whiskey, beer, or even milk (with its cholesterol content), for example might be made subject to special rules and restrictions.

The lobbyists' other major theme, and the more basic one, is that the case against the cigarette has not been made —that the smoking and health issue is an unsettled "controversy." And, in fact, during the hearings of the House Commerce Committee several weeks ago, nearly a score of expert witnesses testified at the Tobacco Institute's request and still others submitted statements. These witnesses, who included some medical researchers of distinguished credentials, challenged the reliability of data or noted inconsistencies in data used in past studies linking smoking and illness; others suggested that unknown factors, such as possibly a constitutional susceptibility to heart disease by the kind of people who tend to become heavy smokers, may explain the association between smoking and illness and death. A statement frequently heard—and one that has long been central to the tobacco industry's argument—was that cigarette smoking and illness are only linked statistically, and that this is no proof of causality.

U.S. Surgeon General William H. Stewart, in a recent letter to the chairman of the Commerce Committee, has rejected all of these criticisms and has observed: "We do not impugn the sincerity of the witnesses when we say that, in our opinion, the main thrust of their testimony is a threat to medical practice in this country, to the progress of our medical and health agencies, and to the health of our people." To be in disagreement with a medical consensus does not, he conceded, necessarily mean one is wrong; but, Stewart added, "it does not entitle one to say, as one witness said, that medical opinion about cigarettes has come about because physicians are gullible and have been brainwashed by the Public Health Service and the voluntary health agencies."

Earl Clements, president of the Tobacco Institute and a former U.S. Senator from Kentucky, has expressed "shock and amazement" at the Surgeon General's words. Sheldon C. Sommers, director of the industry-sponsored Council for Tobacco Research and director of laboratories at Lennox Hill Hospital in New York, has charged that Stewart's statement was "irresponsible" and "demagogic."

But, clearly, the tobacco industry's minority position is not an easy one to maintain. Unless a compromise can be reached with the antismoking forces, and the latter may see no need to make a deal, the tobacco industry could conceivably find its cause in grave trouble. Success of the Moss strategy would leave the FCC free to ban cigarette advertising from the air and would leave the FTC free to require a conspicuous warning in advertising in all media. The voluntary health agencies probably could persuade many broadcasting stations to carry, as a public service, antismoking messages, even though the fairness doctrine would not be relevant in the absence of cigarette commercials. The PHS, no doubt, would continue, through the schools, the health professions, and the media, its campaign against smoking.

In short, the groundwork for an effort to eliminate cigarette smoking as a pervasive social habit may be further along than many imagine. As a PHS official has noted, one forgets that the history of the weed has been brief, the cigarette having first appeared in the United States in 1910, as a cheap, attractive substitute for tobacco chewing, an "evil" that was soon largely to disappear from polite society. Now, the cigarette itself may just possibly be on the verge of a precipitous decline, though perhaps it may never be as outmoded and offensive to good taste as the plug of tobacco and the spittoon.

—LUTHER J. CARTER

Nanterre: A Year Later at Campus Where French Student Revolt Began

Nanterre. The world of scholarship is yet to accord high rank to the University of Paris annex that opened here 5 years ago, but, in the annals of academic upheaval, this mushrooming, neo-penitentiary-style campus merits a notable place. It was here, at the alma mater of student revolutionist Danny "The Red" Cohn-Bendit, that France's great student revolt broke out a little over a year ago, and to that revolt can be traced the abrupt resignation of President de Gaulle as well as the forced-draft passage of legislation designed to liberate French education from its Napoleonic mold. In the meantime, what has happened at Nanterre?

