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CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

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A history of Harvard activism

By Jeffrey C. Alexander

AN UNFAMILIAR visitor would say this has been A Typical New England Autumn At Harvard College except, perhaps, for the good weather. The leaves have turned yellow, brown, and red. The football team has been winning without the aid of aerodynamics. And nobody has studied much of anything.

But to a more experienced observer things would seem different. This is no longer the Harvard of John Finley, John Kennedy, or even Barney Frank. It is not just the so many pairs of striped pants, or of locks freaky hair, and round and metal rimmed glasses. Most striking is the air of restlessness among the natives. Cries for action are heard from all corners. The HUC and HPC are chaired by impatient activists with alarming ideas. As one surprised administration official put it, "students have not been taking 'no' for an answer."

I.

Although most of the new activism has been directed toward particular campus issues, a growing impatience with the Vietnam War is its *raison d'être*. Strong student commitment against the war effort has spiraled, increasing by more than one-third in the last year. In fact, student criticism and military escalation seem to be increasing in a dialectic manner.

The turning point for the "activising" of many students arrives when they begin to feel a personal stake in halting the war. For a very few, the mere existence of the war is enough to make them feel like Right being frustrated by Wrong.

For most of the anti-war students, however, political idealism has not been enough to induce personal involvement. But the U.S. Congress has hammered out an issue which may yet create an activist student majority. It is the draft.

This lever works on all students, hawk, or dove, and inevitably raises the war to a personal life and death matter. In a few months every senior will have to decide whether or not he is willing to die in Vietnam. Still the lines are forming for graduate fellowships and nobody seems to be very much alarmed. In a short time they will be, and the resulting shift in perspective will be greater at Harvard than anywhere else.

When a student becomes personally involved with the war, he experiences a type of frustration which is unusual for the affluent. To them the war is wrong and it seems like nothing can be done about it. The distinct possibility of being sent to Vietnam to die brings home the feeling of powerlessness and awareness of the student's inability to control his own fate.

On the issue of the war, the critical student sees the decision makers as isolated from the rest of society. They reason, in this way: in 1964 Johnson thought it politically expedient to run on a peace slate, so he waited until two months into 1965 before bombing the enemy. The critic sees a distortion of the traditional view of democracy in America. He wonders about the lack of bottom-to-top communication.

Such feelings of frustration and ineffectiveness are usually reserved, it seems, for the oppressed segments of society. A person born into a situation of thick frustration and little expectation for change is immobilized. But when somebody who has always had it pretty good—who has had a relatively easy time getting his wishes fulfilled—experiences this inability to control what happens to his own life, it is often a radicalizing experience.

For years, radicals have been trying to mobilize society around the needs of the dispossessed. At first, there was pure community organizing, and then the civil rights movement. Now radicals in the anti-war movement have attempted to organize the student elite around issues such as the ideals of democracy and the atrocities of war. At best, they have succeeded in arousing an intellectual understanding.

RARELY DOES an intellectual understanding generate mass movements. But President Johnson, as a *de facto* member, has come to the aid of the movement. The unique character of his war and the new draft policies are bringing gut reactions from disillusioned and newly-cynical students.

The eternously increased activism on campus is being brought about by this new group of middle-of-the-road radicals attempting to influence seriously American society. These radicals are "concentrating" on local college issues, instead of broader national questions, for two reasons. First, there are distinct similarities between the student-administration relationship and the student's connection to the U.S. government concerning the Vietnam War.

vis from traditional campus politics, who would instead petition through the established student representative body, like Harvard's Undergraduate Council.

Both groups, however, direct their petitions to the Administration as requests. The more stubborn the University is in its refusal to change, the more radical each group becomes. Middle-of-the-road radicals adopt more extreme methods in an attempt to force University compliance, and the traditionalists turn to activist politics. Of course, everybody could just give up and go back to reading for tutorial. But for many students the personal stakes are too high.

The dynamics of this process can be seen at work in student activity at Harvard. Last spring the HPC proposed a fourth course pass-

The established representative groups and the independent activist movement form two sides of the triangle of student politics at Harvard. Whether all student politics could be decided by the operations of the triangle's third side, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society). The future form and content of student politics is what's at stake in the interplay of these three forces. If the Masters make no concessions at the joint meeting on October 31, the HUC could disband or fully endorse the independent activist movement. If SDS becomes involved, the HUC could withdraw and then student action would be connected with more radical issues such as university complicity with the government. As a result, there would probably never be a mass movement.

II.

POLITICAL debate has not always steamed the windows and bored the ascetes of college dining halls. In fact, the tab collar set of the '50's were just so un-radical they were dubbed "The Silent Generation." Growing up under McCarthyism, they had an instinctive fear of speaking out against the *status quo*. The newness of the hydrogen bomb and the strength of the Communist monolith validated the Cold War with an incredible rationality.

