

Turmoil Escalates, More Civil Disobedience

UMASS TURMOIL OVER MILITARY RESEARCH ESCALATES **Ralph Reed**

RUMOURS OF MORE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WEDNESDAY, MAY 3 1989

Amherst, Ma...Student outrage over military research continues to escalate despite the arrest of 68 people in two consecutive civil disobedience actions. Mel King, former Boston mayoral candidate, Mass. state representative and founder of the Rainbow Coalition, will be a UMass Wednesday May 3, 1989 at 1:00 at the Student Union steps to support this rapidly growing movement. Also on that day the movement will hold its next major protest, in which hundreds of people will participate and potentially commit a third civil disobedience action.

On Monday April 24, 1989 over 100 students and supporters occupied Memorial Hall to protest military research. The building commemorates those who were killed as a result of U.S. military intervention abroad. It was chosen to prevent a future war from being added. Despite repeated threats of arrest and expulsion 39 people remained through the night. The next day outside supporters stormed police barricades to bring in desperately needed food. 15 of them broke through to join the occupants inside; the university responded by mustering state police. The supporters outside swelled to more than 600 when additional state troops equipped with riot gear, police dogs and a helicopter, were called in at 4:30 p.m., bringing the police force to more than 200. Ultimately 34 occupiers and 27 outside supporters were arrested. Of this total of 61 arrested, 40 chose to remain in jail overnight to further their protest.

The Memorial Hall occupation followed the arrest of seven UMass students who occupied the Microwave Remote Sensing Laboratory (MIRSL) on April 19, in another act of civil disobedience against military research. MIRSL conducts Department of Defense research oriented to the development of "Brilliant Munitions" and "Fire and Forget Systems." Dismissing an offer to discuss the issue from the protestors within Memorial Hall, Jeanne Hopkins, University spokesperson, replied that "the University does not respond to student demands."

Students are organizing a political defense, arguing that civil disobedience is necessary to get military research off the campus. This is part of a larger struggle to promote open education for peace, not war. As the arrested filed into Northampton Court on Wednesday April 26 at 10:00 a.m. they chanted, "organize and mobilize, this is only the beginning."

PLEASE NOTE:

A press conference has been scheduled for Tuesday May 2nd, 1989 at 10:00 a.m. in "Cutback City" (on the south side of the UMass Student Union building). For further information call Joe Rubin or John Leavitt (413) 545 5969; Andrew Sirulnik (413) 567 3223 and Loyda Guzman (413) 546 7168.

May 1, 1989.

Chapter 7

Takeover! Graduate Research Center

**TAKE CONTROL OF YOUR
EDUCATION!**

RALLY! RALLY! RALLY!

150 STUDENTS HAVE OCCUPIED OFFICES
IN THE GRADUATE RESEARCH CENTER

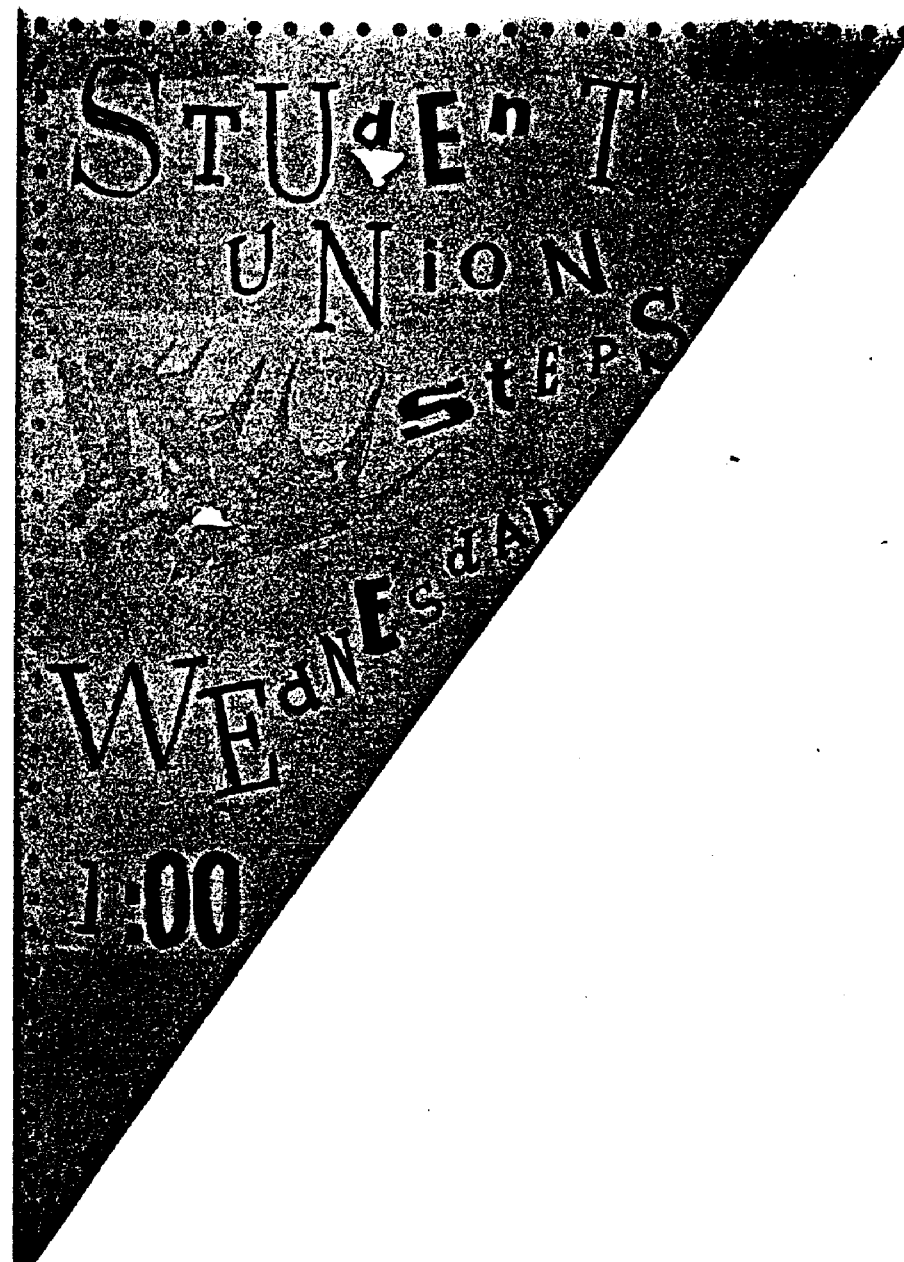
THEY NEED OUR SUPPORT!