The 15,000-student campus, located just to the west of Paris, has shed a dean or two, and has also undergone extensive administration reorganization that, in accordance with the educational reform law, is supposed to let students, junior teachers, and other campus employees into the decision-making councils that were traditionally the exclusive domain of senior professors. In parallel to this apparent shift of power, the level of strife on campus has receded from virtually full-scale combat to an occasional skirmish. And, in recent months, there have even been substantial periods of unbroken peace, which may be something of a record, considering the fact that Nanterre's reputation for combativeness goes back to at least the spring of 1967, when police and firemen were summoned to settle the now seemingly harmless issue of whether boys might be present in girls' dormitories. It is questionable, however, whether there is any significant link between the current relative quiet and the newly instituted organizational reforms, since factors more potent than reform have been at work to dampen the French student movement; furthermore, the reforms, upon close examination, are not likely to be mistaken for the millennium by those who last year took to the streets so eagerly. In fact, last winter's voting for delegates to the university's newly established governing bodies was boycotted by virtually all members of the sociology staff—largest of all the campus faculties—on the grounds that the proposed reorganization was a sham and would have no effect on the power of the reigning *patrons*. About 44 percent of the students voted—a figure which is cited as healthy by supporters of the reform and as sickly by opponents.

In any case, the organization chart

of Nanterre now is quite different from what it was in pre-revolt days. Under the new arrangement, the 14 previously existing departments in the faculties of letters and human sciences—Nanterre also has a law school, but nothing in the physical or life sciences—have been reorganized into nine "units," with emphasis on the cross-breeding of disciplines and the encouragement of closer relations between teaching and research. These units, along with two newly created units in the law school, take the place of the senior professors as the legal entity that constitutes the university. Teaching staff and students elect equal numbers of delegates to head the units, with a few votes also given to clerical, technical, and administrative employees. Nanterre could have complied with the reform law without going any further, but the dean of the faculty then decided to go another step and establish a central committee to which the units would elect delegates; these delegates, in turn, have the power to elect the dean, who until then had been chosen exclusively by the senior professors. In addition to these internal changes, Nanterre is also en route to being severed from the University of Paris and to becoming an autonomous institution rather than a mere annex.

The Appearance of Change

Thus, there is certainly the appearance of change in the distribution of power, but even some of those who have been closely and favorably associated with bringing about these changes readily concede that, at many key points, decision-making power still rests with the senior professors. It is the professors who will elect new professors, thereby retaining one of the most critically important controls in the exercise of power. Some minor alteration in campus politics may result from changes, now under study, in the present system whereby professors from all the disciplines vote on each professorial appointment, regardless of the field it is in. But it is still the professors who hold the reins. The committees elected by each unit can make recommendations on curriculum, budget, and other academic and administrative matters, but, as one administrator put it, "they are not autonomous and they do not have the last word." He added that, with university finance still directed from Paris, the Sorbonne's historic domination of French higher education will not be easily reduced. "Even if we proceed with all the reforms," he pointed out, "the centralist tendencies remain strong, and create a drag on attempts at change." An American teaching at Nanterre stated the matter more strongly. "With all this organizational reshuffling and talking about reforms, the same old *mandarins* still run things. They control the money for research and they control the appointments. It's the same system with different labels."

Clash With "Janitors"

The last serious outbreak of violence at Nanterre occurred in February, when some 1500 students went on strike to protest the presence on campus of 60 muscular "janitors" who had suddenly turned up in the employ of the university. The event that precipitated the strike was a bloody attack by the "janitors" on a group of students who were protesting the appointment of a right-wing academic as a visiting member of a doctoral examining committee. Students were pursued into various buildings, and several were seriously beaten. Approximately half the faculty soon joined in the strike—with sociology and anthropology characteristically taking the lead. Fourteen students and teachers also went on a hunger strike. The administration swiftly capitulated and sent off its newfound employees. At present, no uniformed police are on campus, but several busloads are constantly stationed in the vicinity, and it is generally acknowledged that, at Nanterre and elsewhere, police infiltrators, posing as students, have become a standard part of academic life.

