

Statement by

Alexander Heard
Chancellor of Vanderbilt University

on completion of his mission as
Special Advisor to the President

July 23, 1970

I am issuing this statement pursuant to a suggestion made by the President to me on July 17 that a summary be released of the activities undertaken by my associates and me, along with the texts of the principal memoranda we have sent to him commenting on campus conditions. I am also, with his agreement, including a brief outline of subjects on which recommendations were made, but not the details of the proposals.

On May 8, the President asked that I serve as Special Advisor to help keep him "fully and currently informed on the thinking of the academic community and especially of the young." I was "to help present to this Administration the views and sentiments of the campuses around the country." The President later also asked that I recommend ways he might in the future keep better advised on campus affairs. These two requests constituted my assignment. It was not my function to investigate individual campuses nor to make recommendations to anyone other than the President or his representatives.

On the urging of academic colleagues, who had proposed to the President that he make such an appointment, I accepted the assignment as an adviser on campus affairs to the President (not as his representative to the campuses). The President asked that the assignment run through the summer. I accepted it until June 30. The Danforth Foundation of St. Louis, Missouri, has covered the expenses of the professional staff, through a grant to Vanderbilt University. Salaries of this staff have been paid by their regular employers.

Shortly after going to the White House, I was joined by James E. Cheek, President of Howard University, who since that time has had the same access to the President as I. Working with us in later weeks were John Gaventa, senior student and president of the student body, Vanderbilt University; Miss Gail Gordon, White House summer intern, senior student, Smith College; Charles V. Kidd, Director, Council on Federal Relations, Association of American Universities; and John Searle, Professor of Philosophy, University of California, Berkeley. Supporting clerical and stenographic staff was provided by the White House.

The usefulness of our mission can doubtless best be appraised after a period of time. Even so, observers are likely to measure what they see and don't see against

their own hopes and standards, without knowledge of what might or might not have occurred otherwise. Moreover, events themselves are sometimes the best instructor.

From the beginning, the President and many of his staff have made us welcome and have shown hospitality to the purposes of our novel mission. Dr. Cheek and I have had more access to the President than I anticipated when I came, and all we could reasonably expect. I have spent over eleven hours with him in sessions of various kinds. We have submitted memoranda totalling some 50 single-space pages, not including exhibits, and he gave evidence of reading them. Our exposure to other high officials of the government has been extensive (as detailed below). The President asked me in Cabinet meeting to circulate as "command reading" to all members of the Cabinet the memorandum of June 19 that is quoted in full below. He asked members of the Cabinet to arrange for my colleagues and me to meet with their senior staff in each department, which we did to the extent time permitted. We have been an "embassy" within the White House, courteously accorded opportunities enjoyed by regular staff. In a sense, we have had the privileges of the White House accompanied only by the responsibilities we imposed on ourselves.

I will not attempt to predict what action the President will take on particular proposals made to him or the extent to which we may have affected his general thinking. Nor do I think it useful to estimate what influence Dr. Cheek and I may have had on actions taken by him or others in the recent past. He or I, or both of us, recommended, for example, that the President sign the voting-rights bill, that the tax status of segregated institutions be re-examined by the Internal Revenue Service, that the Internal Revenue Service and the Justice Department work with the American Council of Education to develop guidelines for permissible political activity on campuses, that the Justice Department intervene in Jackson during the tense weekend of the burials of the youths killed at Jackson State College, that the President meet on two occasions with college and university chief executive officers, that he confer privately with students when he visited Knoxville, Tennessee, in May, and that a national commission be created to inquire into the Kent State and Jackson State tragedies.

In some cases, of which these are illustrations, the actions taken accorded with the recommendations. We were pleased with these responses. On other occasions, proposals were made which, for one reason or another, were not followed -- for example, my suggestion made immediately after arriving in Washington that the President confer with

the Special Committee on Campus Tensions of the American Council on Education which had issued an informative report in April, a copy of which I sent to the President.

The President made clear to us his serious concern over campus developments. He has displayed openness and a searching interest in what we had to say about campus beliefs, attitudes and behaviors, the conditions that underlie them, and their significance for public policy and national leadership. I judge the mission to have been worthwhile. If I had known on May 8 what I know now, I would still willingly have undertaken the assignment.

The Commission on Campus Unrest, created under the Chairmanship of Governor Scranton following the tragedies at Kent State University and Jackson State College has, unlike my own mission, a comprehensive charge, including "to identify the principal causes of campus violence, particularly in the specific occurrences of this spring." I believe its work can be a compatible follow-on of my mission. It is equipped to address the phenomena of campus violence in depth and on a broad front. At the President's request, we have made our files available to the Scranton Commission. President Cheek is himself a member of the Commission. Another of our group, John Gaventa, has become a member of its staff. We will forward to the

Scranton Commission future communications sent to my office and will continue to assist in any way possible.

Attached are three addenda to this release: (1) a summary of activities; (2) copies of written commentaries on campus conditions given to the President in recent weeks; and (3) an outline of topics on which recommendations were made to the President.

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I. Summary of Activities

A. Input from Campuses

We met with groups from approximately 35 campuses which came to Washington following May 8, along with a large number of individuals familiar with campus conditions. We received several hundred pieces of unsolicited mail conveying views and suggestions, some 40 resolutions and statements from colleges and other organizations, numerous analyses, reports, speeches, and other commentary, and a range of petitions and recommendations.

We held a one-day conference in Washington to discuss ways to improve government-campus communications, and another one-day conference in Washington to discuss ways to expand governmental and political opportunities for young people. Both sessions were attended by individuals invited from in and out of government, in and out of Washington.

Through the U.S. Office of Education a questionnaire was circulated to a sample of 240 campuses across the country soliciting an account of events in May on each of those campuses. Returns were received from 193.

At my suggestion, the American Council on Education commissioned Louis Harris & Associates to survey opinion among a representative sample of students on four-year campuses during the latter part of May. The results of that poll are currently being made public by Harris.

We met with a substantial number of representatives of educational organizations located in Washington, including the President and Directors of the American Council on Education.

B. Consultations in Washington

We have conferred with numerous individuals in and out of government. These individuals included the then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mr. Finch; the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Hardin; the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Hickel; the Attorney General, Mr. Mitchell; the then Secretary of Labor, Mr. Shultz; and the leadership in the Congress, Senators Mansfield and Scott, Speaker McCormack and Representative Ford.

We conferred from time to time with other Members of Congress, in both parties in both houses, and with officials such as the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Mr. Thrower; the Director of the National Science Foundation, Mr. McElroy; the Director of the Selective Service System, Mr. Tarr; and Elliot Richardson, first as Under Secretary of State and later as Secretary of HEW. Various meetings were held with personnel from the Department of State, HEW, the Peace Corps, the Teacher Corps, the Civil Service Commission, the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, the White House Conferences on Children and Youth, etc.

I had an extended meeting with the Attorney General and senior members of his staff in the Department of Justice. Colleagues joined me for meetings with the Secretary and senior staff in the Departments of Agriculture and Commerce. At the invitation of John Ehrlichman, Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs, on June 11 we also spoke to the "Sub-Cabinet," Presidential appointees below the level of Secretary, meeting in the Department of State Auditorium. We also met with FICE, the Federal Interagency Committee on Education, on June 22.

C. White House Consultations

I met with the President in nine sessions related to our mission. President Cheek has been with me in the seven sessions held since he joined our mission. In each instance, one or more of the President's staff was also present. Two meetings concerned with campus unrest were set up independently, one on May 21 with representatives of the American Bar Association (35 minutes) and one on June 8 with eight young White House staff members who had visited college campuses (75 minutes). Two of the sessions were with presidents of colleges and universities invited to confer with Mr. Nixon, one on May 20 of presidents from predominantly black colleges (125 minutes) and one on June 22 of presidents from a wider range of institutions (90 minutes). Four private sessions were held with the

President, on May 12 (90 minutes), May 28 (45 minutes), July 7 (120 minutes), and July 17 (25 minutes). On June 24, I appeared before the Cabinet in session with the President (65 minutes).

At the invitation of the Vice President, I met with him and two of his staff for a 90-minute conference. I met later with his staff for a conference of similar length. At my request, the Vice President received a group of faculty from the University of Minnesota. I was present when he met them for slightly over two hours.

My associates and I have conferred frequently with members of the White House staff, doing business at one time or another with two dozen or so of them. My most significant relationships were with Messrs. Ehrlichman, Finch, Garment, Kissinger, and Moynihan. At Mr. Ehrlichman's request, President Cheek and I met on June 2 with his Domestic Affairs staff. Throughout, we also exchanged memoranda with members of the White House staff.

We have not submitted a formal, written "report" to the President. Our written communications with him have consisted of several memoranda. Three principal memoranda were submitted prior to appointments with him as briefing papers. It is from those four memoranda that the following pages come. In reading them, please remember

that they were prepared at different times and for different purposes. They were designed to serve as basis for discussion, not as comprehensive treatments of a topic. Since part of my mission was to present information on campus views and sentiments, the observations often simply report attitudes held by others. On occasion, my own conclusions or those of my associates are given. At other times, the "we" means all of us in the country. The context will usually make clear who is referred to.

Please pay special attention to the "Notes to Press" that have been added to the text for the purposes of this release.

(Note to Press: Please note particularly the characteristics here portrayed are not offered as describing all college students. The student population is itself divided and often intensely polarized. The qualities described below reveal, according to our analyses, present and developing characteristics of a large and important segment of students.)

1. The meaning of May: a bid shove leftward.

The Cambodian action (followed by the Jackson State and Kent State killings) sharply intensified feelings among students already protesting the war and showing disaffection with society generally. More important, Cambodia provoked and exposed anti-war and societal discontents among large numbers of students of normally moderate and conservative political viewpoints.

II. Commentaries

A.

(Note to Press: Following is given the text of a memorandum from me to the President dated June 19. The memorandum reports certain student attitudes and was given to the President prior to a meeting with a group of college and university presidents held on June 22, to serve as a basis for questions he might explore with them.)

Seven million students enrolled in colleges and universities are on the threshold of adult citizenship. Millions more in high school and junior high school soon will be. What they believe, how they behave, will inevitably shape decisively future life in the United States--and our domestic tranquility this coming September.

We do not believe that our national government really understands that a national crisis confronts us. The condition cannot be conceived as a temporary, aberrational outburst by the young, or simply as a "campus crisis" or a "student crisis." Because of its immediate and potential consequences, the condition we face must be viewed as a national emergency, to be addressed with the sense of urgency and openness of mind required by national emergencies. The characteristics of evolving student thought--the characteristics, not their origins, are treated here--help illuminate the condition we face.

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1. The meaning of May: a big shove Leftward.

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Before Cambodia, many of us on the campuses believed that deep disaffection afflicted only a small minority of students. Now we conclude that May triggered a vast pre-existing charge of pentup frustration and dissatisfaction.

A poll conducted for the American Council on Education at the end of May provides significant empirical evidence of widespread anti-war feeling, concern over domestic failures, disaffection with governmental leaders, and loss of confidence in the basic institutions of our society. The poll sampled opinion on a representative variety of 50 four-year campuses, seeking thus to reach a representative sample of students. (It was conducted by Louis Harris and Associates, the only organization found able to make the poll on short notice. George Gallup was unable to do so. The full report of the poll will be provided to your staff on completion.)

Of those questioned, 48 percent said they had actually taken part in anti-war protests in May; 62 percent believed themselves more politically active than a year ago; 76 percent said they feel basic changes in the system will be necessary to improve the quality of life in America.

