HARVARD
Magazine

March-April 1979
$2.50

At dawn on April 10th, 1969, police clashed with students in the Harvard Yard. That harsh confrontation marked the end of the boom years for American higher education, and the beginning of a strangely contrasting episode:

THE UNIVERSITY ON TRIAL

page 23

HARVARD
Magazine

March-April 1979
Volume 81, Number 4
University edition

FACING PAGE: Boston's Faneuil Hall Marketplace on the first warm day of spring. Both the place and the people are doing just what Frances Trollope had in mind 150 years ago (see page 50). Photograph by Ellis Herwig.

EDUCATION **The university on trial** 23
A decade after the disruptions of 1969, Harvard seems fully recovered. But the place has changed—and, more than most American universities, it is still being tested. By John T. Bethell.

CONVERSATION **"You don't have England experts. . . . It is rather primitive to have a China expert."** 31
Diane Sherlock talks with Professor John King Fairbank, China expert.

TRAVEL **China once over lightly** 37
The Forbidden-Glimpse-of-Thigh Incident, Revolt at the Heng Shang, The Demon Bus, The Great Tetanus-Shot Brouhaha & Other Adventures on Tour in the Year of the Thaw. By Lansing Lamont.

SPACE **Our imminent colonization of space** 43
Having achieved independence of our environment, we stand on the brink of a new era in evolution. By Louis J. Halle.

VITA **Niccolò Paganini** 48
A brief life of a musical magician (1782-1840), who was suspected of being in league with the Devil, yet played the violin like an angel. By Dr. Myron Schoenfeld.

CITY PLANNING **The angel of Faneuil Hall** 50
A century and a half ago, an Englishwoman of the literary persuasion built a bizarre shopping emporium in downtown Cincinnati. It failed. But today one of the liveliest enterprises in Boston vindicates her ideas. By Helen Heineman.

PHOTOGRAPHY **One view, three viewpoints** 56
Why the latest isn't necessarily the best, in landscapes as in everything else. By Christopher S. Johnson.

READING **Economics: How to enjoy the experience of reading it** 64
A guide to the literature of the dismal science. By Elisabeth Allison.

POETRY By Phyllis Janowitz, Cynthia Huntington, Nicholas Kilmer, James Scully, Robert Clinton, Wendell Berry, and Coleman Barks. Pages 8, 47, 72.

DEPARTMENTS **Essays**: Examinations, Tutenkhamon, *Macbeth* with braces. 7
The Science Watch: Flying the funnel. By William Bennett. 12
Findings: Talkative gorillas, Wendell Phillips, high places. By Dava Sobel. 16
Letters: Bradstreet polemic, racism, ultra walking, lunch. 19

This issue 5 . . . In coming issues 10 . . . Picture credits 20 . . . Classified 60 . . . The Browser 66 . . . Extra Credit 69 . . . Puzzle 70 . . . Any questions? 71

John Harvard's Journal, a review of University and alumni news, includes a report on what happened to the Class of '69. Full table of contents, page 73.

Cover photograph by Richard Avila.

THE UNIVERSITY ON TRIAL

A decade after the disruptions of 1969, Harvard seems fully recovered. But the place has changed—and, more than most universities, it is still being tested.

by John T. Bethell

A crew from United Artists is making a film at Harvard this spring. Called *A Small Circle of Friends*, it traces a triangular love affair through the tumult of the late Sixties. You know, a period piece.

Now that a decent interval has passed, that period is coming back at us with a vengeance. Alfred Kazin writes bitingly about it in his memoir *New York Jew* ("The young en masse suddenly became revolutionaries against all fixed things. They were terrible, outrageous; they were outside of literature; they were even anti-literature. But since they were our children, children of the new middle class, they were perfectly equipped and ready to dynamite us"). Marilyn French writes floridly about it in *The Women's Room* (not worth quoting). On the way are more books, more films, more analytical articles bringing it all back home: the march on Washington, ghetto uprisings, the Tet offensive, acid rock, Clean Gene, the Apollo program, the Democratic Convention riots, the Columbia shutdown, the Harvard bust. As the Seventies give way to the Eighties, we may be up to our hips in the Sixties.