However, infiltration alone cannot account for the relative quiescence of the student movement, though inside information, coupled with their well-established reputation for savage tactics, make the police even more fearsome than in the past. In addition, student activists have occasionally been expelled, military draft deferments have been canceled, and German-born Cohn-Bendit has been declared an undesirable alien. But it is more likely that the student movement has been deenergized, if only temporarily, by its inability to form durable links with French labor and also by the series of national elections and referenda that have taken place since the events of May 1968. While American campus radicals may talk about arousing the political instincts of the poor, they have few illusions about the political instincts of the employed, from whose ranks George Wallace, for example, drew most of his presidential support. The U.S. campus radical's French counterpart, being well tutored in Marxist analysis, cannot conceive of fundamental social change without the workers' taking part, and, when the workers, after a month-long strike, apparently in harmony with the students, grabbed at De Gaulle's proposals for wage increases and social reforms and then helped reelect him with a massive majority, the student movement suddenly lost a great deal of inspiration. This inspiration did not arise from any formal alliance with the workers. Like student movements everywhere today, the French movement is self-starting, self-contained, and aloof from adult organizations. But it was excited by the belief that the outside world was volatile—which, in fact, it was for a time. And when the student-led conflagration suddenly went out, a lot of student confidence disappeared with it. Coupled with this, the long string of ballotings naturally created an atmosphere of "wait and see before taking any decisive steps."

A Sort of Stability

Campuses that have experienced serious violence generally take the view, and often quite accurately, that more of the same is bound to occur. At Nanterre, the most optimistic view is that stability of a sort has been achieved, and that, with luck and good administration, it might prove durable. But the more general view is that Nanterre is surrounded by, and contains, conditions that make another blowup almost inevitable. First of all, there are students there, and what is now clear from the campus upheavals around the world is that blowups occur not so much because of any particular local grievance as because universities provide a base for a generation that is dissatisfied with the way adults are running the world. Nanterre however probably contains more than the usual proportion of persons with such views. Significantly, it was designed as a center for the social sciences, which means that it is a breeding ground for social and political analysis, most of which seems to lead to the conclusion that the Western, industrialized nations, led by the United States, have achieved affluence through dehumanization, and that a good deal of this affluence comes from milking the poor of the world. The

student body, drawn, on a geographical basis, from the generally well-heeled western section of Paris and its environs, does not, as a whole, look upon the university as a ticket to well-being. Just what role they perceive for it is a matter of contention, but Nanterre, by the intention of its designers, contains an academic population that feels no necessity to come to terms with the world as it is. However, in the case of those concerned about their financial future, there is also the fact that Nanterre is a breeding ground for educated unemployment, since France has few job openings for those trained in the social sciences. As one teacher remarked, "We have dozens of people studying in my field, but every year, no more than two or three jobs become available for them in government or in universities throughout France."

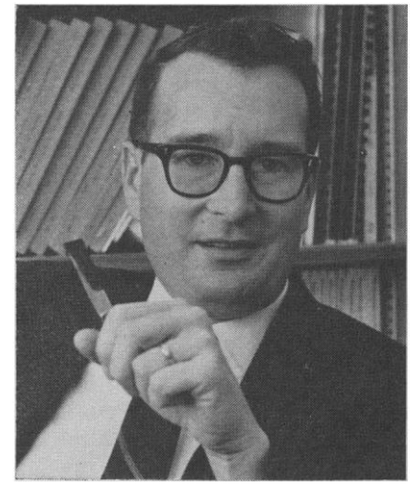
Also grating on Nanterre are the physical aspects of the place. Built to relieve the incredible overcrowding of the Sorbonne when the government decided upon a great expansion of higher education (enrollments in France rose from 202,000 in 1961 to 514,000 last year), Nanterre, resembling a huge, depersonalized industrial establishment, is without charm or many amenities. It is linked to Paris by a 10-minute walk to the station and a 20-minute train ride, and, inevitably, most of those who are there regard it as a place to which they go, not a place they are at. One teacher remarked, "My field exists at Nanterre only on Tuesdays and Fridays."