(Note to Press: Many of our conversations and written communications were private ones with students or others who did not claim to speak for their institutions. Dr. Cheek and I have not made any individual institution the subject of any commentary, report, or recommendation to the President. Where institutions were cited for illustrative purposes as in two places in the following paragraph, and the information came from private sources, the illustrations have been omitted in this release. In each case where this is done, it is so indicated.)

The testimony of delegations visiting Washington that we interviewed (from about 30 campuses across the country) and the many hundreds of letters received strongly support these conclusions. Students from agricultural schools (for example, ...) and engineering schools (for example, ...) said they had previously been politically inactive, but were now among the protesters. Some student sentiment favoring U. S. policies in Southeast Asia is visible, but the general effect of May was one of radicalizing as well as politicizing student opinion across the board.

One senses that from the best of our young comes the worst of despair. The University of Minnesota's Regent Professors wrote:

"A frightening picture is seen by those of us who work daily with college students. We find among our bright, hard-working, ambitious, well-read students a widespread distrust of their government, a growing despair about the political process, a mixture of fear and resentment toward America's leadership. These are not lazy, violent irresponsible rebels--they are competent and conscientious young people, quietly pursuing their studies to be physicians, businessmen, lawyers, engineers, psychologists, biologists."

2. The integrity of intentions.

As baffling as student behavior often appears, we cannot discount its motives. "All students want to do is to restore the real ideals of democracy for which the United States has stood for in the past," so said one. Another, crying for what he called a sense of humanity, deplored viewing war solely in military terms (winning or losing) instead of in human terms (death and suffering).

Though often emotional and egocentric, the passions of idealism produce not only brave heroes on the battlefield but also determined fighters in the struggles for social change. Whatever one may think of its origins or consequences, the idealism of college students toward domestic and overseas problems embraces an increasing willingness to abandon the conventional postures of national and personal interest. (The mood is familiar to those of us who went to college in the 1930's.)

There is a humane concern for victims of racial discrimination, for those who suffer in the urban ghetto, for the poor in Appalachia, and for those who die--under whatever flag--in Southeast Asia. According to a nationwide survey conducted at Swarthmore College, students' draft status seems to have little relation to his position for or against the war. (Note to Press: The survey was done by Professor Kenneth Gergen and Mary K. Gergen, Psychology Department, Swarthmore.)

The strain of idealism in college students helps to explain the intensity of beliefs and the vigor of actions rooted in those beliefs. Student behavior that to some seems simply

"unpatriotic" may be intended by the student as the highest form of patriotism. Not my country right or wrong, argues such a student, but my country, if she is right, and to set her right, if she is wrong.

3. The emerging class consciousness of students.

The self-identification by college students as a separate class in society is assuming extraordinary proportions. A student class may well become a structural feature of our political scene, remaining after present issues are ended.

Student class "solidarity" stems in important measure from the conviction of many students that they do not find sympathy for their concerns or understanding of their problems among older people, from the belief that older society brings unwarranted sanctions against them for wanting to be different (e.g., objections against unconventional appearance, use of marijuana, etc.), and from the perception that "society" improperly imposes burdens upon them which, having had little part in their imposition, they do not wish to carry (the draft and "irrelevant" college curriculum being most often cited). One student observed that if he were working in a factory he would be viewed as an adult, but while in college, he is "viewed as a little boy."

Whether easily understandable by older persons or not, we are still faced by a new fact of political life: growing class consciousness among students. For effective national government, this constituency requires attention and understanding just as do farmers, organized labor, veterans, blacks, etc. This group, however, has much ambition, much energy, and more future than the others. Student class consciousness has been growing for some years, but the Cambodian crisis catapulted it into something approaching a national political movement. The crisis also threw a sizeable percentage of previously moderate and apolitical students into the arms of the radical elements in the university community. This class consciousness leads very easily to another quality.

4. Fears and facts of repression.

Men of wide experience and goodwill ask, "What is this repression I hear about? Where is it? Certainly no one is repressing criticism of the government. What is being repressed?"

Perhaps the matter can be understood by reference to Jackson State and Kent State. To most Americans, they were exceptional

events, tragic and to be deplored, but accidental and unusual. To the disaffected, they are the norm. The disaffected regard the safe and easy expression of dissent as the exception, and they see the killings as an expression of the American system of authority. Here is a paragraph written by a professional psychologist from Vanderbilt who was reared near Jackson, Mississippi, which he visited after the killings:

"Jackson State College students now find themselves in a great dilemma. They are nearly paralyzed by the fear that any sign of demonstration or protest may be prejudged as a sign of disorder that will result in murder and massacre. On the other hand, they feel an increasing urgency to be heard, to express their feelings as human beings, and to experience the dignity and freedom that characterize the new humanness. Many feel they must bow to the system epitomized in the Mississippi Highway Patrol, or risk death in a struggle for a new level of personal freedom."

Perhaps we understand how this comes to be on a black campus in Mississippi. Yet, with the development of class consciousness, similar feelings of fear and persecution have developed among students in general. The Vanderbilt professor further observes, "I believe these turbulent interactions of fear, anger, shame, and despair on the one hand and the desperate search for personal integrity and freedom on the other hand now characterize a large and rapidly growing nationwide segment of students, other youths, and adults."

Fifty-eight percent of the students in the poll agreed with a statement that, compared to a year before, the United States had become a highly repressive society, intolerant of dissent. Among the goals chosen for many of the student strikes in May appears the demand "that the United States Government end its systematic repression of political dissidents."

Among the evidences of repression often cited are: "police brutality," in a variety of forms ranging from hostility toward demonstrators to the alleged unjustifiable assaults of the Black Panther Party; curfews; prohibitions against assembly of more than a limited number of persons; sledgehammer statements by public officials impugning the motives of dissent; and discouragement of outspokenness on grounds of protocol or propriety.

The arrest of students and faculty after your speech in Knoxville for "disrupting a religious service" is taken as evidence, as are the attacks by construction workers on students in New York and on the veteran and his family in St. Louis.

5. Intellectual intolerance on campuses.

Some students are guilty of a brand of repression of their own. Its roots include distrust and self-righteousness. Intolerance of contrary opinion on certain campuses has become a virulent form of anti-intellectualism, sometimes involving violent and disruptive attempts to silence opposing views. Said a undergraduate: "You can't go around worrying about freedom of speech and of access when something like Cambodia is going on."

This intolerance poses as great a threat from within to the educational freedom of our campuses as they face from without.

In emphasizing campus intolerance, I also emphasize that on many campuses dissent has been expressed with high loyalty to concepts of free speech, open forum, and intellectual freedom. Strong efforts by students and faculty to moderate the heat, restrain emotionalism, and keep the way open to expression of all viewpoints have been notable on many campuses.

6. Lack of "responsiveness" by government.

Young people have always been impatient, if only because of their shortened time perspective.

But even from an adult perspective, educational and governmental institutions are often sluggish. When leaders and institutions do not appear to move effectively toward solution of problems, the result, as expressed by the current President of the Ripon Society, is "a frightening feeling of frustration, betrayal and impotence among students of all philosophical outlooks. Students are exhausted with a war which has offered victory just around the corner for all the years of their political awareness." Says a professor of government from: "If the best of our young men and women now in colleges and universities believe strongly that Government is unresponsive, that it is not an instrument through which they can work, the future of the country is indeed grim."

The apparent ineffectiveness of our institutions in solving the great problems of the day--e.g., the war, racism, environmental decay--is as great a cause of disaffection as are any of the problems themselves.

7. Lack of "credibility" in government.

A student pleaded: He wanted to believe his government, but how could he? It lied when the U-2 was shot down, when the Bay of Pigs was invaded, repeatedly about Vietnam.

Disbelief, added to fear of repression and lack of responsiveness, produces an immense skepticism of government. Only 19 percent of the students surveyed believed that troops would really remain in Cambodia for only six to eight weeks; only 25 percent believed the Administration had been frank with the American public in the handling of the war; only 21 percent thought the Cambodian move would actually shorten the war. Skepticism produces basic distrust, polarization, and disaffection.

8. The "validity" of the whole system.

Students ask: How can a system of government that produces a Vietnam and is unable to rectify it be valid? Are we really a good country? For many, Cambodia was the conclusive negative reply.

About 70 percent of college youth had serious doubts about the action. The war has been going on for nearly all their politically conscious lives. Add to this the other tensions and unfulfilled expectations of the society. Sixty-five percent of students said that our troubles stem from economic competition as a way of life; 78 percent said that the United States lacks a sense of values, is too conformist and materialistic. Serious students of government, including some political leaders themselves, worry whether we can solve the problems of race, poverty, health, environmental contamination, foreign war, and all the rest. Unlike previous crises in our recent history, not just individuals and policies are being questioned, but the political system itself.

9. "One more chance."

Frustrated, disillusioned students are saying, "The system has one more chance." They are not always clear on when and how they will know whether the system has successfully used that chance--except that ending the war this summer would earn high marks. What if the system does not measure up? Some say revolution; some say they will leave the country; others say they don't know.

It does seem clear that the political activation stimulated in May will have a residual effect, leaving students more sensitive

politically, more determined to take a part in the governmental process, and feeling more deeply about a range of issues. At present, a significant proportion of students say that they will direct their energies through ordinary political channels. Fifty-nine percent of those who participated in recent protests, and 39 percent of all students surveyed, say they plan to participate this fall in campaigns for "peace candidates." As one letter put it, "The vast majority of moderate students see this as a desperate effort to challenge the revolutionaries and radicals and to make the system work." If those efforts are condemned, or receive no encouragement, and apprehensions about the war continue to deepen, then, as President James Hester of New York University put it, "We can expect the hard-core radicals to gain influence and increasingly violent demonstrations to take place."

The situation is beyond partisan politics. Not surprisingly, over three-fifths of the students surveyed perceived no real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. More significantly, few present-day political leaders have extensive student support. Loyalty to existing institutions and faith in the country are crucial contemporary issues.

10. Black students.

The national emergency our nation faces is more acute for black students, by several powers of magnitude, than for other students. The fact of their lives and their sense of deprivation multiply their fears and frustrations and bitterness. We will be addressing you separately about their special emergency.

B.

(Note to Press: A second long memorandum dated July 6 was sent to the President for the two purposes stated below. The material pertaining to the first purpose is here quoted in full.)

This memorandum does two things. First, it states why we believe it essential that you and members of the Administration develop as deep an understanding as possible of moods and beliefs on our campuses -- and in the black community, where attitudes and behavior connect closely with the moods and beliefs of black students. Second, it recommends procedures to help do this during the next 12 months.

Youth and black attitudes are uniquely important to governing the United States in the 1970's.

1. The segment of black and white young people who are baffled, disillusioned, and angered are at a crucial psychological and intellectual stage in their lives, a stage that shapes lasting personal attitudes and convictions. Many talented individuals who have futures of potentially great social influence are affected. That fact alone behooves the nation's leadership to understand them and to be understood by them.

The percentage of students attending four-year institutions who are disaffected is sufficiently large to warrant concern. Look at these illustrative results from the survey made for the American Council on Education by Louis Harris during the period May 20-26, 1970. (A copy of the survey report is attached as Tab A.) (Note to Press: Please don't call us for copies. We have none left.)

Of the students interviewed, 17 percent characterized themselves as "conservative" or "far right" and 27 percent as "middle-of-the-road," a total of 44 percent of the sample. Among these:

Conservative
or far right

Middle-of-
the-road

70%

75%

agreed that "until the older generation comes to understand the new priorities and life style of the young, serious conflict is going to continue" (p. 37)

47%

64%

agreed that "our troubles all stem from making economic competition the basis of our way of life" (p. 42)

50%

27%

agreed that "except for a few radicals, most young Americans are satisfied with the direction in which America is heading" (p. 48)

57%

66%

believed that "basic changes in the system will be necessary to improve the quality of life in America" -- 92% of the blacks believed this (p. 55)

62%

45%

agreed that "the recent protests and violence are a sign of serious disintegration of American society" (This and the following responses are not included in the attached report. The tabulations from which they are drawn are available to your staff.)

