War on Campus: What Happened When Dow Recruited at Harvard

Cambridge. Wednesday, October, twenty-fifth began quietly, but when it was over Harvard University had been plunged into a rare internal crisis. Inside the Mallinckrodt Chemistry Laboratory more than 200 students had crowded into a narrow corridor to prevent Frederick Leavitt, a recruiter from the Dow Chemical Company, the much-assailed manufacturer of napalm, from leaving Room M-102. The sit-in had stretched through the afternoon with no signs of ending; the students wanted Leavitt's pledge that neither he nor any other representative of Dow would ever recruit again at Harvard. Leavitt, a quiet, patient man who runs one of Dow's research laboratories, sat calmly inside the room and prepared to stay the night. Down the hallway, in what was informally christened the "war room," an assortment of university deans, administrators, and faculty members discussed what they could do. Their conclusion: nothing.

At all costs, the deans wanted to avoid involving the police, who might only inflame the situation. Police intervention would also constitute an abridgment of the university's autonomy; for years Harvard has sought, quite successfully, to remain master of its own campus. An informal understanding has existed that has kept police off the campus and let the college handle many cases of petty student crime. To call the police was to admit that Harvard could not run its own shop; and yet that might be necessary. It was obvious to Fred L. Glimp, who had been dean of the college for less than 4 months, that the sit-in could not be allowed to continue indefinitely; Leavitt's patience had limits. Glimp contemplated letting the demonstration run into the evening; he hoped that somehow it would end, or shrink, allowing the police to extricate Leavitt, with a minimum of force, late at night or early in the morning.

Glimp never called the police. Shortly after 6 p.m. the students, jammed into the hallway with cookie cartons, apple cores, and coke bottles, voted to leave. A last appeal by Glimp, buttressed effectively by speeches from some students and junior faculty members, had had its effect. Leavitt was whisked away, and almost the entire college community began a week of collective debate.

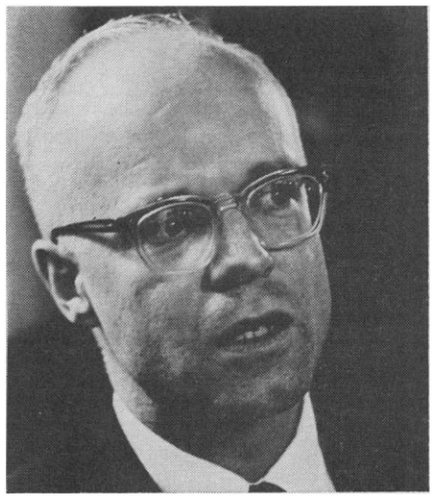
In the following days the specter of a Berkeley-style crisis loomed before many frightened and anxious administrators and faculty members. Harvard's time had finally come, they told themselves, and the students threatened to tear down the campus. Stern action had to be taken quickly, some felt. But that stern action, and the collapse of the university, never came.

The parallel with Berkeley was, in this instance at least, simply wrong. "Harvard is still more of a community than Berkeley ever was," commented one faculty member who has taught at both schools. The Dow protest did not destroy the university, but it did demonstrate the profound psychological and political impact the war has had on the college. Harvard is a self-composed and, generally, self-satisfied place. Nevertheless, this incident, for the 6 days between the event itself and the overflowing faculty meeting that approved punishments for the demonstrators, shredded the community's confident fiber.

The protest was a difficult one for the university to handle, for, though some students and faculty members thought they clearly saw the path to Truth, a large part of the community had ambivalent feelings about the entire affair. That ambivalence grew with time. This incertitude stemmed, like the demonstration itself, from Vietnam. Over the last 2½ years the college has turned overwhelmingly against the war. The antipathy is strongest and most pervasive among students, but the faculty, too, is increasingly rejecting the war. Though disenchantment is not universal, the antiwar mood is so strong that those who feel otherwise, including a number of prominent faculty members, generally stay silent.

But Harvard men also feel especially protective of civil liberties, and the sit-in —the involuntary detainment of one man for 7 hours—clearly rubbed many faculty members and students the wrong way. A dilemma was posed for many. Was civil disobedience justified by outrage over the war? If not justi-

Dow Demonstration: Students blocking a passageway at Harvard in protest against recruiting by Dow Chemical Co.



