by his conscience as would have been a martyr obedient to an orthodox religion."

Sisson has received a lot of mail since Judge Wyzanski's ruling. Some writers seem motivated by shared anguish over the continuing war. Others seem moved by Sisson's personal case, and send him contributions to help with his legal expenses. Many inquire what he intends to do during the next months. (He has been working for a cabinet-maker in Lincoln, and thinks he may continue there.) And some of the letters, inevitably, are filled with hate. "Conscientious objector? Huh!" one says. "I've got a better word for you, and that's coward."

The lead editorial in the *Boston Globe* on April 2 ended with this paragraph: "Depending on the high court's ruling, or on other factors, John Sisson may or may not become a hero to many in the younger generation. But surely he has started something. So, it must be added, has Judge Charles E. Wyzanski Jr. Right or wrong, and each in his own way, both have displayed great courage."

MLLBBA?

Many a businessman-lawyer spent two years across the river getting his M.B.A., and then came over to the Cambridge side to work three years for an LL.B. Many did it the other way around. Now the Business and Law Schools are considering a proposal for a new four-year program leading to both degrees.

Students in the proposed program would spend one year taking the prescribed first-year courses at each school, with the last two years devoted to combined studies. Applicants would have to pass the entrance requirements of both schools.

The plan was devised by Detlev F. Vagts '49, Professor of Law, and Malcolm S. Salter '62, Assistant Professor of Business Administration.

Says George P. Baker '25, Dean of the Faculty of Business Administration, "The question is, can you get a faculty to say they will give a

degree for less than the usual number of courses?" The answer is expected to be yes.

Anthropology Library

The Library of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, one of the foremost collections of anthropological literature in the world, will have a new home as a result of a \$1 million gift to the University. The new building will be named the Tozzer Library in honor of the late Professor Alfred M. Tozzer '00, a specialist in Middle American archaeology and long-time Librarian of the Museum.

The anthropological community at Harvard is made up of some 35 professors and research scholars, more than a hundred graduate students, and approximately 75 undergraduate concentrators. The library is also a source of materials on the study of man for students in related fields such as psychology and botany. Its special strength is in the Middle American area.

Middle-Aged Man Wins Prize

The 1968 National Book Award for arts and letters went to Norman Mailer '43 for *The Armies of the Night*, an account of the anti-Vietnam demonstrations in Washington in October of 1967. Mr. Mailer dismissed the rumor that he would reject the award as a protest against the Establishment. He said that he had always thought that Jean Paul Sartre had made a mistake when he turned down the Nobel Prize in 1964. "Sartre said he did not want people to refer to him as Sartre, the Nobel Prize winner, but just as Sartre. The fact is that the bourgeoisie calls him Sartre, the perverted existentialist, so if he had taken the prize he would at least be known as Sartre, the perverted existentialist Nobel Prize winner." But, speaking of his own case, Mr. Mailer added: "I'm afraid there's something obscene about a middle-aged man winning a prize. Prizes are for the young and the old."



The occupation The bust The strike The aftermath

At noon on Wednesday, April 9, some seventy students took over University Hall. This is a full account of that day and the days that followed: the most violent upheaval in Harvard history.

the Occupation

The handwriting was on the wall,
but to most of the University community,
the seizure of a building was a shock

Storm warnings had been up for more than a fortnight before the building was taken. On the afternoon of March 20, about 150 students met outside Lehman Hall to protest the reduction of financial aid to nine students. The nine had been put on probation for their part in last December's anti-ROTC sit-in at Paine Hall; faculty rules require that students on probation lose their scholarships, except by special vote of the Admission and Scholarship Committee. "The point of gathering here is to let the Corporation know that we intend to fight both on ROTC and on the scholarships," Jonathan M. Harris '69 told the group. Then they marched to the financial aid office in Holyoke Center and disputed for an hour and a half with Dr. Chase N. Peterson '52, Dean of Admissions and Financial Aids.

Shortly after 4 p.m. on March 25, a group of about the same size entered a closed meeting of the Student-Faculty Advisory Council, where President Nathan M. Pusey was beginning a report on the status of ROTC at Harvard. One girl in the group greeted Mr. Pusey with an obscenity; Harris, acting as spokesman, demanded that ROTC be abolished immediately and that scholarships be returned to the Paine Hall demonstrators. He then agreed to leave, but warned, "We're going to come back and enforce the abolition of ROTC."

Continuing his report, Mr. Pusey said Harvard had begun negotiations with the Pentagon, following the faculty's vote of February 4 to withdraw academic credit from ROTC. He and the Corporation, he said, considered it important to find ways of keeping ROTC at Harvard. "We don't think ROTC is wicked or anything else," the next day's *Crimson* quoted him as saying. "We want it here because as far as I can see, students will want to satisfy their military obligations this way." Asked about the University's "lack of neutrality" on ROTC, he was reported as answering that "the current notion that the military-industrial complex is an evil thing does not correspond to reality." The current danger to the University, he said, was not from

outside but from students within—like those who had interrupted the meeting.

Both the March protests had been organized by members of the Harvard-Radcliffe chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. To many, it appeared that SDS was fighting for survival as a force in the Harvard community. Throughout the fall and early winter, SDS seemed to have been stopped in its tracks by factionalism. The most radical of its two principal internal groups, the Worker Student Alliance, wanted programs focussing on the urban community. (The Worker Student Alliance is dominated by members of the Maoist-oriented Progressive Labor Party, which is strongly anti-capitalist and pro-worker.) A more moderate group, the New Left Caucus, set its objectives primarily within the University. As early as last fall, it was clear that the issue of ROTC at Harvard was one on which all factions could unite. So, ultimately, was the favorite cause of the Worker Student Alliance: Harvard expansion in the Cambridge and Boston communities.

Since late winter, tension within the University had seemed unusually noticeable. Early in March a group led by King Collins, a graduate-school dropout from Columbia, began systematically disrupting Harvard lectures. For two weeks, Collins and his friends had Harvard in an uproar. A group of undergraduates launched "The Conspiracy Against Harvard Education," to protest "huge gaps in what Harvard sells [as] education." By the end of the month, as spring vacation began, there was much speculation that Harvard might blow in April.

It did, and rapidly. On April 7, the first day after vacation, word filtered through to administrators in University Hall that they would shortly receive an ultimatum, possibly followed by occupation of the building.

Facing page: Franklin L. Ford, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences (right), and J. Petersen Elder, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, leaving University Hall after the takeover.



the Occupation

Anticipating continuing ferment over ROTC, Dean of the College Fred L. Glimp '50 had prepared a statement on the status of negotiations with the military, which appeared in that day's *Crimson*. It concluded,

There have been rumors that the negotiating committee might attempt to circumvent the faculty's resolutions regarding credit for courses offered by ROTC units and appointments in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. On the contrary, the committee regards these resolutions as guidelines for its work. Others in the community have speculated that adoption of these guidelines will surely result in the withdrawal of all three units. While it is not clear exactly how the new arrangements will be worked out, withdrawal of the units seems to me to be an extremely unlikely outcome.

On Tuesday, April 8, SDS members began handing out leaflets headed "Stop Harvard Expansion." The leaflets began,

What is Harvardization? Harvardization is the transformation of Cambridge into a concentrated center for private and government research—the creation of an insulated city for developing weapons and programs to oppress people here and overseas. This transformation involves the expulsion of working people and many students. . . . Harvardization means servicing the upper middle class. . . . The federal government backs Harvardization. . . . Harvardization serves the Corporation. . . .

That night SDS held a four-hour meeting in Lowell Lecture Hall, attended by more than 400 people. Eventually the Worker Student Alliance and the New Left Caucus were able to agree on six demands to be made to the University:

1. Abolish ROTC immediately by breaking all existing contracts and not entering into any new ones.
2. Replace ROTC scholarships with equivalent Harvard scholarships.
3. Restore scholarships to the Paine Hall demonstrators.
4. Roll back rents in University-owned buildings to the level of January 1, 1968.
5. No destruction of University Road apartments to make way for the Kennedy School.
6. No destruction of 182 black workers' homes in Roxbury to make way for Medical School Expansion.

But the two factions could not agree on tactics. The Worker Student Alliance called for occupation of University Hall as soon as the meeting was over. The New Left Caucus wanted occupation later in the week or the following Monday, with intensive canvassing and leafletting in the meantime, as well as a march on the president's house to present the demands. Smaller factions proposed no action at all, or a student strike. A straw vote after two hours resulted in a 180-140 decision in favor of the New Left position. A "final"

vote and a "binding" vote went the same way. At midnight, almost 300 demonstrators marched to Mr. Pusey's house on Quincy Street and forced their way past University police guarding the gates. Michael Kazin '70, co-chairman of SDS, knocked at the door, received no answer, and tacked up the six demands. The demonstrators painted anti-ROTC slogans on the driveway and then toured the Yard and Houses for an hour.

Wednesday's *Crimson* led with the story of the meeting, and reported, "The demonstrators will hold a rally at noon today in front of Memorial Church to discuss—and perhaps to initiate at that time 'militant action' for the acceptance of the demands. The militant action is understood to be the occupation of a building, and perhaps a student strike." In a long "Brass Tacks" article on the editorial page of the same issue, Robert M. Krim '70 refocused attention on Mr. Pusey's appearance at the March 25 SFAC meeting, with a critical appraisal of his remarks. The piece concluded, "President Pusey's testimony on ROTC before SFAC represents the type of rigidity which breeds confrontation."

Shortly before noon

the demonstrators convened in front of Memorial Church. Then they moved to the west steps of University Hall to read the six demands. Someone shouted, "It's time for us to tell the Corporation by action what we've been telling them all fall by words." Shouting "Fight, fight, fight," about seventy people stormed up the steps and into the building. Entering through the north door, a dozen or so climbed to the second floor and went into the large Faculty Room, opening its locked doors with a knife. Others, entering through the south door of the building, burst into the office of Dean Glimp, who was meeting with Assistant Dean Archie C. Epps III, Dean of Freshmen F. Skiddy von Stade Jr. '38, and Assistant Dean of Freshmen W. C. Burriss Young '55. "We're going to have to throw some people out," said John C. Berg 5G, a teaching fellow in Government and one of the leaders of the invasion. Glimp got up and went to check on the situation outside. On returning, he was not permitted to re-enter his office. He asked the demonstrators what they wanted, and was told there was nothing to talk about. On the other side of the hall, in the Freshman Dean's office, were von Stade; Young; William E. Russell '62, a senior adviser to freshmen; and Peter D.



Above: Dean of the College Fred L. Glimp '50 being ordered from his office on the first floor of University Hall.

At left: F. Skiddy von Stade Jr. '38, Dean of Freshmen, is hustled out.

Below, left: Assistant Dean Archie C. Epps III (center) refuses to leave. After a heated argument with the demonstrators, he was forcibly ejected. In the background is Dean Glimp.

Below: With all administrators out, the demonstrators chain shut the doors of the building.



the Occupation

Shultz '52, Associate General Secretary of the Alumni. They were each politely told by a pair of demonstrators, "We request that you leave the building, sir; it is for your own protection."

The secretaries on the first floor had left as soon as the demonstrators entered. Concerned about the women working on the north end of the second floor, Dean Epps made his way upstairs. The women were gone, but at the top of the stairs Epps was surrounded by four or five demonstrators. He recognized a couple as undergraduates, and two as teaching fellows. "Get the hell out of here," Epps was told.

Epps answered, "I'm not going. I work here."

Epps was pushed against a wall and ordered, "Get the fuck out of here." He was pushed and pulled down the stairs to the first floor. Gene Dixon, a Boston *Record-American* photographer, had just arrived. His picture of Epps went out on the Associated Press wire, and made page one of the *New York Times*.