Even the '50's rebels were quiet ones. Their "Beat Generation" represented a personal rather than political revolt. Politics became "absurd," and the Beatniks chose an existential answer, expressing discontent with the personal outrages of American life like IBM and increasing automation. The radical cry of the '50's was "impersonalization" perpetrated by the centers of economic power; today's radicals concentrate on the central power's "manipulation."

In November, 1960, students staged what would become known as a "sit-in" at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were trying to integrate that restaurant through direct action instead of working for the election of a sympathetic mayor or city councilman. It was a historic moment in the evolution of American dissent. This rejection of electoral politics caught the imagination of students around the country. SNCC grew out of the Greensboro lunch counter sit-in.

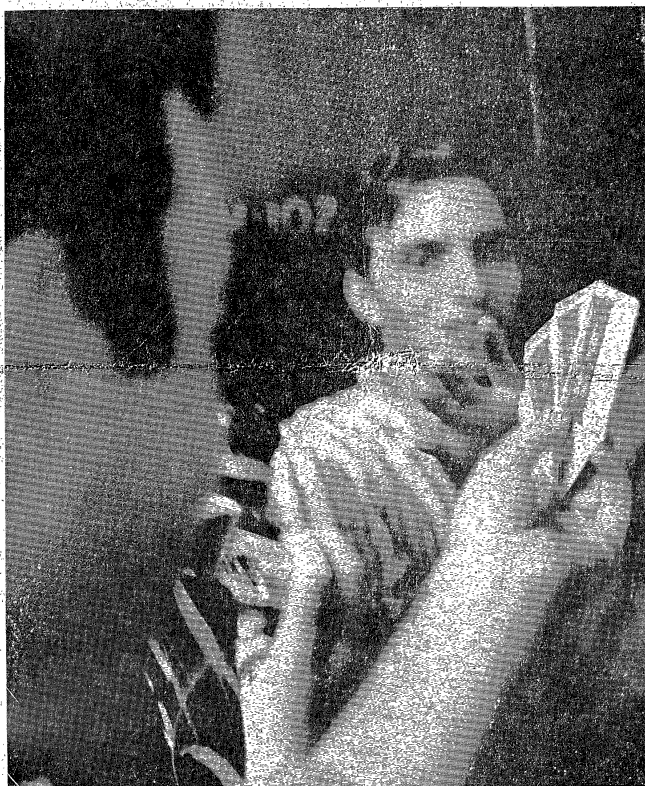
At about the same time SDS was born. It evolved from an extreme left-wing group which managed to survive the silent '50's, the League for Industrial Democracy. The Student Department of the League was a group of about 100 kids whose parents were veterans of the Old Left. In 1959 they asserted their independence and named themselves Students for a Democratic Society. For the next three years SDS consisted of 150 to 300 student activists from traditionally radical campuses like Swarthmore, Oberlin, and the University of Michigan. It was a small coterie of personal friends attempting to create a distinctive group identity and groping around for effective levers for mass popular organizing.

While SDS was trying to define a distinct home for itself on the far Left, the civil rights movement was capturing the attention of the country. For the next four years, until the end of 1964, civil rights marches, and non-violent protests were the training and recruiting grounds for the nation's activists.

As usual, political activism at Harvard lagged behind the rest of the country. The first popular dissenting group of any kind was a non-partisan study group on nuclear problems called Tocsin (warning bell), which started in 1961. But Tocsin was also subject to the sweep of militancy and soon changed from study to protest. They marched on Washington in February 1962 to protest American flirtation with nuclear war.

In September 1962, Professor H. Stuart drew the whole of Tocsin into his independent campaign for the U.S. Senate. He received only

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In both situations, the student feels a strong sense of powerlessness in the decision-making process. Ten years ago students did not question the government's right to conscript in the interests of national security. Nor did they question the Administration's authority to regulate parietals. Today, more sophisticated students are insisting that their own opinions on such issues have to be recognized. The sanctity of authority has been tarnished and the priming device has been students' experience with the Vietnam War. Of course disillusionment with authority doesn't necessarily lead to activism. But given the examples of anti-war protest in the nation at large, and the more particular protest on campuses like Berkeley, the critical student's great frustration has found vent in active protest on campus issues.

The second reasons for focusing on local issues is that it provides the best chance for successful student activism. Success is what will prevent the new activist from becoming a pure radical. For if it is possible to effect basic change in the University, the society can't be all that bad. Success would provide some hope and some rationale for staying within society, and working for change through the established channels.

The adoption of activism as the method of petitioning for change separates the new act-

fail option to the University's Committee on Educational Policy. The CEP tabled the proposal. It has since asked two HPC members to present the proposal directly to the Committee.

HPC chairman Henry Norr is willing to give it a try, but he and other members have reservations about this method of administration-student communication. Asked one, "Are we just going to sit around and keep knocking on the administration's door? I hope not, because if we do, they'll just keep listening to us and never open it up." There is talk about setting up a student group to study educational policy independent of the administration. The group would try to build student activism around its proposals.

