

A third avenue opens to protesting students

The classic alternatives of aggression, or withdrawal as reactions to frustration are being joined by a third: activism, but not radicalism

Students were wildly aggressive at the great confrontation that marked the Democratic National Convention in Chicago two years ago.

They were withdrawn and almost euphoric at the great rock festival in Woodstock, N.Y., a year later, and again in Washington last November at the mass protest against the Southeast Asian war.

Both withdrawal and aggression are classic reactions to frustration. And it has been generally assumed that one or the other would dominate students' reactions to their frustration in a world they find unsatisfying, whenever the tumultuous campus phenomenon of the last few years settles down to make its mark on history.

But when an estimated 75,000 students descended on Washington last week, and tens of thousands more demonstrated on shut-down campuses from Maine to California, a new phenomenon seemed to be emerging: a determination by previously uncommitted students not to overturn or withdraw from the system, but to work for change within it.

Radical left-wing student groups were highly visible in the demonstrations. They shouted vituperative slogans, hung North Vietnamese flags in Washington, D.C., and broke windows on university campuses.

But their greatest hope—that the United States presence in Cambodia and the killing of four Kent State students (SN: 5/9, p. 451) would radicalize large numbers of uncommitted students—appeared not to be materializing.

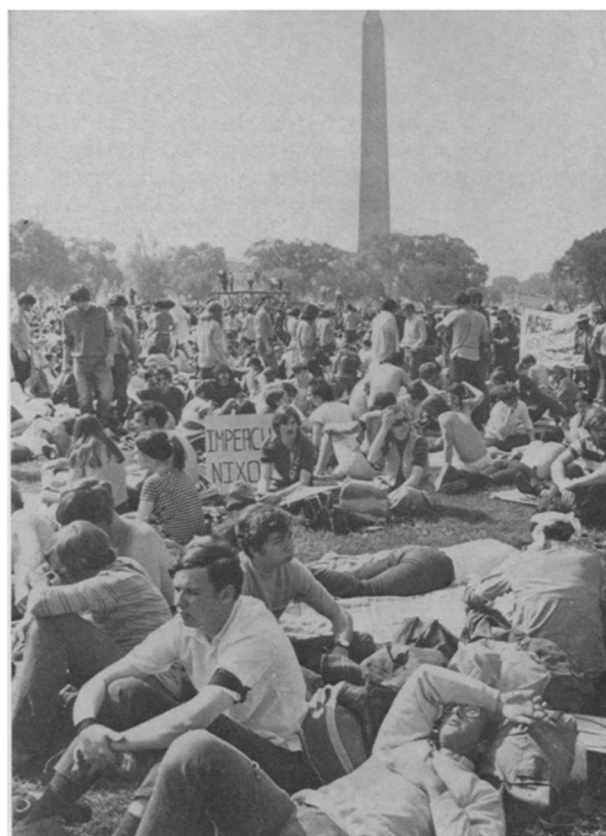
"What has happened," says Dr. Jerome Wiesner, Massachusetts Institute of Technology provost, "is that the students have become activated instead of radicalized. There is a much larger fraction of the student body involved than ever before."

A possible explanation is the leavening effect of establishment participation in place of the confusion, contempt and fearful opposition that once were evident.

Administration officials and faculty worked closely with students on many campuses.

Arrangements were made so students who chose could skip classes to participate in political events without harm to their grades.

A group of MIT faculty and students came to Washington to lobby on Capitol Hill; Yale President Kingman



Wide World

Students: Radical credibility low.

Brewster Jr., whose policies kept New Haven from erupting the week before, brought 1,100 of his students to Washington, and the entire campus, students and faculty, of Haverford College near Philadelphia moved on Washington in a body. Congressmen who met with

Science on the block or on the shelf

Along with the increasing ferment among students against United States involvement in Southeast Asia, there is a widespread youthful questioning of the values and directions of American society in general—and this is being felt in an increasing student antipathy toward science.

Dr. Philip Handler, president of the National Academy of Sciences, fears that a falloff in undergraduate science enrollments will be felt in the graduate schools in about two years. This rejection of science "is stated explicitly by articulate student leaders on every campus," Dr. Handler said in a recent speech.

Dr. Jerome Wiesner, Massachusetts Institute of Technology provost and science adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, says that although applications to MIT are up rather than down, there is an increasing feeling on the part of students that science has served irresponsible goals. "There is a growing demand, that is very deep here at

MIT, that science and technology must be carried on and taught in a way that relates to social responsibility," he says.

Students at the May 9 demonstration in Washington, D.C., clearly evidenced the growing student distrust of science: "We want to be human again," said Gregory Morgan, 29, a third-year law student at George Washington University. "The machine gobbles people up and science is seen by the students as the creator of the machine." Well-dressed and an ex-Marine, Morgan is obviously not a radical.

"We don't want an engineering approach to social problems," said William Donnelly, 28, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Pennsylvania State University. "The point is that students want a very personal kind of world. This excludes the scientist who says, 'I just build the bomber,' and will not take personal responsibility for his actions. The kids are frustrated by this impersonality."

them were hospitable, if not receptive.

President Nixon also opted for conciliation. In contrast to his ignoring of the massive student protest in November, he appeared at the Lincoln Memorial at dawn May 9 to talk with students preparing their demonstration. And the only military some of the Washington thousands saw was the crew of a three-truck convoy bringing water that afternoon to the sun-baked protesters.