The young will feel somewhat left out. In fact, they already do. "Among students today, there's a romanticism about the Sixties," says Henry Rosovsky, dean of Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. "Listening to their older brothers and sisters, they feel a kind of nostalgia, not unlike what earlier generations may have felt about missing a war. What's Prince Hal's speech on St. Crispin's day? 'And gentlemen in England now a-bed, Shall think themselves accursed they were not here.' "

Long before Harvard hit the headlines, campus turmoil was a media event. But the disruption of Harvard was what everyone appeared to be waiting for. "One institution seemed to have a special immunity," intoned Life magazine in its cover story of April 25, 1969. "Because of its symbolic status, the outcome of Harvard's trial by disorder will influence the rest of the academic world. . . . What happened at Harvard in the spring of 1969 can only be seen as a fall from grace." The story was titled, "ACADEMIC CALM OF CENTURIES BROKEN BY A RAMPAGE."

Readers acquainted with Harvard history could scarcely have swallowed that one. Since 1674, when the College was shut down by a walkout against hapless president Leonard Hoar, the academic calm of centuries had been broken repeatedly by insurrection. Explosives figured in some of them; over the years, hundreds of recalcitrant students were rusticated. Sometimes the upheavals led to significant reforms.

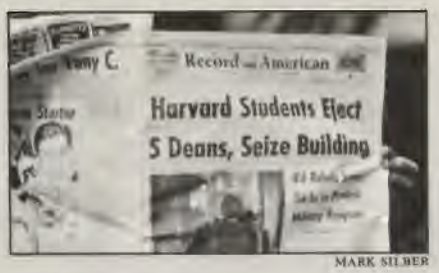
Still, the disruptions of 1969 were of another order of magnitude. Students and outsiders seized a University building, evicting (and "mishandling") several deans. This was unprecedented at Harvard. So was the importation of four hundred state and metropolitan police to remove the demonstrators. Those dramatic events, and the strike that followed, halted the normal work of the University for two weeks. They also halted its forward motion for more than two years—a period when disruption continued, and Harvard's ablest people were preoccupied with the causes of the crisis and initiatives for institutional reform.

Over the decade that separated the Cuban missile crisis and the energy crisis, the word "crisis" underwent successive devaluations. Nonetheless, Harvard had an authentic crisis in 1969. *The American Heritage Dictionary* defines the word in two ways that seem fitting. One is "the point in a story or drama at which hostile forces are in the most tense state of opposition." An apt word for a situation in which students are striking, the faculty is politicized, and external constituencies—alumni, the public, government officials—are increasingly critical of everybody. The other definition involves a sudden pathological change, "either toward improvement or deterioration." As a social organism, the University was temporarily dysfunctional. But like many complex organisms, it had the internal feedback mechanisms it needed to heal itself.

Ten years later, the healing process is history. Harvard is functional. Students still demonstrate (more about that later), but the general level of civility is back where it was in the mid Sixties. In 1969, students worried a lot about the draft and an unjust war; now they worry about grades, graduate schools, and eventual employment. Economics is the most popular field of concentration, and the largest undergraduate organization is the Harvard Republican Club. The faculty is no

PHOTOGRAPH BY JIM HARRISON

THE UNIVERSITY ON TRIAL



MARK SILBER

UPI

The most severe disruption in Harvard history began at noon on April 9th, 1969, when demonstrators seized University Hall. Archie C. Epps III, now dean of students, was one of nine deans ousted; resisting vigorously, he was forcibly ejected (right). A graduate student and two undergraduates were later dismissed for "physically mishandling" deans, and thirteen other students were required to withdraw from Harvard because of their parts in the takeover.

faculty is no longer politicized, and its members are busy with their research and writing. Urged on by Dean Rosovsky, they are trying to think creatively about the content of a college education. Half a dozen new buildings, not equally pleasing to the eye, have expanded Harvard's educational and athletic facilities. In other respects the place looks much as it did in the Sixties.