Keeping his hands at his sides, Epps told the demonstrators that he would not leave the building voluntarily. He was pushed against a water cooler near one of the east doors of the building, while the demonstrators discussed which door to put him out through. Because a crowd had collected on the east side, it was decided to use a door on the opposite side, where John Harvard's statue stands. Epps went down the steps and around to the other side of the building, where he re-entered. Inside he saw Robert B. Watson '37, Dean of Students; Christopher C. Wadsworth '62, Director of Advanced Standing; and Rev. James E. Thomas, a senior adviser to freshmen. Watson was being pushed out, and Epps told the demonstrators to leave him alone. "What in hell are you doing back here?" asked one. A girl behind Epps announced, "We've talked long enough, we're taking over this building. You're responsible for killing people in Vietnam."

Epps answered, "I am not responsible for killing people in Vietnam. You are using methods here that I thought you objected to—violence and force."

"What in the fuck do you know about it?" said the girl. Epps was seized by the demonstrators who had ejected him the first time. "Get the hell out, get Epps out," they were saying. He was pushed out the east door and into the crowd.

Watson, Wadsworth, and two photographers were then ejected, and Thomas was carried out on the back of a demonstrator.

By 12:35, almost all the regular occupants of the

building had been removed. Dean Glimp had again gone upstairs, forcing his way past the demonstrators in the hall. Apologizing for interrupting, he went into Dean Ford's office, where Ford had been in a meeting with J. Petersen Elder, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and John F. Kain, Associate Professor of Economics. After conferring for two or three minutes, they came down the stairs and Dean Ford ordered the demonstrators to leave forthwith. They responded with jeers. "We have taken over the building and are going to shut down this University until our demands are met," the Deans were told. "The demands are un-negotiable. When the Corporation gives in, they can issue a statement."

Dean Ford returned to his office to get his coat, while Dean Glimp was shoved toward a door. A student who was not involved in the demonstration tried to force his way into the building. In the vestibule, his arms were pinned behind him and he was beaten. Raising his voice, Dean Ford said, "I hope it's clear to you all that you're obstructing the free passage of members of this community, which subjects you to disciplinary action." At 12:45, the last deans were out of the building.

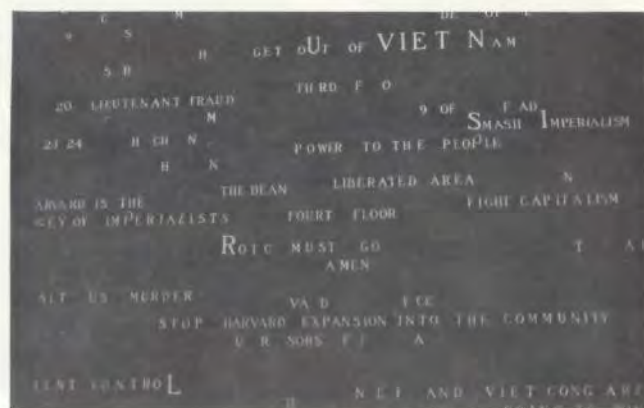
Finishing his daily hotdog lunch at the Tasty, Dean of Admissions Chase Peterson decided to walk back to his office by way of University Hall, to see if anything was up. He mounted the west steps and found the door chained shut. "I had a feeling of shock," Dr. Peterson recalled later. "I realized I had never before seen a chain on a Harvard building." He walked around to the other side of the building, where the crowd was.

On the second floor of the building, the SDS flag—the letters SDS in a black circle centered in a red field—flew from a window. In two other windows were signs roughly lettered "ROTC Must Go." On the steps at the north end of the building, surrounded by reporters, photographers, and fellow demonstrators, stood Jared Israel '67 with a bullhorn. "The fight is now, inside," he was saying. "The time has come when you must make Pusey and the faculty deal with you honestly, by taking the building." Half a dozen students on the lower steps were leading others in a counter-demonstration, shouting, "Out, out, out!" Simultaneously, others were chanting, "Rotcy must go, Rotcy must go!"

Israel handed his microphone to a bearded student who identified himself as Steve Hornberger, president



Hundreds mill about University Hall in the hours following the occupation. Some support it, others shout "Out, out!" Many are simply onlookers. Meanwhile, the demonstrators rearrange the first-floor directory board and settle in.



of the Divinity School's student association. "I ask you to join us," he said. "Let us share this issue in the spirit of Martin Luther King and Jesus Christ."

Taking the microphone back, Israel asked how many in the crowd opposed seizing the building. Hundreds signified that they did. A much smaller number favored it. Someone shouted, "It's against a democratic decision if you take the building."

"Be quiet," said Israel. "You've had your silly vote." The crowd booed.

On one of the lower steps, Dean Peterson was asked to speak. "I'm not here out of any sense of pleasure," he said. "This is a sad day for Harvard. There's no reason in the world why this can't be discussed." He talked briefly about the financial-aid reductions in the cases of the Paine Hall demonstrators, explaining that Harvard did not have sufficient funds for scholarship aid to everyone.

"Bullshit!" shouted a girl.

"Be terribly careful what you're doing," Dr. Peterson finished, "because this is a collision course. I'm not sure Harvard can survive this type of thing, and I'm sure that many of you can't."

Inside the building,

the number of demonstrators grew threefold within the first hour of the occupation, and by 1:30 there were about 250 of them. An organizational meeting was under way in the Faculty Room. Richard E. Hyland '70 served as chairman. Committees on money-raising, food, and sanitation were appointed, and votes were taken against vandalism and against opening files. The question of marijuana arose. "Anyone who wants to smoke should leave," said one student. "That is not the point of the protest." Another student asked if the demonstrators were not there to be freed. A vote was taken and a no-grass rule adopted, to be binding on everyone.

The demonstrators then debated whether the press should be admitted. It was decided to allow only the *Crimson* and WHRB, although some members of the outside press were already in the building and others were admitted later.* In theory, only students were to come and go at will. Arthur Smithies, Master of Kirkland House, had come in and had been trying to dissuade the demonstrators from staying. Someone pointed out that in the Dow sit-in, administration and

faculty people had made identifications. The meeting voted to bar them.

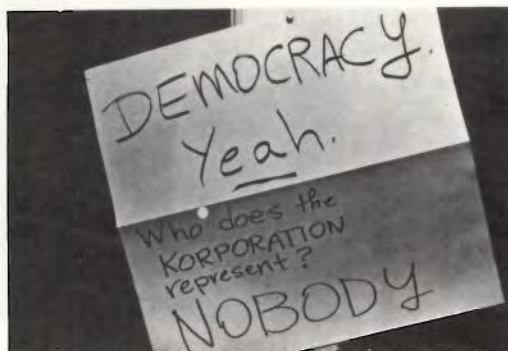
Dean Peterson was still arguing on the steps. "ROTC was fought out fair and square, and SDS lost," he was saying. Humphrey Doermann '52, Dean Ford's Assistant for Financial Affairs, and Gordon P. Gillis, a longtime financial assistant, returned from a Faculty Club luncheon meeting of the pension committee. They asked and received permission to retrieve their briefcases from their offices. Around three, some undergraduates appeared with an SDS effigy on a pole. They burned it in the center of the Tercentenary Theater. From a window in Weld Hall, at top-decibel level, came the music of Bach's Third Brandenburg Concerto, played on the Moog Electronic Synthesizer. Several hundred people milled about in the Yard, waiting for something to happen. The weather was fair and moderately warm.

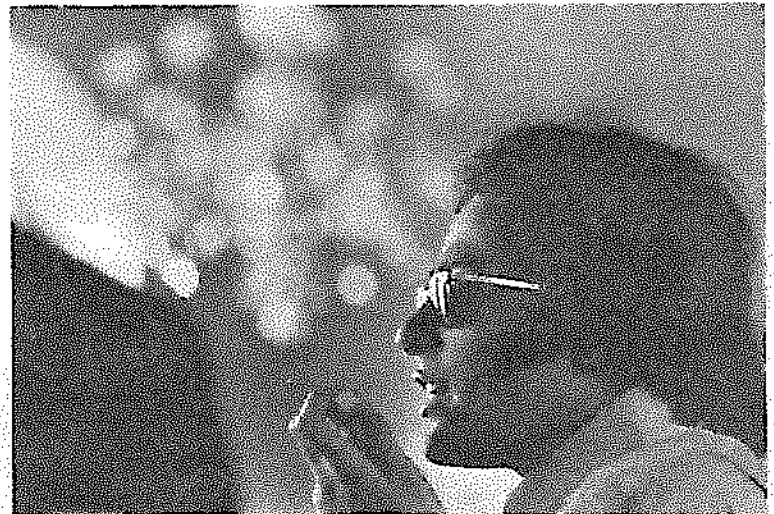
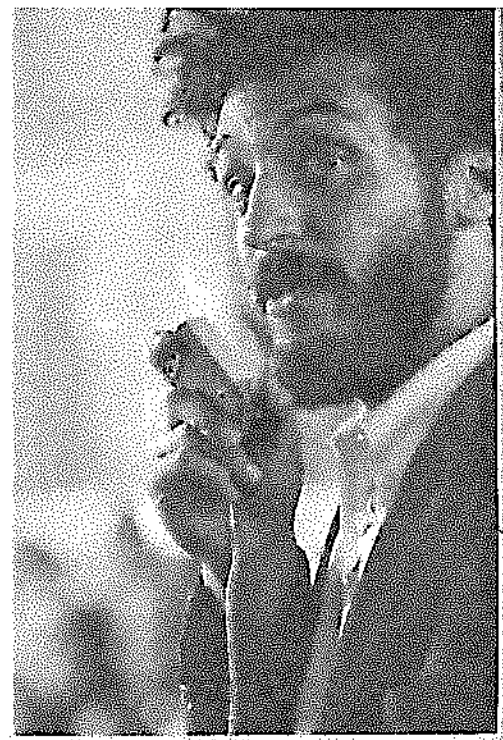
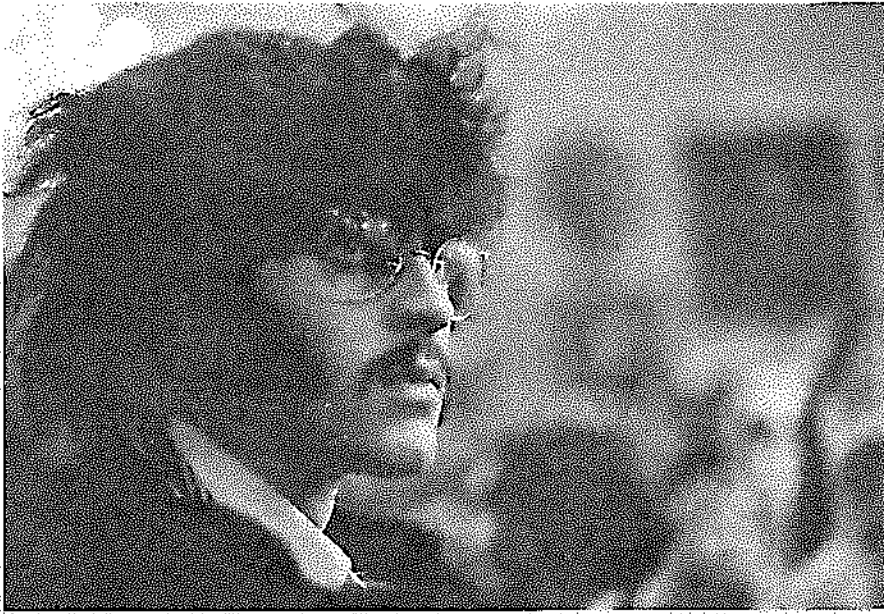
After being ejected,

the deans had regrouped at President Pusey's house at 17 Quincy Street. Under a long-standing contingency plan, Mr. Pusey had convened a meeting of the Executive Council, an advisory body that includes the president of Radcliffe and the deans of the ten faculties of the University. At the same time, Deans Epps and Glimp were summoning the sixteen-man Administrative Board, consisting of deans and senior tutors, for a 1:30 meeting. The nine House masters were to meet at 3:00.