It is doubtful that any of these local conditions, by themselves, could serve as a detonator. But always looming in the background as an inspiration to outrage is the U.S. role in Vietnam, which is what touched off the Nanterre revolt in the first place. (It was in March 1968 that Nanterre was occupied by students to protest the arrest of five young people following explosions at the offices of several American companies in Paris. Attempts at disciplinary action followed; the protests grew, and finally spilled over into the Sorbonne, which itself had long been rumbling with political agitation.) Like the balloting that has taken place during the past year, the Paris peace talks have had a dampening effect on political activity related to Vietnam. But the talks have been going on for a long time without visible results, and, as is the case in the United States, there is now little faith that the war will soon be settled.

With examinations now taking place, still another election pending, and the educational reform law yet to be fully implemented, a relative calm has come to the student movement. (Nanterre has defused the traditionally explosive setting of massing for examinations by dispensing with some this year, and staging others over a stretched-out period.) But there is nothing to suggest that a durable peace has settled over French higher education. Inflation has

Nixon Chooses OST Deputy Director

President Nixon on 6 June announced his intention to appoint Hubert B. Heffner, of Stanford University, as deputy director of the Office of Science and Technology. The post has been vacant for 5 months—a reflection of problems the Administration has encountered in recruiting science personnel. If Heffner is confirmed by the Senate, as expected, he will become the chief assistant to Lee A. DuBridge, the president's science adviser, who heads OST.



Hubert Heffner

The appointment of Heffner, who is currently a professor of applied physics and electrical engineering at Stanford, marks a break with past tradition of appointing a life scientist to the number two position in OST. The first deputy director was Colin MacLeod, a microbiologist, and the second was Ivan L. Bennett, Jr., a pathologist. Both served under science advisers who were "hard" scientists—MacLeod under Jerome B. Wiesner, an electrical engineer, and Bennett under Donald F. Hornig, a chemist.

Heffner similarly will serve under a "hard" scientist—DuBridge is a physicist. A spokesman for OST said Heffner's appointment does not reflect a lessening of interest in the biological sciences, but rather a feeling that biological thinking is well enough entrenched in the White House science apparatus so that it is not mandatory to appoint a life scientist to the number two position.

Heffner, now 44, has spent most of his student and professional life at Stanford. He received his bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees from Stanford. After a brief stint at Bell Telephone Laboratories, he joined the Stanford faculty in 1954 as assistant professor of electrical engineering and worked his way up to full professor in 1960. From 1963 to 1967 he served as assistant provost and dean of research. He has authored numerous technical articles on such subjects as electron beam focusing, noise theory, and quantum electronics.

Heffner is currently serving in advisory capacities to both the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. In 1960–61, he served as scientific liaison officer in the London office of the U.S. Office of Naval Research. He has also acted as a consultant for McGraw-Hill, General Electric, Varian Associates, Litton Industries, Raytheon and Lockheed Aircraft.

Heffner has taken a middle road on some touchy issues involving federal science policy. At a panel discussion during the 4 March 1969 confrontation meetings at Stanford, he denounced one activist's proposals as "doublethink" but then went on to call for greater federal support of "socially desirable" research, such as "major innovations in home construction techniques." He also said the advisory panels which allocate federal research grants hold "great potential for misuse" though they have not yet been seriously abused.—P.M.B.

hit at the gains the workers made in last year's uprisings, and it is doubtful that much more can be got out of the economy to buy the workers off again—all of which inspires the students to look again to the working classes. A common view is that, if not soon, then before long, the students will be moved by some issue or other to rise up again. After all, they can properly take credit for having started up the series of events that toppled President de Gaulle, which is no small inspiration to more ambitious goals. If and when it happens, the social scientists of Nanterre are likely again to be in the forefront.

—D. S. GREENBERG

M.I.T.: Panel on Special Labs Asks More Nondefense Research

Cambridge, Mass. An M.I.T. review panel last week recommended that the institution maintain ties with its two big off-campus laboratories, which are oriented primarily to military research, but urged that steps be taken to shift the balance of the labs' activities toward socially useful nondefense research. The panel also asked creation of an advisory committee representative of the M.I.T. community to monitor the special laboratories' program.

