

Special Report

Toward a Definition of Research Responsibilities

John C. Sheehan, Dreyfus Professor of Organic Chemistry at M.I.T., has been named by President Howard W. Johnson to head the standing committee which will review activities of M.I.T.'s special laboratories; such a continuing consideration of programs and proposals was recommended by the Institute's Review Panel on Special Laboratories (see *Technology Review for June, 1969, pages 72A-72B*) "as a means of providing the President with the considered advice of students, faculty and laboratory staff."

Other members of the new committee include Peter Elias, Professor of Electrical Engineering; Andrew Gilchrist, III, third-year student in the Department of Chemistry; Robert L. Halfman, Deputy Head of the Department of Aeronautics and Astronautics; David G. Hoag, Associate Director of the Instrumentation Laboratory; Michael J. Marcus, graduate student in the Department of Electrical Engineering; Edward W. Merrill, Professor of Chemical Engineering; Walter E. Morrow, Jr., Assistant Director of Lincoln Laboratory; Carl F. J. Overhage, Professor of Engineering; and Hans-Lukas Teuber, Head of the Department of Psychology.

In his letter to Professor Sheehan confirming the assignment, President Johnson said that the committee's task "is to help us refine the criteria by which we measure M.I.T.'s interest" in various options which may be open to the laboratories. "We shall seek to build over a period of time an understanding of the ways in which this institution can best serve in its educational and research functions and in its responsibility to society," he wrote.

A Feasibility Test of Research Conversion

M.I.T. has reached the point of "policy change" in its direction of the two large laboratories (Lincoln and Instrumentation) which have been operated for the federal government for over two decades. President Howard W. Johnson has given the M.I.T. faculty a plan to deemphasize the development of operational weapons systems while research in basic technology related to defense continues and work applying high technology to domestic and social problems is expanded, and the faculty has approved a test of its feasibility.

In a policy statement to the faculty, President Johnson said that "the special laboratories will continue to do fundamental research and to develop new technology in the fields of communication optics, guidance and control, radar systems, geophysical systems, and computer design and applications. However, the laboratories will not assume responsibility for developing operational weapon systems based on these concepts, nor will either laboratory assume responsibility for the field testing or production of specific weapon systems.

"This policy does not preclude the assumption of total system engineering responsibilities in defense systems other than weapons and in other fields such as space, medicine, transportation, education or urban systems if it should appear to be desirable to do so."

In addition, said President Johnson, "I want very much to see our work applying high technology to domestic and social problems expanded in the laboratories just as it has been on the campus. . . . To this end I have pressed hard and continuously for a major foundation grant; I have approached the Executive Branch of the government, and I have had discussions with many members of Congress, government agencies, and potential sponsors of various kinds.

"But it must be said," President Johnson continued, "that we are pursuing the most difficult of courses in which there can be no instant success. The feasibility of these two interlocking goals—basic technology related to defense and domestic technology—will take some time to test. We must find out if the ideas for large-scale technical involvement in domestic problems can be expanded in this country."

A beginning has already been made. Instrumentation Laboratory's Division of Scientific Technology has collaborated in a number of academic projects since its initiation two years ago: support to the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution in the engineering problems associated with a major mid-water offshore ocean current program; design, construction and development of a major oceanographic instrumentation array off Bermuda in collaboration with the M.I.T. Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences; the development,

construction, and check-out of novel soil mechanics instrumentation in support of the soil mechanics division of the Department of Civil Engineering; design, engineering and construction of a bio-telemetric instrumentation system in collaborative support of a project in the M.I.T. Center for Life Sciences; a collaborative project with the Department of Metallurgy and Materials Science and the Harvard School of Public Health on computer control of an electron microscope for particulate matter identification and monitoring; the engineering, and construction and installation of a Beneoff Tiltmeter instrument at the Aggasiz Seismology Station in Harvard, Massachusetts, in support of the Department of Earth and Planetary Sciences; and full partnership with the Urban Systems Laboratory on CARS, a demand-responsive public transportation system.

The Instrumentation Laboratory has recently been asked by the Urban Systems Laboratory to collaborate in responding to a novel dual-mode transportation concept involving the CARS system with a line-haul automated highway link. This project promises to involve a major effort of the Instrumentation Laboratory together with a major involvement of faculty and students from many departments in an exciting and rewarding project of social consequence, according to a document prepared by the Review Panel.

Lincoln Laboratory facilities have had a prominent role in M.I.T.'s teaching and research in radio and radar astronomy for a number of years. Earlier this year, several studies were completed on possible non-defense programs in the fields of medical care, air traffic control, and computer-aided instruction. As a result of one of these, a program on medical care has been initiated in cooperation with the Beth Israel Hospital.

Treading the Narrow Line: The First Week of November

The line between disruption and violence depends as much upon mood as upon law. Perhaps the single most remarkable fact about the demonstrations at M.I.T. on November 4, 5, and 6 is that, despite a two-month development of controversy and tension and the bright light of local and national news media, the action remained just below that critical point at which violence becomes an inevitable chain reaction.

A chronological review of developments at M.I.T. during September and October appears on subsequent pages of this issue. It demonstrates the gradual but unceasing development of what Dr. Benson R. Snyder, M.I.T. Dean for Institute Relations, calls a "supersaturated" community—a place where assumptions are less examined than argued, where each communication becomes a step leading inevitably to the next.

It was in this environment that Howard W. Johnson, President of M.I.T., chose on November 2 to ask for a temporary restraining order from the Middlesex Superior Court, making "violence, or the threat of force or violence, against persons or property" on M.I.T. premises an offense. "Since we cannot protect ourselves and still remain a free and open university," he told the faculty in reporting his action, "we have asked the whole of society to protect us."