During these consultations, Mr. Pusey was in telephone contact with members of the Corporation, and Dean Ford was drafting a statement to be delivered to the demonstrators. The intention was to give the demonstrators an ultimatum to leave the building by 4:30, after which the police could be called. At 4:15 Deans Ford, Elder, and Glimp went to the steps of Widener with a bullhorn, and as hundreds swarmed to the steps, began the announcement. Shouts of "Louder, we can't hear you" came from University Hall. Dean Ford began again. He announced that "to minimize the risk of any spread of violence," the Yard would now be closed until further notice; that only freshmen

*A representative of this publication was barred on the grounds that he represented "the Corporation Press." Among those arrested in the next day's police action were representatives from the *Crimson*, WHRB, the *Harvard Law Review*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Yale Daily News*.





would be allowed to re-enter after leaving; and that there would be a five-o'clock meeting at Lowell Lecture Hall for anyone who wanted to discuss the situation. "I must repeat in the most formal terms the injunction to all persons now in University Hall to depart therefrom, so that the building may be restored to its proper uses," Dean Ford concluded. "Anyone failing to observe this warning within fifteen minutes will be subject to prosecution for criminal trespass." The statement was met by applause, cheers, and cries of "All right, Dean Ford!"

In University Hall, there were now at least 350 people. Five or ten students and a few reporters immediately left the building. Someone said, "Now it's war." Another student started speaking against the occupation, and was booed down. More representatives were dispatched to the Houses to gather support. At 4:30, one of the demonstration leaders began speaking over a bullhorn: "We advise our friends and brothers not to leave the Yard. It's our Yard, not their Yard." Freshmen began volunteering rooms for anyone who would stay on. Widener Library, closing early, helped to swell the crowd. By 4:45 there must have been 3,000 people in the Yard. From the high-decibel sound system in Weld came the Beatles' "Revolution."

"It had reached the scale of a civil disturbance," Dean Glimp said later. "We had not been able to manage contact between the masters and administrators and the students. Our usual means of getting together with students was broken."

Some 150 Cambridge policemen had massed at the Quincy Street firehouse; because of the size of the crowd it was decided not to call them in. But inside the building, the demonstrators braced for an assault. A few minutes before five, they announced over a bullhorn that by a vote of 80 to 35, resistance to the police would be non-violent. The demonstrators would link arms and stay together; people outside were asked to surround the building to obstruct the police. "Please start a picket line," the announcer asked repeatedly. But picketing was sporadic at best.

"We're going to stay all night," came another announcement shortly after six. "The cops won't bust us. We have it on reliable authority that Memorial Church will be open all night. We need money, blankets, and food. Please help." Students passed through the crowd collecting money in wastebaskets and green bookbags. It was suppertime, and it was chilly; the crowd had dwindled to about 800.

The mass meeting in the Faculty Room, which had lasted for the best part of six hours, broke up at seven. There were well over 450 in the building now, in a male-female ratio of about three to two. Smaller groups formed for discussions; guitars appeared, and there was singing. Food began to arrive, plentifully enough for a three-day siege. The demonstrators' public-address system began sending rock music into the Yard. "It became a serious mixer atmosphere," one of the demonstrators said later.

From temporary headquarters set up in Holyoke Center, the University News Office issued a reply by President Pusey to the SDS demands. "Can anyone believe that the Harvard SDS demands are made seriously?" it began. A Corporation-appointed committee was working not to thwart the faculty vote on ROTC, but to carry it out. The question of financial aid to students on probation was under consideration and would be discussed by the faculty. The question of ROTC scholarships would be resolved by the various faculties when and if the need arose. As for the expansion demands,

The rents charged for University-owned apartments are below those of the general market. . . . There are no plans to tear down any apartments on University Road nor are any homes being torn down to make way for Harvard Medical School Expansion.

How can one respond to allegations which have no basis in fact?

After the five-o'clock meeting at Lowell Lecture Hall — sparsely attended at the start, but with 200 present at the end — Dean Glimp had begun meeting with a coalition of moderate students from the Harvard Undergraduate Council, the Student-Faculty Advisory Council, and the Harvard-Radcliffe Policy Committee. They had discussed ways of handling the situation, and the students had urged that the police not be called; if there should be a police action, they asked that it be taken in daylight, be accompanied by University officers, and be essentially non-violent. The coalition was to convene an open meeting at ten the next morning to continue discussion.

Dean Glimp had made unsuccessful attempts to talk with the demonstrators, and early in the evening a moderate student urged him to make one more. A message was taken to University Hall, where another mass meeting was beginning. The Glimp initiative was discussed, and voted down. That was shortly before ten o'clock. Not much later, President Pusey made the final decision to send in police at daybreak.

the Bust

"They came in hitting," students remembered later. And a half hour of violence led to two weeks of turmoil

The University Hall demonstrators held a final meeting between midnight and 1 a.m. on April 10. They reaffirmed the plan of non-violent resistance, and were told by one of their leaders, Michael S. Ansara '68, "If we can be here in the morning, the anti-war movement at Harvard will be stronger than it ever was before." At two came a report that someone had overheard Cambridge policemen talking about a morning raid. By that time, most of the demonstrators on the second and third floors were napping. Those on the first floor were typing, talking, reading magazines, playing cards. There were perhaps 400 in the building. Things remained quiet until almost four, when rumors of an imminent raid rustled through the building. Several leaders of the group left to rouse students in the Yard and Houses, by setting off fire alarms. The first alarms in the Yard went off at 4:07. A few minutes before five, someone in University Hall shouted, "This is it! They're coming!"

A force of more than 400 police was entering the Yard. Within half an hour the demonstrators would be cleared from University Hall.

The police had assembled an hour earlier at Memorial Hall. There municipal authorities had held a briefing session, attended also by Deans Glimp and Watson, Administrative Vice President L. Gard Wiggins, and Robert Tonis, chief of the University Police. The police were told to "preserve the peace," and instructed not to pursue demonstrators who jumped out windows or ran away.

At 4:45 the mayor of Cambridge, Walter Sullivan, walked to University Hall and identified himself to students sitting on the steps in support of the demonstrators inside. "I want you to pass the word inside that unless you clear the building immediately, you will be taken out."

Ten minutes later the police entered the Yard. Some 225 state troopers, in half a dozen buses, were followed by 100 Cambridge policemen, 60 from Boston, 25 from the Metropolitan District Commission, and

smaller detachments from Somerville, Watertown, and other adjacent communities. With military precision, they deployed around the building, parking buses and a half dozen cars in the middle of the Tercentenary Theater.

About a hundred students supporting the occupation sat on each of the two University Hall stairways facing the Tercentenary Theater. A crowd of several hundred students surrounded the building. Greater Boston police approached the group on the south steps, while the Boston Tactical Force and Cambridge and MDC units advanced on the group to the north. Their assault plan was simple and effective.

"They came in hitting," students said afterward. Screaming, the students on the north steps stampeded away from the police and broke against the crowd around the south steps. Somerville police, with helmets, shields, and nightsticks, pulled, pushed, and threw the students from the stairs. They scattered away from the building, with police in pursuit. Crowds were forced against and into the bushes by Weld Hall.

Lines of police began to cordon off University Hall. State troopers, in Columbia-blue helmets and coats, black boots and jodhpurs, moved onto the stairs and formed two parallel files. From in front of the building, through a police bullhorn, Dean Glimp announced to the demonstrators inside, "You have five minutes to vacate the building."

The demonstrators had been passing out lawyers' telephone numbers and wet cloths for use against tear gas, and had linked arms to resist the first wave of police. Within three minutes the police had pushed through the outside doors, which were open, and were cutting the chains that secured the inner doors. A dozen troopers entered, followed by the four Harvard officers. Chanting "Smash Rotcy, end expansion!", the demonstrators pressed forward against the troopers, and then fell back. The police were trying to fight through to the east doors, where troopers outside were attempting to cut the chains. Shouting and screaming,



the demonstrators would hold firm against the police for a time, only to break, stampede, and fall against one another. Holding their sticks high, cracking them against other sticks, the troopers broke the demonstrators into smaller groups. Individuals detached themselves and ran for doors and windows. Many made the ten-foot jump from the first-floor windows to the ground by the John Harvard statue. Some were injured and remained lying there.

The troopers cleared the first floor and went up to the second. Demonstrators were pushed, shoved, and clubbed down the stairs, outside, and into the waiting buses. The buses filled rapidly, and the lines began to back up. An estimated thirty or forty demonstrators were let go as the lines got longer.

The buses swung around the south end of University Hall, leaving deep tire-gouges in the ground. Within, demonstrators raised their fingers in the V sign. The buses rolled out of the Yard and headed directly for the Third Middlesex District Court in East Cambridge.

The last bus left at about 5:25. In planning their strategy, the municipal authorities had given more attention to clearing the building than to what they would do when the building was cleared. Around the perimeter of the Tercentenary Theater were at least a thousand angry, shouting people. Some were half dressed, others wore pajamas and bathrobes, a couple were dressed in evening clothes. Cries of "Strike, strike!" had been heard since the police arrived. As the crowd in one part of the Yard enlarged, the police would slowly walk it to another part. Ranks of students faced ranks of police, shouting taunts: "Sieg heil!" yelled some. "You fuckers!" a long-haired student shouted over and over again at a line of MDC police, who remained impassive. "Pigs, pigs, pigs!" shouted others.

"I've never seen anything like this in my life," said a Somerville policeman stationed between University and Thayer Halls.

"There goes Harvard," said one student to another. "Finished for the year."

By six the crowds were pressing in on the police units, howling. Near the northeast corner of University Hall, forty or fifty policemen formed a circle, completely surrounded. Twice they charged to widen it, and the students fled in all directions, shouting and screaming. On the steps of Memorial Church, people wept and cursed. At 6:08 the Boston police formed ranks to march out, but students hemmed them in. "Shut up and let 'em go!" shouted a student in a blue

lumber jacket. Marching past the east steps of the church, the police were pelted with rocks and spittle. Students followed them to the gates, shouting "Pusey's pigs! Pusey's pigs!" "Get out get out get out get out get out!"

At 6:15 the gates of the Yard were opened.

Arrested in the bust

were 196 persons. Twelve members of the press were immediately released. The remaining 184 were arraigned on Thursday morning on charges of criminal trespassing. Of these, 145 were Harvard or Radcliffe students.

The arraignments lasted about six hours. Groups of five students were led into the defendants' dock to face Judge Haven Parker '22. Each student heard the clerk of courts read the charges; each pleaded not guilty. Students accused of criminal trespass were freed on personal recognizance, while those who could not show bursar's cards were required to post \$20 bail. Assault and battery charges were lodged against a College sophomore and a teaching fellow; a Cambridge cab driver was arraigned for breaking a bus window.

Friends and fellow students waited outside for the demonstrators. Enough cars were available to run a shuttle service back to Harvard. During the ten-minute drives, talk and excitement were at a high pitch. New strategies were discussed. And beneath the angry faces and bandaged wounds, the demonstrators were enjoying the taste of success. They had turned their actions into issues that no one could ignore.

At the University Health Services, the Cambridge City Hospital, and Mount Auburn Hospital, 48 people were treated for injuries after the bust. Of these, 34 were Harvard or Radcliffe students; five were policemen. Most of the injuries were contusions, lacerations, and abrasions. One man had a fractured kneecap, and two had concussions. A woman student at the School of Design broke an ankle jumping from a window; another girl who jumped had a broken vertebra, while a third, from Brandeis, had a broken leg.

Once the police had left University Hall, college officers walked through it to check conditions. "It was messy, but there was no vandalism," was the first report. A more careful inventory would have to wait. Outside, students were shouting, "On strike! Shut it down!"





The Administration
has been examining
our records for a
long time (grades, test
scores for 12 years back,
I.Q.'s; they know who you've
worked for, what your personal
health problems are, how much
your father makes...) Isn't it
fair we look at theirs?





the Strike

Seldom—if ever—in the history of Harvard had such a rush of events been packed into so short a period

Dazed, shaken, the crowd in the Yard collected at the steps of Widener. “Move in, sit down,” said someone through a bullhorn. Everyone listened. Alan Gilbert, an SDS member and a teaching fellow in Government, took the microphone. It was 6:15 in the morning, clear and cool.