35%

41%

believe that "it is possible to have a violent revolution in the country which would overthrow our government"

9%

13%

believe that such a revolution "stands a real chance of succeeding"

These are only the conservative and moderate students. The responses from students who classify themselves as "liberal" and "far left" reveal much greater disaffection. Even with substantial sampling errors, the basic point would remain: Among an important segment of citizens on whom the future governance of the nation inevitably will in part depend, there is significant lack of confidence in the present state of the United States.

2. We are warned on all sides that events of this summer will determine which colleges and universities open this fall, and under what conditions. A widening of the war will make it impossible for some institutions to operate normally. The residual activating effects of May promise, in any event, to keep issues alive (e.g., ROTC) and campuses tense. The elections will further agitate and politicize the campuses.

(Note to Press: These comments were made privately. By making them public, we do not wish to encourage the possibilities of their becoming true.)

Several dozen campuses experienced violence in May. The killings at Jackson State and Kent State heighten explosive tensions in many locales. Young blacks are on edge everywhere. Backlash and polarization add to the compound of volatility.

We have been exposed to much sober argument that our international policies simply must in the future take greater account of factors affecting what we shall call internal U. S. security. You are better acquainted than anyone else with the painful competition for the funds that finance domestic programs that affect the social health of the nation, and hence its internal security. On another front, however, the quality of feelings that lead citizens to reject order and normal authority, that lead to violence and other disruptions, are not easy to comprehend secondhand.

That is why we see the need for you to judge at close range the varieties of thought and feeling that pervade the academic and black communities. When disaffection is so widespread among conscientious, patriotic people that ability to govern in accordance with traditional precepts is called into question -- and many believe this is now the case and will continue to be -- the symptoms and the sources of the trouble need your personal analysis.

3. The young may be trying to tell us things we ought to hear. You should have the chance to evaluate firsthand the assumptions of those who reach different conclusions from yours about Southeast Asia. The views of youth and the trends they represent have grave political and social consequences. Effective execution of foreign policy and maintenance of respect in the world are both hampered by dissent at home.

(Note to Press: Please note that the following reference to a "communications gap" does not refer simply to difference in vocabulary but also to difference in assumptions and definitions. See the section following the next paragraph called "A Student's View.")

The "generation gap" and "credibility gap" are really largely a communications gap. A communications gap results when those who seek to communicate use different assumptions and definitions. A nationwide poll taken last October showed 81 percent of respondents saying that "the antiwar demonstrators may not be entirely right, but they are raising real questions that ought to be discussed and answered." It is hard to discuss and answer without a common language. Tab B, "A Student's View," suggests some of the sources of the communications gap and of the seemingly indelible differences over policy.

* * * * *

A STUDENT'S VIEW

This memorandum addresses three questions we have heard discussed around the White House about student attitudes and their relationship to Administration policies. We have sought to compress here the views of a "composite" student. Something like these views are held by significant numbers of activated students, although obviously not by all such students. We report these views as an aid to understanding the questions being asked, not to imply their validity nor to question their validity.

I. Why do the President and disaffected college youth have trouble "communicating" about Vietnam? At least four factors are at work.

First, the President uses words that mean one thing to him but something different to many students. For example, he has emphasized that he and students both want "peace." By "peace" students mean an end to the killing immediately. To them the President seems to mean not that, but "a just peace" and "self-determination for South Vietnam," which they see as probably meaning maintenance of a pro-American regime in Saigon, continued U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia, and whatever military action is necessary to produce these ends.

Exacerbating this difficulty is the belief of many students (shared, it is fair to say, by many nonstudents) that the course we are on has no real chance of success. They do not believe Hanoi can be induced to negotiate. They find unthinkable using enough military power to force Hanoi to negotiate. They believe the longer we keep fighting the more difficult the U.S. position becomes at home and before world opinion. They believe our leaders must understand this, and consequently when those leaders do not act accordingly by "getting out," they must be either blind or evil. Frustration to the point of fury builds up from watching us follow, at an enormous cost in human life, a policy they believe to be leading nowhere. When the President explains that we must act in Cambodia to protect the lives of American fighting men, they argue that it would be better protection to bring the men home.

The President's admirable remarks in St. Louis on June 25, 1970, showed insight into student idealism and compassion for their anxieties. The phrase "to win peace," however, does not describe a proper goal in the eyes of some students.

Second, what the President regards as successes, students often regard very differently. Reducing the troop level in Vietnam by sometime in 1971 to something over 200,000 men seems to many in government a formidable achievement. The President so proclaims it. Yet to the young, who face the draft and think on the time scale of youth, these withdrawals seem wholly inadequate. Their attitude should not be mistaken for that of a draft-dodger in World War II. They are not seeking to avoid personal danger. Rather, they abhor personal involvement in a war they perceive as "immoral." Hence, a plan to have a troop level of over 200,000 men next year, and possibly indefinitely, seems intolerable -- to the point that some of them say they would prefer to kill and be killed in a revolution at home to being involved in an immoral war abroad.

Third, to some students, the President appears not to understand the nature of the crisis that has come over the country. He speaks of "deep divisions" in the country. But "deep divisions" suggests a serious disagreement in a stable society, a matter of different groups holding different opinions, whereas students perceive the situation in radically different terms. They see not just differences of opinion, but rather the whole social order as being in a state of erosion. In the St. Louis speech the President said, "we should do something about it and not allow that division to become something that eventually could erupt and destroy a society." The student says the division is already erupting and destroying the society.

The President's visit to the Lincoln Memorial on May 9 was a splendid act. Reports got about, however, that the President passed pleasant queries about surfing and football. That offended students who felt immersed in a national tragedy, like telling a joke at a funeral.

Fourth, and this really underlies the other points, the President and some students proceed from vastly different assumptions. The President says "America has never lost a war," as if "winning" or "losing" were the important consideration. He seems to them to hold attitudes derived from the Cold War, such as the domino theory, and to view Communism in Southeast Asia as a source of danger to America. Wrongly or rightly, many of our best informed students do not share these assumptions.

The President speaks of maintaining "national honor" and implies that this can be done through military power. Students distressed with the failure of their country to achieve all its ambitious ideals at home and abroad think of "national honor" as something yet to be attained. They see the Vietnam war and its effects at home as obstructing fulfillment of their concept of national honor. Just as an earlier generation fought in World War II to preserve the nation's ideals, they want to end the war to help attain the nation's ideals.

The President presents the goal of "self determination" for South Vietnam as a rationale for our military involvement. To students the cost is too high, so much too high as to make the war "immoral." A faculty member wrote from ..."

"... at the root of the opposition to the war in Indo-China is the moral revulsion to the carnage undertaken in our name. Peasant societies are subject to the most awesome destructive technology that man can devise; huge areas are depopulated into free fire areas; defoliants, pesticides, and herbicides scorch the earth, and bomb craters create a moonscape; great masses of people are uprooted from their ancestral lands and turned into refugees in their own countries, and war spares neither the elderly nor the women and children. Surely such death and devastation are out of proportion to whatever objective we might hope to achieve."

II. Why are students not impressed by Soviet atrocities such as the invasion of Czechoslovakia?

The apparent insensitivity of students to Soviet actions and to evils in the Soviet system is at least partly explainable by considerations like these: First, they feel that by the wrongness of our own policies, such as the war in Vietnam, we have lost our moral standing to condemn other countries. Second, there is an obsession with our own problems, a feeling that our own crises should occupy all our attention. Third, the fear of Communism is less than existed a decade ago.

Students perceive the Czech invasion as one more evil action by a powerful imperialist government, but they don't perceive it as a threat to the United States. Since the Sino-Soviet split, they see Communism as consisting of different and often competing national governments and styles. The Russians appear to repress their satellite countries, but students see that fact as parallel to American domination in its sphere of influence (the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, economic exploitation, etc.). They see the Russians as no better than we, maybe not as good, but feel more responsibility for our actions than for those of foreign powers.

III. How do they compare the United States with other countries generally?

Instead of viewing the United States as in competition with other great powers, or as being potentially threatened by them, the students we speak of tend to be suspicious of all

national powers, including the United States. As the President said in his "State of the World" message on February 18, 1970, "Today, the 'isms' have lost their vitality -- indeed the restlessness of youth on both sides of the dividing line testifies to the need for a new idealism and deeper purposes." A generational loyalty appears to develop, a loyalty to young people internationally, that transcends national loyalties.

A tendency toward an absolutist conception of moral values helps to make it impossible for these students to be satisfied with the comparative superiority of the U.S. in striving for social justice and equality. Rather than emphasize what is good about America, most students emphasize what could be better about America (which frequently appears to be merely an emphasis on what is wrong with America). Therefore, any form of injustice and inequality, such as is evident in our racial problems, is taken as an indictment of the entire social system, regardless of its improvements over the past, or its relative superiority over other societies.

We have not addressed systematically the conditions of "susceptibility," the worldwide assertion of individual person-ality against institutions and traditions, which sometimes manifests itself as a crisis of authority and self-discipline. I will not speak to this last matter except to applaud your own awareness that we are dealing with a social condition found in all categories of nations. That condition is doubtless related to contemporary existential thinking, and also--among other things--to erosion in all cultures of stabilizing influences of family, religion, education, historical tradition, etc. This erosion, in turn, is probably a consequence of magical increases in mobility, communications, and the rapidity of institutional change.

Certain factors at work are beyond your influence. Certain factors that lead to campus disruption are beyond the control of the college or university president. The painful part is

C.

(Note to Press: Because Dr. Cheek and I were advising the President, we concerned ourselves primarily with the relationship of Federal Government actions and policies to campus beliefs and events. To put our conversation in broader perspective, I sent him the following statements in a memorandum, dated July 16. All language except that pertaining to specific recommendations is included.)

In seeking to understand the "causes and cures" of student disaffection, perhaps an imperfect analogy to human illness helps. There are symptoms, particular ailments that produce the symptoms, and a general level of susceptibility to illness. Many of the observations and recommendations made by President Cheek and me to you have concerned symptoms--the seriousness of prevailing discontent and hostility. When fever is raging, the first therapeutic need is to reduce it. We have also had a few things to say about the next need, to attack the conditions that produce the symptoms--the policies and actions of colleges and universities, of other types of private institutions in society, and of government. Since our mission has been to advise the President, we have focused our observations and suggestions on what you and the U. S. Government might do, rather than where our attention usually is, on ourselves.

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Certain factors at work are beyond your influence. Certain factors that lead to campus disruption are beyond the control of the college or university president. The painful part is

that when the campus comes apart, regardless of the reasons, the campus president gets the blame, and often the gate--simply because he couldn't make the show go. Even those who think he did right desert him because he could not get enough others to do right, too. (One must not only be right, but also succeed!) Similarly, if the U. S. has a sustained, serious, national campus crisis, an unwelcome share of the "responsibility" may be assigned to you simply because there is a problem and you are in office.

Educators have a lot of work to do for themselves. At my first meeting with you on May 12, George Shultz said, profoundly, that the big question now is "What is a university for?" American colleges and universities are being forced to make basic reappraisals of their purposes and working requirements. If we in education are smart enough and lucky enough, we will largely lead the reappraisal and take whatever actions are indicated ourselves. Much inventive energy will be directed by able and dedicated persons to answering George Shultz's question, and also to creating and maintaining (or recreating) the conditions of intellectual freedom necessary for any of the basic functions of a college or university to be performed well.