WHERE:

GRADUATE RESEARCH CENTER LOW-RISE

WHEN: TONITE 5/3 9PM

MONEY FOR TUITION... & AT
NOT FOR AMMUNITION!!! 5-4 NOON



Military research, budget cuts and student empowerment

Rally Leading to the Graduate Research Center Takeover

Randy L. Viscio

May 3, 1989. This is the opening speech at a rally at the UMass Student Union Building. Shortly after the rally many participants proceeded to the Graduate Research Center and occupied offices on the second floor.

As long as there has been public access to higher education and as long as there has been military influence in higher education, there has been a conflict. That conflict is between the priorities of the military corporate entrepreneurs and the priorities of students.

Students have traditionally considered their right to dissent, and therefore to question, to be the primary concern of their education. Students want an education which enhances analysis of positive social change. Further, they want a curriculum and an institution which allows them to pursue that change. This is not the situation that exists at present at the university. In fact the opposite is true.

Students have no say in the direction of the university. When the Board of Regents makes policy it does not get voted on by the students. When the High Technology Council wants to change the direction of the educational system in the state they do not come to the students and discuss it. When Chancellor Duffey states, "I do not negotiate student demands with students," what he is really saying to the students is "Fuck off! You ain't shit!"

This very basic conflict is nothing that we have created. It existed before we ever got here. We have merely exposed the conflict and more students are becoming aware of it. This conflict is not unique to the U.S.A. either.

Students all over the world face the very same conflict in a variety of forms. Most recently the students of China, North and South Korea, Central and South America, Palestine, Poland and South Africa have taken up the struggle. We students here in the U.S.A. are in solidarity with them and we are learning from them. Just as students worldwide face the same basic conflict, our movement to defend human priorities is a worldwide movement.

We are struggling to maintain our universities, all over the world, open to dissent, open to all classes of people and free from military coercion. In making this struggle we can begin to change our world society. We can change the negative policies and actions of all the governments.

What we, as students, want is an end to the perverted priorities of the university and we will struggle to bring that change about.

We want the pseudo authority to recognize that we are in control and that, if forced, we will implement our basic rights as students to close down the universities until such a time as we decide that the problems are being solved.

We want this disgusting policy of military conscription to end and we will end it since we are now in control. The administrations can lend a hand or they can get out of our way. The choice is theirs.



Ralph Reed is arrested at GRC takeover
Photo: J. Danziger

Love, Politics and Escape From the U.S. Air Force

Ralph Reed

I guess I want to tell you about the period in my life when I flirted with fame, when power stirred from its uneasy slumber and threatened to crash into my bedroom. It was a time when I hoped for glory. But I fell apart, and my lover, upon whose shoulders the burden of our acts was squarely placed, proved to be the one who was strong and heroic.

I joined the Air Force two days after the Christmas of 1983, a fucked-up 19 year old looking for a way out. The four years before this last desperate act were filled with expulsions: from prep school, my father's house, hick high school number one, my mother's house, hick high school number two, drug rehab, my mother's house again, and finally my dad's house. I was sick of not belonging. The military appealed to me as a purgatory, a place where I could cleanse my soul before society applied its own cleansers in the form of state homes and prisons. Something big out there didn't like me, and I needed to act fast before my life got totally trashed.

I was relieved to have the Air Force make my decisions for me. They flew me from my small town home in Maine to Texas for basic training, where I found their attempts at brainwashing me superficial, if a bit surreal. Many of my comrades seemed to succumb which frightened and alienated me. But the consequences of reacting in my usual way to this fear and alienation were all too apparent, and so my behavior was modified, even if my internal world continued to spin contrary to the dictates of flag and country. I'd played the games of prison-like institutions before, only I'd always chosen to lose; this time the stakes were higher: I played to survive.