“The bastards in the crowd who sent them here . . .” Gilbert was saying. “It isn’t just one man, it’s a lot of men who sit on the Corporation . . .” A redheaded student took the microphone: “How many people here want to shut down this university?”

The crowd of several hundred responded loudly and began to shout “Strike! Strike!”

Another student seized the microphone. “Everybody’s yelling ‘strike’ in the emotional catchup of it all,” he began. He was drowned out. “Let him talk,” shouted someone.

“There are two separate issues — ”

“Bullshit!”

Someone else had the microphone. “I didn’t support these people last night, but I do now, because everything they said has been proved true.”

Gilbert had the microphone again. “Let’s fight back now — ”

“NO” from most of the crowd.

“Let’s start by going back to Pusey’s house with rocks!”

“NO!”

Several people wrestled for the microphone. “Let Kazin talk!” said someone.

Michael Kazin ’70, spokesman for SDS’s New Left Caucus, took over. “The University has shown it can only respond with police,” he began. “We’ve got to have picket lines—no classes until they accede to those demands.”

“That’s not the issue.”

“It’s clear to people what repressive measures those of us who fight imperialism and Harvard expansion are up against.”

“This is *our* university. When Pusey and the Cor-

poration sent in cops they lost this university, and it’s ours now.”

“We don’t want an SDS war!”

“In the city of Ben Tre, 30,000 destroyed . . .”

“Talk about Harvard!”

“It’s time to stand up and tell them we’ve taken enough of their shit, we need a conspiracy as the Crimson pointed out, it’s just not too groovy to be around Harvard anymore — ”

“Why is it that cops were called in? Why is it people have to occupy a building? Why live in a world where atrocities occur? It’s time to talk about it, to stop going to their bullshit classes for a while!”

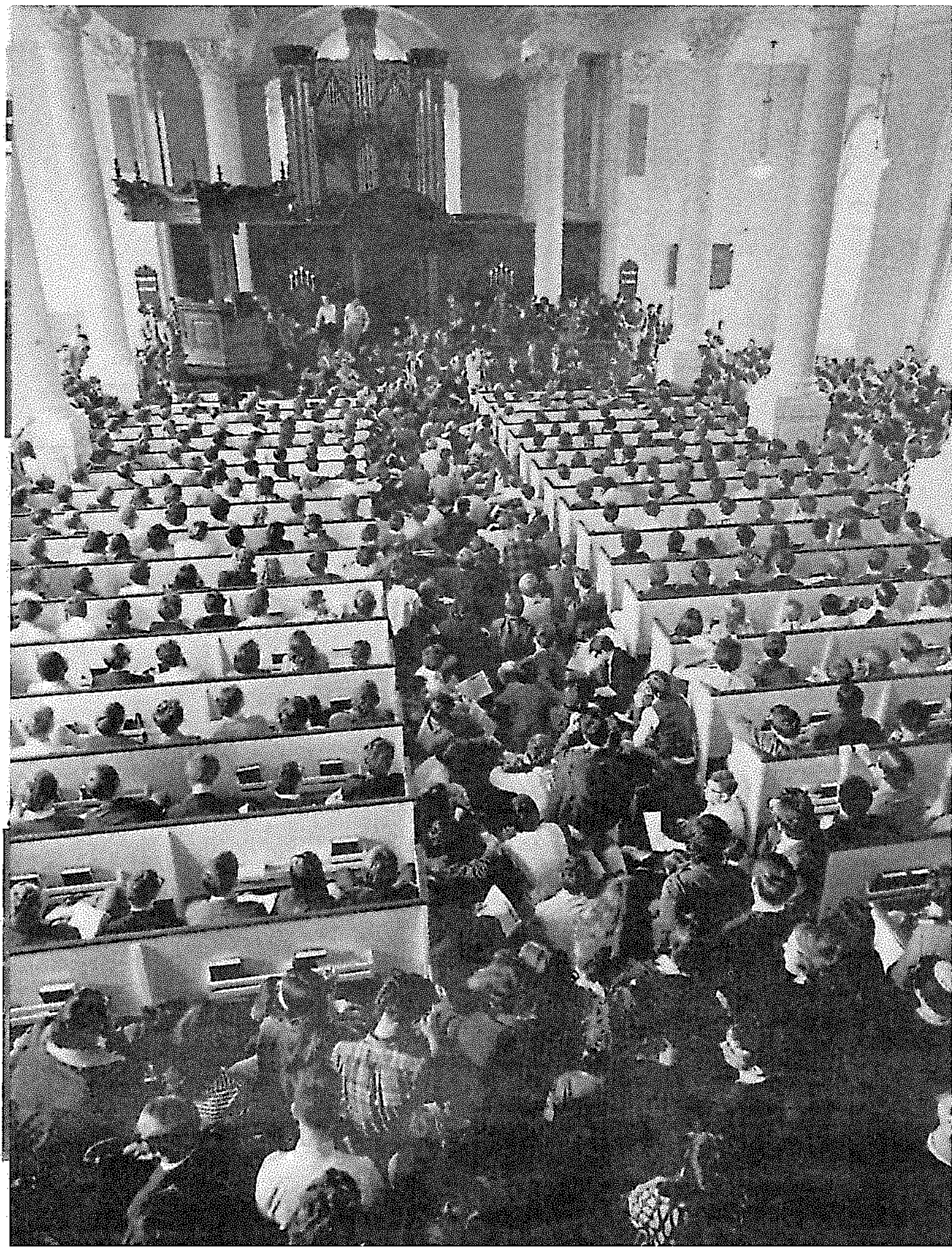
Long applause.

A short student with long hair was offering a three-point proposal. “Those people should have charges dropped and no administrative action brought against them. Four guys were gently shoved out because they weren’t gentlemen enough to realize a building was being taken over. We ought to demand the immediate resignation of all the administration. We ought to support the six demands.”

A blond student said, “We have to shut this university down because next time it might be like Wisconsin and the National Guard, so let’s stick together, man.”

Students were passing a green bookbag to raise bail money for the demonstrators. A student in an orange sweater spoke: “Where did the violence start? When people went into a building that was not theirs. Those people in that building have an iota of pride. They issued their statement and you knew what there was going to be. The demands are good, but I’m against the strike because *we* must admit responsibility. It’s not all their fault. A strike won’t end the war. We must do something to end the war. A strike will lead to more violence. I want peace, here and in Vietnam.”

A girl read a compromise resolution framed by ten people who had gathered at Phillips Brooks House. It called for a shutdown of Harvard pending the aboli-



tion of ROTC, the dropping of charges against the demonstrators, and no academic punishment.

It was 7:15, temperature 55 degrees, a fair, breezy day. People began drifting away from the crowd, going off to breakfast at the Union or the Houses or the Bick. Someone announced that there would be a protest rally at Memorial Church at ten. Then a black student took the microphone. He told how he had been clubbed on the head and in the stomach by a policeman who had started out chasing a white student. "We're here on the plantation," he said, gesturing at the portico of Widener. "Don't those Georgian columns look like the plantation? One of the speakers before said let's not make this a Columbia, that Columbia has disintegrated. Well, Columbia hasn't disintegrated enough for me, and he can go to Columbia, because we've got Nazi Germany here. As far as I'm concerned we should all get together and make a concerted effort to fuck this place. Fuck Harvard."

The strike had begun.

Hours later it would be made official. But even before the ten-o'clock meeting in Memorial Church, about forty pickets were parading in front of the east side of University Hall, carrying hastily lettered signs on sheets and posters—STRIKE; FIGHT THE PIGS, NO EXPANSION; 150 ARRESTED, 25 IN HOSPITAL: FIGHT BACK. Chants of "On strike, shut it down!"* were interrupted by invitations to bystanders to join the line. There were bitter verbal exchanges and brief fist-fights. Some of the pickets had caked blood on their heads and clothing. So did some of the bystanders. *Life* correspondent Colin Leinster, just back from two years in Vietnam and starting a stint on the education beat, had six stitches above his left temple. For getting too close to the action, he had been knocked down from behind and struck with a nightstick.

At 9:50, SDS began a rally on the steps of University Hall. Knots of students dallied there for a few minutes before going on to Memorial Church. By ten o'clock, every pew was tightly packed, the aisles jammed with sitting and standing students. They sat on the windowsills and swarmed over the chancel;

a few climbed on top of the rood screen. The meeting of the Memorial Church Group, more than 2,000 people, was under way.