Frederick Leavitt, a recruiter from the Dow Chemical Co.

fiable, was it at least pardonable? After all, many of the nondemonstrators claimed to share the demonstrators' hatred for the war.

The debate grew deadly serious. It became a passionate, emotional issue, as if Harvard, in those 6 days, were going to settle all the moral and political problems of the war. At the *Crimson*, the college's daily newspaper, one of the most acrimonious editorial debates in years resulted in the paper's reverting to a periodic practice—running two sets of editorials, a majority and a minority. One senior faculty member prepared to resign and had to be persuaded by a colleague to wait until the college had decided on the severity of disciplinary action (in the end, he stayed). Student organizations of all beliefs and functions passed resolutions, and faculty members penned letters to their favorite deans. On a question of fundamental morality, the name of the game was stand-up-and-be-counted.

The heart of the college's problem, and the point to which much of the debate was directed, was discipline. The year before, a similar incident had occurred at Harvard when Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara had been trapped for a few minutes by angry antiwar demonstrators who insisted that he publicly defend government policy (the only sessions scheduled for McNamara at Harvard were semiprivate affairs). After that incident, no one was punished; the Harvard administration, which likes to be tolerant, flexible, and fair, avoided action on the grounds that this type of protest, "intolerable" as it was, represented a first for the college, and the students had no way of knowing what reaction to expect. A stern verbal warning was issued, and the presumption was that a recurrence would probably result in severance—ouster, usually for a year, with the right to apply for readmission—of any demonstrators.

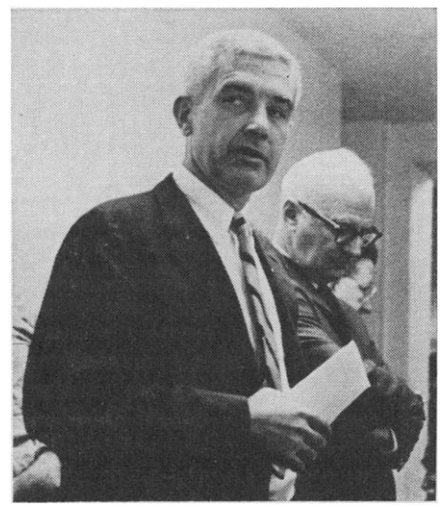
Now the question of punishment was alive again, and it reverted to the college's Administrative Board, which handles all major student disciplinary and academic problems. The Board, composed of the college's deans, a few faculty members, and senior tutors for the residential Houses (where most of the three upper classes live), faced incredibly complex situation.

First, it had to resolve substantive issues. Liberal arts colleges stand as the guardian of free speech and dissent. They abhor punishing political protest except when the protest of some has impaired the rights of others. Had that line really been crossed in the Dow demonstration, and, if so, how grave was the transgression?

Second, the Board was confronted with a baffling procedural problem. When the deans had demanded student identification cards from the demonstrators, cards came not only from those at the sit-in itself but from those in sympathy with the sit-in. More than 400 cards were ultimately turned in. Who had actually participated, and who was to be punished? Students pleaded for "collective responsibility" and portrayed their action as a fundamental moral commitment which deserved equal treatment for all. To many faculty members and administrators (as well as to some of the shrewder students who planned the move), the piles of cards represented a sophisticated tactic designed to confound and paralyze the Administrative Board. It almost did.

The Board first met the day after the demonstration, on Thursday, and its first instinct, reflected by stories in the *Crimson*, was to act tough. Some students, it was reported, would probably be severed. This prospect raised the college's internal debate to a new feverish level—especially on the part of the demonstrators' partisans, both student and faculty.

However, 5 days later, when the Administrative Board met for a third and final time and presented its recommendations for punishment to the faculty, its views had apparently moderated. No one was to be suspended; 74 demonstrators were to be placed on probation—a punishment which sounds harsh but which, for all practical purposes, amounted to a very sharp warning. (Some of the traditional "teeth" of the penalty were deliberately drawn; no one placed on probation was to have his scholarship reviewed, nor was anyone already on probation to face automatic severance.) What happened in those 5 days demonstrated why Harvard is different from Berkeley.



During the crisis: Confronting the demonstrators, left to right, Fred L. Glimp, Dean of the College, and J. P. Elder, Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences.