After a month of basic, I was shipped off to technical school in Biloxi, Mississippi, where I spent five alcohol-sodden weeks learning how to be a computer operator. The Air Force started to paint me as undesirable, thanks to several "alcohol-related incidents" (the

bureaucracy's term for diving off the stage at the Airmen's Club and telling the Security Police that I was a communist terrorist for Castro). A psychiatrist told my commander that I was "extremely intelligent, nonconformist, covert, and narcissistic," but not "alcoholic," so I managed to push on to my first and last assignment in the "real" Air Force--Space Command's 1000th Satellite Operations Group at Offutt Air Force Base in Omaha, Nebraska.

My life shattered as I arrived in Omaha. On a 30 hour bus ride from Biloxi I had bought 15 hits of LSD and a Talking Heads tape from a musician who claimed to be Ken Kesey's nephew. The acid overpowered me and a couple of others who took it, causing us to be searched by a sheriff when we arrived in Omaha. I ate the 12 remaining hits, in order to avoid a term at Fort Leavenworth (the Federal Penitentiary for military personnel), and holed-up in a fleabag hotel downtown, having the deepest and longest psychotic break of my life.

I made it out to the Air Force Base a day late, broke and feeling broken. I was introduced to the computer room and the people who worked there, and proceeded to drink two month's pay in the next month. One night, during my ritual of post-club puking, I had somewhat of an awakening, and found myself the next day going through withdrawal at an AA meeting. The following two months saw me get my act together enough to participate in the real drama I want to tell you about, the story of my relationship with Jesus (not his real name) and its dissolution.

When I was two months sober, I fell in love with Jesus. I met him in the barracks one night as I was shooting pool and hoping someone would notice me. He seemed appreciative, and somehow magically other, like me. I liked the acceptance I saw in his eyes, and he made me feel like I could be myself. I had always been "straight," but when he told me he was gay I told him that I might like to be too. We started making love in an Air Force housing development, at a house that Jesus was watching for a friend. The Los Angeles Olympics were on TV, and we fought over whether the patriotism was a good thing. Jesus was a Mexican-American from Texas, who was becoming conservative after a liberal past. I agreed with him on so many levels, I couldn't understand why he should be reactionary in this one regard. Later I would comprehend, when he shared the awful secret of his work.

After a couple of weeks Jesus' friend returned, so we moved our affair into the barracks. Jesus' roommate had moved off base, but even so, we had to be careful we weren't discovered. Sometimes a knock came, and I would leap up naked and dart behind the shower curtain before Jesus opened the door to receive his guest. The bigger, potentially dangerous world conflicted with our intimate, secret life, so we shut it out as best as we could, trying to create a space where we could be safe.

One night, while we made the darkness our own as we lay together on our tiny bed, Jesus told me about his job. He began by saying he shouldn't tell me, that it was "top secret," but that he felt he must share it with me. He told me that he was a spy, a "Spanish cryptologic linguist," who flew over Central America and the Caribbean eavesdropping. He said that he felt that he was betraying his people by doing it, but that he thought perhaps the job was necessary. In any case he was trapped; they wanted him to do his job.

As I listened to him I felt a sense of drama, as if our private world was growing larger. Part of me felt moral outrage, horror; another part felt complicit and hypocritical; and the most significant part of me felt overwhelmingly worried--the feeling you get when a child walks too close to the edge of a cliff. We both seemed like children to me, stuck in adult roles that threatened to make us into monsters.

I began to feel like a "good Nazi," surrounded by "bad Nazis" in a Nazi system. I was worse than them, I thought, because I was aware that our acts were in an important sense criminal, yet did nothing. Jesus, though his hands were bloodier than mine, was forced to rationalize it away in order to live with himself. I found my own way of explaining things and protecting us: I tried to find out the faults of the world that made us sinners. We moved out of the barracks to an apartment in Omaha. I started to get magazines. My choices were progressively more radical, as I subscribed to every offer that came to our place in the mail. We joined a natural food co-op, and ended up associated with a group of radicals we could be "out" with. Jesus tried to hide his job from everyone, while I kept blurting it out. I wanted to connect the facts of our lives; Jesus needed to keep them separate.

We dreamed of the day we would both be out of the Air Force. We would move to Maine, where I had brought Jesus a couple of times to meet my family and experience my favorite habitats. There we would help each other finish college and become teachers. We would live close to the land, have many colorful friends, and be free.

Though our lives seemed to be growing more open and pleasant, there was a dark side that kept asserting itself. At least two nights a week, Jesus would don his flight suit at 2 o'clock in the morning, and carry his gear off to the base. He would attend a 3 o'clock briefing, then at dawn the plane would head South. He would return in the evening smelling of sweat and looking exhausted. He had enlisted for six years, and had three to go. He was in danger of being transferred to Panama, where there were ground stations and another air base. If he tried to cross-train into another job, we would probably be separated when he was assigned overseas. While the Air Force tried to keep married couples together, they hadn't a policy for keeping fags happy.

Worse, Jesus was breaking down under the stress of his job. He asked me which bone he should break in order to be taken off "flight status." One night we went to an all night drug store to purchase a syrup that causes vomiting. He packed it in his lunch and drank some as his crew was getting briefed. His gambit worked, but he came home at 4 o'clock in the morning feeling ill. Nightmares began haunting him, and he would wake up screaming and shaking almost every night.