Also last spring, a grass roots campaign was organized around parietals while the HUC simply stood by and watched. This year the HUC hitched up its pants and made a public request to the Committee on Houses. Dean Ford's reply was negative, stating, in effect, that the Committee would increase parietals when it was ready to. An independent Student Committee on Parietals has begun to flex its muscles while the HUC has salvaged a weak prize, a joint informal dinner meeting with the Masters and Deans.

By James K. Glassman

THERE WAS a look of satisfaction on Jared Israel's face last Monday as he stood on the steps of Memorial Church listening to normally cool-liberal Harvard students walk up to the microphone and tell other normally cool-liberal Harvard students in hot-radical tones what it was like getting your head bashed in at the Pentagon.

It was, unmistakably, a triumph. Israel and other Harvard radicals were letting the system do its own thing, which happened to be self-destruction. And with 500 people sitting and standing on the grass, most of them very emotionally into it, it was obvious that something was happening. Harvard's cool-liberal political style was changing.

Harvard liberals, even left-leaning

P. Moynihan calls "the politics of stability," a fundamental belief in the order. Finally, it means non-involvement, an aloofness from politics.

As a result, Harvard liberals take up afternoon causes—like PBH projects or running art sales for the benefit of Mississippi Negroes. A few work for liberal candidates like John F. Kennedy or Kevin White. But primarily, there is a breakfast-table argument aura to it all. No one bleeds.

Our Careers and All

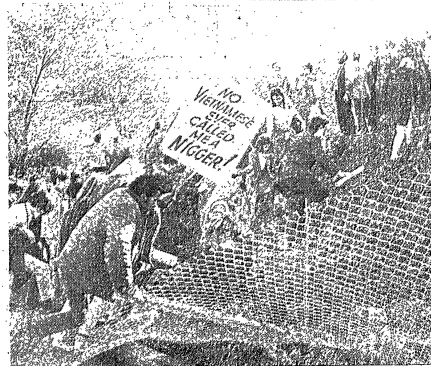
This lack of passion keeps you clean. Student politics is farcical. It is left to former Midwestern student council presidents. There are causes and causes. Issues come and go. You cluck your tongue or nod your head. Eisenhower was dull and stupid; Kennedy had style, you know; the Cuban invasion was bad; the Dominican Re-

cal (napalm and Saran Wrap) and the Central Intelligence Agency (Cuba and NSA).

And for those who were in Washington getting their heads bashed in, it all seemed to fit. That is why Israel was smiling, looking like Oral Roberts hearing the faithful just come straight up out of the congregation to testify.

For those who were listening, listening to the war get worse and to the repression of demonstration get more brutal, the time for the choice was zooming in very fast. Sitting on the sidelines, being cool-liberal and dispassionate was becoming irrelevant. The theme that the Washington demonstrators harped on was: if you're not with us you're against us.

And how frustrating it is to try to convince them that you are with them! Words, apparently, are not good



To be cool, detached is to be irrelevant Passion is the way now

liberals, have found themselves in an excruciatingly painful position lately. The past year has brought sharp escalation of the war in Vietnam, savage Negro rioting in urban cities, and increased demands for student power on campus. As a result, there are some agonizing choices to be made, choices that have been put off for a long time, but choices that the rapid pace of events are forcing Harvard liberals to make now.

public bit was ridiculous; join the Peace Corps; the Poverty Program should at least be given a chance. And so on and on. Many of us don't sign petitions because, well, what of our political careers and all?

But passion, which is a dirty word from the Freshman Mixer to the Class Marshal Elections, has reared its dread head. We are being forced to be passionate or, if we choose not, to be anti-intellectual or perhaps in-

enough any more. Dave Dellinger was talking about "laying your body on the line" in Washington last weekend. You were being forced to get busted, to turn in your draft card.

The pressures were coming from the acts of the system itself. It was almost squeezing you out, forcing you to attack it, like the Pentagon troops forced the demonstrators into their commitment.

Passionate Harvard?

For Harvard, the implications are enormous. Berkeley-style demands for student power will soon overwhelm the University. The next step for Harvard students will be sitting in to protest CIA spying on campus. Passionate radicalism is on its way, and as soon as a brutal confrontation happens here as it happened at Berkeley and Wisconsin and Brooklyn, then Harvard will be into it for good.

STUDENT power now is confined to demands for granting more parietal hours, revising some course reading lists, and ending class ranking. The war, no doubt, will become more and more a focus. And one act could be the catalyst for hot opposition to Harvard traditionalism and paternalism.

The potential is definitely there. Admissions' policies have changed. Fewer and fewer students are coming from upper middle class families. The stability element is vanishing. As intellectualism plays more of a role in the opposition to the war and demands for Negro equality, Harvard students will find a stronger identity with the opposition.