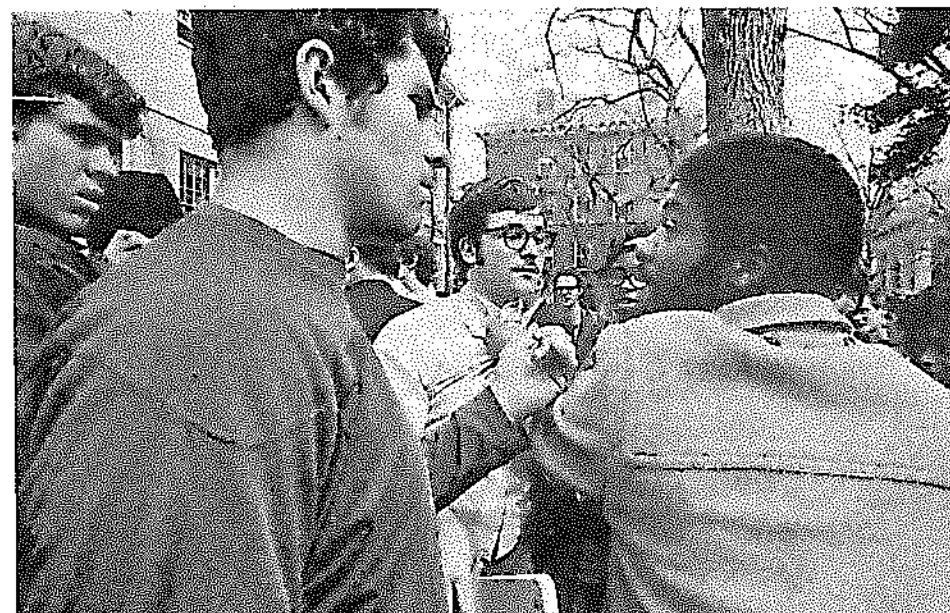
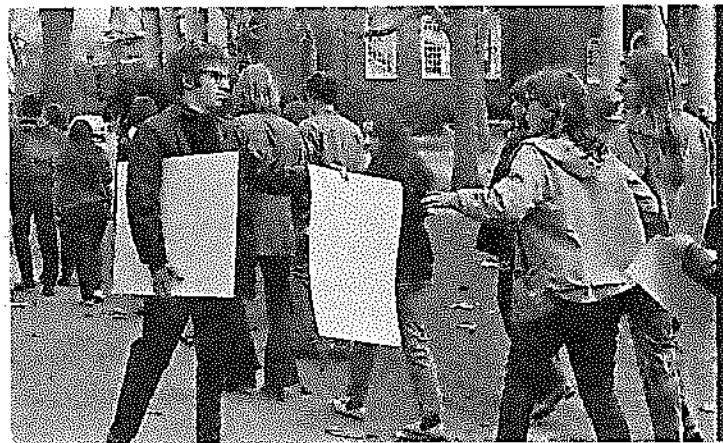
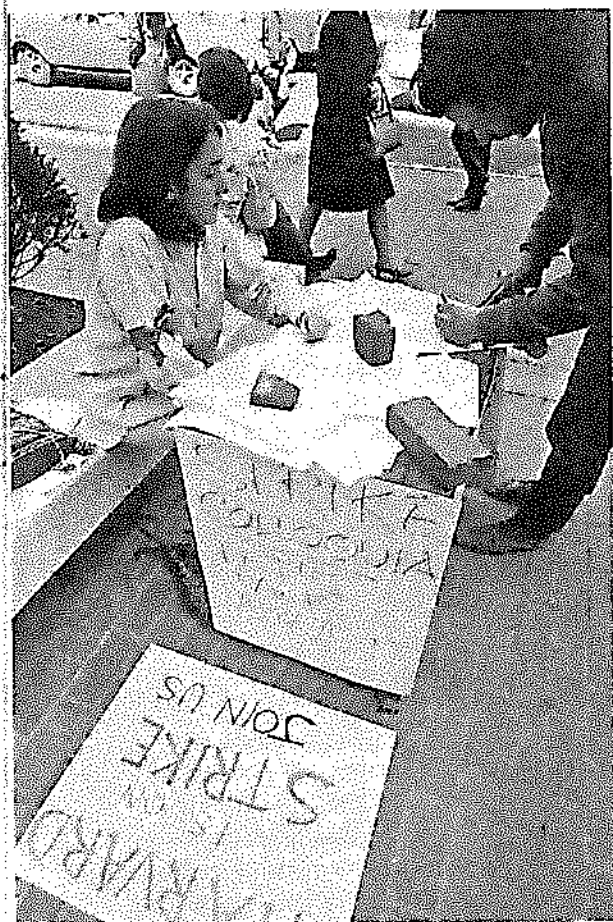
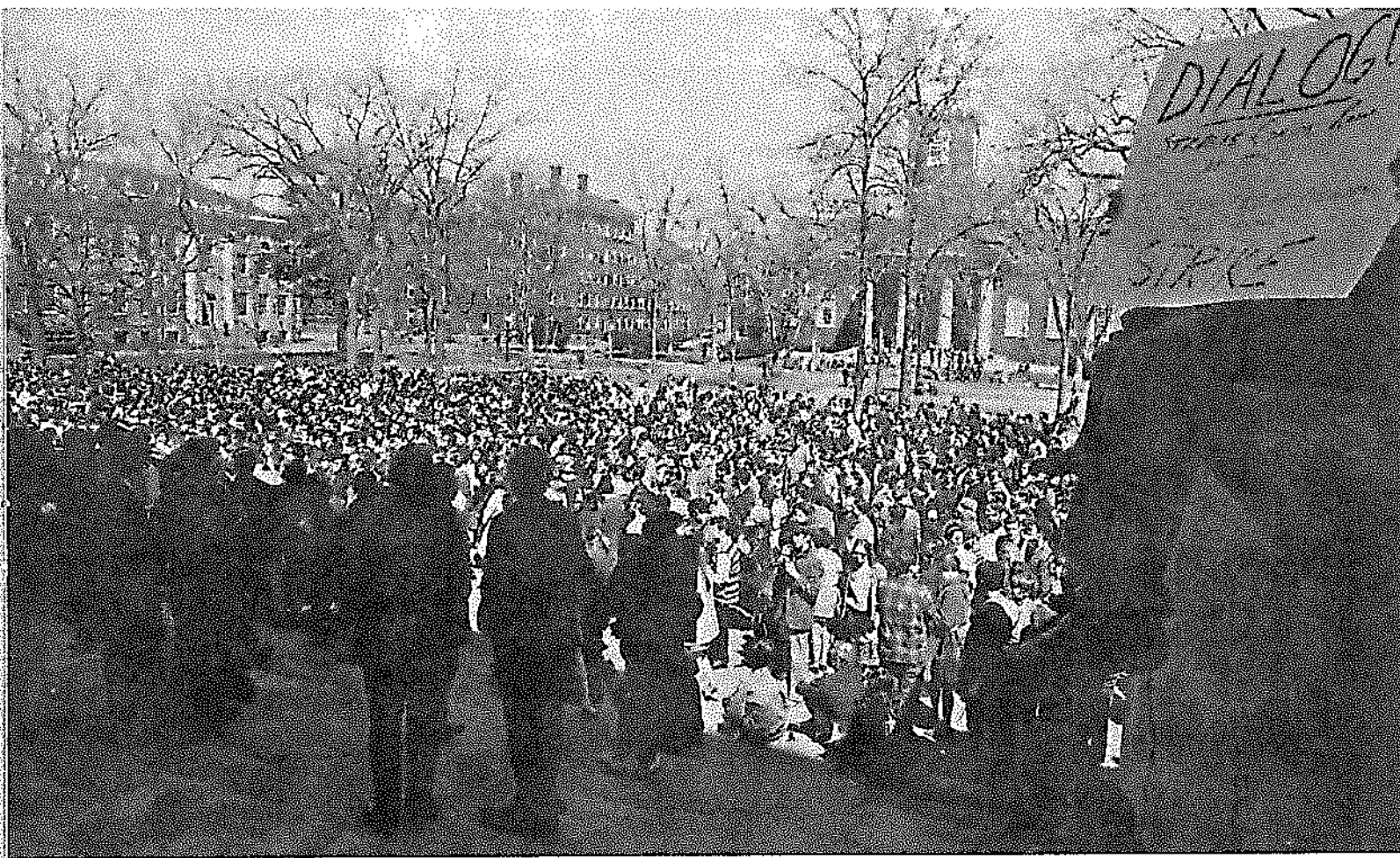
The meeting had originally been conceived by leaders of the principal student-government groups—HUC, SFAC, HRPC—as a place to discuss ways of coping with the occupation of University Hall. The police action had pre-empted any such discussion, but leaders of the groups had met in Weld Hall after the bust, and had agreed to present a four-point proposal by Kenneth M. Glazier '69, a leader of SFAC. Addressing the meeting, Glazier said, "What happened in University Hall may have been impolitic, unwise, but it was not criminal. The response turned an act of annoyance and inconvenience into a criminal act. The deans couldn't help but know what was going to happen." There could never be a coalition, he went on, unless it was recognized that there were deep divisions over the issue of ROTC. He then offered his four points: (1) "The demonstration was internal and should have been dealt with that way; criminal charges should be dropped." (2) "We must recognize that the situation was created by the Corporation;" (3) "The Corporation must be restructured to reflect the needs of the community, students, teaching fellows, and the faculty;" (4) "A three-day strike must take place effective tomorrow, with a convocation Monday evening to decide whether to continue it." The fourth point was greeted with tremendous applause. "Just not going to classes doesn't count," finished Glazier. "We must find constructive proposals. This must be a constructive, not a punitive, strike."

Michael Kazin of SDS then presented three immediate demands: abolish ROTC, no punishment for the demonstrators, and a strike until the six SDS demands were met. "That's not the position of SDS," shouted Bruce Allen '69, forcing his way to the lectern. The crowd shouted him down as he tried to insist that the six demands, not the police invasion or restructuring the Corporation, were the only issue. This distinction, drawn from both sides, would help prevent a fully effective coalition between SDS and the moderates in the days to come.

The debate went on, often heatedly, sometimes chaotically.

"There has to be room for the administration to move—we have to be willing to move toward the administration. We have to tell the University that even though they let us down, we don't condone the

*A slogan identified with the months-long strike at San Francisco State College. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Harvard strike was to take most of its stylistic trappings from the West Coast, Columbia, and Paris.



takeover. That's the middle ground."

"NO!"

"It's time to think about why those six demands made the Corporation act the way it did."

"Abolishing ROTC is the only way we're going to bring democracy to Vietnam and Latin America."

Stanley Hoffmann, Professor of Government, appeared at the lectern. "This is the only university we've got," he began in his Viennese-Parisian accent. "It can be improved, it should be improved, but it should not be destroyed. . . . There is a need for changing the decision-making structure, but no structure, however perfect, will guarantee that views of a minority become the majority, and no university can function if a minority insists on winning all the time."

Wesley E. Profit '69, former president of Phillips Brooks House, stepped up. "If we are a community, we became one because of the action the police took last night. I think we ought to thank SDS for making this community possible, and we ought to demand amnesty to bring them back to it."

The meeting was struggling through oratory and procedural questions toward a vote. It was almost three hours old. In the center aisle, Michael Ansara appeared, one of the first of the demonstrators to return from court. "There are 150 of us," he began, "many whose heads are not yet too sound." Laughter. "What we have done opens up great possibilities. For us now to say fuck those guys, it's all irrelevant. . . ."

"We're trying to concentrate on issues on which there is some consensus," said Ken Glazier. In the end, the SDS expansion demands were tabled, and five points adopted: (1) no police on the campus again; (2) no criminal charges against the demonstrators, and no administrative punishment stronger than probation, without scholarship cuts; (3) restore financial aid to Paine Hall demonstrators; (4) a binding referendum among students and faculty on the status of ROTC; (5) restructuring of the Corporation to include representatives of the entire University community. Almost unanimously, the group voted to ask President Pusey to resign if the demands were not met. There would be a meeting on Monday to decide on the next step.

The word arrived that the Law School had also voted to strike for three days. The Law Review would conduct an investigation and wanted depositions on police brutality. There would be meetings in the Houses that afternoon and evening. It was almost two when the Memorial Church Group dispersed.

In the days to follow, the Memorial Church Group

would become fragmented; some of its aims would be blunted. But it had already served one major purpose: giving a broad mandate to the first student strike in Harvard history.

That night the SDS met and voted to support the strike, with a picket line of its own in front of Sever Hall. It added a seventh demand, for amnesty, to its other six. And it was told by Russ Newfield, of SDS's national organization, "This is our strike. It organized spontaneously as soon as the cops came on campus."

The next two weeks

were to be a period of almost daily crisis. They would see the faculty in emergency sessions twice a week, thousands in two mass meetings at the Stadium. They would see the proliferation of colloquia on all phases of the University's governance and its role in society; the creation of Harvard New College; the disruption of regularly scheduled classes. There would be the publication of documents and letters purloined from the University Hall files, worsening the already desperate crisis of confidence within the University community. There would be new depths of mistrust, the splintering of political alignments, vicious allegations of collusion and duplicity. There would be a fresh crisis involving black students, and the physical collapse of Dean Ford. SDS would adopt new disruptive tactics. Men would talk themselves hoarse in endless dialogues that often saw them talking past, rather than to, each other. Above all there would be the endless flow of paper: posters, leaflets, broadsides, proposals, position papers, accusations, replies, counter-replies. Exhaustion would spread in every quarter, and as the pace of events became more frenetic, there would be the ultimate question: how could an institution as ponderously fragile as Harvard survive so much stress?

The rush of events

picked up on Friday, April 11, the first full day of the strike. SDS formed a picket line of about thirty people outside Sever just before nine. As dozens of reporters and photographers craned to listen and see, arguments seemed to break out everywhere. The Yard filled rapidly. At ten, the student strike was announced on the steps of Widener. Red armbands were passed



Non-politics on the battlefield

By Nicholas Gagarin '70, executive editor of the *Crimson*

It is in the nature of a place like Harvard to make us distrust emotions. The exercise of reason is, after all, what leads us to *veritas*; we think, therefore we are. And so, from the minute the occupation of University Hall began, Harvard's minds went to work to figure it out, to analyze and define and criticize it.

Anyone who was in University Hall during the occupation, however, like anyone who was in the Yard when the bust came, should think back on the emotions of that experience. Emotions are our guts; without them we are but thinking machines, and the destruction of which such machines (Bundy, Kissinger) are capable has left its scars on all of us.

There were two kinds of emotions in University Hall. The first were dream-like and euphoric. They came from the wierd realization that now at The University, Mr. Big, Harvard U, we finally had a building. They came from the carnival, open, free-wheeling life-style inside. They came from the fact that one student found a memo on Dean Glimp's desk saying "Draft statement on limits of student dissent." The euphoria was everywhere. You could walk into offices and think happily of deans writing letters to other deans who would pass them on to other deans.

With an incredible amount of poise and endurance, Dick Hyland—looking like the gentlest person on earth in his sneakers, khaki pants, and dirty green shirt—kept things orderly. A group of people was in charge of food, and throughout the day and night milk and bread and meat and cheese flowed into the building. There was so much peanut-butter and jelly that for a few bizarre moments it might have been the McCarthy campaign all over again.

What was most euphoric, however, was us and what we were to each other. For those few hours we *were* brothers and sisters. We did reach out and hold onto each other. You could be flip about

it: "I haven't seen so many of my friends together in two years," one girl said. But you had to realize—whatever your politics and whatever your tactics—that we were very beautiful in University Hall, we were very human, and we were very together.