The fear was killing me too. I hated for him to leave and while he was gone I worried about him. What if his plane crashed, or was shot down? The United States was preparing for war with Nicaragua, and I thought that a "Sandinista provocation" like the shooting down of an American plane over Honduran soil was perfect pretext for invasion. I started trying to get Jesus to read accounts of the Contra War, but he couldn't stand to and would become infuriated with me for badgering him. He said that his work harmed nobody because they were incompetent and by the time the tapes were translated the battles had moved elsewhere.

But then he met Antonio. Some of our friends were Sanctuary workers and knew Jesus spoke Spanish. They wished him to translate for a Salvadoran refugee who they'd bailed out of a federal holding pen

in Louisiana. Jesus agreed to translate, and they became friends. Antonio told Jesus about El Salvador; about the 14 family members and friends who had been killed by death squads; and about the bombs and the terror. Jesus kept his job a secret from Antonio, but he was forced to confront the dreadful reality of his work.

Soon after meeting Antonio, Jesus was given a short term assignment to Panama. This we both had wanted to avoid. Separation for more than a few days had always been nearly unbearable, and months could pass while Jesus struggled to maintain his sanity in Panama without my support. I grew angry, and adamant that he must find a way out of his orders. But we found no way to escape the inexorable dictates of power, and so Jesus left, alone and afraid.

While in Panama, he decided to stop doing his job, one way or another. Upon his return, we started looking for the best way for him to wash his hands of it, without ending up in jail. I had become embittered by the stress and wanted him to go for the Air Force's jugular by a public disavowal. The Central American anti-intervention movement had succeeded in raising U.S. public consciousness about Washington's military policy to the extent that many people including those in the military no longer believed the rationale of the government. Contragate was in full swing and the time seemed right for attack. The battle over 'the hearts and minds' had become a great concern of the Pentagon, and they seemed certain to lose if Jesus went public with his job. Having prepared for the past four years to invade Nicaragua with regular U.S. troops, the military establishment was trying to gracefully withdraw from this posture with the unwanted scrutiny of the media and the Congress.

In Panama, Jesus had discovered that the radio data they caught in the air had been transmitted back to the Contras on the ground in 'real time' (at the same time). Because this was operating procedure during the time of the Boland Amendment (a congressional act limiting the role of the United States government in supporting the Contras) the Air Force was directly aiding the Contras in defiance of the law. In order to protect themselves, the 'spin control' of the intelligence bureaucracies on Contragate held that the law had been broken by a rogue element in the National Security Council. If Jesus were to go public with his job, he would help establish that in actuality the entire

foreign policy apparatus of the United States government was complicit in breaking the law. It seemed to me that Jesus had a unique opportunity to confront the United States Empire with its own contradictions. Rather than meekly submit to its orders, he could condemn it, redeem himself and perhaps help the very people he had been hurting.

After the story of Jesus' refusal to continue in his job was leaked in the *U.S. Guardian* (New York) by his lawyers, all hell exploded. The *Omaha World Herald* received a tip from a local peace activist and the next day ran the story on the front page. In this story, Jesus was inaccurately quoted as saying that he had been flying military reconnaissance in direct support of the contras and the Salvadoran Guard during the period of the Boland Amendment. The military responded by going after Jesus' family, calling his Master Sergeant brother on to the carpet in order to find out what Jesus was up to. Meanwhile the San Antonio paper hounded his parents.

Jesus was horrified but also furious at his family being brought into the fray and decided to hold a press conference. His lawyers and the entire Omaha peace community held a rally in support of Jesus, and the next day at the Omaha Press Club, he appeared before the national media: CBS, AP, the Boston Globe, UPI and the local broadcast and print media. Jesus accused the airforce of intimidating him through his family while remaining close-mouthed about anything that could be construed as classified. However his lawyers were explicit about his role and said that Jesus would testify in further detail before a Congressional committee. That evening the local TV stations ran his testimony as the top story and CBS evening news counterpointed Oliver North's testimony with Jesus' story.

After this media onslaught, Jesus was a hero in the peace community but despised on the airforce base. While his conscientious objector status was being decided within the military judicial system; three separate investigations were launched by his military command at the Pentagon, the Air Force Office of Special Investigations (AFOSI), and most frighteningly, at the National Security Agency (NSA). NSA, the little-known agency, had become an integral part of the U.S intelligence bureaucracy, serving as the electronically oriented analog of the CIA. They had been the chief end users of the information

collected by Jesus' spy flights. Their desire to remain hidden was the key that could free Jesus from his servitude.

Meanwhile, within Jesus' unit and Offutt Air Force Base, the military community was galvanized with the urge to persecute and ultimately prosecute him. "Treason" and "espionage" were his crimes, according to the majority popular and elite opinion. However, a considerable minority of those on the ground, particularly those who had a direct role in military intervention in the Third World (for instance, Vietnamese, Farsi and Arabic linguists along with their Spanish counterparts), covertly expressed their support and admiration for Jesus' decision and action. Some expressed the view that they would do the same thing if it weren't for the economic needs of their families. In my unit many of the airmen followed Jesus' case avidly, regarding him as a courageous local celebrity. Despite agonizing interrogations and sickening suspense, our plan worked. Though Jesus' command wanted to burn him at the stake for treason, the prudence of NSA and Pentagon's elite caused Jesus to be set free with an honorable discharge.