The Administrative Board's shift was real enough, but not so sharp as it seemed. Some students suspected that the Board's change of heart represented a shrewd strategy: first act inflexible and frighten the students; then soften up and win their silent and grudging gratitude. Events probably tended to have that effect, but the script was not written in advance.

The Board was never as vindicative as it sounded. Most of the Thursday meeting was spent bringing order out of confusion. Specifically, the Board, on the basis of visual identification, decided to divide the stacks of identification cards into three groups—individuals who had actually been seen blocking the door to the room where Leavitt was trapped, those who had been seen at, but not taking part in, the demonstration, and those who had simply handed in their cards. There was no binding discussion of punishment. On the Board there were those who believed that severance was inevitable, if not desirable, and those who felt, even this early, that severance was too stiff a penalty. The *Crimson's* readers received an impression of greater rigidity for two reasons. First, Dean Glimp, who chairs the Board, felt initially that severance was inevitable, and the *Crimson* reporters naturally lent weight to the dean's

opinion. Second, the separation of the identification cards into three groups seemed to correspond naturally with the three forms of punishment (severance, probation, and a simple admonition).

It was a tense faculty which approved the Board's recommendations for probation the next week. The motion passed, on a hand vote, by a 4-to-1 or 5-to-1 margin, and the most relieved were those who had pleaded for leniency and expected harshness. The Board had, in fact, made an eminently practical and thoroughly political decision. It delighted few, but satisfied almost everyone.

In moderation, the college actually got what it demanded. No one really wanted to see the issue brought to a sharp head at the risk of shattering the university. In general, Harvard students and faculty alike enjoy being in Cambridge; they are snobbish and protective about their university; most of them—whatever their dissatisfactions, and they have many—want to stay at Harvard. Students and faculty, parochial as they are, had a common interest in hoping the demonstration would not snowball into something bigger. One of the most radical members of the faculty, Barrington Moore, Jr., emphasized this point in a retrospective article:

"As students and teachers we have no objective interest in kicking down the far from sturdy walls that still do protect us. For all their faults and inadequacies the universities, and especially perhaps Harvard, do constitute a moat behind which it is still possible to examine and indict the destructive trends in our society."

The Administrative Board's recommendations were soothing, not so much because the Board calmly calculated what the community would accept—such problems were discussed sparingly, if at all, in the Boards' meetings—but because so many people were so aroused that they made their thoughts known to anyone who would listen. All the pressures ultimately came to bear on the Board.

To recommend no punishment for the demonstrators, or a simple admonition for all, as some faculty members wanted, would have been to disregard the views of a majority of the faculty (including the University president), who thought the sit-in should clearly be branded as bad. Many Board members actually felt that the recommendations would have to be defended against charges of leniency.

NEWS IN BRIEF

• **COOPERATIVE POPULATION STUDY**: A joint study on population control has been started by the population committees of the National Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London. The study is being supported in the United States by a $45,000 grant from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development and by a $10,000 grant from the Population Council.

• **BOOKS FOR ASIA:** College-level books for use in Asian academic institutions are being sought by the Asia Foundation. Physical sciences books, published since 1955, and social sciences and humanities books, carrying a 1950 or later publication date, are being accepted. Literary classics and anthologies of any age are also sought. The book donations, which are tax deductible, should be sent to Books for Asian Students, 451 Sixth St., San Francisco, Calif. 94103.

• **NSF CHEMISTRY SECTION:** The National Science Foundation has announced the reorganization of its Chemistry Section to "more accurately reflect current research interests and activities of its component programs." M. Kent Wilson, who previously headed the Chemistry Section, continues in that position.

• **LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM:** Plans for a multinational program for science and technology in Latin America are progressing rapidly, James R. Killian, Jr., has reported to President Johnson. Killian, who is chairman of the MIT Corporation, is serving with a group of experts to develop science and technology in Latin America. The group was formed at the direction of the presidents of the American states when they met at Punta del Este in April. Among the items under consideration are the establishment of multinational centers for science and technology and the strengthening of existing centers. Bernard Houssay, a Nobel laureate from Argentina, is chairman of the group.