But whatever appearances may suggest, the crisis of 1969 produced lasting changes. To see them in some sort of sequence, one must go back to mid April of 1969. With the Harvard strike in its second week, the faculty acted on two issues raised by the strikers.* It voted to reduce the Reserve Officers' Training Corps to extracurricular status, effectively terminating the nation's oldest ROTC unit. In the face of implied threats, it also voted to give students a role in creating and directing a department of Afro-American Studies—including faculty hiring and tenure decisions. That was a radical break with tradition. The tally was 251 to 158, altering a stand taken two months earlier, when the faculty had adopted the proposals of a committee chaired by Henry Rosovsky. To the relief of many, the vote brought the strike to an end. Rosovsky—a professor of economics, then four years away from the dean's office—angrily quit the standing committee on Afro-American Studies. "An academic Munich," he wrote later.

The disruptions of that spring set the pattern of student protest in the Seventies. As many of their peers saw it, the militants had scored points for accepting the risks of seizing a building, for becoming victims of police brutality, and for forcing major concessions from the faculty. Their success legitimated a style of protest that was frontal, strident, and anti-intellectual in its forms of expression. The next year brought more disruption at Harvard, including three occupations of a building. Eventually, administrators learned how to prevent an occupation (install stronger locks and have University police in the building when the demonstrators arrive). But heckling, picketing, and chanting were harder to handle. Leaders of Students for a Democratic Society had learned these techniques in the civil-rights movement, and introduced them on campuses in the antidraft demonstrations of 1966. Two pieces of equipment were essential: a duplicating machine for running off leaflets, and a bullhorn. SDS followed Lenin's dictum that mass movements should be organized around simple slogans. "Smash Rotcy, no expansion!" was the cry in 1969. For reasons that English professors may be able to explain, rhymed couplets became the ultimate art form ("Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh! NLF is gonna win!"). Today the focus of protest is South Africa, and University shareholdings in companies doing business there. When the president of Harvard ventures forth, he is sometimes greeted by students chanting, "Derek Bok, you can't hide—we know you're on Vorster's side!" Chanting has an ancient lineage, according to James Q. Wilson, the Henry Lee Shattuck Professor of Government at Harvard. "It combines political utility with emotional catharsis," says Wilson, "and relieves the need for intellectual justification."

One casualty of the 1969 crisis was the loose paternalism that had long been part of the Harvard mystique. Authority was under assault throughout the world, and universities tried to husband what they had. Compared to the fragging of a lieutenant in Vietnam, or even the ejection of a dean from University Hall, such issues as the enforcement of parietal regulations or the coat-and-tie rules in house dining halls seemed embarrassingly trivial. "Old notions of paternalism ended without an argument," says James Q. Wilson, "and without a new theory of institutional legitimacy." At universities everywhere, moral codes became less rigid, cohabitation was unofficially tolerated, and there was more frank talk and less furtiveness.

The crisis centered attention on the way Harvard was managed, and structural changes were made as a result. President Nathan M. Pusey had run a virtual one-man show, supported by one vice president and a very small circle of assistants. During his seventeen years in Massachusetts Hall, Harvard's operating budget had risen from $39 million to $194 million, and its educational role had increased in complexity. Since the late Sixties, Pusey had wanted to yield the president's office to "a person who could stay with it throughout the Seventies." In 1970 he announced that he would take early retirement the following year. After an elaborate search, the Harvard Corporation offered the presidency to Derek Bok, then

*The strikers had eight demands, assembled in haste. They called for the abolition of ROTC, a student voice in selecting an Afro-American Studies faculty, continuation of scholarships for students in ROTC (as well as for students disciplined for protesting ROTC), curbs on Harvard expansion into neighboring communities, rent reductions for Harvard tenants, and amnesty for the occupiers of University Hall. In one way or another, all objectives but the last two were realized.

HARVARD YEARBOOK

TED DULLY/BOSTON GLOBE

Outside the occupied building, students shouted, "Out, out!" Inside, the demonstrators grew in numbers. At dawn the next day, they linked arms as police cleared the building by force. The "bust" took half an hour; 145 Harvard and Radcliffe students were among almost two hundred people arrested for trespassing.

