After Cambodia and Kent: Academe Enters Congressional Politics

The invasion of Cambodia by United States forces and the fatalities at Kent State University have caused a reaction on American campuses which may promise major political consequences for the long as well as the short term. Some short-term consequences already are apparent. Campus protests have helped create an atmosphere of crisis in which there now seems a real possibility that Congress will curb the President's war-making powers in Southeast Asia. And the Nixon Administration's faith in the Silent Majority can never be quite the same now that students at hundreds of colleges and universities have gone on strike in protest against its policies, especially when some of the most violent protests have occurred at institutions such as the University of South Carolina deep in the conservative heartland.

An important longer-term consequence of Cambodia and Kent may lie in the fact that, paradoxically, these events have caused thousands of students, including many who were becoming increasingly "radicalized," to work for change within a political system to which they had been giving a fishy eye ever since the Democratic convention in Chicago in 1968. Also, many faculty members and some university presidents are now being drawn more deeply than ever before into political activity in opposition to the Vietnam War.

Pressure on Congress

The antiwar demonstration of 9 May on the Washington Ellipse was perhaps the last of its kind. This form of mass protest has lost its novelty for students and has produced only ambiguous results. Many students are now committed to trying to stop the war by putting pressure directly on Congress, rather than on the President. Their effort has two early goals: The first is to help persuade Congress to force an end to the war by withholding appropriations; the second is to help peace candidates win election to House and Senate seats this fall.

Student political organizations have been springing up, both in Washington

and on various campuses, in surprising number and variety. For example, at Princeton there is the Movement for a New Congress through which student volunteers from Princeton and other institutions will be channeled to the campaigns of peace candidates this summer and fall. Princeton will allow students 2 weeks off before the November election to campaign, and numerous other universities are expected to follow suit. According to Representative Allard K. Lowenstein (D-N.Y.), who is known to students as a leader of the effort to "dump LBJ" in 1968, thousands of students have let his office know of their willingness to help in peace campaigns.

Another clearinghouse to match students and peace candidates is being set up in Washington with the help of Mark Talisman, an aide to Representative Charles A. Vanik (D-Ohio). Talisman observes that in the past students have "failed to look below the ethereal level of presidential politics to the nittygritty of congressional politics," but that this is no longer the case. Students also are busy raising campaign funds. At Yale, for instance, a Peace Commencement Fund campaign has the aim of raising more than \$1 million by asking graduating students across the nation to donate to peace candidates money which ordinarily would be spent for the rental of caps and gowns.

Regional as well as national student political action groups are springing up, as in Ohio where students from 16 campuses have formed a coalition for the purpose of supporting peace candidates in that state with money and volunteers. A similar effort on behalf of peace candidates in the Northeast is based at Harvard. Some students are organizing by discipline, as in the case of the Law Students against the War and the Medical Alliance for Political Action.

Referendum '70, a group organized early this year with the support of prominent figures such as John Kenneth Galbraith, Richard Goodwin, and Adam Yarmolinsky and with which student groups are becoming allied, last week announced a list of 69 congressional peace candidates. Of these only two are

Republicans. However, a number of other candidates are in primary contests seeking to defeat Democratic incumbents whom they have labeled as war hawks. Referendum '70 looks to student clearinghouse organizations to do most of the placing of volunteers and will devote itself primarily to giving technical assistance to peace candidates on such matters as campaign strategy and fund raising. The Democratic National Committee is sponsoring a purportedly nonpartisan clearinghouse for student volunteers who want to work for candidates this fall in the general election campaign. Philip M. Seib, president of the Princeton student body during this past year, will be the national coordinator. He characterizes U.S. foreign policy as "immoral and illegal."

"Project Pursestrings"

"Project Pursestrings," an effort to promote and coordinate lobbying by students and others in support of the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment to End the War, was announced last week by Sam Brown, former national coordinator of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee and Mike Brewer, a leader of the Ripon Society (a group made up of young Republican liberals, many of them academicians). By adopting the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment Congress would use its power of the purse to require a prompt withdrawal from Cambodia and to force the withdrawal of all U.S. forces from Vietnam by mid-1971. The amendment has been endorsed by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana. A milder proposal by Senators Frank Church (D-Idaho) and John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) would hold President Nixon to his timetable to withdraw U.S. forces from Cambodia by 30 June and make any action in Cambodia beyond that date contingent upon congressional approval. The Church-Cooper Amendment has strong bipartisan support in the Senate.

Some university faculty people are mounting ambitious efforts on behalf of peace candidates. A Universities National Antiwar Fund, to which professors throughout the country are being asked to contribute at least one day's salary, has been established by a group of professors and administrators mostly from the Cambridge area. Sponsors of this effort, for which a goal of some \$15 million has been set, include six Nobel laureates—Konrad Bloch, Owen Chamberlain, Salvador E. Luria, Harold C. Urey, George Wald, and James D. Watson—as well as Mary I. Bunting,

president of Radcliffe; Jerome B. Wiesner, provost of M.I.T.; and Albert Ullman, provost of Tufts. The Fund will establish a panel to select, on a nonpartisan basis, House and Senate candidates whose election is "critical to the cause of peace."