Tuesday, November 4

Blue, red and gray were the colors of the first day of November protests at M.I.T. The blue and red were the colors of the National Liberation Front flags carried by protesters from many groups in Greater Boston. Gray was the color of the weather—overcast skies, heavy rain alternating with drizzle—and of the spirits of many at M.I.T. who had thought that somehow this elemental kind of "confrontation politics" might be spared a school so largely focussed on logic and technique.



Cartoon: Paul Conrad from Register and Tribune Syndicate © 1969, the Los Angeles Times

"Man, that's really telling it like it is . . . !"

A University's Vulnerability —and Its Inescapable Dilemma

The following is the statement by President Howard W. Johnson to a special M.I.T. faculty meeting on Nov. 3:

Of all the institutions in our society, the university is most nearly defenseless. It has to be. The university exists so that there may be somewhere a place for the courageous and direct confrontation of ideas. The free flow of ideas cannot take place in an atmosphere of physical confrontation; an open mind cannot long exist in the face of force and threat. It does not matter where force may come from—from the legislature, from the police, from the alumni, from outsiders, or, indeed, from the administrators. Once force crosses the threshold, the university is diminished.

It is clear to me that here at M.I.T. we cannot ourselves and with only our own resources deal with force or the threat of force. We are vulnerable; we were created vulnerable; and we will remain so as long as we are free.

Grappling with Issues

Universities today are grappling with unresolved issues which are their lifeblood. We have such issues: student discontent with the current educational process; the relation of the university to society; the consequences of scientific and technological progress; the balance between study and action, just to mention a few.

Particularly, for a great institute of technology, we have the hard questions of how our capabilities relate to the defense of the nation. We struggle with that issue in its most emotional form, at a time when this country is fighting a war in which few of our students and faculty believe.

Our 8,000 students and 1,000 faculty work, study, teach, and do research that has no direct connection to military weapons. Quite the opposite, M.I.T. since its founding has made an immense contribution to the quality of life of this nation. It is our policy now to exclude secret research from the campus. No classified theses are being prepared. And we are currently engaged in a test of the proposition of whether we can move some of the technological capacity of our two off-campus laboratories to the problems of domestic and civil life. The faculty supports this test and will, I hope, participate actively in this effort. This is going to be a much tougher job than recreating the many academic laboratories after World War II.

In the area of education, we have created a commission of faculty and students to look searchingly at everything that M.I.T. does—all the way from how we teach and learn to how we govern ourselves—to see that what we do in the 1970's is responsive to the times and to human needs.

Those are some of the real issues within the Institute. This faculty, all of us, must
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M.I.T.'s first exposure to a major threat of violence from radical students and non-students came on November 4, 5, and 6, when at least 250 members of the November Action Coalition encamped on the campus. "Buildings condemned under



Article 2, People's Code: All properties used for oppression are to be confiscated and returned to their rightful owners, the people," said the banner. But the action was more restrained than its protagonists' promises.

Estimates of the numbers of demonstrators ranged from 650 to 250, of which perhaps 20 to 30 per cent were M.I.T. students. Their November Action Coalition represented a collaboration of many radical groups—the M.I.T. chapter of R.L. S.D.S. (see *Technology Review for October/November*, p. 93D), S.D.S. chapters from other Greater Boston schools, the Black Panthers, the "Weathermen" faction of S.D.S., and others. Their goal—to "stop war research"—was to be achieved on Tuesday by demonstrations at the administrative offices and the Institute's Center for International Studies.

In the middle of the afternoon, following noisy rallies at both locations, the protesters reconvened in the Institute's main entrance rotunda to consider their next steps. A proposal to follow the original plan—occupation of the President's office (it was locked, the President and his staff having moved to work in less vulnerable quarters)—was defeated; and the protesters returned by way of the Instrumentation Laboratory to "teach-ins" and a strategy session for Wednesday.

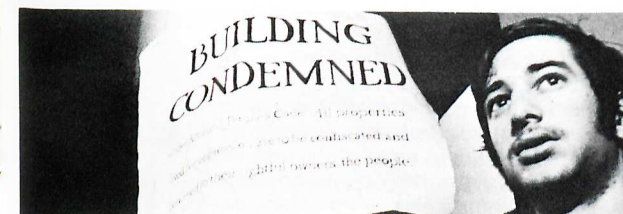
Wednesday, November 5

Like most of the streets in the industrial section of Cambridge around M.I.T., Osborne Street is narrow, unplanted, and shabby. It is more an alley than a street.

By early Wednesday morning it was occupied by nearly 300 young people picketing to deny access to the employees of M.I.T.'s Instrumentation Laboratory who work in Building IL-5. IL-5 is the site of work on a guidance system for the Poseidon (multiple-warhead) missile. But an "obstructive" picket line is illegal in Massachusetts, and after Cambridge officials determined that entry to IL-5 was in fact obstructed and issued several warnings, the police force from several towns were ordered into action.

At 9:10 came the scene so familiar to television viewers yet so incredible to M.I.T. Approximately 200 police carrying riot clubs held in two hands (supported by a smaller number of police with carbines, tear gas guns, and dogs—none of whom saw action) began a slow march up Osborne Street. The demonstrators retreated, turning down a side street; the police charged. Some people fell; some came up swinging. The police reformed their line and resumed an orderly pursuit, and two blocks away, at the corner of Windsor Street and Massachusetts Avenue, the demonstrators dispersed.

The news media characterized the demonstrators' behavior as restrained,



the police as "orderly and well disciplined." There were reports of isolated incidents; there were 10 injuries—none serious—and one arrest. The November Action Coalition claimed victory on the basis of having closed their target building of the Instrumentation Laboratory for two hours; but several individuals and one group—the Black Panthers—deserted the coalition during the afternoon.