Your principle of Federal "non-interference" in internal educational affairs is wise. As educators assess their own processes, however, remember that colleges and universities are so much a part of national life that they can never do this alone. The American university is probably the central secular institution in our society, aside from government itself. In our day, more aspects of our national life ultimately depend on the university than on any other type of institution. Inevitably, many persons outside of education will be involved in the processes of reassessment and change, the Federal Government not least among them.

Federal policies shape higher education, in ways intended and anticipated by both government and educators, and sometimes with side effects not foreseen by either. The G. I. Bill of Rights after World War II, subsidy of medical and scientific research after 1951, subsidy of graduate education through the National Defense Education Act of 1958, construction loans and grants, tax policies to encourage private donations, and all the rest, were designed by the Federal Executive and Congress--in proper exercise of their functions--to achieve national objectives. In clear ways like these, as well as for more

general reasons, Federal policies directly affect what colleges and universities do, and how they do it. In years ahead, Presidents of the United States will probably need to look at higher education through more concerned and sophisticated eyes than deemed necessary or appropriate in years past.

Higher education can accept a share of responsibility for the symptoms that have concerned our mission--distrust of government, frustration on campuses, etc.--but its doing so should not obscure the role of Federal policies in producing these symptoms.

One campus representative after another has emphasized his deeply held conviction that, as long as our "national priorities" remain unchanged, no improved Presidential communications or understanding will soften tensions and dissipate alienation and disaffection. The tough version says that the only communication that counts is action, and the only action that counts is "getting out" of Vietnam and applying ourselves more effectively to home difficulties.

To describe or predict a condition is not to favor it. To foretell the near or distant future is very difficult. It does appear to me and my colleagues that if the Vietnam war is thought to "expand" (as was the case with the Cambodian action), the consequence will probably be further internal campus turmoil, including some violent protest, increased radicalization of many students and some faculty, alienation of large numbers of presently moderate students, and the intensification of hostile reactions both on and off the campuses to these developments. As during last May, it would be difficult for some institutions to operate normally.

When the war is brought to an end, the salient issue, though not the only issue, of radical student protest will have been removed. Only when that happens can steps to restore the confidence of the disaffected young in the political system be most effectively taken. Though most students feel that student activism will continue, an end to the war will reduce the volume and volatility of campus dissent.

If involvement in Southeast Asia continues generally its present course, with periodic, moderate decreases, steps to restore confidence on the campuses in the effectiveness of public policies, and to bring the country together, ought to have, and appear to have, certain qualities.

First, students, blacks, and others who are disillusioned simply must feel that their President has sincerely listened to them, listened with an ear willing to learn from them. They want assurance that he has given thought to their feelings and views, and even though not always agreeing with them, has taken those feelings and views seriously into account in making national decisions.

Second, the policies adopted and steps taken that respond to concerns of the disillusioned must be recognized and understood by them as doing just that--if their confidence is to be restored. In other words, measures taken that benefit, for example, American blacks, must be clearly identified and communicated so that those concerned know what has been done and for what purposes.

Third, the measures adopted must also add up to a sense of national leadership and common purpose. They must also have the subtle psychological element that somehow conveys the feeling that we are moving forward together.

All of this is easier to say than to do. The recommendations in my memorandum of July 7, 1970, and the comments on vocabulary difficulties under its Tab B, are designed to help. So are the recommendations later in this memorandum on engaging youth in government and improving communications.

Some realist might well ask whether the students, faculties, blacks, and the others warrant all this energy and emphasis. They do. The importance of the symptoms that have concerned us, and their causes, goes beyond manifestations of unrest and protest. Power takes many forms in society. We are familiar with military power, financial power, governmental power, political power in organized groups, and other effective influences. Intellectual power ought not to be forgotten. Time and again in the world's history, ideas have prevailed over other forms of power, from the teachings of Jesus through those of Tom Paine and Karl Marx to those of Adolph Hitler. Intellectual power is at work in new ways in the United States. New ideas are challenging established ways--which is the most important fact of all to be acknowledged and understood.

(Note to Press: The following paragraph opened the section as recommendations.)

Young people, in all their variety and conditions of organization, need to be viewed as full-fledged constituents of government. Effective participation in politics and government by them increases their understanding of government (and therefore often their patience with it), increases their acceptance of the results of community decision-making processes (local, state and national), and increases their influence over substantive policy, thereby sometimes improving the quality of public decisions.

Second, the policies adopted and steps taken to address concerns of the disaffected must be recognized and understood by them as doing just that--if their confidence is to be restored. In other words, measures taken that benefit, for example, American blacks, must be clearly identified and communicated so that those concerned know what has been done and for what purposes.

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(Note to Press: The following paragraph opened the section on recommendations.)

D.

(Note to Press: This memorandum was prepared by Dr. Cheek and was dated July 22, 1970. Much of its content was discussed with the President prior to that date. All language except that pertaining to the recommendations is included.)

This memorandum is provided as a follow-up to the several memoranda that Chancellor Heard and I have provided in connection with our special mission on colleges and universities. The justification for providing a separate memorandum on the "Black Institutions and Black Students" lies in the fact that while these institutions are faced with the same general problems and issues that face all institutions of higher learning, they are sufficiently distinctive to warrant special consideration and attention.

No effort is made in this communication to treat the subject systematically or in great depth. What this memorandum does seek to do is to provide you with a quick overview of the context in which the condition of black institutions and black students can be viewed and to highlight some specific aspects, which hopefully, may clarify some questions. Specific recommendations for your consideration are included.

I - GENERAL OVERVIEW

"Campus unrest" among black students has its genesis in and is related to the total socio-economic situation of black Americans in 1970. It represents in microcosm the macrocosm of opinion, feelings and attitudes of the black communities in general across the country. The frustration, anger, outrage, fears and anxieties of black students are expressive of the same feelings and emotions which exist among a large spectrum of the black population--"moderate" as well as "militant." Today there is not an appreciable difference between the feelings and attitudes of these generalized categories; the principal difference may lie in the degree of faith each has in the ability and willingness of the government (Federal) to be responsive to the legitimate goals and aspirations of black Americans.

Black students and black institutions of higher learning also must be understood and seen in the context of the overall contemporary struggle of black Americans.

In the latter 1960's, especially among the college age population, the struggle of black Americans began to shift its focus from that of "civil rights" to "social justice."

This is not to suggest that "civil rights" did not--and does not now--remain a concern, but the ethos and spirit of "social justice" are grounded largely in issues related to equity, opportunity and human dignity. The emergence of concepts of "black power," the increasing emphasis upon black pride, black identity, black unity, black studies in the universities, etc., are all expressive of this changing focus among black college students, and to some extent among other segments of the black population.

It can be said that civil rights dealt with issues of being American citizens and directed its interest toward changes in the law. Social justice, however, grows out of the consciousness of black Americans as human beings and as members of a society whose principles are founded in the honoring and preserving of human rights, human liberties and human equality.

In sum, what has been called the "black revolution" can be characterized as more fundamentally in the spirit and character of the original "American Revolution."

There is among the black students much of the rhetoric, passion and commitment that characterized the original "radicals" in the 1700's who are national heroes and regarded as our "founding fathers."

Black Americans see themselves today in relation to their government in much the same way as Hamilton, Jay, Madison, etc., saw themselves in relation to the "Mother Country." There is beginning to emerge among the black leadership a delineation of the grievances against the "establishment" which echoes the "Declaration of Independence."

The achievement of the goals of social justice will be harder to achieve than those of civil rights. The issue of civil rights addressed itself to changes in our laws; that of social justice addresses itself to the character of the American society. The fulfillment of social justice will require a fundamental redistribution of the nation's opportunities, rewards, benefits, and powers. Such a redistribution must affect all minorities--the disadvantaged and disprivileged segments of our society--but, because black Americans are the largest and currently the most volatile of such groups, immediate attention must be given to their needs and grievances; and, in so doing, the other minorities that are disadvantaged and disprivileged can also be accommodated.

In the struggle for social justice, educational opportunity is vital and strategic. The rewards, benefits and powers of the society--which black Americans now seek--depend for their realization on equity in the opportunity of access to education beyond the high school, and on the successful completion of such education. Higher education leading to the standard or traditional degrees is critical as opposed to technical and vocational training for this segment of the black population. The "Booker T. Washington philosophy" will not do and every effort must be avoided to suggest that this approach represents national policy in educational opportunity for black youth.

II - SPECIFIC OBSERVATIONS

The following specific observations may be helpful:

A. The New Black Outlook

There are special characteristics that differentiate the mood and posture of the black college community from the broader higher education community. The attitudes and postures of the black college community are based on past and present experiences with racially defined issues. These issues are more sharply drawn by the fact that most of these colleges are in the South. Though progress has been made, the underlying inequities based on racial issues have been harder to endure. As many students view it, no promises are the norm. Where promises are made, broken promises are the expectation. In any period there is cynicism and skepticism. The students and faculty hope for the best and prepare for the worst.

Against this background the war in Vietnam is an additional issue that aggravates and intensified feelings already there. If the war ended today, however, **and** the draft ended the day after that, it would not significantly reduce the feelings of cynicism and distrust among black college youth or the potential for more unrest. In fact, the ending of the war without some accompanying dramatic attention to their historic problems would increase their feelings of doubt that the basic institutions in the society will be responsive to their needs and to those of their colleges.

Higher education for many black youth increases their intellectual grasp of the current inequities and how deeply embedded they are in the fabric of American life. Thus they feel more keenly how difficult it will be to achieve equality of income, housing and equal education for their future offspring. A stronger sense of history among this generation of black youth impresses them with how long and hard it has been for their parents and grandparents

to get this far. They are now re-evaluating all the basic strategies used by the established civil rights groups. The black community is in what might be described as a "generational transition" with respect to the question of how best to achieve social justice and equal status as citizens and as human beings. This "generational transition" began before the Vietnam war and before this Administration took office. There is then, an opportunity for this Administration to take advantage of this searching for new strategies among black youth. Students say there are "political wolves" in the South and "political foxes" in the North--which means that these young black students have no strong allegiances to traditional political alliances or strategies. They are looking for what works and what gives them some sense of control in working out new directions--as against those new directions worked out by others, e.g., "liberal" social planners.

B. Police-Student Relations

Another special characteristic of the problems of unrest on black college campuses is the nature of student perceptions of all law enforcement agencies. Decades before the current antipathy between white college youth and policemen, black students viewed police officers with suspicion, hostility and fear. Very few black persons in southern communities expect fair treatment at the hands of law enforcement agencies. College students come out of those communities. It is of great importance and significance to these youth that so many black persons in the South have been murdered in the last decade and so few convictions for murder have occurred. Some of the more cynical black students had only the comment "now they know how it feels to be black" after the police-student confrontations in Chicago in 1968 and after the Kent State slayings last May. When such things happen to white students it creates greater fear as to what will happen to black students at the hands of the police and the national guard. Jackson State, following the Augusta slayings, confirmed their worst apprehensions.

C. The Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970

The approach to student unrest on black college campuses must deal with the fact that the status and the financial support patterns of the black colleges are an extension of the students' own unequal status and needs. These students have struggled through many handicaps to get to college and in finding ways to survive there. Half of them come from small towns and rural areas in the South, the sources of the congestion and social

dynamite in the hearts of our major cities. Two-thirds of them come from families with less than \$5,200 family income, compared to 60 percent of the national college population with family incomes of \$10,000 or better. Most parents of black college freshmen have less than a high school education, a third of the fathers went only as far as grade school, and a third of both fathers and mothers are domestics or laborers--yet these families are producing college freshmen, not delinquents or welfare cases.