The second emotion, of course, was fear, which fought against the euphoria for control. For me, the fear began in earnest a little before 4 in the afternoon, when the word arrived that Dean Ford was giving us a 15-minute ultimatum to get out. I saw a guy I had talked to only once before in my life, but we clasped arms and began to laugh nervously about how we didn't want to be thrown out of Harvard and how we wanted to be free this summer.

When it became clear that the bust would not come that afternoon, the fear subsided until 12 hours later, in the early morning, when the rumors were confirmed and the first cops were sighted. As we stood waiting in the outer reception area, the fear and euphoria grew together, each emotion getting high on the other as we linked arms, chanting as loud as we could.

We had been together at the peak of human experience. Suddenly we were together at its pit—as the gut, uncontrollable horror of what the cops were doing jammed its way down into our bowels. I was in the line behind Dick Hyland. "They've got Mace," he shouted. With that, I quit. The fear was too much. I fled, and jumped from one of the windows. Dick was braver. He stayed, and for that the cops would club him unconscious.

None of the above is very political stuff. But there was a group of us in University Hall who are not very political people. It was a strange group, not well-defined at all, that included some girls, some people from the Loeb, a couple of guys from the Fly Club, at least one from the Lampoon, and one in a Tuxedo who had just come from a

party and was drunk. There were others. Some of us didn't even know what the six demands were. Some thought we should apologize for the way the deans had been handled that morning. Some thought we had made our point and should leave the building of our own accord. . . .

What is really at stake—and what I think that small apolitical group of us was sitting in at University Hall for—is not a political revolution, but a human one. And if we could bring that about, if we could bring ourselves into the beautiful human togetherness that existed inside the Hall, if we could end the inhumanity, competitiveness, and alienation that the University teaches us so that we may fit neatly into an inhuman, competitive, alienated society—then such things as the war, ROTC, and slumlording would be inconceivable. They would be criminal acts, instead of merely crimes against conscience.

This revolution—the human revolution—is within our grasp and will not require a single blow to take place. What was most apparent during the times of euphoria in University Hall was that everything is within our grasp. Instead of asking for it, trying to play the University's game—all we have to do is *do* it.

As a first step toward this, it might be worthwhile—as we shut down this University whose *veritas* we have seen to be a lie—to set up a new University, a University of our own, which could exist right in the middle of Harvard Yard. It would be totally open, its "courses" would be whatever the students and faculty present at any given time wanted to talk about, sing about, or dance about. And it would dedicate itself to the kind of truth whose power lies in the overwhelming fact of its own rightness—not in the pocketbooks of some distant Corporation or the nightsticks of the pigs they can call at will to protect them.

(Reprinted from the *Crimson*.)

out to striking students. At 10:50, wearing white armbands with red blotches, striking students from the Law School marched into the Yard. Word came that the Schools of Education, Divinity, and Design had cancelled classes through Monday. Copies of the *Old Mole* — an SDS-flavored underground newspaper established last fall — were distributed free. They contained copies of documents pilfered from Dean Ford's files during the occupation of University Hall, all of them concerning relations between faculty members and the CIA. A statement put out two days later by Miss Verna Johnson, Dean Ford's administrative assistant, described the *Old Mole's* exhibits as "quaint but hardly exciting."

By 11:30 the Yard was thick with students, children, babies, dogs, cats. It was sunny and warm. In shirtsleeves, Dean Chase Peterson engaged in give-and-take with a large group of students. "We now have departed from intellectual confrontation, and are in the area of physical confrontation. How do you handle it? No one really knows."

At one o'clock the SDS produced a rock band, the Albatross, which began playing from the Memorial Hall steps. The music seemed to shake the Yard. In Robinson Hall, students in the School of Design had begun creating and producing strike posters, and were offering to silk-screen the symbol of a large red fist onto any article of clothing or any part of the anatomy. There were hundreds of takers.

The faculty held an emergency meeting at the Loeb Drama Center at two. Over 400 attended. Dean Ford began with a narrative of Wednesday's developments. It seemed clear, he said, that the six demands were never meant seriously as a basis for negotiation. ROTC negotiations had been following precisely the lines laid down by the faculty vote, and in any case, the SDS demand for total abolition would disregard that vote. The other demands, he said, were "equally distorted and unreal." As for the decision to clear the building,

First, let it be kept in mind that a physically repugnant and intellectually indefensible seizure had occurred. It is not possible to discuss this issue without beginning with that event.

Second, University Hall is not just another building, one which could be left occupied and isolated while instruction and research continued elsewhere. In University Hall are the confidential personal files of all members of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the complete financial records and current operating accounts of the Faculty, the personal folders of all members of the Freshman class, and a variety of other materials which are either confidential or necessary for the functioning of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, or both.

The fact that the door to the room containing the financial records was broken down by the intruders within hours of the occupation is an indication that time was a real factor to consider. Furthermore, personal correspondence between members of the faculty and past or present deans was lifted from the files in my office and systematic reproduction of such documents had already begun. Excerpts from some of these files have today appeared in the current issue of *Old Mole*, Boston's self-styled "radical weekly."

The arguments against using police to clear the building are self-evident. If we could have isolated the invaders of University Hall, while continuing a decent pattern of existence in the Yard, this would have been an infinitely better outcome than the one we have now to discuss. As I tried to explain, however, it is my firm conclusion that such an outcome was not a real alternative open to us. If there had been reality in the SDS demands or the possibility of "talking the occupiers out" that too would have had to be carefully explored. But the demands as such were non-negotiable, in the literal sense of offering no basis for discussion; and the temporary occupants of University Hall had made clear to me and to others that they felt "the time for talking is over."

We are now faced with the predictable next chapters of what has become the stale script for "radicalization" of a university. Every effort is being made to focus attention on the appearance of police and to divert attention from the short-term and long-term implications of the building seizure itself. The usual vilification of individuals is well under way. Where real villains cannot be found, we may be sure that they will be invented.

For myself, I can only say that this has been a week of sickening events and discouraging discoveries about how some minds work. If the Harvard community, students and faculty alike, do not recognize that what is now at stake is the freedom to teach, to inquire and to learn—if that community sees in the present situation only an opportunity to attack the Governing Boards, the President, or some other part of the institution—there will be little point in pretending much longer that this is a real university. The buildings will remain but the soul will be gone.

Some now insist that "storm troopers entered University Hall." This is true, but they entered it at noon on Wednesday, not dawn on Thursday.

The administration clearly hoped for a resolution of unequivocal support from the faculty. Instead, it got one that deplored both the occupation of the building and the use of police to clear it. A sentence describing the initial seizure of the building as "the over-riding moral issue" was dropped on the motion of the resolution's primary sponsor, Professor G. B. Kistiakowsky. The resolution also asked that all criminal charges against the demonstrators be dropped, and established an elected committee to investigate the causes of the incident and to handle disciplinary action. Normally, major disciplinary matters are decided by the Administrative Board and approved by the faculty.

At the close of the meeting, the faculty did another extraordinary thing: it voted to make a tape of the meeting available to radio station WHRB.

The same day, several hundred graduate students

STRIKE FOR THE EIGHT
 DEMANDS STRIKE BE
 CAUSE YOU HATE COPS
 STRIKE BECAUSE YOUR
 ROOMMATE WAS CLUBBED
 STRIKE TO STOP EXPANSION
 STRIKE TO SEIZE CONTROL
 OF YOUR LIFE STRIKE TO
 BECOME MORE HUMAN STR
 IKE TO RETURN PAIN HALL
 SCHOLARSHIPS STRIKE BE
 CAUSE THERE'S NO POETRY
 IN YOUR LECTURES
 STRIKE BECAUSE CLASSES
 ARE A BORE STRIKE FOR
 POWER STRIKE TO SMASH THE
 CORPORATION STRIKE TO MAKE
 YOURSELF FREE STRIKE TO
 ABOLISH ROTC STRIKE BECAUSE
 THEY ARE TRYING TO SQUEEZE
 THE LIFE OUT OF YOU STRIKE



Above: Freshmen on the first day of the strike.

Below: An overflow meeting of SDS in Lowell Lecture Hall.



and teaching fellows voted to support the three-day cessation of classes. SDS elected a fifteen-man strike steering committee and set up action committees on such topics as House discussions, disruptions of classes and meetings, guerrilla theater presentations, sexual liberation, and "mobile tactics" (hit-and-run occupations). And the Association of African and Afro-American Students voted to support the SDS demands, announcing at the same time that the University had broken faith with black students in efforts to design a "meaningful" program of black studies.

Those who anticipated

the weekend as a momentary stay against confusion were in for disappointment. In classrooms all over the Yard, colloquia were taking place on subjects ranging from U.S. imperialism to the Cambridge housing situation to restructuring the University. "Have you ever before talked so intensely with so many people about important issues? Let's recognize it! Real education, legitimate education, has finally begun!" So began a flyer announcing Harvard New College, with "cooperative explorations" in subject fields like Motorcycles & Sex, Middle-Class Suburbs in American Life, and the History of Self. At about 3 p.m. on the afternoon of Saturday, April 12, a telephoned bomb threat caused the temporary evacuation of Lowell Lecture Hall. A meeting of the Ad Hoc Committee to keep Harvard Open was about to begin. Under the heading of "Dear Nate," the Old Mole's Strike Special of the day featured a purloined letter from Dean Ford to President Pusey, anticipating possible Corporation reactions to the faculty vote on ROTC, and expressing frustration at the faculty's growing tendency to disregard carefully prepared proposals.

On Sunday, April 13, members of the Corporation arrived quietly in Cambridge. They held a meeting and talked with a small number of invited students. Near the end of the day they issued a statement reiterating their acceptance of the faculty's ROTC vote and expressing the need for "new instrumentalities designed to reflect University opinion on questions of University-wide concern." It ended, "The specter of closing the University is profoundly distasteful to us. We shall do everything in our power to avoid such a step and hope that all of us will work together to forestall the acts of violence which could make such drastic action necessary." President Pusey announced the formation of an

interim group of 68 faculty members and students from all branches of the University, "to serve as an informal consulting body . . . in the event of another crisis." "Dear Nate II" appeared in the Old Mole of the day—a letter from Dean Glimp reporting on the status of the ROTC negotiations, and referring to "our imperious style of making the change."

The "Dear Nate" letters redirected attention to the question of pilferage and material damage during the occupation of University Hall. Of the thirty large file drawers in her office, Miss Johnson estimated that every one had been tampered with, based on the evidence of partly pulled or misplaced file folders. A number of confidential personal files of faculty members had apparently been pulled out and gone through. All files had been locked before the occupation, and all but one (which had jammed) were locked after the building was cleared. Smaller card files also appeared to have been tampered with. In Dean Glimp's office, a hinge pin had been removed from a four-hinge safe. Dean Glimp also lost a briefcase containing records of his ROTC negotiation meetings. A tape recorder and two new dictaphones were removed from other offices. Smaller items lost to the occupation forces included two heirloom brass candlesticks owned by Richard M. Hinchman '34, Financial Assistant to Dean Ford; Dean Ford's favorite pipe; a print from the Fogg Museum, which had been borrowed by Edward S. Wilcox, Director of the Program of General Education; the stamp supplies in various offices; a poker; a number of raincoats, coffee mugs, food, pens, a pair of sunglasses. On Dean Glimp's wall, someone had written FUCK AUTHORITY in blue capital letters; others had painted over it with white spray paint and taped up a note of apology ("Dear Sir—We apologize to you for whoever did this. This vandalism is not a purpose of our protest").

In the Faculty Room, a portrait of President Eliot apparently fell from its frame; busts of Edward Everett, John Farrar, and Jared Sparks were separated from their pedestals; and the backrests of two benches were ripped.

Shortly after the occupation, a large and heavy box of documents was deposited on the doorstep of a law professor, with this note: "Comrade—Please Return to Franklin Ford."

"What else has been seized, copied, or carried off, we may never know," said Miss Johnson in a statement issued on April 13.

The Most Unbelievable Thing

Alexander Gerschenkron, Walter S. Barker Professor of Economics, speaking before the faculty on April 11.