Thursday, November 6

Tuesday was March Day; Wednesday was Police Day; and Thursday was Sit-In Day—when at least 100 members of the N.A.C. held a sit-in in the corridor outside M.I.T.'s main administrative offices for over two hours.

Thursday's actions began with a noon joint rally sponsored by the Science Action Coordinating Committee—an all-M.I.T. radical group which had not participated in the Wednesday picketing—and N.A.C. Jonathan Kabat spoke for S.A.C.C., saying that the question of violence "distracted from a discussion of the main issues." He said S.A.C.C. sought a "broader base of support" instead, and would canvas the halls of the Institute to explain their position to others that afternoon, instead of joining N.A.C. in their sit-in.

The sit-in did not stop administrative functions; the offices were locked and those who normally work there had simply moved elsewhere. Indeed, throughout the Institute—as during both previous days—classes and business continued normally.

Maintaining the Cohesiveness

When the week was over, President Johnson told a press conference that M.I.T. seemed to have come through the week "without large damage to its fabric—and with some new strengths. Can we maintain a measure of the cohesiveness we have achieved this week without minimizing the wide range of views held in this community?" he asked.

On November 11 the President announced that two review panels composed of faculty, students, and staff would be established to help the officers of M.I.T. investigate "possible unlawful and inappropriate behavior" by students, non-students and faculty members between November 3 and 7. Violations of the Court order remain subject to possible legal action, and disciplinary action in the case of M.I.T. students seemed probable.

try to understand them, to propose effective policies, to press forward toward resolving these issues.

Threats of Force

But these are not the issues that we face this week, when there are explicit and implicit threats of force before us. We are being told: do what we ask you to, now, or suffer violence. Because we are what we are, because the Institute is what it is, the November Action Coalition has faced us with a real dilemma—an inescapable dilemma. They have used our vulnerability and to seek to force us into a position where we must be damned if we don't use force and damned if we do.

I have had no lack of counsel these last few days. I have met many times with groups of our faculty and students. I have talked with innumerable individuals. It has been our purpose throughout to face these threats together, because all of us are responsible for the future of this great institution. I have found that the M.I.T. community is united in its determination to protect M.I.T.'s fundamental rights.

I have been advised to do nothing; but that, in my judgment, would only briefly postpone the test. I have been advised to call in large numbers of the police at once and be done with it. That might appear to be an answer, but I believe it would diminish the Institute unless police were required to protect individuals against injury. Most of the advice, of course, fell between these extremes. I want to report to you now that, last night, I decided to take the step which I believe is the most reasonable.

I have asked for and received from the Superior Middlesex Court a temporary restraining order against those individuals and groups who have indicated their intention to commit acts that are sure to lead to violence on this campus. The restraining order enjoins individuals and groups from "employing force or violence, or the threat of force or violence, against persons or property." Such acts, with the issuance of the restraining order, become acts against the Commonwealth, to be dealt with by the Commonwealth. In effect, since we cannot protect ourselves and still remain a free and open university, we have asked the whole of society to protect us.

For the Institute to function, those who are members of the Institute must be free to come and go without hindrance; they must be free from threats of bodily harm; and their working tools and places must remain unharmed and at their own disposition. It is those rights, which are civil rights common to all of us—and only those rights—that I have asked the Court to protect. Obviously, I have not asked—nor would I ever ask—the Court to restrain anyone's right to dissent and protest. But it is time now to look beyond November 4, and to make sure that M.I.T. will be a place where the real issues will begin to be resolved in a community where the right to build is at least as secure as the right to criticize.

tion in the minds of most members of the community. This, coupled with the fact that the N.A.C. is mostly non-M.I.T. people, suggests that the M.I.T. community is unlikely to fragment as was the case at Harvard. This likelihood has been further reduced by the consultation procedures which the administration has set up with the various segments of the community."

November 2

"Some of the Better-Known Radicals"
Parker Donham writes in today's *Boston Globe* that N.A.C. organizers "hope to field at least 750 radicals . . . to take part in a series of disruptive sit-ins and picket lines at M.I.T." on Tuesday. "If these claims are not inflated," says Mr. Donham, "then M.I.T. may be in for as serious a crisis as has faced any institution of higher learning in this country since college demonstrations began at Berkeley, Calif., in 1964."

In today's *Herald Traveler* Mr. Glassman lists the N.A.C. leaders, including "some of the area's better-known radicals." Michael S. Ansara, former leader of the Harvard S.D.S., now untitled editor of *The Old Mole*; Henry P. Norr, former Harvard student who is now a full-time radical organizer working for the New England Free Press; David I. Bruck, last year's Editorial Chairman of the *Harvard Crimson*, now on leave of absence to finish a book on the Harvard disorders; Michael Kazin, former co-chairman of the Harvard S.D.S.; Michael Albert, President of the M.I.T. Undergraduate Association; and George Katsiaficas, Chairman of the M.I.T. Interfraternity Council. "N.A.C. will go back to the old tactic of seizing buildings and waiting for the police to react," Mr. Glassman speculates.

No Action, or too Much Action?