But even more important is the



Demonstrators, Administration, and Dow

position of the cool-liberal Harvard student; He is being left in the dust. If he wants to be relevant, he has to join the movement. The frustration will grow and grow. To be against the people who sat in at the Pentagon is to be against morality and equality and justice—things the cool-liberal has always supported. But worse, to be against the people who sat in at the Pentagon is to be for Lyndon Johnson, at best, and maybe Ronald Reagan at worst.

Robert Strange McNamara is somewhat the epitome of the University cool-liberal. He went to Berkeley and then to Harvard. He taught at Ann Arbor. He recites Yeats. He led a movement to abolish ROTC as a student. He is well-to-do. He has a com-

puter-brain. He is cool and aloof. Robert Strange McNamara, the Secretary of Defense, was looking out the window of his Pentagon office, watching the confrontation below last Saturday. Maybe he was wondering what his liberal brain was thinking.

There are hundreds of potential McNamaras at Harvard, really wondering what is going on in their liberal brains. They are agonizing over the war and the riots and the role of students, mainly because now they are forced to decide. Standing still is on the wrong side, they are learning. But when it is over, when they do decide, or have the decision made for them, as it was at the Pentagon, they will feel very clean and very good. That is how Israel and his friends were describing it.

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What the escalation and the riots and the demands have done is to increase radical consciousness. The word is "commitment." Commitment has never been part of the make-up of Harvard liberals, and that is what is so hard.

Cool Liberalism

Harvard cool-liberalism means the good old basic beliefs in equality and civil rights. It also means what Daniel

moral or perhaps wrong. The war and the riots have been an increasing pressure for a long time. But the student power movement is bringing things home in such a way that the issue cannot be avoided. Besides, everything is inter-connected, as Israel made quite clear at the rally last Monday: "Make no mistake, the University is not neutral in this war." The next step, as SDS leaders explained, was to go after Dow Chemi-

You cluck your tongue or nod your head. Eisenhower was dull and stupid; Kennedy had style, you know; the Cuban invasion was bad; the Dominican Republic bit was ridiculous; join the Peace Corps; the Poverty Program should at least be given a chance. Many of us don't sign petitions because, well, what of our political careers and all.



MICHAEL ANSARA

The cool liberal Harvard student is being left in the dust. If he wants to be relevant, he has to join the movement. The frustration will grow and grow. To be against the people who sat in at the Pentagon is to be against morality and equality and justice—things the cool-liberal has always supported.

By W. Bruce Springer

FRED LEAVITT'S a nice guy. A shy, gentle, intelligent person, he immediately strikes one as being some kind of intellectual. For a few more years, a few more pounds on him, and he'd make a passable Mr. Chips. In reality, he's a scientist.

Fred Leavitt is not the type of man one would ordinarily take for a war criminal. But he works at a job as a chemist for the Dow Chemical Corporation, the manufacturer of napalm. One of the demonstrators last Wednesday pushed in front of Leavitt's face a poster with pictures of naked children whose skin had been burned off by napalm. "Aren't you embarrassed? Don't you feel guilty?" the protester asked.

Fred Leavitt was flustered. "I'm against the war—I have always been against it," he said. "I just don't know enough about what goes on in the military, what they do. No, I don't feel guilty. The whole situation of international politics is so complex, I don't know enough to accomplish anything," he blurted.

Ironically, the 300 Harvard and Radcliffe war demonstrators have been plagued by that same confusion, that same feeling of impotence, for more than two years. But their frustration has now reached a pitch of militancy verging on panic—or revolution. "This war is such a wretched, extremely unjust thing, anything is justified," said a sympathetic Faculty member. "I think it would have been right to take the Pentagon apart stone by stone."



FRED LEAVITT

Mallinckrodt

At one time the leaders thought they had enough power to force Harvard on recruiting policies

WHEN the Deans finally arrived around noon, the demonstration entered phase two. Student power, which had hovered in the air all day, became an explicit issue—if not the issue. In the first face-off with the Deans, Ansara told them of the demonstrators' demand of Leavitt and added, "We are prepared to enforce that."

By that time 300 people were sitting in and Ansara believed he had the Administration over a barrel. "What the hell are they going to do? They are powerless in the face of such widespread support from students," he said.

A short time later, he told the demonstrators that the way to free Harvard from its complicity with the war was to get student power put in the open. That means we decide who comes to talk to us, someone said. Jared Israel, SDS co-chairman, added, "Evil has the strength these days—the Administration of Harvard, Dow, the U.S. government—do we have the force to defeat them? It's a tactical question. We don't have the power now. We have to get that power."

"Behind that wall is the entire Administrative Board," Ansara said, pointing toward M-102 where many University officials had gathered. "They are the ones who decide on how rules are interpreted and they set University policy in absence of a Faculty meeting. They can't decide not only that Dow won't come but also that the CIA won't." (The CIA is believed to have introduced the

cause of the undemocratic nature of our society, there is nothing we can do but take things into our own hands to end it," Michael Ansara of said.