When one talks about initiative, determination, and sheer grit within the American social order, these college freshmen represent tens of thousands of miracles based on just those qualities, and precious little else. Somehow these families have given their children the guts and fortitude to stick it out in poorly equipped and understaffed high schools and to go on to enter college.

The great needs of these students make clear the correctness and foresight of the policy expressed in the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970 in targeting subsidized loans and outright grants to students from low income families. Implementation of this legislation is vital to maintaining and increasing the opportunity of higher education for black youth.

III. A Note on Recommendations

Detailed recommendations were made to the President on a number of subjects. Some of them proposed particular assignments for named individuals. Implementation of some of the proposals might be handicapped by making them public. All of the recommendations, like the comments on campus conditions reported above, were drafted as private communications to the President.

Among the subjects on which we made recommendations are the following:

A. That the President increase his exposure to campus representatives, including students, faculty, and administrative officers, so that he can better take into account their views, and the intensity of those views in formulating domestic and foreign policy.

B. That the President designate a senior staff member in the White House to have special responsibility for White House liaison with higher education.

C. That the President arrange for the considerable knowledge of higher education already available in United States government agencies, especially the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to be put more readily at his disposal.

D. That the President increase his exposure to representatives of the black community and other racial minorities.

E. That the President take initiatives welcoming young people into political and governmental processes.

F. That the President initiate an assessment of youth opportunity programs in the Federal government, looking toward their enrichment and better utilization.

G. That the President take steps to improve two-way communications with the campuses of the country through activities in which he, White House staff members, and others in government participate.

H. That the President and others undertake to understand the fears of "repression" among certain groups in our country and to understand the realities underlying those fears.

I. That the President use the moral influence of his office in new ways designed to reduce racial tensions and help develop a climate of racial understanding.

J. That the President increase involvement of blacks in domestic policy formation and develop an ongoing Federal mechanism for research and action on minority problems.

K. That the President act immediately to provide additional student aid funds for the coming academic year to economically disadvantaged students.

L. That the President seek to provide special additional assistance during the coming academic year to those institutions primarily serving black youth.

M. That the President make a long-term commitment to assist predominately black colleges and universities to enable these institutions to increase their enrollment and improve their academic programs.

From time to time Dr. Cheek and I have made other recommendations to the President, orally or in writing.

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY

THE WHITE HOUSE

PRESS CONFERENCE

OF

DR. DANIEL PATRICK MOYNIHAN

AND

ROBERT H. FINCH

COUNSELLORS TO THE PRESIDENT

AT 12:07 P.M. EDT

MR. FINCH: You have before you the copies of the report that Governor Scranton and the Commission and staff handed to the President this morning. I would just say this: Dr. Moynihan and I will speak to the report itself. We have had a chance to read it overnight.

There will be two further reports, a separate report on Jackson State of about 80-some pages and a Kent State report of about 115 pages which are being edited. They will be released and the entire volume will be put out at one time later this week. That will go to governors, higher educational presidents, all of the interested members and the general public.

This that you have, unlike some of our predecessors, and contrary to some speculation that it would be suppressed or tucked away someplace, has been handed to the President and he, in turn, has directed that it go out immediately.

Whether or not there will be a formal response from the President, of course, will turn on his reaction after he has read the report, which he has not had the opportunity to do so far.

There has been some comment and some criticism from some sources with respect to the expense on this. I would like to make the point that this Commission is one of the first to come in within schedule, under budget. That has not been true of some of the other Presidential commissions.

I think with that I will let Dr. Moynihan give you a description of the President's comments and what went on in the meeting. Then we will both answer your questions.

DR. MOYNIHAN: The President met first with Governor Scranton at 10:30, and then about 11 o'clock ~~at~~ the full Commission came in and the staff of the Commission came in. The meeting went on thereafter to about 11:35.

The President's statements were general, of necessity, simply because he hadn't read the report. It had just, in effect, been handed to him. He said this, however, with considerable emphasis, and repeated the theme several times, "I can assure you that your report will be controversial. I haven't read it, but I want you to know,

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don't worry about that. Worry if it is not controversial. We don't want a bunch of intellectual eunuchs around here."

Q Could you repeat that statement so we can all get it down?

DR. MOYNIHAN: All right.

Q This is the President talking?

DR. MOYNIHAN: Yes, this is the President talking to the Commission and the staff. He said, "I can assure you that your report will be controversial. I haven't read it yet, but I want to say don't worry about that. Worry if it isn't controversial. We don't want a bunch of intellectual eunuchs around here."

Governor Scranton had spoken about what I think anyone who has been following this knows very much to be the case, that the staff of this Commission has worked as no group in this city has worked in a very long time.

The President made clear that he understood that and appreciated that, and spoke at some length to the staff about what they had done. He assured them that he would probably not be able to read the report in the coming week, as he would be overseas, but he would certainly do so immediately on his return.

He said that Governor Scranton, in particular, asked him to read the initial chapter entitled "To the American People", or a preface. The President said of course he would read that, but he wanted to read the whole thing.

We have some general comments to make.

Again, the President pointed this out, and Governor Scranton did, that the report is addressed --

Q Could we ask the photographers to move back a little bit?

DR. MOYNIHAN: I kind of like that. Ron was telling me about wearing these bow ties.

MR. ZIEGLER: Not that bow tie, Pat.

Q I am not clear about when the entire report is going to be ready.

DR. MOYNIHAN: You have the entire basic report and then there are two supplemental studies of Kent State and Jackson State.

MR. FINCH: Hopefully, we are assured by the end of the week. Mat Byrnes assures us of that. Those reports, he says, are about a 90 percent factual reportorial exposition of what they found there and then 10 percent conclusions and recommendations. Because there is a great deal of litigation, both criminal and civil involved in both of those incidents, the Commissioners were very careful not to assess blame or to point the finger at individuals, as I understand it.

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But we have not yet seen those reports.

The point I was trying to make is what you have here today is the report, but the final published report by the end of this week will also have these other two specific documents gathered with it.

DR. MOYNIHAN: I will make just a very few general comments. The first is to say that the President remarked that the report is, in effect, addressed to three audiences.

First, the American people generally, as the preface says. Secondly, to the university community. And, thirdly, to the national government.

Obviously, the concerns that most immediately concern us are what it says to the Federal Government. But there then are some general points.

I would like to simply say this, that the report is emphatic, explicit and, I think, vigorous in support of the President's proposals in the field of higher education, specifically with respect to the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970, which the President sent to the Congress in March; also to the general point that Federal financial aid programs should be reformed to give a much larger proportion of aid directly to students; that institutional aid should emphasize grants for especially innovative educational programs, including aid to stimulate improved teaching techniques and for institutions especially deserving of direct Federal support such as the predominantly black colleges of the South. This is practically the language of the President's report.

The Higher Education Opportunity Act was designed to insure, among other things, that any student admitted to an American college or university would have the financial resources equivalent to that of a student from a family with an income of \$10,000.

Q What page is the language you quoted on?

DR. MOYNIHAN: I was just quoting at page 7/24.

I think the second thing I would like to say is that from the beginning, and this is a point which we make with some emphasis here, the President has had to take positions on higher education with increasing frequency in recent months, perhaps, but we would like to point to the fact that his basic position was announced in his ninth week in office, in a statement on March 22, 1969, and he has never veered from that position.

The fundamental statement was that violence had to stop, but that this was a task the university community had to do by itself. For outsiders to intervene to protect intellectual freedom on campus was by definition to destroy it, and if the universities are to become politicized, they will die. They will die of many things but not least the fact that they inevitably achieve an adversary position with the larger community.

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The Scranton Commission says, "As a practical matter it would be naive for universities that frequently or intensely involve themselves in controversial political issues to expect to retain the full financial and attitudinal support of a society to which they may seem to be laying political seige."

It is absolutely necessary to be clear about one thing on a subject about which many people are fuzzy. It is one thing for a member of a university community, a professor, a student, whomever, to announce his politics and do the best he can to advance them.

It is a very different thing for the university as an institution to take political positions. It is altogether destructive of the tradition of liberal knowledge and research. The President has said that from the outset.

MR. FINCH: I just want to amplify that, if I may. This report does come in very specifically on the individual things that the various components of the academic community can do, the governing boards, the presidents, the faculty, the students and the alumni.

I find a particular significance and a great deal of effort went into this, the very specific catalog of steps for law enforcement officers at every level, local and particularly at the State level.

This report also brings that fact out. After all, these higher educational institutions, whether public or private, are State chartered. When you have disturbances, it is not the President who calls out the Guard. It is the governor. That is why the President particularly wants to have the governors and these others brought in.

Then it goes through a historical narrative which we think is very well done with regard to the history. It goes back to the memory of man runneth not about disorders on campus and makes it very clear that you can hardly blame any one administration or any single set of individuals for the kind of problems that we are confronted with on the campuses today.

Q Can I ask Dr. Moynihan a point of information simply?

What university has ever taken a political position? I am not aware of any myself. There may have been some. Have you any in mind?

DR. MOYNIHAN: I do not think this has yet occurred in America. I hope it never does. But there is an increasing demand that it should.

Q I thought you said it had and the American people had been confused about this.

DR. MOYNIHAN: No. I didn't mean to say that. I may have done it.

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But the demand that the universities, in effect, become political actors is a very strong one by certain elements at this time, and before it was even being said the President was saying "don't do it."

You asked where that was, on 6/8.

I have three quick other points. I am just speaking as a person who has dealt with that. I think in Chapter 2 there are some pretty high-powered analyses, pretty hard-nosed analyses, of the nature of this emerging youth culture, which they describe, particularly in the anti-democratic features of it, the anti-liberal, anti-capitalist.

It says: "We would also point to the still largely implicit opposition to democracy which is beginning to receive serious formulation by some political theorists."

They speak, of course, about Marcuse, and the general oppositional nature of this emerging culture towards what they describe as the patterns of liberal democratic capitalist society.

I will just finish this and say that there is another section on that same point. I would commend your interest to the analysis of the emerging culture as saying that "These young people are part of the first generation of middle-class Americans to grow up in the first depression American welfare state under the tutelage of a parental generation which embodied the distinctive modern vision of moral liberalism."

For no other purpose than I have the microphone, I want to say I don't think this is a general national phenomenon. I think this is a continuing tradition of American culture and a much more evident and prominent one than it was in the past.

I have two last things.

I would like to point to a very hard analysis of the change in the tradition of student unrest, campus unrest, that Bob Finch has described. At Berkeley, in 1964, it was called the Berkeley Invention. This is the analysis of Nathan Glazer, who was a colleague of mine and one of the consultants to the Commission. I think the Berkeley Invention is a very powerful analysis.

Finally, I commend to your attention the chapter on the Black Student Movement, where what seems to me to be a reasoned argument is made on behalf of the maintenance of predominantly black institutions in certain circumstances, a pluralist argument associated with views that are somewhat different from the assimilationism of the past, a rather simple-minded assimilation of the past. I don't endorse or reject those views. I don't know whether the black community would or would not, or whether the white community would or would not.

But you have a reasoned statement by intelligent men of the position they hold. For the intellectual interest as well as for the reality of the subject, I wanted to bring it to your attention.

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Q In that connection, Dr. Moynihan, it has on 7/6 it is one of the recommendations that the President should deliver a major address reaffirming the nation's and his Administration's commitment to realizing the long denied birthright of black Americans.

Is he going to do that?

DR. MOYNIHAN: The President hasn't read the report and I think it would be inappropriate for us to say what he will or won't do.

Q Do you feel he has not made such a statement yet?