President Johnson calls a special meeting of the Faculty Council with the *ad hoc* student and faculty advisory groups this afternoon to consider policies for November 4 to 6. Marvin S. Keshner and Charles E. Mann, both M.I.T. undergraduates, say that "the leaders of N.A.C. don't intend that this be a peaceful protest." The leadership is quoted as asking "Haven't they realized yet that we are really serious? . . . I expect to be in jail Thursday morning, and I expect the students of M.I.T. to bail me out." Three faculty members involved in the confrontation outside the M.I.T. Placement Office last week recount the threats directed against them. Stephen C. Ehrmann, an undergraduate, says it is dangerous to have police on the campus but also emphasizes the danger to M.I.T. "If this situation isn't decisive, M.I.T. must provide the answer for many people." President Johnson ends the meeting by indicating his intention to "walk the path between no action and too much action." After the meeting, Stephen H. Kaiser, a graduate student, writes for an extra edition of *The Tech* that "faculty and administration attitude has hardened considerably since last Friday, and there is wide-

spread sentiment that police should be stationed on the campus." Mr. Kaiser also reports the development of an *ad hoc* student group "to aid in planning and information flow. . . . The group has been meeting on a more or less continuous basis over the week-end," he writes, "acting mainly to inform itself about legal processes, tactical implications, and the like."

"To Refrain from Force or Violence"

Late this evening Judge Thomas J. Spring of the Middlesex Superior Court grants an order of the Court requiring certain named individuals, the November Action Coalition, "and all others acting in concert with them . . . to desist and refrain from employing force or violence, or the threat of force or violence" against M.I.T.; "damaging or defacing" property of M.I.T.; "converting without authorization any files, correspondence, records, or documents" of M.I.T.; congregating within M.I.T. buildings "in such manner as to disrupt or interfere with normal functions;" and "inciting or counseling others" to do any of these things. Jerome Sullivan writes in the *Boston Globe* that "the Court move is believed to be the first ever taken by a college or university in advance of a student uprising."

November 3

Rejecting the Weathermen

The Tech this morning reports that the November Action Coalition, meeting most of the day yesterday, agreed to keep its pledge not to initiate violence on November 4 or 5. The N.A.C. rejected Weatherman proposals for violent action and agreed instead on hanging "condemned" signs and the National Liberation Front flag on the Hermann Building, home of the M.I.T. Center for International Studies, and a "trial" of "designated war criminals" followed by their execution in effigy.

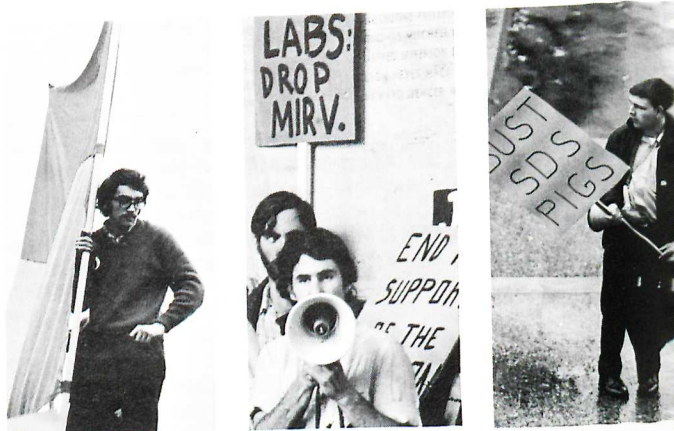
"We Have Asked Society to Protect Us"

President Johnson tells a special meeting of the faculty that "there are explicit and implicit threats of force before us." M.I.T. is being told, he says, "Do what we ask you to, now, or suffer violence." In many conversations with students and teachers, Mr. Johnson says he has "found that the M.I.T. community is united in its determination to protect the fundamental rights of this institution." Accordingly, he announces the temporary restraining order from the Superior Middlesex Court (see above). "In effect," says Mr. Johnson, "since we cannot protect ourselves and still remain a free and open university, we have asked the whole of society to protect us." A resolution that "this faculty support the President in taking the action that he has reported today" is approved by 344 to 43.

"Chilling" Freedom of Speech

Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr., this morning hears the November Action Coalition request that the court order be dropped, arguing that it has discouraged potential participants in the November Action activities, thus "chilling"

The cast of characters and the scenes of the drama make it easy to over-simplify the events of November 4, 5, and 6 at M.I.T. It is true that 200 demonstrators followed the flag of the National Liberation Front through the corridors and campus of M.I.T. chanting such slogans as "Ho Ho Ho Chi Minh, the N.L.F. is going to win!", "Get out of class, get off your ass, end war research!", and "John Brown—live like him, dare to struggle, dare to win!" But it is also true that at the critical moments no one committed gross disobedience or violence.



their freedom of speech. The original order was based not on fact but on rumor of violence, they say. The judge denies the request arguing N.A.C. is not suffering "irreparable" damage in consequence of the injunction and that N.A.C. is enjoined only from doing those acts which it claims will not be done anyway.

"... To March and Shut Down . . ."

The November Action Coalition issues a final statement about what will happen at M.I.T.: "As part of a week of activities, we are demonstrating at M.I.T. because it plays a large role in producing the weapons technology and strategies to perpetuate (the) system of oppression. . . . We are going to start with a rally at noon on November 4 in front of the Student Center . . . From there we are going to march and shut down the Center for International Studies and administration offices . . . Later we are going to hold a march to dramatize our opposition to other projects going on in other parts of the campus. That night we are going to turn the Student Center into an amazing center of discussion, films, music, speeches and rap groups. We are inviting everyone in the city to come and participate in discussions about all aspects of American life and policy. That night we will finalize our plans for shutting down the Instrumentation Laboratories the next morning."

Relying on the Institute's Record

President Johnson and Jerome B. Weisner, Provost, visit at least an hour late this afternoon with a number of undergraduates, including representatives of the student government, dormitories and fraternities. John G. Gaschnig, reporting the meeting, says that some students "express concern" that part of the Court order seemed to imply that students present only to observe or moderate activities of the demonstrators would be liable to Court action. In reply, Mr. Johnson remarks on the Institute's record of allowing peaceful protest in the past, adding that the injunction adds nothing to the law. When questioned about disciplinary action, President Johnson affirms that demonstrators could be subject to action by either (or both) the civil courts and (if students) the M.I.T. Faculty Committee on Discipline.