MARK SILBER

in his third year as dean of the Law School. Forty years old, a specialist in arbitration, Bok was regarded as a good crisis manager who had held things together at the Law School. As president he followed the recommendations of a University study committee on governance, and appointed four vice presidents to oversee finance, operations, government and community relations, and alumni affairs and development. Professional competence mattered more to Bok than a Harvard background, for only the last was a Harvard man—Chase N. Peterson '52, M.D. '56, the former dean of admissions for the College. The professionals brought in their own professional staffs (somehow managing to avoid a net increase in the size of the central administration). Bok was equally eclectic in filling the masterships of the thirteen undergraduate houses. Currently there are only two masters who were Harvard or Radcliffe undergraduates themselves.* In response to increasing demands on academic administrators, new deanships were created. When University Hall was occupied in 1969, fourteen deans, associate deans, and assistant deans administered the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Harvard College. That number has doubled. Harvard adapted to changing times by becoming more bureaucratic and professionalized. As it did so, it became more like a big university, and lost whatever affinities it thought it had with the small

*Bok, who graduated from the Law School in 1954, was given an honorary A.B. on becoming president. He would otherwise have been the first president since Charles Chauncy (1654-1672) not to have earned a Harvard baccalaureate degree.

THE UNIVERSITY ON TRIAL

As the demonstrators were removed from University Hall, hundreds of angry students confronted police in Harvard Yard. Once the police left, moderate students did what their counterparts at Columbia had done. They joined the radicals in a coalition and went on strike.

THOMAS B. ITTELSON

liberal-arts colleges—the Beloits, Swarthmores, and Antiochs.

In the aftermath of the crisis, the University's decision-making processes became more open, and communications improved. Faculty members still think of the strike as a time when they met and talked with people from other faculties and departments. In the era of reconstruction that followed, students were placed on new advisory committees touching many areas of University life. Administrators consulted more extensively before making decisions or wiring up a budget. Two new publications, both tabloid weeklies, were started after the strike. One was The Harvard Independent, an undergraduate alternative to The Crimson. The other was the University Gazette, edited in the News Office. Its founding was a tacit admission that, during the crisis, SDS had bested Harvard in paper warfare.

Open processes entailed certain costs. Decision making took longer, and executive responsibility was diluted. Moreover, the crisis left a residue of mistrust. Some faculty members lost confidence in their colleagues. Some would always be wary of students. Administrators, mindful that the files in University Hall had been ransacked by the occupiers, became compulsive about security. They used the telephone more and the memorandum less.

The crisis had other effects. It delayed curricular reform, because for a time the faculty was too politicized to discuss it. It ushered in grade inflation, which is probably here to stay. Finally, there is the fear—though no one can prove it—that it caused some erosion of academic freedom. In 1972, James Q. Wilson wrote an article arguing that

> . . . the list of subjects that cannot be publicly discussed [at Harvard] in a free and open forum has grown steadily. . . . To be specific: a spokesman for South Vietnam, a critic of liberal policies toward the ghettoes, a scientist who claimed that intelligence is largely inherited, and a corporation representative who denied that his firm was morally responsible for the regime of South Africa have all been harassed and in some cases denied forcibly an opportunity to speak. (Commentary, June 1972, page 51)

Seven years later, Wilson is unable to say if the climate has improved. Speakers are rarely harassed nowadays, but controversial ones may be receiving fewer invitations. "Could Henry Kissinger or Arthur Jensen speak at Harvard today?" asks Wilson. "I hear phrases like 'Let's get a more responsible spokesman'—meaning someone more elusive and less doctrinaire. It worries me, deeply."

The revolts of the Sixties marked the end of the boom years for American higher education. There's a musical analogue in the second symphony of Charles Ives, a turn-of-the-century work laced with fragments of Brahms, Wagner, Stephen Foster, hymn tunes, and college songs. In the closing measure, a frenetic reprise of "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" is rudely cut off by a bugle call: reveille. The final notes are an earsplitting tone cluster for full orchestra—a raucous Bronx cheer for the complacencies of the nineteenth century.