In their desperation to engage and defeat the war machine, the peace forces of the University took Fred Leavitt captive for seven hours. For seven hours he sat in a room, unable to serve as a symbol. He was the man, he was Dow, Vietnam comes home to roost.

The Dow sit-in was not well-organized. In fact, it almost wasn't. Students for a Democratic Society learned the recruiter was coming only two days in advance. In a special meeting of the executive committee, almost every one of SDS's leaders spoke against an obstructive sit-in because they did not think enough students

would participate to make it effective. There were instead 30 pickets. About 30 demonstrators showed up at 9:30 outside the room where Leavitt was interviewing chemistry graduate students. Some of them still wanted to sit in, and in the style of SDS there was an instant town meeting to decide which form of protest would be mounted. This time the sit-in won. At least five non-Harvard-Radcliffe students voted on the side of the sit-in.

In the course of the impromptu discussion of tactics, the rationale for the sit-in was defined. "We would not allow Nazis to come here to ask people to go build g's airplanes," should not let Dow recruit, Ansara said.

John Mendeloff, past chairman of HER-SDS, objected that it was illogical to single out Dow from among all the companies that contribute in one way or another to the war effort. Another demonstrator replied, "There's something particularly abhorrent about Dow. Napalm is the particularly American contribution to the war effort."

protesters literally shifted instantaneously to one of warmth and sympathy. Someone offered Leavitt a Harvard lunch bag, which he would accept only after it had been pushed at him several times. That ended a very distinct phase in the demonstration—the "let your Vietnam veterans on Leavitt stage. Leavitt had personally proved to be a lousy symbol of the war machine.

But Leavitt was still a captive—and he promised in writing to leave Harvard and never return to recruit.

obviously believed at one point in the afternoon that they could force on the spot decisions out of the Faculty if they sat in long enough. There was much talk of bringing in supplies for a long haul. One demonstrator, who admitted he was confused, asked a question about student power.

"Then one demonstrator asked Ansara a series of embarrassing questions about student power. 'I want Dow excluded from campus,' he said. 'But I don't want us to give the Administrative Board the sanction to exclude people from campus. If we gave them that authority, and a majority of students wanted to kick us off campus, where would we stand?'" he asked.

Ansara explained that student power means "we, not the Administrative Board, make the decisions." He added that the demonstrators could re-

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Louis Fieser Watching the Sit-In

proclaiming "Napalm. Up Yours, Dow," and 25 students sat down. "It's all over, fellow," a protester remarked. The demonstrators sent envoys to the Yard to tell people what was going on and the response was quick, and larger than anyone expected. By 11 a.m., 100 determined students milled outside Mallinckrodt, M-102 ready for the first confrontation with Leavitt.

When the Dow recruiter and his interviewer came to the door, Leavitt asked the students: "As we use would you please?"

The answer was "No." "What's your object here?" Leavitt asked. "We want you off our campus," a student replied. One student said, "Four or five of us should just pick him up and peacefully take him out." A unanimous "No, no, no" went up from the protesters.

Then Leavitt was informed, "Dow's exact involvement in the war effort amounts to a war effort. That justifies direct action that people from working for this company."

For about 30 minutes, Leavitt was questioned aggressively about Dow's policies and his own war. When Ronald Vanelli, lecturer on Chemistry, tried to escort them from the room, students blocked the way and sang a number of protest songs including the impromptu, "Down with Dow it shall be—mover just like a swimmer that dies upon the water."

But it rapidly dawned on the demonstrators that a sit-in and powerless to harass Leavitt. When he shouted "I'm a soldier," a question "Don't judge him," spread of the



Mallinckrodt Hall

Harvard takes a giant Step to the Left

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two per cent of the vote. This setback combined with the test-ban treaty and the Cuban missile crisis to finish the effectiveness of Toesin. Finally, protest against the Bomb ended at Harvard.

That fall Harvard became involved in the civil rights movement. The SNCC victory secured the Civil Rights Coordinating Committee (CRCC), an organization designed to recruit and educate Harvard students as the wave of activism and in the case of the Southern Negro. In two years, SNCC grew to 1000 members with about ten to fifteen regular activists. It was the biggest thing at Harvard.

AFTER FOUR years of steadily increasing activism, protest groups began looking for a multi-issue approach to American life. It was clear to many activists that peace, discrimination, and poverty were not autonomous issues. By the fall of 1964, the SDS was operating at a bare subsistence level. It became SDS, the only organization including all elements of the anti-establishment movement.

One old SDS member describes the beginning. "In those days we were not big, not popular. SDS had to sell its own ideas, without the help of the War. And we did come up with distinctive ideas all our own." The philosophy stressed quality of life, pro-white organizing, and community power within a critique of corporate liberalism. There was mutual anti-anti-communism. The true enemies in this country are the closed-minded red hatters.