"We Want to Be Counted"

At least 300 students and faculty—including some representatives of the November Action Coalition—are participating in a "light a candle for peace" vigil beneath Alexander Calder's "Great Sail" stabile in the McDermott Court tonight. There are no speeches—only quiet conversation. The vigil was conceived by Randolph G. Hawthorne and D. Wayne Wenger, both undergraduates, as a call for non-violence: We are out "not to build an organization but to be counted. We will not support violence, and we want people to know it," they wrote.

When President Johnson arrives in McDermott Court tonight, he is presented with a petition "against November violence" signed by 1,700 members of the

M.I.T. community: "We believe that appropriate changes in Institute policy and operation can best be achieved through rational discussion and debate. Tactics of disruption and violent confrontation cannot help but set precedents which will endanger the future of the entire M.I.T. community. We oppose these tactics. Open and reasoned debate must continue. Only in this way can we preserve both our academic freedom and our ability to influence Institute policy."

November 4

"Institute hurtles toward confrontation," reads *The Tech's* headline this morning.

"Some Simple Principles"

At the second special faculty meeting in two days, President Johnson this morning tells the faculty that "how we bear ourselves today will determine the future of this institution." The faculty responds by confirming yesterday's support of the Court order and by approving "in principle" a resolution affirming "the right of its members, and of all members of the Institute community, to work actively for political goals;" calling for "a serious and fundamental reexamination of the Institute's research policies and operation, especially those that relate to the national defense and to war, during the coming months;" and condemning "attempts by members of the Institute community and by strangers to gain political objectives through the use of force or threat of force."

President Johnson announces that because the Hermann Building, which houses the Center for International Studies, presents "so many opportunities for physical violence and severe injury," he has asked its occupants to leave at 11 o'clock.

"We have stated some simple principles," says President Johnson to the faculty. "If we can abide by them today we will be stronger tomorrow." He urges the faculty "to stay close to the students today," and—following the President's suggestion—the faculty moves as a group following adjournment from Kresge Auditorium across Massachusetts Avenue and into the main buildings.

"Serious Misgivings"

At this morning's faculty meeting, one member of the faculty, speaking for himself and an unspecified number of his colleagues, expresses "serious misgivings about the use of the injunctive process and about specific features of the injunction obtained by the President." The language, they say, "might easily be construed so as to apply to . . . actions by members of our community who wish to express their agreement with the goals, though not with the means, of N.A.C. . . . We strongly urge the administration to avoid the use of this injunction."

"To Find Out What is Going On"

An all-campus information center, operated chiefly by undergraduates, opens

this morning in the center of the main M.I.T. buildings. It will gather, post, and relay by telephone whatever information reaches it—24 hours a day—about the November Action for the remainder of the week. Later Mr. Keshner, its chief protagonist, is to recall, "I cannot tell you how startling it is to see the President of M.I.T. walk in here to find out what is going on and how M.I.T. is doing!"

"Don't Talk With Pigs!"

The November Action Coalition issues some tactical suggestions to its members: "Proper dress: well protected, free to run and move. Leave everything behind that you normally keep in pockets or handbags; but do take a dime with you. . . . At the time of arrest, . . . memorize your arresting pig's badge number. Don't talk with pigs! Answer questions about yourself—name, address, age, occupation, etc. Answer no questions about the Action, what you're charged with, or the Movement. If you've been hurt, insist that you get medical aid. Get this as soon as possible to support later claims of excessive use of force. . . . You are entitled to complete (repeat: complete) one phone call; have a dime with you. . . . Decisions about how to defend ourselves in court legally and politically will have to be reached collectively. Ultimately, the only defense is the success of our Movement. Using the law is only 'first aid'—to keep us going until we win."

"Crimes Against Humanity"

The November Action Coalition rally at noon today on the steps of the M.I.T. Student Center is interrupted by a downpour of rain, and several hundred protesters cross into the main entrance lobby of M.I.T. to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning from an unseasonable electric storm. Soon the group, now estimated at 400, is moving through M.I.T. corridors. Graduate student members of the Science Action Coordinating Committee (S.A.C.C.), not a part of N.A.C., remain outside the President's office (which was locked, the staff having moved elsewhere) and later adjourn to a larger area for conversations with Dr. Wiesner. N.A.C. proceeds to the plaza in front of the Hermann Building, where a "revolutionary tribunal" finding Professors Max F. Millikan, William E. Griffith, Ithiel D. Pool, and Lucian W. Pye, all members of the Center for International Studies, guilty of "crimes against humanity" is reported.

Their oratory finished, the N.A.C. group now rejoins S.A.C.C. in the main buildings; there is a long discussion of tactics and plans in the lobby, during which occupation of the President's Office is proposed and rejected. The protesters finally conclude to march past the Instrumentation Laboratory and return to the Student Center; there is a massive traffic jam but no violence and no disruption of Instrumentation Laboratory work.

The evening in the Student Center is devoted to slides, talks and tactical planning for tomorrow's action against the Instrumentation Laboratory.

Norman Sidney, Chief of M.I.T.'s Campus Patrol, estimates the number of today's "active protesters" at less than 250—with the number of additional on-lookers varying between 100 and 350.

"Common Sense and Restraint"

At the end of the day, President Johnson issues a statement: "I am proud of the common sense, restraint and commitment to the Institute shown by the faculty, students and staff of M.I.T. today."