The campus eruptions were an equally discordant salute to the assumptions and pieties of an era. For a quarter of a century, America had banked on higher education to see it through postwar crises. Cold War anxieties spurred government support for university-based research in the sciences. Population growth presaged an acute need for teachers, as well as specialists in health care, technology, and social services. Graduate education responded, increasing eightfold between 1940 and 1970. When Russia launched *Sputnik I* in the fall of 1957, America was shocked into new concern for its capacity in science and general learning, and the resources of society were committed to higher education as never before.

Institutions invested billions in new facilities. They attracted scholars from all over the world. Especially in the sciences, fields of knowledge divided and subdivided. Programs in area studies were devised for Russia, East Asia, the Middle East. America discovered the plight of its inner cities, and appropriations for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare rose to equal those for the Department of Defense. Sociology joined the hard sciences in the rush for grants. Universities and colleges found themselves rolling in government dough: $1.9 billion in 1963, $3 billion in 1965, $4.2 billion in 1967.*

"It was corrupting," says Charles P. Whitlock, associate dean of Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences. "Some senior professors withdrew from undergraduate teaching to do more research. The best graduate students earned more as research assistants than as teaching fellows. The cuts in funding were not wholly bad."

Federal spending for higher education peaked in 1967, then fell two percent per year thereafter. With escalation in Vietnam came galloping inflation: costs rose faster than income. The

*In constant dollars, pegged to 1972.

On the fifth day of the strike, thousands trooped to a mass meeting at Harvard Stadium. Under the gavel of Lance Buhl, a 29-year-old history instructor, they followed strict rules of order, rejecting an indefinite extension of the strike by a vote of 2,860 to 2,848. A recount showed the same slim margin: 2,971 to 2,955. "Typical Harvard," said someone. The following week, the strike ended.

MARK SILBER

TED POLUMBAUM/LIFE

DANIEL ALEXANDER/HARVARD YEARBOOK

stock market faltered, and institutional endowments declined in real value. As the population curve sagged, the bottom dropped out of the market for Ph.D.'s.

"The boom is over," wrote sociologist David Riesman in 1968. Some educational leaders remained euphoric. But Riesman was right: an academic counterpart of the 1929 crash was at hand.

Marginal educational institutions were already failing. Over the next two years, almost sixty would close. Even the strongest would be pressed, including Harvard. In 1970 the Pusey administration ran its first deficit. "The crunch is coming," treasurer George F. Bennett told the Board of Overseers. Graduate education was cut back, and the Bok administration installed a new team of money managers. By the end of the decade, Harvard would be able to show a small surplus for at least three consecutive years. Institutions with smaller endowments—and that meant all of them—would not be so lucky. Yale would face a $4-million deficit. As enrollments dropped, fiscal illness for others became terminal. Between 1969 and 1977, thirty public and 119 private universities closed down.

The population trend would have caused a shakeout sooner or later, but the Vietnam war brought it on in a hurry. The war not only fostered inflation, but divided the nation and its campuses and raised hard questions about the uses of technology, learning, and power. Universities had helped America out of previous crises, but now they were deep in a crisis of their own. Their troubles were not just financial; their image was tarnished. No longer were they accepted unquestioningly as a crowning achievement of society.

THE UNIVERSITY ON TRIAL

The Sixties left their imprint in unforgettable vignettes. Harvard's last-second score in a 29-29 tie with Yale . . . Arms and the man at Cornell . . . Jerry Rubin's Yippie salute to the warfare state . . . President Nathan Pusey's cold shoulder to a senior who offered him a Harvard strike armband.

DICK RAPHAEL/SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

Their own students were condemning them as seats of elitism, avenues to wealth and power, purveyors of weapons technology to the military-industrial complex. Students were disillusioned by what they perceived as the divorce of learning from morality and action. "The best and the brightest"—at least some of them—stood revealed as foolish, unprincipled, violent, vulgar. There was scant consolation to be found in philosophy, which had sold out to mathematical logic, or in religious ethics, which had merged with pop liberalism.