By the end of 1962, SDS had grown to a real national organization with about 500 members. A year and a half later, summer 1964, the strength of community organizing as a tactic had gained general acceptance among the nation's activists. That summer SDS started the Economic Resistance into Action Project (ERAP) in Boston, Newark, Cleveland, Baltimore and Chicago. About 150 radicals worked full time to organize ghettos on unemployment, rent, and welfare considerations.

That was also the summer when the great wave of Northern students came back to work for civil rights. Here they viewed community organizing first hand. Many came back itching to create a SNCC in the North. When they found SDS was doing what they wanted to do.

The 1964 presidential election in the North was a turning point. The election there was a lessening of desire to work through the conventional system. Civil radicals felt no love for Lyndon Johnson. Civil Rights was a radical cause which gained through national popularity. It appeared that radical demands were being satisfied with traditional politics: the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It appeared that the United States had a president who was committed to a radical cause. After the election, when emphasis shifted to abetting the war, radical policy found no sympathy with the administration.

But in 1964 there was overwhelming cooperation. Radicals joined with Kennedy liberals to support LBJ, believing that underlined his assertion to "support all the people." There was a resolve to start a liberal revolution. While Harvard SDS worked for Johnson, they also supported independent Noel Day in his campaign to unseat House Speaker John McCormack. Their campaign slogan expressed the radical mood: "Part of the Way with LBJ."

Best consensus of all time, the ground was being laid for a mass movement which would seriously challenge his tenure in office. In August, Congress adopted the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution authorizing the tremendous involvement of the United States in Vietnam. In November saw the birth of University Reform at Berkeley. Students were winning about what they could do when they found a cause.

In February of 1965 something happened which brought students a cause and brought to the country the beginnings of a mass protest movement. It involved people to the political left and right of the civil rights movement. It changed dissent from an intellectual association to a social cause. The United States began daily bombing of North Vietnam.

Harvard's first peace march occurred in February of that year when 100 students marched from the Cambridge Common to the post office. "We were holding 'Bring the boys home now' and man, did we ever feel that way," one marcher.

When the 1965 Congress passed at Harvard and around the country became more and more radical. The most radical was the Progressive Labor Party from a Progressive Labor Party organization, the Maoist Movement. The

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From tocsin to SDS

(Continued from page 5-Five)
group was named for America's first anti-Vietnam War demonstration which it sponsored in New York on May 2, 1964.

"M2M put out magnificent position papers when nobody knew anything or even was thinking about the war. It was all very slanted but it made people think," recalls one observer. M2M, which dissolved by December, 1965, was extremely limited in its conception. Its purpose was to bring the issue of the war to public attention in as controversial a manner as possible. It did arouse ardor, but most would-be activists found the propaganda too ideological.

In those first few months of 1965 the slowly growing dissent in the United States lacked leadership. The Civil Rights movement as an innovating force was dead. The Selma sit-in at Boston's Federal Building in March 1965 marked the end of Harvard's involvement with Civil Rights. The march on Washington one week later was the last major nationwide Civil Rights mobilization. The War was more horrible and immediate than discrimination. The Left's confidence in Johnson's credibility was rapidly diminishing. Dissent had moved beyond the limited scope of

"Resistance," Ray Mungo, editor of the Boston University News, made a brief speech, explaining the new militancy at the October 16 "Resistance" rally on the Boston Common.

"When I was a freshman I joined the civil rights movement. I thought the Southern sheriffs were un-American because they beat Negroes with rubber hoses. In 1965 I burned my draft card. I have finally realized that you can't change a country that's rotten from the inside by staying within the system. I will be a traitor. Today I am prepared to go to jail."

In April '65, by moving rapidly to the extreme position in the anti-war movement, SDS radicals created a vacuum which pulled the status quo along behind them. They left to others the responsibility of solidifying that new support. The leaders tossed away the idea of marches as an effective tool for political change and leadership for this protest form was assumed by more moderate groups.

But in the more than two years since the first march on Washington, nobody in SDS has really known what to do. Hampered by an anti-disciplinary spirit, they have found it difficult to focus their power. SDS has

Now this year there's been a tremendous shift in the whole attitude of the organization.

So this fall, despite the election of two members of Progressive Labor as its members, Israel and Ellen Kline, SDS is taking dead aim at the student body.

A monthly newspaper will be unveiled in November. It will polemicize against selection of University fiscal policy, offensive professors, and courses slanted to the right. Plans are also being made to form radical cadres in strategic courses, like Ec 1 and History 17, to challenge professors and students on their ideological biases. There is talk about organizing a student strike of classes against the Vietnam War in the spring. SDS will also step up its day-to-day activities of picketing and petitioning.

The members have hopes of raising

ing through a petition, a large scale student revolt when the CIA recruiters come to Harvard. So far the petition drive has been a failure. SDS has yet to demonstrate an ability to communicate with a fundamentally unideological student body. If its members continue to isolate themselves from other students, they will lose the best chance they ever had.