While students at 450 campuses were boycotting classes—sometimes with the consent of administration officials—longer range plans were being made. Universities including Duke, Princeton and Notre Dame were planning to give students two weeks off before next November's election so that they could participate in election campaigns.

Students and faculty at the University of Rochester in New York and another group in New Haven organized drives to collect money for a nationwide antiwar media campaign. A ham radio network for striking students was organized in the New England-New York area. Brandeis University students and faculty were organizing boycotts of youth products to demonstrate the economic power of the young people and as a symbolic protest against an overmaterialistic society.

Further evidence of widespread support for the student aims came when the League of Women Voters, traditionally a nonpartisan group, passed an unprecedented resolution against the United States involvement in Cambodia.

There was some evidence during the week that the numbers of radical students had grown, too; they made up a large fraction of the 75,000 demonstrators in Washington May 9. But the more moderate students, both those newly activated and those who had worked before in the peace movement, were determined that the radicals would not seize the initiative. "We are placing an extreme emphasis on non-violence," said Linda Dobbs of the New Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam, organizer of the Washington demonstration.

"You can expect to see the end of the burning of ROTC buildings in New England," says one Yale activist, "The tactics are shifting."

Another possible explanation is that neither aggression nor withdrawal results when there is hope of accomplishing change. If the majority of United States students can be said to have been withdrawn in the sense of not having participated in political activity since 1968, then this week's resurgence of mainstream involvement may indicate a new hope on the part of these students who were silent earlier—and

it may also indicate the genesis of a new political force.

Thirteen Washington area sociologists, for example, polled about 500 students at the May 9 demonstration. Most of the students were attending a demonstration for the first time, and had been drawn by the Kent State tragedy. Of 68 students interviewed by Dr. David Gottlieb of the Pennsylvania State University, he says, 43 considered themselves moderates, part of a previously silent group.

Also adding to the ranks of the moderate students were former radicals who were beginning to admit to themselves that radicalism offers few solutions to the pressing problems that face the United States. "The kids admit they don't have the answers," said Washington demonstrator Gregory Morgan, 29, a third-year law student at George Washington University and clearly not a radical. "Increasingly, they are becoming willing to work within the system."

"The politicization of the campus

ORGANIC CHEMISTRY

No doubt about suffering

Scientific research, President Richard Nixon declared during the 1968 election campaign, cannot be turned on and off like a faucet. The rhetoric was apt, but in view of present fiscal stringencies and a conscious emphasis on mission-related projects, investigators in certain areas of fundamental science find the tap is running dry.

Organic chemistry, which is not the special province of any single Government agency, appears to be in for a particularly hard time. Plant physiology and research in photosynthesis are also subject to severe funding cuts. Because these areas are funded by a variety of agencies classifying the research under numerous headings, precise dollars and cents measurements of the loss are difficult to obtain. But according to Dr. Philip Abelson, president-designate of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. "There is just no doubt about the reality of the suffering."

Rep. Emilio Daddario (D-Conn.) and National Academy of Sciences President Dr. Philip Handler have also singled out these areas as being in desperate straits. And the focus of the crisis seems to be the National Institutes of Health.

The NIH, charges Dr. Handler, is behaving as if last year's Congressional action, directing the Department of Defense to abandon all its nonmission-oriented work, applied to it as well. "Witness the decline in support for photosynthesis and organic chemistry by the NIH," he demands. "For my part,

may prove to be the most significant phenomenon of the 1960's," says Sheldon S. Wolin of the Center for Advanced Study of Behavioral Sciences at the University of California at Berkeley.

Nevertheless, the question being raised by university administrators, government officials and students themselves is: What directions will the newly infused activism take?

"It depends in large part on how the police and government react," says Hans Toch, professor of criminal and legal justice at the State University at Albany, N.Y. If student activism wanes as it did following the Nov. 15 mobilization, the students will be met with the indifference and inattention they will deserve, he believes.

On the other hand, violent confrontation such as occurred at the Chicago convention will serve only to radicalize more students and antagonize police. The consequences of that could be another Kent State, which all but the most militant radicals want to avoid. □

I would far prefer that NIH support first-rate research in organic chemistry than third-rate research in any seemingly more immediately health-related area."

The NIH until recently supported almost 60 percent of the nation's research in organic chemistry, with the Department of Defense and the National Science Foundation bearing most of the cost of the rest. About a year ago, the pattern began to change. Says Dr. Robert Berliner, deputy director for science at NIH, "It is true that we are cutting back our support. This represents no new policy but rather a new implementation of a long-standing policy. The NIH has always focused on more money, it was possible to fund health-related science. When we had first-rate organic chemists. Now, we have to take program relevance into greater account."

Dr. Berliner insists that the basis of the NIH policy is not a decision to support only those projects that are most likely to yield quick results. Rather, he says, the focus is on subjects that are most likely to bear some relation to human disease problems. The organic chemists, of course, dispute this view, stressing that basic studies of chemical structures and mechanisms are vital to such biological fields as enzyme behavior and the synthesis of proteins, vitamins and new drugs.

In an effort to document the crisis in organic chemistry, two Yale Univer-