As Jesus confronted the Air Force, I deserted him. I had fallen in love with a woman. The pressure had proven too much for me, and I wished to escape it. Jesus had to endure the most difficult struggle of his life without me. I left him in his time of ultimate need, because I couldn't handle it, because my heart had gravitated toward another. He saw me fleeing my gayness for a socially sanctified domesticity, destroying the possibility of his dreams at the time he needed them most. I am only a human, weak and fragile, yet I pretended to be strong enough to carry us both. He seemed entirely dependent upon me, yet he proved heroic.

Ralph Reed received an honorable discharge from the U.S. Air Force in December 1987. He is currently living in Wendell, Massachusetts and pursuing a BA with a major in Social Thought and Political Theory at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst.

Hampshire College Faculty Against DOD Funding of Research

Social Science Faculty, Hampshire College

On 4 May 1989 the School of Social Science of Hampshire College resolved to support the student demand that all Department of Defense research be terminated immediately on the Five College campuses.

International Committee Against Racism
UMass/Boston Chapter

UMass/Boston Students Support Amherst Protests!

Last week, 61 protestors were arrested at UMass/Amherst, opposing Defense Department funded research on the campus. This follows the shutdown of Howard University by 2000 students in March, opposing the appointment of racist Lee Atwater to the Board of Trustees. In April, students at Wayne State University forced the administration to expand the Black Studies program. Last week, students at the City College of New York shut down their main campus in response to the proposed doubling of their tuition. Now the strike is spreading to other campuses in the CUNY system.

These actions are bright signs for students and workers, and the fight against racism, war plans and cutbacks. The Miami and Tampa rebellions inspired workers and students across the country to new levels of militancy. The Howard students showed that huge masses of students could be won to taking action, and that faculty and campus workers would be supportive.

That these and other actions have taken place at public institutions (with the exception of Howard) is no accident. Workers and students at working-class schools are facing sweeping cutbacks and attacks on our standard of living. Many of us fit both roles, as working students. We are hit with high housing costs, wage cuts, lack of decent healthcare, tuition hikes and course cutbacks. What is the rulers' response? Pump up the racism to keep us divided so that we can't fight back, and continue the war-preparations.

Military research is nothing new to the college campuses. The U.S. rulers have always operated the universities and colleges - both public and private - in their own interests. It is members of their class - the ruling class - who sit on the Boards of Directors and Boards of Trustees at all colleges. They use the colleges as training centers on how to run their profit system, as spawning ground for their ideology, and as research institutions for their corporations and military.

Many of these universities, like MIT, are over 50% military funded! The last week's protest made clear, public institutions, like UMass/Amherst are no strangers to military research either. A lot of this research is purely paper-writing and does not involve weapon systems or military high-tech, yet it is still just as dangerous. During the Vietnam War, the Army research lab at Univ. of Wisconsin/Madison did the mathematical calculations required for bombing runs in Vietnam. The students' response? They burned the building down! At Harvard, researchers devised the Operation Phoenix plan, which was a program to force Vietnamese into concentration camps.

The universities' non-military research is no safer either. Their public policy institutes produce volumes on how to kick people off welfare, how to deny healthcare, how to raise taxes on working people. Their centers for "diplomacy" from Tufts to UMass/Amherst do the CIA's research for them.

However, the most dangerous product of the universities' non-military research has been the development of racist science. From the "facial-angle" theories at Harvard years ago to Sociobiology (genetic racial inferiority, etc.) today, the university administrations are responsible for the spreading of racist ideology.

The administrators always, as Chancellor Duffy did last week, invoke the claim of "academic freedom" as a defense for their military and racist research. Yet, they violate this claim every time they fire a leftist professor, deny tenure, or cutback a Black Studies department. We oppose the teaching of racist "science". We oppose military "research". We believe that there is a direct connection between ideas and actions. The universities produce the research and ideology; the Klan, the racist cops, the politicians and the military carry out the actions. Let's cut it off at the source.

Furthermore, students in the UMass system and public education throughout Massachusetts are facing widespread cutbacks, fee hikes, and another tuition hike. We need to unite students - in Mass. and everywhere - with workers and the middle class, in order to fight back. Students and workers need to support actions like we have seen at UMass/Amherst, Howard, Wayne State and CCNY. Let's build for a state-wide student strike.

We need to build multi-racial unity, international unity, and fight sexism. Only if we are divided can we be defeated. The International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) builds this unity - on campuses, in neighborhoods and the workplace. This April, we organized an east coast Anti-Racist Campus Conference in Boston. We organize workers and students to fight back. We work with the revolutionary communist Progressive Labor Party, based on our shared views of racism and how this system works. We have chapters in Boston, Worcester, Connecticut, and in many places around the world. New chapters are on the way in the 5 colleges area. Support the Amherst protestors - no expulsions! Build student unity! Build a Worker-Student Alliance! Join InCAR.