But whatever happens to SDS, student activism will grow and prosper, feeding on itself, gaining strength from the natural fear of dying in Vietnam and the frustration of not being able to do anything about it. And if SDS does prove to be too far out to make contact, the establishment team of Lyndon B. Johnson and Robert Strange McNamara may yet be enough to turn students from pariahs to foreign policy and make them turn in their petitions for crash helmets.

Since then everybody has taken a giant step to the left. Negro activists have become black revolutionaries. SNCC has become an exclusive organization. White activists have become disillusioned. Many turn on and drop out. For those who don't go hip, there is the possibility of more radicalism and more radical radicalism.

SDS STEPPED into the vacuum. It called for a space march on Washington in April 1965. It turned out to be the most important decision SDS ever made. The march was a complete success, drawing over 100,000 people according to SDS reports. According to a person involved in the decision, "Organizing the march was a terrific job. It changed the whole focus of SDS. Most of the new members we got didn't have any intention to do community organizing or to do protest. But the war hit every body and it was obviously going to be the main focus for a

... of the left. They have lost much of their old effectiveness.

III.

CAUGHT IN the backwaters of the student power movement, Harvard SDS is desperately trying to marshal its forces to steel the movement in a radical direction. "For the last two years we've been moving away from campus issues and concentrating on organizing in the outside community," says SDS co-chairman Mark Dyen. "I know there's been a reversal within SDS toward the college in the last year. I could feel it begin last year with McNamara.

The War in 1965 was more liberal than radical. Two quotations show the moderation of that "radicalism" as compared to today. From the April '65 SNCC Newsletter: "When a Communist gets mixed up with us, a Communist dies and a person develops. They're not subverting us, we're subverting them." A self-described radical wrote in the Crimson in June '65: "We do not hope for miracles, but do expect to be able to work for social justice, civil rights, new foreign policy without fear of being put on trial."

Since then everybody has taken a giant step to the left. Negro activists have become black revolutionaries. SNCC has become an exclusive organization. White activists have become disillusioned. Many turn on and drop out. For those who don't go hip, there is the possibility of more radicalism and more radical radicalism.

These days the anti-war movement is defined by the recent Washington, D.C. Pentagon demonstration and its the motivation behind the new nationwide anti-draft organization called

TOPICS: George and Spain

By Charles F. Sabel

WHEN I knew George during the summer the rich people had all left Madrid for the beaches so his little illegal business in land speculation was sucked dry. He was eating

on the cuff and his duena was dunning him for the rent, but he would terrorize her with his deep voice and dark skin. He had only been in Spain two months and his Spanish wasn't up to quarrelling. George once had a house in Ethio-

pia and has eaten lobster steaks from the Red Sea. He is very black, though his features are Caucasian. He is quite fat because he is always eating; he says he can never get enough to eat. As he is in some measure resigned to his corpulence, he walks stiff-legged and pigeon-toed, which makes his belly and breasts jiggle with every step.

After George left this country, which was twenty years ago after being called a Communist and finding that the smart New York musical circles might tolerate a Jew but not a Negro, he came to Europe to conduct the great symphonies and operas. He studied under von Karajan then and now the foremost conductor in Germany, who wrote that George is *hochbegabt*, highly gifted, very fine praise indeed. I have seen this letter and one from Richter, the pianist, saying how much he enjoyed performing with George. Once the Emperor of Ethiopia came to Berlin and admired George's work and invited him to Africa to organize a symphony orchestra there. George went and has pictures to show he did.

There are several much older pictures, now warped and cracking, in which George looks much thinner. These early pictures are of him con-



ducting choruses of white ones and black ones, as he says. That was in Harlem, where he lived for a time after coming from North Carolina.

George is priapic. He can be very charming about it walking down the Gran Via, carelessly rolling his large head at one woman then another. He wants you to think that one day he made a list of all the vices and then chewed a pencil and circled all those he would practice and those he wouldn't. But he's very, very serious about women. The only ugly things in my life have to do with America and women, he said to me one time. What is a little surprising is that he likes black women top. Many American Negroes in Europe will not touch a black woman, even though there are girls from Africa who are greatly desired by the whites. They, the expatriate Negroes, have managed an awesome act of retribution by which they may avenge themselves and their race on the Western world. George dismembered history too, but in a way of his own devising.

His proposition was this. All the evil in the world, the race hate and his own decline was caused by the devil and the CIA. It was the same shop-worn devil but now, in this century, no longer served by solitary, gutted souls but by an institution. There is so little poetry in the CIA, so much that is pedestrian and mean that no one but George could dare to attribute cosmic force to it. He carried it off though. He always had a cigarette in his mouth when he said it and tilted his head back waiting for the smoke to curl up over his face and the light to shine on the moistening high forehead. George was very conscious of the shameless theatrical-

ity of the pose. He practiced it, just as he practiced a Hemmingwayesque clumsiness in his speech, the careful inclusion of certain words, as though he had learned English as a foreign language.