• **FUND DRIVES:** Three universities have announced fund drives with combined goals totaling $269.1 million. Funds from each of the drives will be partially used for new construction and endowed professorships. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is seeking $135 million. The California Institute of Technology is attempting to raise $85.4 million, and Harvard is looking for $48.7 million. Harvard's drive is "aimed especially at putting new zest in the undergraduate instruction in science" and will provide for the construction of new science facilities and endowed professorships in astronomy, biology, engineering and applied physics, mathematics, and physics.

• **SOVIET'S UFO STUDY**: The Soviet government, reversing its previous policy of largely ignoring reports of unidentified flying objects, has created a commission to study UFO reports. Air Force General Anatoly Stolyerov was named to head the commission.

• **PHARMACEUTICAL RESEARCH:** The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association has published data indicating that the industry spent $416.1 million for research and development in 1966. According to the association, 17.3 percent of the expenditure was for basic research.

• **OCEANOGRAPHY**: The Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources—a temporary body established in January primarily to develop an organizational plan for the government's widely scattered oceanographic enterprise—will give interested parties a chance to react to its proposals before reporting to the President. According to Julius A. Stratton, chairman of the new body, the commission seeks to have its life extended by 6 months to allow more time for informal discussion of its proposals with government agencies, industry, and academic centers. Congress has been asked to permit the commission to report in January 1969 instead of next July; routine approval of this request is expected. Stratton says that by mid-year the commission's tentative proposals should be in hand. A not altogether incidental advantage of the 6-month postponement is that the report will not go to the White House in the midst of a presidential election campaign. Speculation now centers on whether the commission will recommend a "wet NASA" or a looser form of organization for the government's oceanographic activities.

Severe penalties, on the other hand, would have alienated a significant portion of the faculty who sympathized with the demonstration. In a body like the Harvard faculty which avoids consistently divisive controversy and normally operates on consensus, such a division would have been remarkable; it was not a step to be taken lightly.

Nor were the sympathetic faculty members simply junior men who were both angrier and less distinguished than their older colleagues. Eight senior professors had visited Glimp two days after the demonstration. In addition, the morning of the faculty meeting, 20 tenured members of the faculty signed an open advertisement in the *Crimson* declaring their sympathy for the demonstrators. These men were taking the Dow demonstration very seriously—so seriously, in fact, that a number of them actually caucused before the faculty meeting, a rare acknowledgment of the political process at Harvard.

Many faculty members identified with neither pole of opinion ("Kick the bums out," or "Give the heroes medals") found ample reason to be troubled. Instinctively repelled by the demonstration itself, they could, because of their own dislike for the war or their own regard for faculty and students who had allied themselves with the demonstrators, support some sort of leniency. Furthermore, the draft also worked for leniency. Students, if dismissed, would soon be called up by Selective Service, and how could any faculty members who claimed to hate the war send Harvard men to the army or jail in good conscience?

Student sentiment was equally muddled. The issue was not as simple as supporting or damning the Dow sit-in itself. The war colored all, and hate of it united many students who were indifferent to the specific act of protest. At the demonstration, some students handed in their identification cards out of simple disgust for the war; others surrendered the cards to protect the protesters. The war, for growing numbers of them, was something that could not be sidestepped. The power that moved students was described, perhaps exaggerated, by *Crimson* writer James Glassman as he discussed the decline of the Harvard "cool-liberal" political ethic:

> Harvard cool-liberalism means the good old basic beliefs in equality and civil rights . . . [The] lack of passion keeps you clean. Student politics is farcical. It is left to former Midwestern student council presidents. There are causes and causes. Issues come and go. You cluck your tongue or nod your head. Eisenhower was dull and stupid; Kennedy had style, you know; the Cuban invasion was bad. . . . And so on. Many of us don't sign petitions because, well, what of our political careers and all?
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> But passion, which is a dirty word from the Freshman Mixer to the Class Marshall Elections, has reared its dread head. We are being forced to be passionate or, if we choose not, to be anti-intellectual or perhaps immoral or perhaps wrong.

This is not the mood of all students; it is probably not an enduring mood for most. But it is a mood that grips many students for the moment; as the war grinds on, the guilt of having been once "for" it, or of having done nothing to stop or protest it, will swell in strength. At Harvard, this instinct was strong enough to give the demonstrators a wide base of student support, even from many students who thought the sit-in, of and by itself, undesirable.