InCAR • PO Box 836 • Boston, Massachusetts 02120 • 617/277-8265



Tamara Kupfer at the GRC





An Arrestee at the GRC
 Photograph by Jason Talerma



Diana Ditmore gets arrested



police beat students photo: Danziger



police violence photo Danziger



the grc 'riot' after arrests photo Danziger



Riot in the streets at the GRC
Photograph by Jason Danzinger

Re: Deployment of Amherst Police at peaceful protests on the
University of Massachusetts Campus

We, the undersigned citizens of Amherst, are outraged over the recent massive deployment of Amherst police personnel to help silence otherwise peaceful protests on the campus of the public University of Massachusetts. This use of police force to stifle dissent is, in our opinion, a greater threat to public health and safety than that alleged to have been caused by the protesters. We resolutely oppose this use of our police officers when no immediate threat to public safety is involved and urge you to initiate a public investigation of the role of the Amherst Police in this and future incidents concerning protests of this kind.

The Amherst Police Chief has said there is no written policy on coming to the aid of the University Police Department in public safety emergencies. Apparently there are also no criteria for what constitutes a public safety emergency, no guidelines for police conduct once at the scene nor numbers of officers to be sent. For example, this massive deployment on campus where no immediate threat to the public safety was present led to the arrests (in some cases, brutal) of over 100 protestors. In stark contrast, however, no arrests were made two years ago during the infamous "downtown brawl", where North Pleasant Street AND the Central Fire Station were blocked for hours by drunken revelers smashing bottles and windows in a demonstrated threat to public safety. What is Town policy in this regard?

How, with 21 to 25 members of Amherst Police Department on campus, are those left behind able to cover emergencies in the rest of the Town? The University of Massachusetts police force is larger than the Town's and with the marshalled forces of the

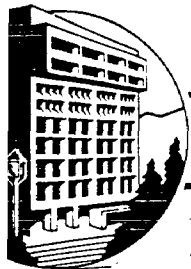
If anything, history has shown that the massive use of riot police methods at such protests only provokes an escalation of the conflict. This was again borne out by what happened during the arrests last Wednesday as reported by the newspapers and others. We feel that if the Town is going to participate in this misguided use of police force, it must have some say as to when, how, how many and who will pay.

1. What was the nature of the immediate threat to public safety alleged that required the massive use of Amherst Police?
2. What criteria were used as to when to send how many Amherst Police onto campus?
3. Who authorized the use of riot gear and methods against the protestors? Did Amherst Police have a say in this or any other decision during their presence at the protest?
4. What guidelines for police conduct were followed in:
 - arresting and arraigning the protestors?
 - blocking-off North Pleasant?
 - escorting the bus full of arrested protestors?
 - locking the buildings where the sit-ins took place?
5. Why weren't Amherst Police wearing identification?

We sincerely hope that you will review our request promptly as part of the effort to diffuse the tensions and the conflict that have spilled over from the use of Amherst Police to quell campus protests. Thank you for your consideration.

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-(over)



Campus Center Hotel

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL FORM

University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

Tel #: (413-549-6000)
FAX #: (413-545-1210)

TO Guardian, NY

FROM Ralph Reed, People for a Socially
Responsible
University

PAGE 1 OF 2 PAGES (including this cover page)

DATE 5-9-89

NOTE: Please notify sender at once if all pages are not received.

Special to The Guardian:

(Amherst, MA) Student activism against military research at the University of Massachusetts campus continued with the May 3 takeover of the Vice-chancellor for Research's office in the Graduate Research Center. The protestors redefined their demands from those of the April 25 occupation of Memorial Hall, at which 61 people were arrested, to a single demand: that all D.O.D.-funded research stop.

University administrators responded by suspending the student activists under a "state of emergency" clause in the student code of conduct, assessing a \$30,000 fine for costs incurred, and calling in over 200 state, local, and university police to arrest the 35 protestors.

As protestors were carried to a waiting bus, over five hundred supporters pressed police barricades in an attempt to block the bus' departure. State police wielding nightsticks cleared a path, injuring several people as the bus tried to build speed. Supporters on foot and bicycle darted in and out of the bus' path as those arrested inside chanted "No Kent State" on the occasion of the anniversary of that tragedy.

The day-long occupation followed a well-attended rally at which Mel King, founder of the Rainbow Coalition and former Boston mayoral candidate, spoke in support of the activists. Students from M.I.T. and UMass-Boston also joined the rally, occupation and arrests. Further messages of solidarity were received including a statement of support from the vice-president of Nicaragua, relayed by UMass students currently in that country.

The protest centered on last year's Department of Defense provision of \$13 million for military research on campus. The researchers assist in the development of nerve gas, infectious biological warfare agents, radar target detection, brilliant munitions, SDI research, computer-guided battlefield management, and automated tanks.

Many of the students arrested thus far in the three civil disobedience actions identified themselves to the authorities as "Abbie Hoffman." Towards preserving his legacy and in solidarity with student movements in New York City, New Mexico and around the globe, UMass students call upon other North American students to investigate and rise up against the Pentagon's presence in the university system.

Throughout the uprisings at UMass-Amherst protestors have maintained their spirits. While being carried away to jail they've chanted "mobilize and occupy, this is only the beginning." Starting Monday, May 8, 6 students undertook a hunger strike. Others are taking shifts fasting in support of the strikers. They say their strike will continue until the threat of a \$30,000 fine levied against those arrested last week is dropped, and all university disciplinary actions are revoked. Additionally, they request that the University administration enter negotiations with students and the community about the ethical concerns surrounding research on their campus.