George was as terrified by his monstrous abstraction. He has seen forces rampant on the earth.

In his North Carolina the forces burned and suffocated him at the same time like a poisonous gas. He was in Dusseldorf after the war when you could stand at the train station and look ten miles in any direction and in Africa to see tribalism, nationalism, them, us slither into the fetid soil. Then his career in music was wrecked, and he watched that too, proud of his talent, his mission to music but still shy and afraid to stray too close to a white man.

I don't know how his career went wrong and I don't think he does either. He truly does suspect the CIA of insinuating against him. He claims, and I more than half believe him, that he refused to spy for them when he performed in East Germany; when they sent some woman agent to coax him he got furious and said wouldn't you like to go to hell and tell some of his friends. He thinks that they hate him because the woman was arrested a few months later and they think he was responsible, even though the woman always went about in purple and orange clothes and wore a wig and was known to be a spy.

I don't think it matters, though deprived of specific knowledge, the dates of decisions and actions, his decline becomes less formally tragic. I must apologize for this. His moral and geographic position in life hint at great tragedy and I could not resist suggesting a fury, an activity, a motion that does not exist. Anyway he was half waiting for them to come from America to seize him, to break him dead or force him back to America. Sometimes he said he was a citizen of the world, free, not speaking English. But he was waiting for them all the same. Whatever happens George is over now, for all he wants is to marry a pretty girl and move to the South of Spain where he can run a small hotel and let the CIA conduct the symphonies of the world.

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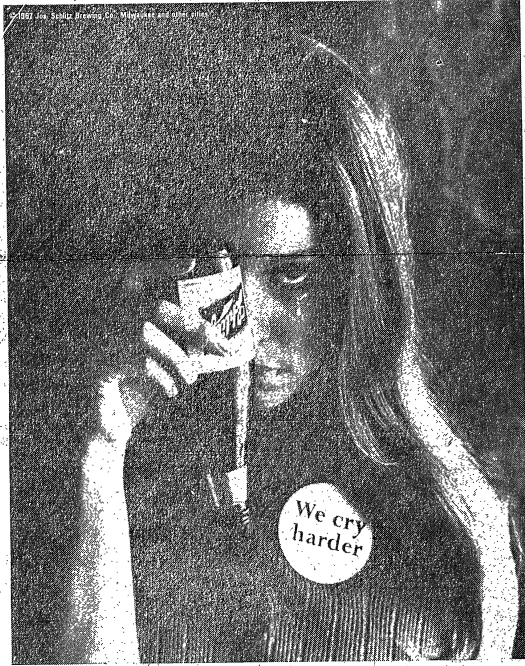
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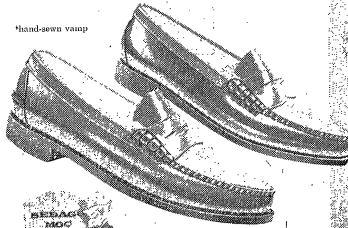
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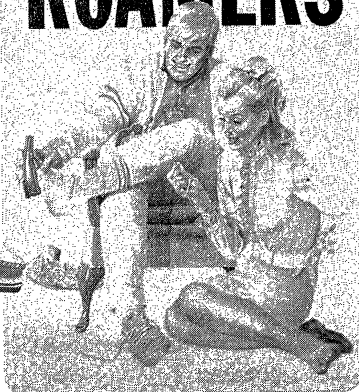
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Radicalizing Students

(Continued from page S-Three)
 quest the University to "form a committee with us in the next 24 hours" to work out the details of the transfer of power to the students.
 But another student persisted, "Our point of view wouldn't win out. If students had power the 2200 who signed the apology to McNamara last fall would be the ones who ruled."
 A protester then asked that the demonstration stick to its original "limited objective." But when the protesters got back to the Dow issue, they decided to raise the price of Leavitt's freedom. He had to promise not only that he would not return, but also that his company would never recruit again at Harvard. Some one pointed out that Leavitt was not empowered to make company policy on the spot. This bothered the protesters only until someone else observed, "He can use the telephone,

can't he? Have him call Dow and get a decision."
 It gradually occurred to some demonstrators that they might be sitting in for weeks waiting for this final demand to be met. And a lot of people began to feel guilty about the way Leavitt had been handled. And as one demonstrator put it, "The issues had gotten a bit confused." Dean Glimp promised that the Faculty would consider "the issue you have raised here," i.e., whether some civilian or military groups should be excluded from the campus.
 Calm and cogent arguments from a couple of tutors provided the necessary nudge and then the students voted to release Leavitt. Leavitt walked quickly when he got out of Mullinckrodt. Two blocks away, at the far end of William James, Dean Glimp felt obliged to point out that they had not been followed.

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