MR. FINCH: I certainly think the record has been very clear in terms of his concern, particularly with regard to the black institutions and the recycling of that extra \$30 million, where they are hard pressed. I think it is implicit in many of his addresses and with the groups he has seen. I don't know of any prior Administration that has made the efforts to try to reach out, not only on his part, but the staffs and the Department.

Q So, you are saying it is unnecessary for him to make that statement?

MR. FINCH: I am not saying that. I am simply saying we don't have a record that we must apologize for at all.

DR. MOYNIHAN: If we can get the Family Assistance Act, that fact might be a little more important than some words.

Q Can I ask you this about the report: You and Mr. Moynihan have found areas that you think are important, that you think the President agrees with.

MR. FINCH: We didn't say that. We said the President has not read it. We are expressing our viewpoint for whatever it may be worth to you.

Q But you have not addressed yourselves to some of the obvious criticisms of this Administration and the call on the President to exert moral leadership and to try to dampen divisive voices in the body politic.

What do you think about that part of the report?

MR. FINCH: That, essentially, is what the Heard Report recommended and I think he has taken steps in that direction. But you have to recognize, as this report does do, there are very severe limitations in terms of practical things that a President of the United States should or should not do, if you are going to keep the integrity of these individual institutions. I, for one, think that the steps he has taken and the actions and statements have set the right kind of moral tone, as Pat Moynihan indicated.

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From the time we came in, we said the business of the campus is not the business of the Federal Government. We want pluralism. We want each school to decide its own mission, whether it is a predominantly black or white school, decide what they are going to do and then run their shops. I think this report is supportive of that.

Q Is there anything in the report that either of you gentlemen has seen so far that would lead you to suggest that the President and this Administration do anything differently than it has in the past?

MR. FINCH: I want to give the report a great deal more scrutiny than I have had an opportunity to do in one quick reading, because there are a great many recommendations here that we can ask others to act upon, governors and local law enforcement officials. You will find a whole laundry list of things that they suggest local police ought to do, how individual presidents ought to not just leave to the controller the business of deciding what security you are going to have on campus.

It is a case, in many cases, of what the President will say about certain portions of this that he urges that the people who do have the actual day-to-day responsibilities, be they administrators or governors or whatever, and state legislatures, might do. He can highlight those things. That is another form of leadership.

DR. MOYNIHAN: May I just say one thing here? I think it is very important. It would seem to me it would be a very great mistake, and a very great injustice to this Commission would occur, if it was thought that what it said in its sort of final wrap-up recommendations is that what the American people need is some more pretty words. They have addressed themselves throughout their study to facts and conditions, and I think it would be the agreement that Governor Scranton would say, and I am sure he would, on the old proposition that those who would do good, must do good in minute particular.

If this country wants to show some moral leadership with respect to the problems, say, of low income students, they should pass the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 1970, the most extraordinary proposition yet put forward. It has been greeted with astonishing silence on upper class campuses where it might have some disadvantages. If anybody wants to help black institutions, they should help follow the President's proposal to establish a National Foundation for Higher Education, which explicitly directs itself to such propositions. If anybody wants to help the problems of poverty, they should pass the Family Assistance Act, which would do, in one single stroke, more for poverty than any legislation in American history, more about eliminating poverty.

The morality of action is the proper province of an American President, and I think the Commission would agree.

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Q There are urgent recommendations in the report that the President do something, that he call meetings of governors, that he call meetings of black leaders, that he call meetings of student leaders, that he get governors to do things.

MR. FINCH: Every one of those things he has done in whole or in part. That doesn't mean that we won't do more.

Q But this Commission report has a very urgent call to it, that there is a crisis right at your doorstep. It says it time and time again. It doesn't say anything about what you have done before.

MR. FINCH: I would argue with you, sir, there has been no lack of sense or urgency on the part of this Administration with regard to this whole problem.

Q Mr. Finch, a few minutes ago you defended the Commission against the charge that it was coming in in the red. I would like to know your reaction to the seemingly predominant Republican criticism of the Commission long before the report was put out.

MR. FINCH: Again, this came from sources of every philosophical hue. They were pre-judging. They were speculating about stories that were drifting out from staff, papers that had been prepared in great quantities, some of which were used and some of which were not used. We now have the report. Here it is. It speaks for itself. I think it isn't proper for anyone to pre-judge it until they have the material in front of them.

Q On page P/4 in the first complete sentence it says, "In the current political campaign and throughout the years ahead the President should insist that no one play irresponsible politics through the use of campus unrest."

That is part of the call for halting the divisive rhetoric and the political campaigning, exploiting campus unrest.

Do you give that equal weight to the point you have brought out in the report as a cause and a corrective measure for campus unrest?

MR. FINCH: I think everyone in this room is realistic enough to realize that the President is hardly in a position to dictate to governors or to other candidates what they do or do not do in a political situation. I think his conduct and his position on this has been just impeccable.

DR. MOYNIHAN: Do you mind if I say what do you suppose the President meant on the 22nd of March 1969 when he said, "At all costs, no matter what else, we must not politicize our universities"?

Q Let me ask you one follow-up question. That is not particularly the quote I had in mind. I was thinking about Mr. Agnew's "effete snobs", this sort of campaign rhetoric that he is involved in now. Is this what the report is referring to? It seems to me it is.

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MR. FINCH: I would disagree with that.

DR. MOYNIHAN: There is a very different thing from arguing with individuals about their individual positions and the politicization of an institution so it becomes a political act itself. No one is proposing in this Commission or anywhere else that Americans stop arguing with one another about politics. But it is important that the university remain nonpolitical as an institution.

Q You said that the President cannot control what every candidate around the country is saying, governors, Congressional candidates, and so on. He could, however, ask his Vice President to say things differently or not say different things. Do you think that is what this report is referring to?

MR. FINCH: I do not.

Q Dr. Moynihan, you said a couple of times on March 22nd the President emphasized that the campuses not be politicized. How do you respond to the great number of college students who today say that the campuses have already been politicized, by the very fact that we have ROTC on campus, that you teach courses which are reactionary in content, that you are, in a sense, perpetuating the establishment and the politics of the establishment? How do you respond to that kind of criticism?

DR. MOYNIHAN: I think this is an argument that is a position that has a legitimate place in any debate in any university. It turns on the facts. It turns on to what degree the use of the institution itself associates and puts forward political views.

I don't know any university, a serious university, which would fit the description you just gave, although I know very well this description is made. I think this is not, by and large, the view of men whose serious commitment is to the maintenance of an open academic atmosphere. Remember one very important thing. This Commission report continually refers to the phenomenon of intolerance and even anti-intellectualism in the emerging culture. It says many nice things about this emerging culture. Obviously, it is a mixture. But it is not atypical to hear these days in the name of academic freedom the demand that a conservative professor not be allowed to teach.

Q Neither of you have talked about solutions or remedies yet. Could we ask your assessment of the Commission's description of the ailment? It is really quite serious. It talks about the country being on the verge of tearing itself apart unless something is done quickly. It is even more than urgent.

MR. FINCH: Here, again, I am giving a personal reaction. The thing I think that Dr. Moynihan has tried to point out is our position, the position of the President, right from the beginning -- and my testimony as Secretary of HEW straight through -- has been that if you come to the Federal Government and lay this at the door of the Federal

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Government and you get a Federal presence on that campus, and you get institutional cut-offs, and you put this Federal template on there, then higher education as we have known it today is indeed dead. There are those who are arguing that the Federal Government must, by some overt means, extend its presence to higher educational institutions, public or private. That is all for naught.

Q Apart from blame or responsibility, do you agree with that assessment of the urgency of the national problem?

MR. FINCH: As I said earlier, there has been a sense of urgency about the problem manifested by the American people, this Administration, the Congress. It is a question of how you go about solving it.

Q Do you think it is as serious as the Commission thinks it is?

MR. FINCH: It is a national and serious problem. On the other hand, I would have to say, speaking for myself -- and Dr. Moynihan can speak for himself -- on the campuses I have been on since the opening of school I find a different climate this year, and I have been pleasantly surprised at the steps, the plans and the innovative programs that most of these individual institutions developed by themselves which appear to be paying off.

Q Mr. Finch or Mr. Moynihan, would either of you say how far you think the President has gone in fulfilling the obligations that this report says are his on this problem?

DR. MOYNIHAN: I don't want to answer that. First of all, this is the Commission's day. They are having a press conference this afternoon. We have really come here to point out some things which were certainly of interest to us in our first time around. Let them make their statement.

Q The report says that the most important recommendation it makes rests with the President.

DR. MOYNIHAN: Yes, that is right. I think we would respond at varying levels.

I wish somebody would read the President's Message of March before any of these things happen. I will tell you one of the reasons it is not read is because it is quite complicated. These are not easy ideas, politicization. The President talks about the degree to which the Federal Government has distorted higher education in the last quarter century by hiring universities to do work that had Federal priorities and so forth. These are not easy ideas. But really, I urge you to read that.

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Q He has appointed a commission since then, however, hasn't he?

DR. MOYNIHAN: Yes, but I mean we have been involved with this subject --

Q He obviously expected something besides what was in that report from the Commission. It seems to me you are disowning the report.

DR. MOYNIHAN: We are doing nothing of the kind. Don't say things like that.

Q That is the implication I get from it.

DR. MOYNIHAN: Get rid of that implication forthwith. The President appointed a Commission in the context of two tragic events at two universities which, among other things, needed a very clear inquiry. That inquiry has now been made and it will be published.

Q Mr. Finch, do I understand that you don't see the criticism of divisive and insulting rhetoric by public officials as applying to Vice President Agnew or any other Administration official?

MR. FINCH: You will have to ask Governor Scranton that this afternoon.

Q I mean you don't see him guilty of that?

MR. FINCH: I am not going to pass judgment on individuals within this Administration. We are all free to say what we please with regard to our own views. That is as far as I want to take it.

Q Dr. Moynihan said it would be a mistake to believe that this report suggests more pretty words would help some of the problem. Would both of you, or either of you, concede that the report is asking for fewer ugly words in the contribution to the problem?

DR. MOYNIHAN: Yes, very clearly. It does not suggest that these words emanate from any one source. They obviously are hurling around the American scene at this point. One despairs at the efficacy of a general desire of this kind. Obviously, no one is able to control these things in a general way. But the Commission Report is very clear on this.

The Commission is responding to the fact that higher education is increasingly becoming politicized in the country, precisely the thing the President in his ninth week in office said "do not do. No matter what you do, you do this and the universities die." This is the way a culture dies.

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Q How would you define "increasingly politicized"?

DR. MOYNIHAN: Subject to political controversy. . You run for office for or against the students, for and against the position.

Let me just say to you that the reason we have trouble with discussing and even analyzing this phenomenon is that it has never existed in this country. Go to a nation where the universities have been politicized and you will notice the difference there.

MR. FINCH: It does make the statement in the report that this is an international phenomenon. That is in here, too.

I have to catch an airplane and I don't want to keep you from Governor Scranton at one o'clock. Act II will follow.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

END

(AT 12:40 P.M. EDT)

FEBRUARY 24, 1969

Office of the White House Press Secretary
-----THE WHITE HOUSELETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO
REVEREND THEODORE HESBURGH

Dear Ted:

I share your concern over the recent disorders that have paralyzed campus after campus across our country in recent weeks, and I want to applaud the forthright stand you have taken.

As you know, the issues raised by the protesting students range from minor reforms within the academic community to major concerns of national policy.

But the means of some students -- a small, irresponsible minority -- have employed reflect an impatience with democratic processes, an intolerance of legitimately constituted authority, and a complete disregard for the rights of others.