JACOB KALTENBACH

FOR INFORMATION: Ilse Svendsen at (413) 549-4600 ext. 361
or (508) 544-8847

Notes on observations of arrests on May 4, 1989

Dan Clawson

The following notes are by Dan Clawson. My home is 43 Munroe Street, Northampton MA 01060, 413-586-6235. My office is Social and Demographic Research Center (Department of Sociology), Machmer W-36C, University of Massachusetts, Amherst MA 01003, 413-545-3416 (or 3417 or 3418).

The notes concern my observations of the arrests of students inside the Graduate Research Center on Thursday May 4, 1989, and the movement of those students by bus to somewhere else (I did not personally observe the final or interim destinations). My initial notes were typed up that same day, and are now being put into sentences on May 6, 1989.

On the basis of my observations, all behavior inside the building was exemplary, by both police and demonstrators. Everyone remained friendly, polite, and careful of the health and safety of others. The only exception that I saw was one police officer, after loading a student in the bus (the final stage of the process), walked back into the building and showed me (and others) his hand, asking us to note the damage, blood around the fingernail on his left hand's little finger. I did so note at 12:45, though the officer was unwilling or unable to stop so I could not get his badge number.

Outside the building, however, it was a very different story. A great many students and police had assembled around the bus that was to be used to transport the students to their arraignments. Police appeared to come from three separate contingents: the university, the town of Amherst, and state police.

The job of the police was to clear a way for the bus to move out, and they did so effectively. However, in doing so they were not overly concerned about the rights of students assembled there. I did not see any students resort to violence, though it is possible that some student did so, as the initial chaotic scene made it difficult to see everything that was happening.

I did see many police initiate violence. Their actions, if engaged in by an ordinary citizen in ordinary circumstances, would undoubtedly be judged criminal, and would be considered felonies. Not being a lawyer, I do not know whether it is legal for the police to do what they did.

No police officer that I saw at any time held a club by one end and swung it. Police seemed to be very careful to keep both their hands on their clubs, one at each end. This was universal practice as far as I could see, and it clearly helped to limit the extent of the violence and injuries.

Police regularly initiated contact with students, which was presumably their job if students could not be persuaded to move. They were very far from using the minimal force necessary. Police used their clubs aggressively on a regular basis, pushing students hard who were trying to move back, but were unable to do so because of the press of other students.

As the bus attempted to pull out, and did pull out, students in front of it slowed down, some perhaps intentionally and many simply because that's where they were standing and they were now in the way, or they wanted to be in on the action but had no real intention of interfering with the police. I felt there were both sorts of people there, but often had a hard time making even a tentative decision on an instant's notice. Presumably the police had the same problems.

My notes in these first few minutes are not fully adequate to identifying individual incidents. On several occasions I would see rough behavior, sometimes very rough actions, and would rush to begin recording it. Before I could do so I would see something else developing just a few feet ahead, and would switch to observing it, without having time to record the badge numbers or other identifying characteristics of the people involved. I made this switch from incident to incident intentionally. No incident I saw involved blood or serious injuries to a student,



Control
Photograph by Jason Talerman

so in each case I would think: there's no blood here, but look at that next incident ten feet ahead, it looks like it could lead to blood, I must observe it in case.

It seemed important that I move from incident to incident in this way because the situation appeared very volatile, and almost all the other observers were trapped behind the bus. I made it a priority to run to the front and to always be at the front, at the point where the police-student contact was being made. The only other observer I saw doing so was Bruce Wilcox of the UMass Press. Because I am a fairly good runner, and because I was prepared to work hard to run around students to stay at the front, I remained observing the point of police-student contact throughout the entire run until the bus had gone by all the students who were trying to keep up with it (at the end of Commonwealth Avenue). Even during the first five minutes I think I was one of only a handful of official observers; by the time we reached Commonwealth Avenue I believe I may have been the only one; by the time we were past Whitmore I am fairly sure I was the only observer.

In several cases police used their sticks and/or hands to push and shove people out of the way, even in when people were getting out of the way about as quickly as they could. The police would run up to initiate contact, to shove someone from behind.

Some of these people were arrested; the people so arrested were handled far more roughly than the people inside had been -- there's really no comparison. Moreover, the arrests were not done by normal procedures, nor did they follow what I would think were necessary legal procedures (though again I do not know what is considered legal). Police suddenly joined in any action initiated by some other police officer without knowing what had started it or what the issue was. I did not see the beginning of the arrest incident, but I saw three other police join the proceedings, even they did not know what the cause was. The person was then grabbed and handled very roughly, including being forced, almost thrown onto the bus. No police officer had stopped to write down what had happened or why, nor to collect any identifying information about the student. While I can easily believe that the police will make up some explanation of what happened and why, I don't believe they will know who they arrested or why, nor will the officers

who joined the affray later have any idea that the first police officer began the contact.

I should also note that I don't believe there was much/any videotaping of this section of the arrest procedures. If a videotape of this did exist it would show a great many incidents of clear and unequivocal police misbehavior.