Two considerations reputedly convinced many members of the Administrative Board to opt for probation, not severance. First, the students, by and large, seemed to realize that the demonstration was not appropriate; thus, what the Board had to do was to make its action strong enough to be an effective warning yet not seek vengeance on the students. Second, the warnings given after the McNamara incident were said to be sufficiently vague to warrant the less severe action.

Were these conclusions actually true, or were they simply sophisticated rationalizations on which the Board could base its actions? That depends on who is doing the talking; in truth, there was probably a bit of each. Classifying student opinion is as difficult as classifying any other body of opinion. Only one poll was taken during the week-long episode; it showed that, in one of Harvard's eight residential Houses, 10 percent favored severance for those who had obstructed Leavitt's departure; 10 percent wanted no action at all; 50 percent supported probation or admonition for all those who had blocked the doorway; and about 25 percent favored admonition for anyone who had turned in his identification card.

With feelings running as they were, severance could, in fact, have been incendiary. The campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, whose members had been instrumental in starting the Dow sit-in (though the chapter had slipped into the background in the subsequent uproar) would probably not have remained quiet. But many others were also agitated. Nine hundred students had signed a petition reaffirming university policy on free speech and recruiting but asking for leniency. A mass meeting of more than 800 students, held the night before the faculty meeting, seemed to make the same point. The possibility that stiff penalties would have provoked more demonstrations and an uncontrollable polarization on campus could not be dismissed. Thus, perhaps the most interesting result to emerge from the Dow episode was Harvard's unconscious acknowledgment, in its official actions, that numbers alone —simple majorities—are not very useful guides for making decisions when a minority is sufficiently aroused.

The Administrative Board did not escape the Dow incident unscathed. When it rejected the plea for "collective responsibility," the Board had to select those students who, it was convinced, were actively involved in the sit-in. In so doing, it opened itself to charges of arbitrariness and capriciousness; these problems generated numerous complaints and some good newspaper copy. But, as one tutor remarked, "People were surprised by the number of people put on 'pro,' but no one cared, because no one got kicked out. Three hundred people could have been put on 'pro.'"

After the faculty meeting, talk of the Dow incident died of exhaustion; the emotions generated by the controversy could not be sustained. But the event had its sequel. At the faculty meeting, Stanley Hoffmann, professor of government, proposed the creation of a student-faculty committee, the first in the college's history, to study issues of the university's relationship with the war. The administration's reaction to the proposal seems to reflect its uneasiness over the Dow incident and its eagerness to satisfy faculty and student critics. Without waiting for a full faculty vote, Franklin L. Ford, dean of the faculty, has acted to get the committee going and, in fact, has given it a student majority. No one really knows what the committee will do. It may become bogged down in petty matters of procedure, or, alternatively, at least look into a number of areas involving the university and the war. These include:

- *Recruiting.* By lending its facilities to companies and government agencies that aid the war effort, the university, it is charged, implicitly endorses the war. Should the university cease to permit such recruiting on its own property? Most students and faculty recognize a distinction between recruiting, which

they regard as a service, and free speech, which they regard as a right. But there seems to be a developing consensus that, if some recruiting is to be ended, all recruiting (excepting perhaps by educational institutions) must be ended; to give administrators arbitrary power to distinguish between different government agencies and firms would be discriminatory and could lead to continuing inequities.

• *Research.* Harvard, unlike many universities, does not permit classified research on university time, but a faculty member is free to use 1 day a week for any outside consulting he desires. Nevertheless, there are charges that the university is "complicit" in the war because of some of its research commitments. No one really knows the facts about the broad scope of research conducted at the university, and some faculty members suspect that there may be ways around the university's absolutist rule. This area of study is now the most ambiguous, but could be extraordinarily important.

• *Free speech and forms of protest.* The issues raised by the McNamara and Dow incidents may be reviewed again. There is a school of thought that believes Harvard should lay down definite guidelines about the kinds of demonstrations that are unacceptable and the punishments they will carry. The college administration has avoided this

Waterman, First NSF Head, Dies at 75

Alan T. Waterman, first director of the National Science Foundation and former president of the AAAS, died on 30 November at the age of 75, following a brief illness. Waterman headed NSF from its founding in 1951 until 1963. In the last year of his service, he was past the government's compulsory retirement age, but continued to serve under a special order from President Kennedy.