Violence and vandalism have marked many of these protests, and the rights of the majority of the students have been grossly abused.

If the integrity of our universities is to be preserved, then certain principles must be re-established and certain basic rules enforced. Intimidation and threats remain outlaw weapons in a free society.

A fundamental governing principle of any great university is that the rule of reason and not the rule of force prevails. Whoever rejects that principle forfeits his right to be a member of the academic community. The university administrator who fails to uphold that principle jeopardizes one of the central pillars of his own institution and weakens the very foundation of American education.

I have directed the Vice President in meetings in Washington this coming week with the Governors of the fifty states to discuss what action, consistent with the traditional independence of American universities, might be taken at the state and federal levels to cope with the growing lawlessness and violence on our campuses. I would appreciate it greatly if you would take the time to give him your views on this matter.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

/S/ RICHARD M. NIXON

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Campus Unrest: Don't Blame Mr. Nixon

By DOUGLAS L. HALLETT

WASHINGTON—President Nixon has now had an opportunity to study the initial testimony of his Commission on Campus Unrest headed by William Scranton. He has also received a report from his special adviser on campus problems, Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University. Hopefully he will read both selectively. Although the commission and Mr. Heard have elucidated some of the problems facing universities, their basic thrust is much too one-sided and much too limited by contemporary events to be of any real value.

While the testimony before the Scranton commission and Mr. Heard's report make some reference to the need for reform on university campuses themselves, the dominant tone is somewhat different: The President is at fault. He must listen to the students, respond to their views, end the war, and if that cannot be done tomorrow, at least try to "communicate" with the nation's colleges and universities.

"It may well be that the only line in your report that will have meaning for our colleges and universities is the line that reads: 'This war must end,'" said Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D., Mass.). From Robben Fleming, president of the University of Michigan: "An end to the use of American troops in Vietnam will not still campus unrest, but it will do more than anything else to help contain it." From Charles Palmer, president of the National Student Association: "As long as there is substantial American military involvement in Indochina, students will continue to oppose it."

And the foundation of criticism of the war is always buttressed with the nation's other alleged failings. "Unless we can begin now (restoring youth's faith by doing their bidding)," testified Yale psychologist Kenneth Keniston, "ours will not only be a divided and sick society, but a society that has lost the best of its youth—a society on its death-bed." Even calm Mr. Heard recommended "that the President increase his exposure to campus representatives, including students, faculty and administrative officers, so that he can better take into account their views, and the intensity of those views, in formulating domestic and foreign policy."

There is, of course, some validity in these views. Certainly the war and the threat of the draft have created consternation on campus. Certainly many able students are shocked by the disparity between their own luxury and the deprivation around them when they leave comfortable suburban high schools for the dirt and tedium of urban university neighborhoods.

Important Social Factors

Even more important are other social factors the Scranton Commission and Mr. Heard have yet to discuss. Students discover in college for the first time that they will not inherit the earth, that the increasingly centralized nature of the American economy has foreclosed many of the opportunities for self-expression they thought they would have. Thousands study international relations in college, but the State Department can use only 150 each year. Only a few in any profession can rise to positions where individual initiative and creativity are truly possible.

But no amount of frustration with society justifies or explains the destructive path some student protest has taken recently. President Nixon has withdrawn more than 100,000 troops from Vietnam and instituted draft reform that will lead to a voluntary army. He has proposed an income maintenance plan that would be the most revolutionary domestic program in a generation and he is already the first President since Franklin Roosevelt to spend more on domestic programs than on defense.

It can be argued that these steps are not enough. But can it really be argued that they are so unsatisfactory that burning buildings and disrupting classrooms become justifiable or even understandable?

Douglas L. Hallett, a senior at Yale University and editorial chairman of the Yale Daily News, is a summer employe in The Wall Street Journal's Washington bureau.

Can it really be argued that students, a group possessing the luxury of time to use traditional political channels and the most potential for eventually controlling them, deserve the President's special attention?

Can it really be argued that students are doing anything more than indulging their own uncontrolled emotions when their activities polarize the society and undermine the political viability of issues with which they are supposedly concerned?

Mr. Keniston and others who have been counseling the President over the past few weeks may be optimistic about the students and their concerns, but the real radicals in this society fear them. They see many students as indulging themselves at their expense. The Black Panthers denounced the white students who took to the streets during the May weekend demonstrations as "racist exhibitionists who know black people, and not they themselves, will have to face the repercussions of their madness."

And Steven Kelman, a Socialist and recent Harvard graduate whose book, "Push Comes to Shove," is the best yet on campus unrest, blasted his fellow students before the Scranton Commission for their "snobbish, arrogant and elitist attitude." He said unrest would continue "as long as students continue to regard the American people not as potential allies in solving problems but as an enemy to be confronted."

A Fundamental Realization

Neither the Panthers nor Mr. Kelman would appreciate being coupled with Vice President Agnew, but they share with him one fundamental realization: Most so-called student radicals cannot be trusted. Students don't know what they want. They identify for periods of time with anybody from Eugene McCarthy to Bobby Seale, but their commitments are transitory. The outrage that followed the Cambodian incursion has not been followed by sustained political activity among students. As president Kingman Brewster of Yale knew when he undertook his policy of generous tolerance last spring, students get bored easily when it comes to the hard work of political organization and stop when the initial enthusiasm has passed.

Worse yet, students are frighteningly ignorant of the problems the country faces and of the efforts that have been made to solve them. They react strongly to rhetoric because they have nothing else on which to rely. It can be argued that President Nixon's withdrawal from Vietnam is too slow, but those who make this point should be willing to acknowledge that Mr. Nixon is doing exactly what Robert Kennedy proposed in 1963.

Similarly, it is possible to quarrel with the "new urbanology" of Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Edward Banfield, but it should also be clear that their approach is designed partially to eliminate the statism that proved so ineffective in the Johnson Administration's "Great Society" programs. Students, in their false morality, refuse to make these acknowledgments because their historical sense is too weak to breed in them the tolerance that should come with learning.

Responsibility for this situation does not, as the Scranton commission testimony and Mr. Heard's report come close to implying, lie with Mr. Nixon. Rather, as only a few brave academic souls such as former Cornell President James Perkins have partially conceded, it lies with the very same people who have been devoting so much energy to blaming the President: The faculty and administrators of the nation's colleges and universities. During the Fifties, Mr. Perkins argues, universities became so distracted by the McCarthy furor that they failed to keep pace

with changing historical currents. Instead of changing teaching content and academic structures, they just marked time.

On a public policy level, Mr. Perkins believes this led to the universities' advocating two premises that were "bankrupt" long before the academic community noticed. One was that the United States could intervene freely throughout the world. The other was that integration, accepted by both black and white, would be the answer to racial tensions. Mr. Perkins says these faulty ideas have "chopped up" universities. And although he does not continue his argument, presumably he means that this has taken place at least partly because the universities have refused to accept responsibility for their views. Now, in their efforts to escape responsibility, they are blaming Mr. Nixon. In the process, they are breeding in their students the kind of rigidity that comes only with a one-sided historical analysis.

Unchanged Since the Middle Ages

The Perkins analysis can also be extended to the internal structure of universities. Universities are the only institutions in American society that have not fundamentally changed since the Middle Ages. They still maintain highly structured tenure systems that protect incompetence and cheat the student out of the personal tutoring that he is told the best universities offer. But the academic community's own rigidity does not stop it from lashing out at the political system and accusing it of the very same authoritarianism and repression academic institutions so perfectly exemplify. Learning from people who engage in this kind of self-delusion and self-projection, students naturally come away confused about their history and their place in it.

In fairness, it must be noted that the problem lies deeper than the campus. The loss of historical perspective and the diminished and unsure sense of the self that it brings have been encouraged by other institutions as well. Writes historian Daniel J. Boorstin, "In our churches the effort to see man sub specie aeternitatis has been displaced by the 'social gospel'—which is the polemic against the supposed special evils of our time. Our book publishers and literary reviewers no longer seek the timeless and durable, but spend most of their efforts in fruitless search for *ala mode* 'social commentary'—which they pray won't be out of date when the issue goes to press in two weeks or when the manuscript becomes a book in six months." Nor have the news media, in this day of up-to-the minute television coverage, done much to develop in their audience a feel for the slow and deliberate character of social change.

But inevitably the universities must take primary responsibility for the confusion among many of our students. More than any other institution, they influence the thoughts and feelings of the brightest of our young. And more than any other institution, they are responsible for preserving our past and passing along the best of it to the next generation. They have failed miserably in that role. And only when they begin to succeed will students turn to more constructive paths for their emotional surges.

This does not mean President Nixon cannot take some steps to ease campus tensions. He can persuade his Vice President to soften his statements that appear to many students to be deliberate incitement to riot. He can make a far better intellectual presentation of his own views than he has so far. He can begin advocating the kinds of public and private decentralization that will create new opportunities for self-expression for students and others. But Mr. Nixon should resist, and resist vigorously, anybody who advises him to institute artificial consultation with students that cannot be followed by policy decisions the students desire. The problem goes far beyond anything symbolic gesturing could solve, and besides, students get too much of that already on their campuses.

Commentaries From the Heard Report

The following "commentaries" are excerpted from two memoranda submitted to President Nixon in June and July by Alexander Heard, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University. On May 8, the President had asked Dr. Heard, to serve as special adviser to help keep him "fully and currently informed on the thinking of the academic community and especially of the young" and to help "present to this administration the views and sentiments of the campuses around the country."

SEVEN MILLION students enrolled in colleges and universities are on the threshold of adult citizenship. Millions more in high school and junior high school soon will be. What they believe, how they behave, will inevitably shape decisively future life in the United States—and our domestic tranquility this coming September.

We do not believe that our national government really understands that a national crisis confronts us. The condition cannot be conceived as a temporary, aberrational outburst by the young, or simply as a "campus crisis" or a "student crisis." Because of its immediate and potential consequences, the condition we face must be viewed as a national emergency, to be addressed with the sense of urgency and openness of mind required by national emergencies . . .

The Cambodian action (followed by the Jackson State and Kent State killings) sharply intensified feelings among students already protesting the war and showing disaffection with society generally. More important, Cambodia provoked and exposed antiwar and societal discontents among large numbers of students of normally moderate and conservative political viewpoints. Before Cambodia, many of us on the campuses believed that deep disaffection afflicted only a small minority of students. Now we conclude that May triggered a vast pre-existing charge of pentup frustration and dissatisfaction . . .

Though often emotional and egocentric, the passions of idealism produce not only

brave heroes on the battlefield but also determined fighters in the struggles for social change. Whatever one may think of its origins or consequences, the idealism of college students toward domestic and overseas problems embraces an increasing willingness to abandon the conventional postures of national and personal interest. (The mode is familiar to those of us who went to college in the 1930s.) There is a human concern for victims of racial discrimination, for those who suffer in the urban ghetto, for the poor in Appalachia, and for those who die — under whatever flag — in Southeast Asia.

The strain of idealism in college students helps to explain the intensity of beliefs and the vigor of actions rooted in those beliefs. Student behavior that to some seems simply "unpatriotic" may be intended by the student as the highest form of patriotism.

THE SELF-identification by college students as a separate class in society is assuming extraordinary proportions. A student class may well become a structural feature of our political scene, remaining after present issues are ended.

Student class "solidarity" stems in important measure from the conviction of many students that they do not find sympathy for their concerns or understanding of their problems among older people, from the belief that older society brings unwarranted sanctions against them for wanting to be different (e.g., objections against unconventional appearance, use of marijuana, etc.) and from the perception that "society" improperly imposes burdens upon them which, having had little part in their imposition, they do not wish to carry (the draft and "irrelevant" college curriculum being most often cited.)