I believe the bus began to move out around 12:50. I began writing times down for incidents, but not until the first few minutes were over. The entire process was completed by 1:15 p.m. Early in the proceedings there was a rough arrest. I have written down helmet #11 right under that, but I don't actually know whether helmet #11 was involved in that arrest or another incident of roughness/brutality at just about that time. Given the helmet numbers in use, helmet 11 is apparently a UMass police officer.

At 12:52 to 12:54 helmet #36 was involved in two different incidents where UMass police cleared people out with excessive force; these did not result in any arrests; people were shoved and hurt on the sides. In the second case I observed the incident from beginning to end, because I was trying to observe the person to get their helmet number, but as I was doing so they were involved in a second such incident. I could see no reason for the person to be touched, they were moving down the road at a good pace, and #36 shoved them hard pushing them off the street, then bending down over them when they were knocked to the ground. I thought #36 was going to hit them with their club, but they did not do so, though they did hold the club in their hands and push down on the person. The person was not arrested.

I should also note that one reason I refer only to helmet numbers is that many of the police were not wearing badges, and I would be prepared to testify to this because I inspected them with great care looking for any additional means of identification to allow for the possibility that helmets are not permanently assigned.

I also observed incidents involving helmet #1531, presumably a state police officer, at about the same time. (anyway, after my note for 12:54 and before my note for 12:55) Another incident involved helmet #30 or #38 -- my handwriting is a wild scrawl in trying to write this down; the 3 is clearly the first digit but I can't tell what the second digit is.

By far the clearest incident involved #2205 at 1:03. a state police officer wearing helmet 2205 caught someone from the blind side and used two hands on his stick to knock the person off his feet. I was the only official observer anywhere near at the time, though several of the students who were near cried out "POLICE BRUTALITY!", "Get his name", and other such remarks.

Helmet #2205 was worn by a white male, about six feet high, about 175 pounds (i.e., slightly taller than me and fairly thin), and probably about 28 years old, though I am never any good at judging age, and the helmet makes it more difficult to observe him.

This incident took place around Hampshire House. In any case it was before the flashing yellow light where University Drive comes in, because at that point I said to the officer: "Excuse, me sir, but is 2205 your badge number as well as your helmet number?" The officer looked directly at me but did not reply, though he had clearly heard the question.

I should also note that soon after the bus and the UMass police car that preceded it had made the turn on to Commonwealth Avenue, as there were perhaps 30 students still running ahead of the car, but far fewer than the several hundred who were there at the beginning, the police car made the following announcement (though I could not tell who within the car was making the announcement, it came out loud and clear over some sort of loudspeaker arrangement):

"KEEP MOVING. IF YOU STOP I WILL NOT."

The student who heard this announcement understood it immediately, and there were several instantaneous cries of "That's murder." "You'll kill them."

* PEOPLE for a SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE UNIVERSITY UNITE!!! *

PEOPLE for a SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE UNIVERSITY ARE DEMANDING ACADEMIC FREEDOM. The increasing dependance of U.Mass. on D.O.D. funding is transforming U.Mass. into a Weapons Research Facility and the students and faculty into corps of twenty thousand weapons researchers. There is no money for non-military weapons research, even in the sciences. Funds must be redirected from the department of defense to private and public agencies that are not charged solely with developing the technology of death.

NERVE GAS, GERM WARFARE, MISSILE GUIDANCE SYSTEMS RESEARCH, ETC. People for a Socially Responsible University do not make this stuff up. This is research is really going on on this campus, and P.S.R.U. has proof in the form of PENTAGON WORK UNIT SUMMARIES obtained through the freedom of information act.

THE POSSIBILITY OF FINDING PEACEFUL USES BEING DERIVED FROM THE RESULTS OF THIS WAR RESEARCH IS IRRELEVANT. The Mansfield Amendment REQUIRES that all Department of Defense money spent that is spent on research at colleges and universities have SPECIFIC MILITARY APPLICATIONS. It is absurd to try to justify twelve steps backwards with the hope of taking one step forward.

PEOPLE for a SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE UNIVERSITY are COMMITTED TO NON-VIOLENCE and RESPECT. Not withstanding the protestors who, after being deprived food for twenty hours, "ired" a secretary in Samuel Contie's office by eating a box of donuts, the People for a Socially Responsible University are respectful of the people who work in the offices that are occupied. Having to leave work early is really no big deal compared to global implications of armed, artificially intelligent "autonomous land vehicles," or binary biological weapons.

THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION IS DIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CLOSING OF THE G.R.C. It is in the best interest of the U.Mass. administration to divide and polarize the student body against P.S.R.U., in order to preserve the status quo of weapons research. Without any legitimate logistical or public safety justification, the administration ordered that the Physical Science Library be closed and repeatedly denied the protestor's requests to open the building for student use.

PEOPLE for a SOCIALLY RESPONSIBLE UNIVERSITY ARE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE the implementation of their demands, but not the content. Death research has no place here. In their ongoing efforts to divide and control students, the administration has made some cursory offers to discuss P.S.R.U.'s demands only with a small group of leaders. Fundamentally, the P.S.R.U. make up a collective organization that strives to respect and empower every person equally--they do not want to appoint leaders.

END THE WAR END THE WAR END THE WAR END THE WAR END THE WAR NOW!!

Chapter 8

Turning Point