"Only Such Police Effort as Necessary"

At an M.I.T. meeting this evening, R. Wells Edelman, an undergraduate, reports on city policy in connection with the demonstrators' threat to picket the Instrumentation Laboratories tomorrow morning, as outlined to him by James L. Sullivan, Cambridge City Manager. He points out that, according to state law, picketers must keep moving and must be three feet apart; otherwise they are illegally obstructive. Since the Laboratories are on public streets, the city is responsible for law enforcement. If the law is broken, Cambridge officials will call for only such police effort as is absolutely necessary to break up the picket, i.e. if it can be accomplished without arresting anyone, no one will be arrested. If it takes one arrest, one will be made. The police will not pursue a retreating crowd unless the crowd is physically attacking the police or other persons as it retreats. Only under the authority of President Johnson will the police step in on activities on the M.I.T. grounds, except in the case of general violence.

President Johnson, at a meeting with a group of students and faculty tonight, says that M.I.T. will not call on police at the Instrumentation Laboratories tomorrow. The matter will be left to personnel of the Laboratories and to the police themselves, he says.

November 5

Throughout this week, Paul E. Gray, Associate Provost of M.I.T., is providing "briefing sessions" twice daily in Kresge Auditorium to summarize events and activities. This morning he reports that 20 to 30 per cent of the anti-war protesters who spent last night in the M.I.T. Student Center were Institute students; he says some 350 demonstrators left the building at 6:55 this morning to march to the Instrumentation Laboratory.

"Everyone Here Must Disperse"

At 7:30 this morning Edward J. Medeiros, an administrative assistant, attempts to enter Building 5 of the Instrumentation Laboratory, in which work on the Poseidon missile is concentrated; he is pulled away by pickets of the November Action Coalition along Osborn Street, one block from the M.I.T. campus. Shortly after 8, Philip Cronin, City Solicitor of Cambridge, and Richard Kline, Research Assistant in Chemical Engineering, a member of the Y.A.F. group at M.I.T., are knocked down while trying to enter the building. At 8:15 Cambridge Police Captain Joseph P. Cusak announces that

"everyone here must disperse from the area immediately. Failure to do so will result in arrest." At 8:45 Brock Dew, Assistant Director of the Instrumentation Laboratory, is repulsed twice but on his third effort succeeds in entering Building 5. Shortly afterward, Harold Ferrell, Head of Maintenance at the Building, attempts unsuccessfully to penetrate the picket.

At 9:10 about 200 police from Cambridge and Boston move up Osborn Street in formation; the pickets retreat. Robert Reinhold of the *New York Times* says the police action is "restrained with only brief outbursts of clubbing." Another reporter sees one policeman checked from violent action by his colleagues.

By 9:45 traffic is restored on Osborn Street and Building 5 of the Instrumentation Laboratory is open.

"Expected to Be Released"

At mid-day the M.I.T. Public Relations Office announces that 10 people were treated for injuries sustained at the Instrumentation Laboratory this morning. Three are identified as students, one is listed as a former student, five are listed as "not a student," and one is unidentified. As of noon, seven are described as "released," three "expected to be released."

Allan Fuchs, a former M.I.T. student in biology, is identified as the one person arrested at the Instrumentation Laboratory this morning. He is charged by Cambridge officials with disturbing the peace and unlawful assembly; bail is set at \$500 on each count, and Mr. Fuchs' attorney reports that bail is being arranged.

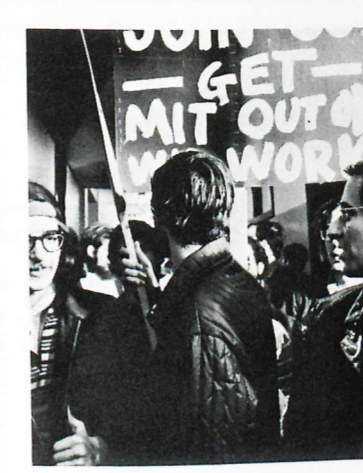
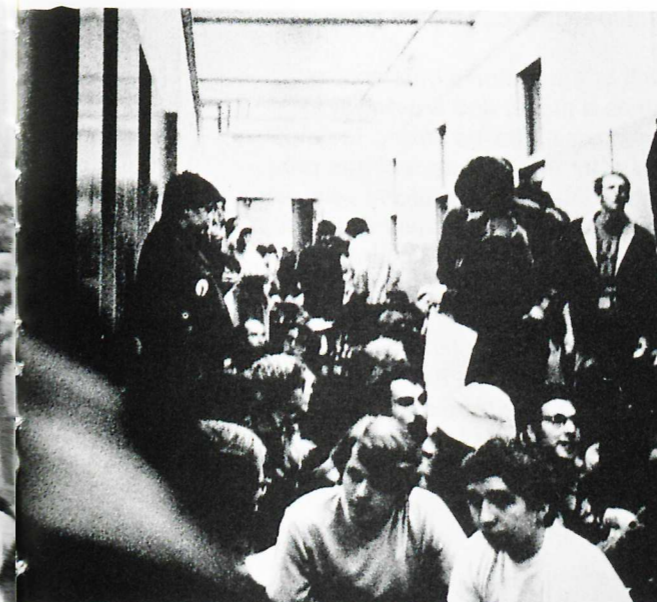
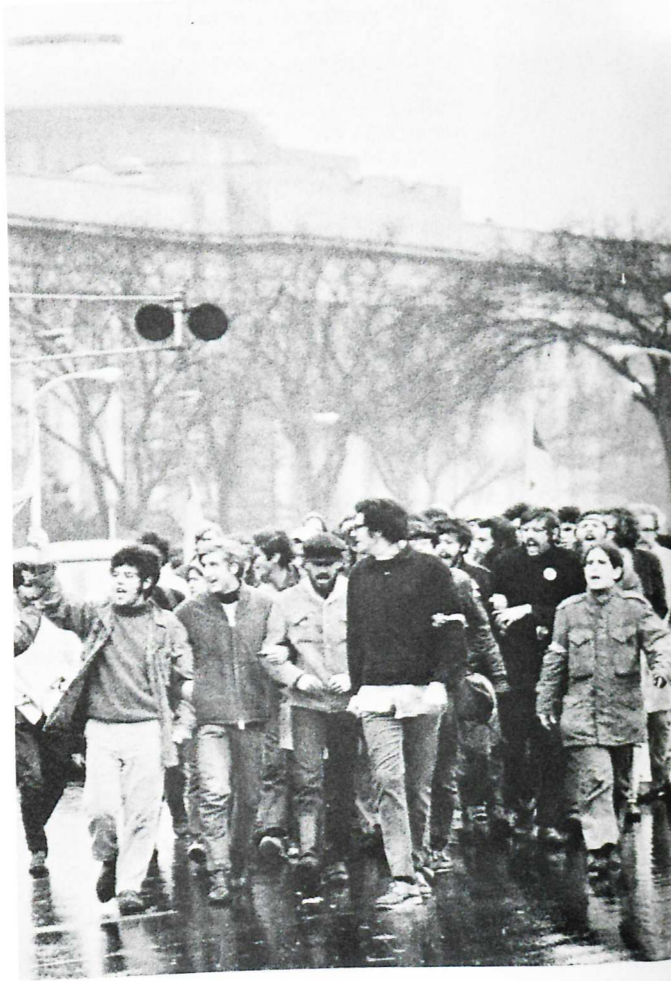
To Re-examine "War-Related Research"