Mr. President, I'm afraid that you are now condemned to hear a third exotic interpretation of the Harvard accent, but this cannot be helped. For the rest, I don't mean to be humorous, because I don't feel humorous at all.

I think that this is a critical hour as far as this University is concerned—and this no doubt the most critical meeting which I have attended in the twenty years since I have joined this faculty. . . .

I feel that what has happened with the invasion of privacy, the occupation of a building, the manhandling, however gentle, of the deans, the theft of papers and documents, the rifling of files, I think this is legally criminal and morally outrageous, and I think the action to punish it was perfectly correct. Force and crime must be met by force, and I think that was done and I think it was well done. Let me say that we all in this room should understand that this business must be stopped. This business must not be allowed to go on, because if it is going to be allowed to go on, then we will face the same experience as the officers of University Hall faced. Anyone can then be dragged out, carried like a sack of potatoes out of his lecture room and dropped over the stairs of Emerson Hall or Sever or whatever it be—unless he submits meekly to demands and is willing to allow himself to be raped, symbolically, as happened two weeks ago when a member of this faculty had a banana put into his mouth. I think this is outrageous and particularly outrageous if you think what the issues are, how preposterous, how irrelevant the issues are about which we are talking here. . . .

I think we must all be made to understand that in historical experience this faculty in critical times is not the proper guardian of academic freedom, and that is true for a number of reasons, and history has proved that. Remember, and many of you are old enough to remember, that sixteen, seventeen years ago, when academic freedom was threatened brutally and viciously, not from within, but from without, it was not the faculty that stood up against the threat. . . .

Now also this week let us take once a candid look at ourselves and this faculty and see why the faculty is really inept to protect academic freedom and must leave it at critical times to the administration. Look at all the decisions that have been made so far. Look at the hesitance, look at the uncertainty, look at the vacillation. Why? There are many reasons for that. Some of them are at least respectable, others are not.

There are a number of people no doubt so preoccupied with their research work, with their scholarly work, that they will have nothing to do with administrative affairs and with the management of the University, no matter how important. But there are also other people at this University, and other tendencies and motivations, and let us not close our eyes to them. They are the middle-aged popularity kids who have done considerable damage to this University. In addition to the popularity seekers, there are also the fearers of unpopularity, and well they may fear in the situation of terror and tension that is being created—fear of boycotts, fear of the reduction in the election of their courses.

There are other people, people between forty-five and fifty-five, and as likely as not they have children of college age. They have lousy parent-child relationships and they don't want to louse them up some more. . . .

I am not Pollyanna. I know quite well that there are many things in the United States, many things in America that are horribly wrong, but I know also that there are many things that are wonderfully right with the United States. That amongst those things are the great universities in this country, like Harvard. There's nothing comparable, there is no counterpart to them anywhere in the world. And to try to destroy, to disrupt, to attack this University, this is criminal. This is done precisely because—as the Roman lawyers used to say of the *conditio precedens*—just as the criminal steals something, steals a watch because it's lying there, just because there is an affinity with the University, just because they are in the proximity of the University they attack the University, they attack something that is really the finest flower of American culture. . . .

There's a fairy tale by Hans Christian Andersen, a fairy tale which to Danes and in the dark days of the Nazi occupation, was used so subtly and so effectively. That fairy tale is called "The Most Unbelievable Thing." There was a kingdom, and in the kingdom there was a king, and he had a princess, and he was interested in the progress of arts, and at a certain point he announced that he would give the princess in marriage to the man who would accomplish the most unbelievable thing.

And there was tremendous competition in the land. Finally, the great day came when all those prepared works had been submitted. Many marvelous things, but towering above them was the most

wonderful thing. It was a clock, a clock produced by a handsome young man, that was the most wonderful mechanism, showing the calendar back and forth, past and future, showing the time, and around it were all the great spiritual and intellectual figures in the history of mankind.

And whenever the clock struck, those figures exercised most beautiful movements. And everybody, the judges and the people, said that yes, to accomplish a thing like that is the most unbelievable thing. And the princess looked at the clock and then looked at the young handsome man, and she liked them both very much, and the judges were just about to pronounce their judgment when a new competitor came, a low-brow fellow. He also carried something in his hand, and it was a sledgehammer. He walked up to that clock and he swung out and with three blows he smashed up the clock, and everybody said, this is the most unbelievable thing, and the judges also had to adjudge that.

And this is relevant to the present situation at Harvard, and unless you do something about it, it will remain relevant, except that Andersen also has a happy end to his story, which may, I am afraid, not be relevant to us. What happened in the story was that the king, of course, had to remain true to his word, and there was the wedding day and the church bells, and the low-brow fellow stood at the altar, and the princess was marching down the aisle, and then at that moment the spirits of all those intellectuals and great spiritual figures in the history of mankind, they suddenly arose. All those smashed-up figures, their spirits arose and they went at the low-brow guy, they smothered him, and in the end the princess got the young man.

And I can only hope that the spirits of this faculty will rise and smash up all the criminal nonsense that is going around in this country.

Don't forget, it's now a hundred years since President Eliot started converting what after all was an ancient but rather obscure college into a great university, the greatest university in the land. This, like the clock in the story, like all great works of art, is a frail and fragile creation, however beautiful, and unless you do something about it, and unless you let the administration do something about it, if you aren't able to do something about it, then this wonderful work of art will be destroyed and the guilt will be yours.

The Overseers came

on Monday, April 14, for their regularly scheduled meeting. They "unequivocally" supported President Pusey's decision to call the police. They pledged a constructive re-examination of the mode of Harvard's governance, and the roles of its constituent bodies—students and faculties, among others. They also created two committees: one to investigate in detail the events of the past week, and to make a prompt report; the other to undertake a deeper long-range study of "those factors in the University and in society which made possible the recent events, and to recommend such action as may be appropriate."

That afternoon, almost 10,000 people trooped to the bowl end of the Stadium for a mass meeting to decide the future of the strike. The sun was warm, Harvard Student Agencies' entrepreneurs were hawking Cokes, and WHRB's table and microphones had been set up in the end zone, exactly where Vic Gatto had caught the ball five months before. Astutely chaired by Lance Buhl, a 29-year-old History instructor, the huge meeting was loud but almost always rational. The crowd roared its approval when Alexander Korn, a teaching fellow in Economics, moved that "This body repudiates the right of the Harvard Corporation to close our University." It endorsed eight demands similar to those of SDS, put forward by the Committee for Radical Structural Reform, a teaching fellows' group. (SDS had voted not to participate in the meeting.) In the end, the group voted 2,860 to 2,848 not to extend the strike indefinitely until the demands were met. Instead, it was continued three more days. A recount of the vote made it 2,971 to 2,955. The tellers were careful.

That night the SDS stationed the Albatross in front of Sever, turned up the gain, and put on a sound and light show, followed by a performance of guerrilla theater.

The next day, April 15, Mr. Pusey issued a statement in which he said there could be no hasty decision-making on substantive issues under duress. The two immediate issues, said Mr. Pusey, were the restoration of educational work and the matter of discipline for those involved in the occupation of University Hall and the rifling of the files. That morning, SDS members attempted to stop Professor Samuel Huntington's lecture on Venezuelan military coups and have him discuss the strike issues. Professor Huntington left to call the police. Black students marched on Dean Ford's

office to press their demands for student roles in setting up curricula for black studies and hiring tenured faculty. Meeting in the afternoon, the faculty adopted, virtually without discussion, nine major points put forward in the Wilson Committee report on the University and the city (HARVARD, February 3, page 17). It also decided that its discipline-study committee should be made up of ten faculty members and five students. Toward the end, there was an acrimonious exchange between Dean Ford and Professor Morton White, Acting Chairman of the Philosophy Department, over the Dean's remark that the third floor of Emerson Hall—designated as strike headquarters and giving office space to the Old Mole—had in effect been occupied. At a press conference after the meeting, Dean Ford was asked if he was optimistic about the outcome of the crisis. It wasn't easy to be, he said, "but it's hard to believe that something put together over a third of a millennium by Harvard men can be destroyed in a few days in April."

The following morning, April 16, Dean Ford awoke with loss of feeling on his left side. He was hospitalized with what was described as a mild stroke. Professor Edward Mason was named Acting Dean. Professor Harry Levin's class was disrupted that day; William Alfred was warned that he might be carried bodily out of his. There was a bomb threat at the Faculty Club at noon. At 2:30 black students unsuccessfully hammered at the door of Massachusetts Hall and then held a march, chanting "Hey black, hey white, you know we gotta strike." In the evening, WGBH-TV held a panel discussion among two students, two faculty members, and Hugh Calkins '49, youngest member of the Corporation.

The Faculty voted on April 17 to reduce ROTC to extra-curricular status with no special privileges, such as rent-free housing. Discussion of black students' demands was begun and held over until the following Tuesday. SDS imported the San Francisco Mime Troupe, which staged a rout march through University Hall. WGBH-TV presented another talk show on the crisis, spiced by the unexpected appearance of King Collins, who said he represented "Enraged Harvard Students" and began a list of six obscene demands.

On the morning of Friday, April 18, black students held "office hours" in University Hall. They sat in the Faculty Room and talked to more than a hundred



faculty members who came by. In front of Memorial Church, SDS planted wooden crosses and a sign, "36,000 GIs dead in Vietnam — How many Vietnamese? 'ROTC is a good thing.'" Then they marched in a circle around them singing protest songs. "Keep Harvard Open" ribbons were beginning to appear everywhere. At noon, William L. Marbury, senior fellow of the Corporation, held a press conference at the Faculty Club. He said the Corporation would accept the faculty's vote on ROTC, and would undertake studies on questions relating to expansion. Early in the afternoon, thousands again went to the Stadium to determine the future of the strike. Although the black students' group announced that it would stay on strike until its demands were met, the crowd voted 2,411 to 1,129 to suspend the strike for seven days, tucking in a vote of "no confidence" (1,873 to 1,568) in the administration. SDS members left shouting "Strike!"

SDS had held aloof from the Stadium meetings, had been indifferent to the restructuring issue, and had tended to treat the moderates with disdain ("these guys are the enemy," said one SDS leader). Now

many SDS members felt that they had been outmaneuvered by the administration and had lost the first round. On the night of Sunday, April 21, they discussed the need for militant tactics. Another occupation, a "tent city" in the Yard, hit-and-run occupations of several buildings were all discussed. They ended by staging a "mill-in" for five hours in University Hall the next day, disrupting business and displacing administrators and clerical help from their offices. The tactic was supposed to generate support for a "militant picket line" to close off University Hall later in the week. But the next day, the faculty voted 251-158 for the Afro proposal to give students a voice in appointing faculty for the new black studies department. Afro's strike ended, and with it any chance for broad-based support for the SDS position. When Jared Israel proposed a reoccupation of University Hall to that night's SDS meeting, it was strongly opposed. "We have to build more support," said one member, Jeffrey C. Alexander '69. "We have to realize that we will have to do something very militant to win our demands — something very damaging to the Corporation."

Tremendous, constructive momentum

By William G. Saltonstall '28

I realize that there will be many communications from alumni in the next HARVARD Alumni Bulletin, but because of my close recent associations with many graduates (president of AHA last year) and my own closer present associations with undergraduates (I live in Quincy House) and graduate students (I work at the Harvard Graduate School of Education), it may make sense for me to react to some of the events and issues of the past week. Two terms on the Board of Overseers may also have a bearing on what I say.

1. I am wholly opposed to the forcible seizure of a building, even though those who do so may honestly feel that this is an effective way to focus attention on national and world as well as university problems (Vietnam, imperialism, militarism, racism, etc.).

2. After University Hall was seized, but before the eviction, I joined many members of the faculty in urging against precipitate police action. I now think events have demonstrated that the University administration lost widespread support of moderate students and faculty

by the *timing* of the eviction. If, after two or three days, persuasion had proved ineffective, the police action would have been less distasteful.