Waterman completed both his graduate and undergraduate work at Princeton. After receiving his Ph.D. in 1916 he became an instructor in physics at the University of Cincinnati. During World War I, he spent 2 years with the Science and Research Division of the Army Signal Corps. He then became an assistant professor and later an associate professor of physics at Yale.

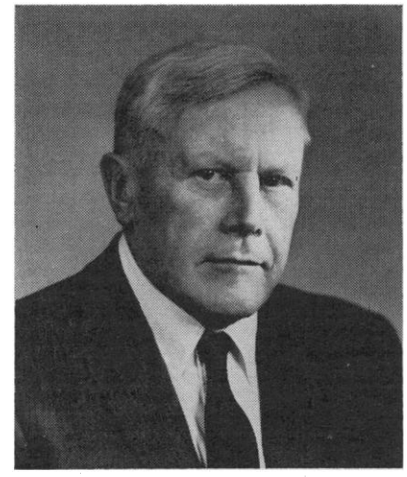
During World War II he served with the Office of Scientific Research and Development, holding several positions, including chief of the Office of Field Service. In 1946, Waterman became deputy chief and chief scientist of the then newly established Office of Naval Research. He went directly from ONR to NSF.

Since his retirement he had been active in various advisory and administrative activities, serving on numerous boards and committees, including the Board of Trustees, Atoms for Peace Awards; Advisory Board, Center for Strategic Studies, Georgetown University; Liaison Committee on Science and Technology, U.S. Library of Congress; Special Consultant to the President, National Academy of Sciences, and Chairman, Committee on Scholarly Communication with Mainland China; Advisory Committee, Pacific Science Center, and Board of Trustees, University Corporation for Atmospheric Research.

Waterman was a member of many scholarly organizations, and recipient of numerous awards including the Presidential Medal for Merit, for his work with OSRD, and the Presidential Medal of Freedom for his leadership in government support of basic research. He also held the Captain Robert Dexter Conrad Award, from ONR, and the Public Welfare Medal from NAS. Recently he received the Karl Compton Award from the American Institute of Physics.

On the death of Waterman, his successor at NSF, Leland J. Haworth, issued a statement, which said in part: ". . . When Alan Waterman took the helm of this fledgling agency in 1951, few in Government recognized the importance of basic research in the total spectrum of the Nation's scientific and technological enterprise. Alan Waterman was one of those few; his work at the Office of Naval Research had already established that agency's leadership in providing financial support for basic American science. When he came to the Foundation he began to build another organization through whose efforts science could develop strength commensurate with its promise and with the Nation's needs.

"Following the precepts set forth in the famous report by Vannevar Bush, 'Science, the Endless Frontier,' as embodied in the National Science Foundation Act of 1950, Dr. Waterman, in concert with the



National Science Board, established the basic philosophy still used in the Foundation, whereby scientists themselves largely determine the direction and progress of basic research. The Foundation early established the pattern of giving strong support to research at the Nation's colleges and universities where much of the best basic research and all of the training of future scientists, engineers, and physicians is carried out. To the widely endorsed concept of providing strong support to advanced students already committed to scientific careers, the Foundation, under his leadership, added the next logical step of assisting improvement of scientific education on the earlier rungs of the educational ladder. Thus the Nation is also strengthened through a better informed citizenry, with an ever-increasing depth of understanding of what science is, and what part it plays in the lives of everyone. . . ."

—G.M.P.

strategy, apparently on the theory that protest activities defy effective definition and that, by spelling out punishment, it might paint itself into a corner. The deans are relying on the power of precedent.

An informal Gospel has grown up about the Dow demonstration, and the quick formation of the student faculty committee is part of it. Book One of the Gospel says that the incident, despite its inconveniences, was "healthy" for the university—that it laid bare many of the students' deep frustrations and opened the way for a better understanding of the war's impact on the university. Book Two says that the reason Harvard was so successful in resolving the problem without splintering the community was the smallness of its full-time professional administration and the easiness of faculty-student dialogue. Book Three contends that, even in a disorderly demonstration, Harvard men acted with restraint: after all, they did let Leavitt go, they always permitted the deans free access to Leavitt's room, and never once during the protest was anyone, regardless of viewpoint, shouted down by the demonstrators.