George B. Kistiakowsky of Harvard was among a dozen senior Harvard faculty members who recently visited Henry A. Kissinger, the President's top adviser on national security affairs, to protest the action in Cambodia and to declare their support for moves in Congress to limit the President's power to make war in Southeast Asia. Kistiakowsky is a former Science Adviser to President Eisenhower, while another member of the group that called on Kissinger was Frank H. Westheimer, who is currently a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee.

In an interview with Science, Kistiakowsky said that the group's decision to seek a limitation on the President's powers was an uncomfortable one to make "for most of us had been [as advisers and consultants to the government] members of the establishment and believed that we could accomplish more by working through channels." "But now we have reached the conclusion of desperation that this is impossible," he said. "Our prime and most intense concern is to assist in building up a mass movement all over the country to put pressure on Congress and the administration to end the war." Kistiakowsky said he and his colleagues would be helping students work for peace candidates "with money, speeches, whatever we can do."

University presidents who have openly sided with students against the Nixon Administration's war policies include Kingman Brewster of Yale, Andrew W. Cordier of Columbia, and James M. Hestor of New York University. Nathan Pusey of Harvard and the presidents of seven other universities visited President Nixon week before last and informed him of the "deep and widening apprehension" on campus toward his policies. Alexander Heard, president of Vanderbilt, has agreed to serve as Nixon's adviser on campus problems during the next few months, but Heard sees his role as that of an interpreter of the campus to the administration rather than vice versa.

The political significance of the new campus interest in congressional elections may depend in part on how broadly students and faculty members frame the issues. President Nixon could well take most of the steam from the movement simply by carrying through with his announced intentions to end the U.S. presence in Cambodia and to continue troop withdrawals from Vietnam. However, some campus strategists are sure to insist on a reshaping of national priorities which would mean less spending on the military and more spending on domestic needs.—LUTHER J. CARTER

APPOINTMENTS





C. H. Townes

N. Hackerman

Charles H. Townes, professor-atlarge, University of California, Berkeley, has been named chairman, Space Science Board, National Academy of Sciences. . . . Norman Hackerman, president, University of Texas at Austin, to president, Rice University. . . . Labe C. Scheinberg, professor of neurology, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva University, to dean of the college of medicine. . . . Clark T. Randt, professor of neurology, New York University School of Medicine, to chairman of the new department of neurology at the school. . . . Harold M. Agnew, weapons physics division leader, Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, to director of the laboratory. . . . Gerald P. Dinneen, associate director, Lincoln Laboratory, M.I.T., to director of the laboratory. . . . Luigi Giacometti, associate scientist, Oregon Primate Center, to scientific director, Oregon Zoology Research Center. . . Joshua Becker, associate professor of radiology, Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons, to chairman, radiology department, State University of New York Downstate Medical Center. ... Jon D. Anderson, assistant to the chairman, New York State Atomic and Space Development Authority, to director, inspection division, Atomic Energy Commission. . . Eugene N. Parker, professor of physics and astrophysics, University of Chicago, to chairman, physics department at the university.

RECENT DEATHS

Julian C. Aldrich, 69; professor emeritus of education, New York University; 22 April.

John Binford, 47; chairman, psychology department, University of Louisville; 23 April.

Richard D. Brasfield, 50; associate attending cancer surgeon, Memorial Hospital, New York; 3 May.

Julius A. Brown, 89; retired professor of physics and astronomy and dean of arts and sciences, the American University of Beirut; 2 May.

Edwin H. Ellison, 51; former chairman of surgery, Marquette School of Medicine; 29 April.

Horace M. Frazier, 42; chairman of pathology, Meharry Medical College; 18 April.

Alfred O. Gross, 87; professor emeritus, biology, Bowdoin College; 9 May.

Harold C. Harrison, 63; professor of chemistry, University of Rhode Island; 27 April.

Earl C. Kelley, 75; professor emeritus of education, Wayne State University; 19 April.

Henry N. MacCracken, 89; former president of Vassar College; 7 May.

Thomas A. Marshall, Jr., 59; managing director, American Society for Testing and Materials; 9 April.

Gwendolyn V. B. Nash, 41; former assistant professor of physiology, Howard University; 30 April.

Loren C. Petry, 82; former teacher of botany at Cornell University and Syracuse University; 3 May.

Robert J. Schneider, 64; vice president, Wellesley College; 6 May.

Margaret G. Smith, 74; professor emeritus of pathology, Washington University; 1 May.

Walter L. Thomas, 64; professor of obstetrics and gynecology, Duke University; 18 April.

McIver Woody, 84; former dean of surgery at the University of Tennessee and at Baylor University; 3 May.

Erratum: In "Mitochondrial RNA synthesis during mitosis" by H. Fan and S. Penman (3 April, p. 135), the first sentence of paragraph 4, column 1, page 137, should read "The nuclei of cells which were incubated for 2 hours with [3H]uridine in the presence of a concentration of actinomycin D (18) which selectively suppresses ribosomal RNA synthesis are shown in Fig. 1b (17, 10)."

Erratum: In "Paradoxical sleep in two species of avian predator (Falconiformes)" by J. A. Rojas-Ramírez and E. S. Tauber (27 March, p. 1754), line 2 of the abstract should read "the sleep cycle in Buteo jamaicensis borealis and Herpetotheres cachinnans chapmani" rather than "... arborealis and ... chapmani." The same corrections in spelling apply to lines 12 and 14, column 1, page 1755. In reference 6, line 1, "Bueto j. a." should be "Buteo j. b."