3. Those who seized the building should receive fair, severe, and prompt discipline.

4. I support the faculty's action with respect to ROTC. ROTC is not an appropriate activity in a university.

5. I believe effective means must be found to bring faculty and students directly into the decision-making process. Perhaps they should be represented on the governing bodies (Corporation and Board of Overseers) as full voting members. In any case, there is a glaring need for better understanding and communication between alumni governing bodies and the University community in Cambridge.

6. Having spent two recent years in Africa, I understand and support wholeheartedly the desires of the Afro-American students and urge the promptest possible response by the University.

7. As chairman of a faculty-student-staff committee in the Graduate School

of Education now examining the means of improving relations between Harvard and her neighbors, I vigorously support the report of the Wilson Committee, recently published in the HARVARD Alumni Bulletin.

Tremendous momentum has been generated at Harvard. It is not yet clear whether the long-range results will be constructive, but I believe they will. The dialogue between faculty and students has been wide open and must be kept so. My six most recent conversations with students have been in the subway, in the dining hall, on the Charles, in the shower, in the endless meetings, and at the stadium.

There is the "hard core" of anarchists — rude, tough, rigid, foul-mouthed, and self-righteous. But there are also, and I would say in much larger numbers, the "moderates" who do not wish to lose the present momentum and who will continue to press for needed reforms and radically improved communication. I believe they deserve the support and the trust of Harvard alumni.

the Aftermath

The upheaval had shaken Harvard to its roots, and had set it going in new and different directions



Two weeks after the occupation, sheets daubed with "STRIKE" were still festooned from windows in the Yard. Students went to classes wearing shirts and jackets imprinted with the red clenched fist. Tire marks left by buses could still be seen on the ground. Around the shrubbery by Memorial Church, where masses of students had stood and cursed the police, men from Buildings and Grounds were turning the soil.

The marks of the upheaval would be lasting. It had shaken Harvard to its roots and set it in new directions. Even with the possibility of further violent disruption this spring, changes and innovations were already happening. In brief:

ROTC. With Corporation acceptance of the faculty's vote to make it entirely extracurricular, negotiations with the Pentagon will begin anew. Faculties of the graduate schools must still act. But in point of fact, academic credit for ROTC, and its use of Harvard buildings, are at an end.

The University and the Community. Adoption of nine Wilson Report recommendations by the faculty gives the University a mandate to begin programs in housing, relocation, and community planning; to recruit and develop personnel from disadvantaged and minority groups; and to build a staff and committees in the area of External Affairs. The Medical School says it will build low-cost housing in Mission Hill for those displaced by the projected Medical Center there. The Corporation is retaining a consultant to study Harvard's practices as a landlord. Mr. Pusey has told the faculty that there are no present plans to evict anyone or to acquire new land, anywhere.

Scholarships. Dean Peterson has asked the faculty to study scholarship policy in relation to disciplinary action and to budgetary priorities.

Black Studies. It will be available as a field of concentration next fall. In an unprecedented step, six students will serve on the thirteen-man standing committee selecting its faculty.

Institutional Change. The upheaval, its causes, and

their implications for change in the governance of the University, will be studied by a three-man committee of Overseers and an elected committee of six students and nine faculty members. The Corporation has said, "We welcome the re-examination of Harvard's government and we intend to develop and recommend . . . suggestions for opening new, and widening existing, channels of ideas and information." The Fainsod Committee, set up two months before the upheaval to study decision-making processes at Harvard, will continue its work.

Disciplinary Action. The Committee of Fifteen, to be chaired by Professor Milton Katz of the Law School, has been charged by the faculty with deciding the question of disciplinary action against the University Hall demonstrators. Municipal authorities refused the University's request to drop criminal charges against them, and trials were set for April 29.

Communications. They will get renewed attention. Mr. Pusey was a speaker at a day-long symposium on the upheaval, held April 24 at the Business School. He will begin meeting regularly with representatives of the Harvard press. The University News Office may step up informational activities.

Preparedness. An administration-student-faculty Committee of 68 has been set up to consult with the president in emergencies. Within ten days from its inception, it had met three times.

The situation remains volatile. It probably left the SDS, as a political force, no larger than it was before the upheaval. But the events of April demonstrated the immense potential for disruption that a relatively small but militant group can exercise against an institution not designed to take physical stress.

Near-term effects remain to be seen. Fund-raising efforts may or may not suffer. Acceptances for next year's freshman class may be down. There will surely be cleavages, bitterness, some resignations. And what else? "It is my hope and expectation," said Mr. Pusey two weeks after the upheaval, "that we can have a normal commencement."

Fled is that music: do I wake or sleep?



I spent Wednesday, April 9, hating SDS; Thursday, I hated President Pusey; Friday, I hated both, and preened myself for being one of the few who had not abandoned his bawling equilibrium on the nearest doorstep. One can admire the unimaginative blindness of Pusey and the police or the militant puerility of SDS, I suppose, but both vividly glow with an out-of-place ineptitude and irrationality. May the minions of the revolution ignore me when I say that the only group worth unqualified praise for its conduct this week is the staff of WHRB, whose broadcast coverage of "Confrontation at Harvard — Spring, 1969" was, in the words of one senior, "better than anything Huntley and Brinkley ever came up with."

In the wee hours after SDS's midnight march to President Pusey's house, a few newsmen from the undergraduate radio station met in the room of Ken Jost '69 to consider the evening's threats to occupy University Hall, and to plan coverage of the noon rally in front of Memorial Church. Punch-drunk with tiredness, and unable to believe that a building take-over could occur here, they disbanded without having made any definite plans. Wednesday morning, two bits of luck. First, Bob Luskin '72 visited the meeting of the SDS executive committee, was stonily ignored in his requests for information about SDS plans, but, leaving, overheard one student mutter, "I wonder whether they'll bust us." Luskin picked up the hint. Second, WHRB Station Manager Paul Perkovic '71 ran into technical difficulties while trying to set up cables from Mem Church to the Mem Hall studios of WHRB, and was forced instead to run the lines from beside

University Hall. Permission from Buildings and Grounds was obtained (the lines ran through the steam tunnels), noon arrived, and University Hall was occupied.

An hour and a half later, Bob Luskin and seven reporters were broadcasting live from the office of Freshman Dean von Stade. Outside, Karen Hedlund R. '70 and Larry Eichel '70 covered the actions of a milling throng of students. (Later, they escaped the evening's chill in a suite donated by a gracious freshman.) Meanwhile, News Director Pat Berry '71 coordinated the efforts of some forty WHRB staffers, including anchor man Ken Jost and engineers Marty Thrope '68, Barry Schneider '69 and David Greene '71.

The first problem was one of legitimacy; WHRB, in order to obtain complete coverage of the confrontation, had to nestle in the good graces of both administration and radicals, a task which was surprisingly easy. Everyone wanted news, and none wanted to wait for the *Crimson* typesetters. For the occupiers, WHRB was the only direct link to the outside world, the only source of information about support from outside or about the actions of the deans, and the best way to plead their case to the public. WHRB loudspeakers, for example, were set up in the Yard to keep the crowd informed. Wednesday evening, the demonstrators, fearing biased coverage by the major media (such as the *Herald Traveler's* notorious headline: "Student Rebels Maul Harvard Deans"), ejected all newsmen except *Crimson* and WHRB reporters. Luskin rewarded himself by moving from von Stade's office to the plusher domain of Dean Ford, while dejected newsmen from the *Globe* and WHDH passed the chilly night in station wagons,

monitoring the Harvard broadcast.

The deans, too, were extraordinarily cooperative, although there were a few difficulties. Both President Pusey and Dean Ford called to congratulate the WHRB staff on their remarkably thorough and interesting coverage. Friday night, after the faculty meeting, an exhausted Dean Ford joined two professors and two SDS members at a colloquium in the WHRB studios — the only time all week that the administration and SDS sat down together to talk.

The main difficulty — an understandable one — concerned the nature of the administration's response to the sit-in. About midnight, five hours before the bust, a WHRB reporter cornered Dean Ford and asked if classes would meet on Thursday: "If the Yard is locked, no"; "Will the Yard be locked?"; "Well, I don't think there will be classes tomorrow morning." This exchange led the reporter to believe there would be no bust. A WHRB staff meeting that night almost decided to stop broadcasting at 2 a.m., the usual time. A skeleton crew played music while Jost and the rest of the staff slept. At four, coverage of the occupation resumed, but nobody knew if or when the bust would come. At 4:45 a.m., ten minutes before the police entered the Yard, senior Dick Neustadt spotted Dean Ford walking into the Yard by Lamont Library and asked if there would be a bust in the immediate future. Neustadt understood Ford's answer as "No," and raced with his scoop to the WHRB studios. He was only two minutes away from going on the air when another reporter brought the news that the cops were moving in.

As the police came, Luskin and his crew discovered that their direct line to Mem Hall was not working.



Broadcasting the occupation—live from the office of Dean Ford.

A staff member yelled into the shut steam tunnel, demanding to know what had happened to the cable. A shout, "No comment!", came back; WHRB later discovered that someone—no one knows who—had cut the line. An alternate connection through adjacent Weld Hall was rigged, just in time for Luskin's voice, broken by the slamming of police battering rams, to startle the college, which had been awakened moments before when Harvard's deafening fire alarms were set off.

It's difficult to describe that broadcast, which I've since heard on tape and which has been played nation-wide on the Metromedia affiliates. Standing on a chair or craning out of windows to watch the assault on the crowd outside the building, leaning over balconies to report the progress of the police as they cleared the building, repeating "Press, press, press" to avoid being clobbered, pointing out to policemen, who were smashing a glass door into Ford's office, that an open entrance was but a few feet away, and finally signing off when state troopers disconnected his mike, Luskin produced fifteen minutes of astonishingly exciting tape.

Meanwhile, despite their press cards, his seven cohorts were trun-

dled off to jail. The result was another scoop for WHRB, for Chris Wallace '69, one of the arrested, took his first free moment to phone in to WHRB the first news report from jail. (Of the twenty-odd people in the paddy wagon with Wallace, fourteen were reporters.)

Throughout Thursday, the WHRB staff continued to report the developments ensuing from the bust. At one point, Ken Jost found himself face to face with three hours to fill, and nothing to say. He startled even himself by learning quickly the radio journalist's most difficult art—extended meaninglessness. One listener phoned the station to complain: "He's not saying a damn thing." A minute later, another listener called: "This is tremendous. He's as good as David Brinkley." Chet?

The reaction to WHRB's coverage, especially from members of the Harvard community, has been unanimously laudatory. Flooded by grateful phone calls, the WHRB staff members have unabashedly let praise go to their heads; when I went to talk to them on Saturday afternoon, I asked only three questions—and they talked for an hour and a half. *Time* is planning an article on their coverage. The most

meaningful tribute to their work, however, came from the faculty and students. At the end of the Friday faculty meeting, Bruce Chalmers, Master of Winthrop House, moved that the tape of the meeting be made available for an exclusive—and unprecedented—broadcast by WHRB; the assembled faculty enthusiastically applauded. The next afternoon, at two o'clock, every common room at Harvard and Radcliffe was packed with students and FM radios. In the basement of Memorial Hall, an exhausted bunch of broadcasters were telling me, "I don't see how we did it as well as we did."

* * *

It's probably best for all concerned that a batch of students leaves Cambridge every year, because the complaints about Harvard recur with each generation. S.D.S. and King Collins haven't done all the protesting in the last month. At Quincy House last March, the House Committee came up with a traditional bit of invective on the subject of food. On behalf of their constituents, the members of the committee threatened to boycott the Quincy dining hall unless some changes were made. Specifically, the alimentary demands called for meat that is less fatty, greaseless mashed potatoes, fewer peas and brussels sprouts, and less pistachio ice cream. Unlike Collins and crew, the Quincy malcontents had constructive proposals as well: more raisin bread and cookies. Personally, I love pistachio ice cream and brussels sprouts; but when I was very young and gazing enraptured at wartime copies of the *National Geographic*, I could never have believed that Spam, bright-pink on those yellowing pages, would one day appear on my plate, doused in a sauce of mushrooms and canned tomatoes.