Within and without their walls, universities still had plenty of loyal adherents. Many others, however, now looked at them with the baleful glare one reserves for an exploding cigar. Colleges were advised to get tough with students, to grade with rigor, to get back to basics. Curricular reform was the trend of the Seventies.

If activist students were no longer a dominant group, they were still on hand, pounding away at hiring and investment policies, testing not only an institution's principles of conduct, but the resolution of its faculty and administrators.

The editors of Life missed the point. It was higher education, not just Harvard, that had fallen from grace. In an era of shrinking resources, shifting educational goals, and reformist pressure from students, the American university was on trial.

Harvard was lucky, of course. It had a billion-dollar endowment. Academically, it remained at the top of the charts. Applications continued to rise.

But inflation is a powerful adversary. During the Seventies, the real market value of Harvard's endowment decreased by one-third. In other respects, Harvard was still on trial because so much was expected of it.

Its efforts at curricular reform were closely watched, and the faculty was well aware of it. "Harvard, for better or for worse, is highly regarded and widely imitated," an uneasy chemistry professor remarked in a debate last spring. "I question whether this institution should now announce that, in our judgment, science occupies a minor, perhaps only a trivial, place in the intellectual heritage of mankind."

No one expects more of Harvard than its students. "They pretend to be down on Harvard, but they actually hold it to the highest standards of perfect citizenry," says David Riesman. "Their demands are transcendent, ultramontane. Harvard must not pollute, or impinge on Cambridge, or own stock in the wrong corporations."

Riesman, who is Henry Ford II Professor of Social Sciences, has taught at Harvard since 1958. "Students here have a special problem," he says. "Wanting the privileges of Harvard, while wanting to believe they're not there. Harvard, with its fear of its own elitism, is unique—probably the last outpost of the Sixties."

In 1960, the admissions office set out to diversify the socioeconomic and geographic mix of Harvard College. The move had populist implications, and made Harvard a less traditional place, but it also made students more conscious of their elite status. They were winners, alas, in a highly competitive runoff, against odds of seven to one. As anyone would, they developed coping devices. One was facetious arrogance ("Harvard reject!" as a term of opprobrium, or a chorus of "We may be losing, but you go to Brown!" on an off day at the Stadium). Another device was sackcloth and ashes (wearing T-shirt and sandals to Commencement). A third was the way of the Jacobin—being "down on Harvard."

Like many of us, the Jacobins exaggerate Harvard's power. Some of them currently argue that the end of apartheid would be hastened if Harvard would sell its shares in companies operating in South Africa. Ten years ago, a similar argument held that if Harvard abolished ROTC, other institutions would follow, and the war machine would seize up. Harvard dropped ROTC—but the number of units actually rose, from 268 in 1969 to a high of 294 in 1973.

Illusory? Sure. The Sixties were a decade of illusion. Remember the utopian rhetoric of the Camelot years? The light at the end of the tunnel? The prominence of "dream" in the oratory of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy? "The Impossible Dream," from a smash Broadway musical based on *Don Quixote*? The "Impossible Dream" Red Sox, winning the 1967 pennant in the ninth inning of a playoff game? Or the Impossible Tie, when the 1968 Harvard football team scored sixteen points in the last 42 seconds to chasten Yale, 29-29? We knew what that meant. *Virtutis fortuna comes*. Harvard could do anything.

But 1968 was a very strange year. Who would have thought Lyndon Johnson would abdicate, chastened by the antiwar movement? Then came the murders of King and Kennedy, one month apart. At Columbia that spring, eight hundred people occupied five buildings and held a dean hostage.

UPI

RICK STAFFORD

Mayor Daley's police ran riot at the Democratic Convention, and in November Richard Nixon won the White House, promising law and order.

More campuses boiled over. "There was a sense that things were out of control in the country," recalled Franklin L. Ford, McLean Professor of Ancient and Modern History, who was dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences from 1962 to 1970. "Harvard couldn't hope to avoid it. The only question was, what could you hope to save?"