An informal caucus of about 100 members of the M.I.T. faculty gathers in Kresge Auditorium this afternoon. Discussion centers on a proposed petition attacking the M.I.R.V. project: "The coincidence between the first diplomatic measures toward arms limitation and the serious re-examination of war-related research at M.I.T. gives us a special opportunity and responsibility. Let us at least defer all work to improve the accuracy of M.I.R.V. missiles. Let us, by a strong public statement, point out to Americans that such weapons do not add to our security, but undermine it." There is also considerable criticism of the morning's action against the pickets, and the meeting ends with some uncertainty about future action.

"Intelligent Terrestrial Life?"

A poster in the Department of Mechanical Engineering announcing a seminar on "The Possibilities and Probabilities of Finding Intelligent Extraterrestrial Life" is decorated . . . first by a ball-point pen asking, "How about some intelligent terrestrial life?", later by a pessimistic felt marker: "Non-existent." Another S. D. S. poster has been decorated to read: A J SDS = 1/2 ASS.

Events took a harder turn on November 5, when demonstrators marched from the M.I.T. campus to the nearby Instrumentation Laboratories, where they were confronted—and dispersed—by a combined police force ordered by Cambridge officials. November 6 saw some demonstrators in an obstructive "sit-in" outside M.I.T.'s principal administrative offices while others watched movies in the Institute's main lobby (right) and still others canvassed classes and offices "for support." But once more the pressure in the president's corridor stopped just short of the critical point.



"To Prevent Work from Being Done"

Upon returning to the Student Center, the November Action Coalition issues a statement: today's picketing represents "the first time that the Movement has been able physically to prevent work from being done on a major war research project in this country."

November 6

". . . Not Alone in the Revulsion"

This morning the *Boston Globe* asks everyone in Cambridge to put away the bullhorns and listen to reason. Says the *Globe* editorial: ". . . The enlightened administration and the rebelling students are not nearly so far apart as some of the rebels sincerely believe. The *bete noire* at M.I.T. is the war in Vietnam, of course, but, more specifically, war-related research in university laboratories. But if the rebels would quit yelling long enough to listen, they would discover they are not alone in their revulsion. They then might desist from mindless activities which turn away others who also are convinced that university research should never be suborned by the military and that academic freedom goes down the drain when it is."

"Patience, Restraint, and Discipline"

President Johnson pays a brief visit this morning to the Cambridge Tactical Force which engaged in yesterday's action in front of the Instrumentation Laboratory. He tells them "how deeply grateful M.I.T. is for the patience, restraint and professional discipline shown by all of you yesterday morning. When tensions are high, it takes courage to be calm. I am sure the citizens of Cambridge are proud of you. I know we are." He also pays tribute to City Manager Sullivan and other government leaders.

"I Ask You to Permit Passage"

The Science Action Coordinating Committee and November Action Coalition together sponsor a rally in Kresge Auditorium this noon, with speeches about war research and photographs of the auditorium on November 5; the auditorium is nearly filled. Two hours later, as the rally ends, several hundred protesters march across Massachusetts Avenue, some to sit in the corridor outside the President's Office while some remain in the Institute's main rotunda and others (S.A.C.C.) fan out into the M.I.T. corridors and classrooms to engage passersby and classes in conversations. At 3:30 Dr. Wiesner speaks to those members of N.A.C. in the corridor: "I ask you to permit passage in this hallway. Please permit passage. This is a request." Several students and faculty, finding passage impossible, by-pass the corridor to reach their destinations. At 4:30 the protesters leave the corridor to rejoin those watching Vietnamese movies in Building 7, and the entire group returns to the Student Center.

"All Power to the People"

"We won a strong victory today," says an N.A.C. leader to the demonstrators as they return to the Student Center this

evening. N.A.C.'s objectives at M.I.T. were "to end seven imperialist war research projects now going on;" three were stopped on Tuesday, says N.A.C., when M.I.T. closed the Center for International Studies for several hours; one was stopped for part of the day on Wednesday at the Instrumentation Laboratory. "Today we brought our demands to the M.I.T. administration," says N.A.C., "shutting down its offices and making clear that we will continue to fight until our objectives are achieved."

"We are going to get stronger to crush imperialism in this country and all over the world. Victory to the N.L.F.! All power to the people!"