There is more than a skeleton of truth to each of these claims. It is also true that they have given rise to some feeling of self-satisfaction and complacency: Fortune has tested her, and Harvard, as always, has survived. As long as the war continues, that feeling will probably be misplaced. Most Harvard students have come to oppose the war for fundamentally different reasons: moral ("Why are we burning babies in Vietnam?"); political (We're drastically overextended, trying to achieve impossible goals at the cost of destroying America drastically"); and personal ("General Hershey, why don't you leave me alone?").

These differences deny the antiwar movement a certain coherence, even at a place like Harvard. Those faculty members and students who first opposed the war on essentially moral grounds have been—and continue to be—the most vocal, the most angry critics of the conflict. But as the frustration of fruitless protest builds, as the war moves unfalteringly forward, and as the threat of the draft lurks closer for many, the reasons for opposing the war blur: moral arguments are made by those whose first opposition was political. More and more students borrow the "radical" perspective, because the "radicals" have been proved consistently "right" by events. The draft-resistant movement, small to begin with, is still small, but getting larger. Students' respect for established authority diminishes because the established means and institutions seem totally unresponsive to their anger. They come to believe that, as Barrington Moore, Jr., a lecturer on sociology, noted: "No system of law and order has been politically neutral in practice. At the present moment in the United States, law and order protect those who conduct, support, and profit from a war that more and more of us regard as atrociously cruel and strategically stupid."

For students, this apparent rigidity is especially frustrating, because their political time horizon is measured in days and months, not years and decades.

This does not mean that a whole generation of Harvard students is being irreparably "alienated." The Dow demonstration posed the problem of putting opposition to Vietnam policy above allegiance to the established institutions and procedures which created that policy; an overwhelming number of students still believe that Lyndon Johnson's government is legitimate, even if they think it is stupid, wicked, and wrong.

The balance is tipping, however, and no doubt will continue to tip. The irony is that, when more and and more people at Harvard are coming to view the war with greater and greater horror, protest against the war is focusing on, or at, the university. This is a measure of the accelerating anger of many students, and the seeming ineffectiveness of outside demonstration. The weekend before the Harvard Dow protest, many Harvard students had journeyed to Washington for the march against the Pentagon. It was, for some, a profoundly disillusioning, frightening experience; it contributed to the anger and frustration that produced the Dow sit-in 4 days later.

Some students and faculty believe the antiwar outrage has given rise to a romantic vision of politics and reality—a fuzzy fantasy that leads to the attacking of the university, however indirectly, for the war. Even some of the earliest critics of American involvement have raised this point. One apparent reaction—to the frustration and the sometime student feeling that the university is side-stepping the war issue—has been the formation of several informal student-faculty ventures to channel their protest together.

The history of the antiwar protest, at Harvard at least, is that it is unpredictable. The frenzy of the Dow demonstration and its aftermath have both frightened many students—very few really want to get kicked out—and relieved the tension. This disappoints some radicals who insist the war is so bad that one cannot cease to be demonstrably angry. But the war continues. Each incoming Harvard class enters with a more developed antiwar consciousness than its predecessor. Someday the unpredictability of passion may return to Harvard, and, if it does, the next "intolerable" demonstration may not have a "healthy" ending.

—ROBERT J. SAMUELSON

Un-American Activities: Court Rule Aids Stamler in Contempt Case

Two and a half years after Jeremiah Stamler, a distinguished medical researcher in Chicago, was subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), a three-man U.S. District Court has ruled, as the result of action initiated by Stamler and two others, that HUAC must defend its constitutionality. The significance of the action, Stamler's legal counsel noted, is that "the validity of the Committee's enabling act and procedures will be tried."

Stamler was one of 16 persons subpoenaed by HUAC in May 1965 to testify during its hearings on Communist activities in the Chicago area (*Science*, 23 July 1965). The District Court ruling follows two civil suits filed against the committee and a criminal indictment charging Stamler and two other defendants with contempt of Congress.

What is significant in the Stamler case is that he, an employee of the city of Chicago, chose, along with Mrs.