Some remained sanguine. Archibald Cox, Harvard's Samuel Williston Professor of Law, served on an investigative panel after the Columbia crisis. It wouldn't happen at Harvard, Cox told colleagues, because the residential and teaching arrangements were so different. But the following spring, Harvard had what Columbia faculty members would call "the off-Broadway production of the Varsity Show."*

Alan Heimert was then in his first year as master of Eliot House. "To the students coming back in the fall, everyone over 25 looked like Mayor Daley," says Heimert, who is Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature. "I had a sense that something would happen. I just didn't know what the issue would be." In six months, Heimert would have his hands full with King Collins, a Columbia dropout bent on the disruption of Harvard. With some followers, Collins did unspeakable things in two Eliot House suites, and then disrobed in its laundry room. Heimert managed to throw him out.

That was prologue. At noon on the ninth of April, seventy SDS members invaded University Hall, evicted nine deans, and renamed it "Che Guevara Hall." By midnight, four hundred people had joined them. Half were still there when police came at dawn.

Counseling with Professor Cox, President Pusey had hoped to avoid a Columbia. There the administration had waited a week before calling police, and the crisis had gone from bad to worse. Pusey, just back from a meeting of university presidents in Chicago, was resolved to "hold the line." In consultation with his council of deans, he had already determined that if a "sensitive" building were taken, police would be summoned promptly.

Armed with battering rams, shields, and riot sticks, the police cleared University Hall in half an hour. Fifty people, including five policemen, required medical aid. Two hundred were arrested for trespassing and removed from Harvard Yard in buses. As the buses left, masses of students screamed at the police; at intervals the police would charge and send them stampeding. "Even those of us who had been through combat had never seen anything like that," remembers Charles Whitlock, then assistant to the president for civic and government relations. When the police left, moderate students who had opposed the SDS occupation did what their Columbia counterparts had done. They joined the radicals in a coalition, and struck.

The strike's stated issues involved ROTC, Harvard expansion, and Afro-American Studies. But the strike itself was a backfire against the utopian optimism of the earlier Sixties.

"There was dissatisfaction with the tone, tenor, and implications of a Har-

*After it happened at Harvard, Cox would become the administration's crisis manager.

vard education," says Alan Heimert. "Students rejected the smugness of the Kennedy years, when you went to Harvard to be dean of the country."

Viewed through the magic casements of Camelot, Vietnam and the inner cities had a preternatural reality—a reality that was heightened by the draft, and the guilt and anxiety it created.

"The unhappiest students at Harvard were stewing in their own juices," says L. Fred Jewett, now dean of admissions for the College. "Normally they'd have taken a leave of absence, but they didn't because of the draft."

The spontaneity of the Harvard uprising brought emotional release, and a sense of impending revolution. Underlying it was the convergence of four social forces that would come to a head in the Seventies. These were the peace movement, black consciousness, women's rights, and the counterculture.

The last seemed the most pervasive. Its anti-authoritarian premises had already been seen in experimentation with loosely structured, student-taught, self-graded courses, and in free-form programs of independent study. Its communitarian doctrines had shaped new attitudes toward drugs and living arrangements, and were reflected in the Harvard strike's emphasis on "community," or the lack of it.

To the countercultural spirit, Nathan Pusey stood for everything bad. When he referred in his annual report to "Walter Mittys of the left . . . [who] play at being revolutionaries," students thought he was trivializing their feelings of political commitment. His statement after the University Hall occupation ("Can anyone believe that the Harvard SDS demands are made seriously? . . .") was regarded as patronizing and distant. Faculty members, preoccupied with research and consulting, were also perceived as distant. Says James Q. Wilson, "In his report on the Harvard house system, George Homans [professor of sociology] observed that students expected professors to be perfect parents—what their own parents should have been, but were not. Now the parents weren't even coming to the dinner table."