"We All Lose a Little"

Professor Gray, whose twice-daily briefings have made him "Mr. M.I.T." this week, confirms tonight that up to 100 protesters outside the President's Office this afternoon were "at times obstructive." He promises that M.I.T. students who participated will be considered for academic discipline and others may be subjected to legal action.

Professor Gray emphasizes that in the past three days "there has been no substantive disruption of normal functions, classes went on, and the president is alive and well and says he has never administered so hard." But he notes that "confrontation politics is not a win-or-lose game. We all lose a little," he says, "when there is a violent confrontation, and we shall seek to avoid it in the future as we have in the past."

November 7

"Sleeping or Dozing"

For the benefit of reporters who were not present, the M.I.T. Public Relations Office announces this morning that meetings and discussions of the November Action Coalition in the M.I.T. Student Center "began to come to an end about 2 a.m. and the group began to diminish, with the largest last element departing at about 5:30 a.m." By 7 a.m., the Public Relations Office says, 30 men and five women remained "sleeping or dozing" at the Center. Students present during the night said most people left the Student Center "with the intention of going to other campuses in the Greater Boston area" to recruit support for week-end activities in Boston.

". . . Without Large Damage to Its Fabric"

President Johnson tells a special meeting of the faculty this afternoon that he believes "the Institute has come through these dangerous events without large damage to its fabric." Indeed, he says, we have gained by seeing "the form and substance of new patterns of communications" among us. The problem that lies ahead, he says, is to maintain "our cohesiveness without minimizing the wide range of views held in the community." He speaks of the *ad hoc* groups of faculty and students who have been his advisers this week: the students have

"maintained their own identity as students" but have joined effectively in the effort "to identify the on-going interests and values of this university. Seldom has my own personal admiration grown so rapidly in such a short time," he says to the faculty. And, he concludes, "We dare not forget that this week we have had even less time than usual to deal with the real issues, and the sooner we get back to them the better I'll like it."

As if to emphasize the dangers that lie ahead, the faculty is interrupted by members of the N.A.C. who wish to speak. There is a debate, during which the faculty's conscience is enjoined when Salvador E. Luria, Sedgwick Professor of Biology, asks them, "Can we finish this week with this kind of indication that this faculty refuses to speak to students?" Then they refuse by a narrow margin to modify for this meeting the rules on the privileges of non-faculty speakers. The erstwhile demonstrators leave.

Mr. Johnson reports to the faculty that the Court order was extended at M.I.T.'s request "to give us time to evaluate in detail what really happened. If there are actionable cases," he says, "I hope justice can and will be carried out."

"Discussion of the Real Issues"

At the faculty meeting this afternoon Professor Millikan reveals that even while the "disruptive sit-in" was occurring outside the President's Office yesterday the Center for International Studies had "some discussion of the real issues which I thought very encouraging for the future. I would think it unfortunate," he tells his faculty colleagues, "if the oversimplified charges led us to conclude that there was no problem in connection with how the Center operates and how its decisions are made, that there can be no bias from the nature of its funding."

November 11

President Johnson noted today that, though the Court's restraining order of November 3 was in fact temporary, violations would remain subject to possible legal action by the Court. And he said that two review panels, composed of faculty, students and staff, are being established to help M.I.T. officials evaluate complaints "regarding possible unlawful and inappropriate behavior" between November 3 and 7.

The Present as Prologue To a Stronger Future

The ultimate issue is not campus violence, the Vietnamese war, or defense research. It is how, through the maze of present actions and reactions, to preserve the strength of American institutions for the future, said Howard W. Johnson, President M.I.T., in his annual report to members of the M.I.T. Corporation this fall. Tomorrow's opportunities will be strongest, he said, if we can maintain today "a spirit that embraces the will to improve with a blend of wisdom and compassion."

Though M.I.T. has traditionally been "deeply involved with the active concerns of contemporary man," said President Johnson, these concerns now are "swarming in upon us through every door and window"—a fact which represents a "profound change" in the role of the American university.

As a center of intellectual activity and as well of the nation's outstanding youth, the American university is seen "both as a model and a catalyst for social change." Strong commitment to change presupposes strong feelings—and possible conflict, Mr. Johnson warned. "But these same feelings provide the driving force to overcome the inertia of the past—to reform what has lost its usefulness, to renourish the part that gives life to the present, and to invent new ways, new alternatives to cope with the future," President Johnson wrote.

Will M.I.T. be wise enough in an atmosphere of conflict and change to choose the proper course and move along it effectively? Yes, President Johnson assured the Corporation, if we can resolve four issues now before the Institute:

1. Can the campus remain open to learning at a time when polarized views and political tendencies strain the delicate ties of trust and tolerance that form the basis for free and open exchange?
2. Can we establish a system of justice and a sense of fairness that will survive the test of these supercharged times?
3. Can the academic apparatus cope with technological and ideological changes and obsolescence in such a way that the educational process can stay relevant for students and at the same time retain its intellectual integrity? Can it stay supportive for the faculty? Can it stay responsive to the broader needs of our other constituencies?
4. Can the university maintain its vitality and momentum in the face of our present financial crisis?

On the fourth question, President Johnson wrote, "optimism is hard to generate at this particular moment." He cited the pressures of inflation, the threat of new tax legislation, and "the continued erosion in federal support for advanced work." Indeed, he said, "the lack of adequate support for ongoing fields and the unavailability of funds for new and promising areas will . . . approach the level of a national retreat if not soon relieved."

"There is much to be changed in our world," President Johnson concluded, "and we can do much to change . . . both priorities and practice. And we will, as long as the Institute emerges from the present into the future a stronger community, more effective in providing opportunity and more effective in responding to the new challenges."