Under scrutiny are the Instrumentation Laboratory, which operates in several buildings near the campus, and the Lincoln Laboratories in Lexington in the Boston suburbs. The combined budget of the two labs for the current year amounts to well over $120 million, or more than half of M.I.T.'s $213 million total budget for the year.

The Instrumentation Laboratory was established 30 years ago by Charles Stark Draper, who still is "I-Lab" director. Under Draper, the lab has built a unique record by applying the principle of the gyroscope to problems of gunfire control, navigation, and guidance. In recent years the I-Lab has developed sophisticated inertial guidance systems for U.S. missiles and spacecraft. The current annual budget is $56 million, of which $27 million comes from the Defense Department.

Lincoln Laboratories was established at the behest of DOD in 1951 to develop air-defense technology, and has built a reputation as a leading applied electronics laboratory devoted primarily to communications problems, missile system development, and missile defense. The Lincoln Labs' budget is some $65.5 million.

The panel on the special laboratories was appointed by M.I.T. president Howard W. Johnson after a 22 April incident which was the closest M.I.T. has come to a campus confrontation in the style prevalent this year. On the 22nd a group of protesters picketed the I-Lab, sat down in the hall outside Johnson's office, and then adjourned to a big lecture room for a discussion in which Johnson and M.I.T. corporation chairman James R. Killian, Jr., took part.

Out of this meeting came appointment of the panel, and Dean William F. Pounds of M.I.T.'s Sloan School of Management was named chairman of the 22-member faculty-student-administration-trustee-alumni panel.

The panel, which observers say represented a fair cross section of M.I.T. opinion, save probably for some of the "conservatives," filed an interim report with recommendations reflecting a consensus of the members. The report does, however, carry three separate personal statements which might well have come out as minority views except for the atmosphere of relative good will in which the panel apparently operated.

The panel concluded that "continuation in the long term of the present mix and scale of the programs of the special laboratories would not fulfill M.I.T.'s ultimate objectives." Although it offered "alternative strategies" for conversion of mission-oriented work, it called for a major institutional effort to carry through a reappraisal. Its specific short-term recommendations, in brief form, follow.

1) The laboratories and M.I.T. should energetically explore new projects to provide a more balanced research program.

2) The educational interaction between the special laboratories and the campus should be expanded.

3) There should be intensive efforts to reduce classification and clearance barriers in the special laboratories.

4) A standing committee on the special laboratories should be established.

The recommendation of an advisory committee represents perhaps the greatest potential for change. As at other universities, attempts to write guidelines have led to emphasis on the creation of advisory committees, for it proves very difficult indeed to convert the spirit of reservations about defense research into the letter of research guidelines.

As for the administration response to the report, M.I.T. president Johnson said he would press for the appointment of an advisory committee, and declared that other recommendations would be "worked on by appropriate groups."

Dissent within the committee was directed largely at issues on which the panel did not concentrate. One committee member who filed a separate personal statement was professor of linguistics Noam Chomsky, who has been prominent among university critics of the Vietnam war. Chomsky, who added his views in part since he missed some of the panel meetings because of lecture commitments at Oxford this spring, argued that underlying political issues were not adequately dealt with. The following excerpts from different sections of his statement indicate the trend of his remarks.

> Any act undertaken by M.I.T. in its public service function is a political act and must be considered with great care. . . .
>
> The idea that a university preserves its neutrality and remains "value free" when it simply responds to requests that originate from without is an absurdity. . . .
>
> This subpart of the community (in the special laboratories) is restricted to participants who share a particular political ideology, and in this way the laboratories contribute to a dangerous and unwelcome politicization of the university.

The attitudes of activist students and something of their approach was reflected most clearly in a separate statement from graduate student Jonathan P. Kabat. His statement included considerable information about the special laboratories' budget, organization, and research projects and singled out for special criticism projects which contributed to the development of MIRV (multiple independently target-