In many of its aspects, the Harvard strike was a classic family quarrel. The president was the authoritarian father; his children mattered to him, but so did his principles. The "children" were typically self-absorbed, looking for models, testing boundaries, hurt at not being taken in earnest, ready for rites of passage. The faculty was the dithering mother, pained that police should be called for a family quarrel, less concerned with consistent principles than with holding the family together.

At variance on almost everything else, the faculty was determined to resist the factionalism that had wracked so many other universities. That it succeeded was probably due to the emergence of "liberal" and "moderate" caucuses. "They provided a structure," says Samuel P. Huntington, Frank G. Thomson Professor of Government. "They permitted negotiation. Each side acknowledged the need for compromise."

The faculty met almost weekly that spring. Listening to its debates was sometimes "like wading through streams of lukewarm chewing gum," in the words of Robert L. Wolff, Coolidge Professor of History. There was high drama on April 22, when the faculty met at the Loeb theater to vote on the Afro-American Studies issue. Militant black students had implied that they might take disruptive action. Some were waiting outside, and one had a meat cleaver. Fresh in mind were news photographs of black students leaving a building at Cornell, armed with rifles and bandoliers. How such imagery affected the voting can only be guessed at. But the creation of a separate department of Afro-American Studies, with students in policy-making roles, brought the strike to its end.*

Harvard was spared the outbreaks of student violence that occurred at Cornell and Columbia, and the abiding schisms that divided faculties elsewhere. (At Cornell, factions were and are known as "fighters" and "appeasers." At San Francisco State, "we still measure each other by exactly where we were and what we did in the winter of 1969," says Eric Solomon, assistant to the president.) The spring term skidded to an end. At Commencement, an impromptu speaker from SDS denounced the occasion as an atrocity, and led a walkout that attracted thirty seniors. At a "counter-Commencement" outside Memorial Hall, they were saluted by Hilary Putnam, professor of philosophy and faculty adviser to SDS. "Harvard now has the largest SDS chapter in the country," said Professor Putnam. "Cambridge may be the first place to have a true worker-student alliance."

*The vote did not open the door for student takeovers in other departments, as some had feared. The Afro-American Studies department itself remains one of Harvard's smallest, with twelve concentrators last year.

Ten years later, Hilary Putnam is chairman of the philosophy department. A gentle, smiling man in rimless glasses, he describes his politics as "quite conservative," his activities in 1969 as "rather neurotic." His students in Philosophy 154 (Nonscientific Knowledge) would be surprised to know that he had once joined the Progressive Labor Party, an SDS wing with Maoist sympathies, and made speeches accusing the Harvard faculty of complicity in genocidal warfare. He agrees that self-deception was rife in those days. "The argument in P.L.," he recalls, "was whether the American revolution would come in five years or ten."

Professor Putnam's metamorphosis is a paradigm. Nothing is as we thought. Was Pirandello alive and well and writing the script for the Sixties? How could appearances have so little to do with ultimate realities?

The superior wisdom of youth was exposed as a myth. Ten years ago, Jerry Rubin and Mario Savio were quoted as sources of advanced insight into our social condition. Where are they now?

The worker-student alliance fizzled. SDS moved off campuses to convert the factories, and by 1972 it was finished. Organized, blue-collar members of the "exploited working class" turned out to be relatively affluent, patriotic, even reactionary. Radicals were revealed as upper-middle-class graduates of the best private schools. Politics was the bohemianism of their time.

Instead of a change in the system, we got a revolution in fashion and taste. Until the Sixties, cultural patterns were set by the richest and most socially prominent. Now patterns in dress, dance, music, and speech are often set at the other end of the social scale.

Marx was right. Economic conditions make the difference. The prosperity of the Sixties led to talk and action of one kind. Inflation, the job market, and the novel place of America in the changing international scene make for different talk and action today. In the unquiet passage between two eras, many myths and some crockery were broken. We are still picking up the pieces. As we face new trials in the Eighties, we will need all the honesty, sense, and self-knowledge we can muster. Universities can probably still help. □

John T. Bethell is editor of Harvard Magazine (see page 5). Factual and photographic research for this article was contributed by Helen Ingerson, Jean Martin, and Michael Downing.