Whether easily understandable by older persons or not, we are still faced by a new fact of political life: growing class consciousness among students. For effective national government, this constituency requires attention and understanding just as do farmers, organized labor, veterans, blacks, etc.

This group, however, has much ambition, much energy, and more future than the others. Student class consciousness has been growing for some years, but the Cambodian crisis catapulted it into something approaching a national political movement. The crisis also threw a sizeable percentage of previously moderate and apolitical students into the arms of the radical elements in the university community . . .

Fifty-eight per cent of the students . . . agreed with a statement that, compared to a year before, the United States had become a highly repressive society, intolerant of dissent.

Some students are guilty of a brand of repression of their own. Its roots include distrust and self-righteousness. Intolerance of contrary opinion on certain campuses has become a virulent form of anti-intellectualism, sometimes involving violent and disruptive attempts to silence opposing views.

This intolerance poses as great a threat from within to the educational freedom of our campuses as they face from without.

In emphasizing campus intolerance, I also emphasize that on many campuses dissent has been expressed with high loyalty to concepts of free speech, open forum, and intellectual freedom. Strong efforts by students and faculty to moderate the heat, restrain emotionalism, and keep the way open to expression of all viewpoints have been notable on many campuses . . .

The situation is beyond partisan politics. Not surprisingly, over three-fifths of the students surveyed perceived no real difference between the Democratic and Republican parties. More significantly, few present-day political leaders have extensive student support. Loyalty to existing institutions and faith in the country are crucial contemporary issues.

The national emergency our nation faces is more acute for black students, by several powers of magnitude, than for other students. The fact of their lives and their sense of deprivation multiply their fears and frustrations and bitterness . . .

When the war is brought to an end, the salient issue, though not the only issue, of radical student protest will have been removed. Only when that happens can steps to restore the confidence of the disaffected young in the political system be most effectively taken. Though most students feel that student activism will continue, an end to the war will reduce the volume and volatility of campus dissent . . .

SOME realist might well ask whether the students, faculties, blacks, and the others warrant all this energy and emphasis. They do. The importance of the symptoms that have concerned us, and their causes, goes beyond manifestations of unrest and protest. Power takes many forms in society. We are familiar with military power, financial power, governmental power, political power in organized groups, and other effective influences. Intellectual power ought not to be forgotten. Time and again in the world's history, ideas have prevailed over other forms of power, from the teachings of Jesus through those of Tom Paine and Karl Marx to those of Adolf Hitler. Intellectual Power is at work in new ways in the United States. New ideas are challenging established ways—which is the most important fact of all to be acknowledged and understood.

Young people, in all their variety and conditions of organization need to be viewed as full-fledged constituents of government. Effective participation in politics and government by them increases their understanding of government (and therefore often their patience with it), increases their acceptance of the results of community decision-making processes (local, state and national), and increases their influence over substantive policy, thereby sometimes improving the quality of public decisions.

PRESERVATION

Panel Expected to 'Gig' Nixon, Police

GOP Fears Report on Campus Unrest

By Ken W. Clawson
Washington Post Staff Writer

There is a growing fear among Republicans that President Nixon's commission on campus unrest will shortly produce a report sympathetic to student demonstrations and harshly critical of the Nixon administration and law enforcement tactics.

Worried GOP senators and congressmen up for reelection in November have already warned the White House that anticipated criticism of the administration and police may damage strong law and order campaigns.

"We have every reason to believe this report is going to gig the President, the police and the National Guard," a Senate source said. "How can you campaign for firmness in dealing with disorders when the President's own commission will say the unrest is caused by Mr. Nixon, the police and the National Guard?"

Sources inside the administration and on Capitol Hill said that based on background papers and tentative drafts of sections of the report, the following points will be made:

1—The rhetoric of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew on dissent and campus unrest is responsible for much of the disorder

and protest on college campuses.

2—The report will zero in on "official violence," alleging over-reaction by police and National Guardsmen in dealing with campus disorders.

3—Administrative structures of colleges and universities are archaic and unresponsive to students, and are therefore unable and unwilling to satisfy legitimate student aspirations for an

increased role in campus life.

4—Acts of disruption and terror are actions of individuals and not an organized or coordinated strategy of radical student organizations.

5—Below the surface of campus disorders lies an idealism that cannot be satisfied as long as the United States is engaged in conflict in Southeast Asia, which students see as morally wrong and which colors

most of their opinions and actions.

A staff member of the commission headed by former Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania said he expected these points to be made, too, but that the rhetoric of the report would be more restrained, and that it would be balanced with criticism, "hard, tough criticism," of student violence.

See REPORT, A3, Col. 1

PRESERVATION

Republicans Fear Campus Pro

REPORT, From A1

The staffer, who asked not to be identified, said the nine members of the presidential panel started out in June "in an atmosphere of mutual suspicion that has evolved into mutual respect despite continuing strong disagreements." The commission's report is due by Oct. 1.

Administration sources made it clear yesterday that they will consider the report worthless if it does not contain "object lessons" based on the incidents that prompted the commission to be empaneled in the first place—for example, that college administrators should not abdicate their roles once police or National Guardsmen have been called on campus, as some have done.

"The President has made it clear that foreign policy isn't going to be made in the streets, so I hope this group doesn't waste its time and the money we've given it," one source said.

President Nixon appointed the commission June 13 in the wake of disturbances at more than 100 colleges, including student deaths at Kent State University and Jackson State College.

National Guardsmen killed four students at the Ohio university on May 4. Eleven days later, Mississippi State Police killed two students in disorders at Jackson State.

The commission members, four of whom are black, were characterized as "strongly middle-of-the-road" when President Nixon announced their appointment. Chairman Scranton said the members are "objective people who don't have preconceived notions."

But White House aides, including some who recommended appointments to the commission, now believe a majority is to the left of center. One aide said that on the basis of the "road show" conducted by the commission at hearings at Kent State, Jackson State and on the West Coast, he would characterize four commission members as "moderate liberals, with the remaining ones far to the left."

The commission members are:

James Ahern, 38, police chief of New Haven, Conn.; Erwin D. Canham, 66, editor-in-chief of the Christian Science Monitor; Dr. James E. Cheek, 37, president of Howard University; Benjamin O. Davis, former Air Force lieutenant general who served briefly as public safety director of Cleveland; Martha A. Derthick, associate professor of political science at Boston College.

Bayless Manning, 47, dean of Stanford Law School; Revius O. Ortique Jr., 46, president of the Urban League of New Orleans and former president of the National Bar Association; Joseph Rhodes Jr., 22, a junior fellow at Harvard University.

Vice President Agnew called for the resignation of Rhodes within a few days after he was named to the commission. Rhodes said in an interview that he wanted to find out whether police on campuses were thinking about "campus bums when they pulled the trigger." This was shortly after President Nixon referred to some campus dissenters as bums.

After the Vice President's attack, Rhodes announced that with funds from a "private source" in New York he was forming his own task force of young people to keep the Scranton commission probe honest.

Cheek was associated with Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, in advising Mr. Nixon on campus affairs. Their memorandums, made public in July, criticized the administration for not understanding that a "... national crisis confronts us."

White House aides went off of their way to discredit the Heard-Cheek memorandums.

One aide who has read background papers on which the Scranton report will be based, said this document will make the Heard-Cheek memorandums "seem like kindergarten stuff."

Inside the administration and on Capitol Hill an increasing amount of criticism is being directed at the man responsible for naming the commission members, John Ehrlichman, the President's assistant for domestic affairs.

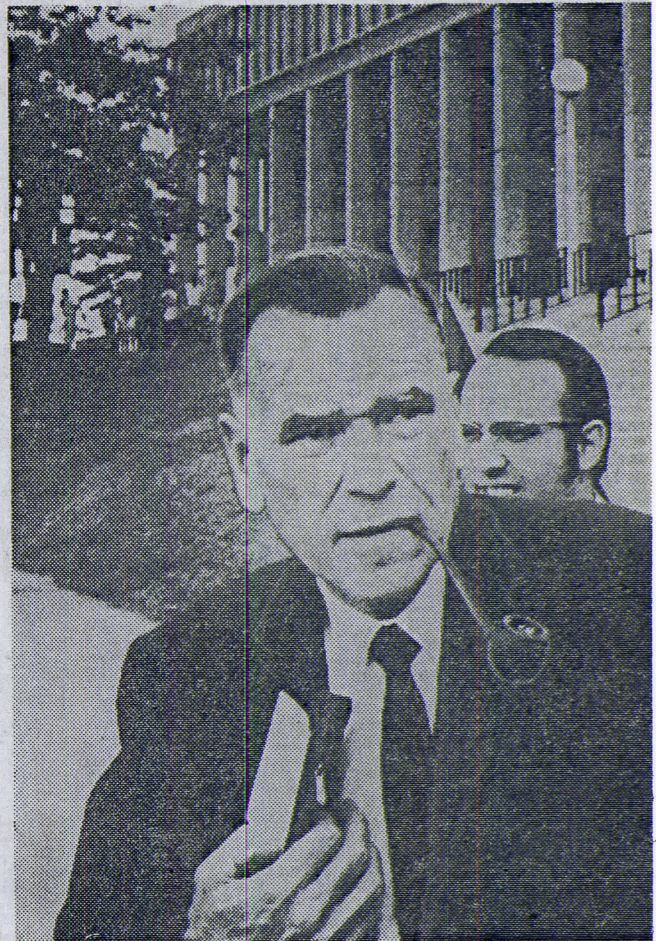
"When you put Rhodes, Cheek and Ortique on the commission, you can expect what is now taking place," a high administration source said. "All three of them hate the President, and they will vent that passion in a report like this."

A Republican Senate source, who acknowledged that he had hoped the Scranton commission would issue a report placing the blame for campus unrest "on the campuses," said that Ehrlichman simply "does not understand the campus situation or the New Left and that's why he could make the blunder of appointing those people."

He said that the selection of Rhodes was an example of how "conservatives don't understand the New Left."

"I am sure Rhodes really appealed to Ehrlichman; black, neatly dressed, accomplished changes without violence on the campus at California Institute of Technology, articulate. Like the good Seattle lawyer that he is, Ehrlichman never looked below these surface things to find out what Rhodes really stands for. But he's going to find out soon."

Staff sources inside the Scranton commission indicated that young Rhodes is indeed the most emotional member, but not a radical firebrand. They said the philosophical spectrum on the commission ran from



Kent State President Robert White, left, met with

Rhodes, Cheek and Ortique on the left, to General Davis, who reportedly was the only member who did not wish to assign blame to Mr. Nixon and Mr. Agnew. Ehrlichman actually received widespread advice within the administration before selecting the commission members.

For example, presidential counselor Daniel P. Moynihan recommended Martha Derthick, the only woman in the group, who had written her doctoral thesis at Radcliffe College on the National Guard. Neither did Ehrlichman personally tap Rhodes; he was recommended by another White House aide who had previously worked with Rhodes.

Chairman Scranton, Chief Ahern, Gen. Davis and Ortique were recommended by the American Bar Association.

Before the final selection was made, it was learned yesterday, the nine members were approved by Ehrlichman, Attorney General John N. Mitchell, presidential counselor Robert H. Finch,

and Bernard G. Segal, president of the ABA.

The ABA itself submitted an initial list of prospective members. It also outlined in a letter to President Nixon a recommendation that a campus unrest panel be named and outlined what it considered the duties of such a group.

Nevertheless, Ehrlichman is receiving the bulk of the blame, although counselor Robert H. Finch and special assistant Leonard Garment are assigned primary White House liaison duties with the Scranton commission.

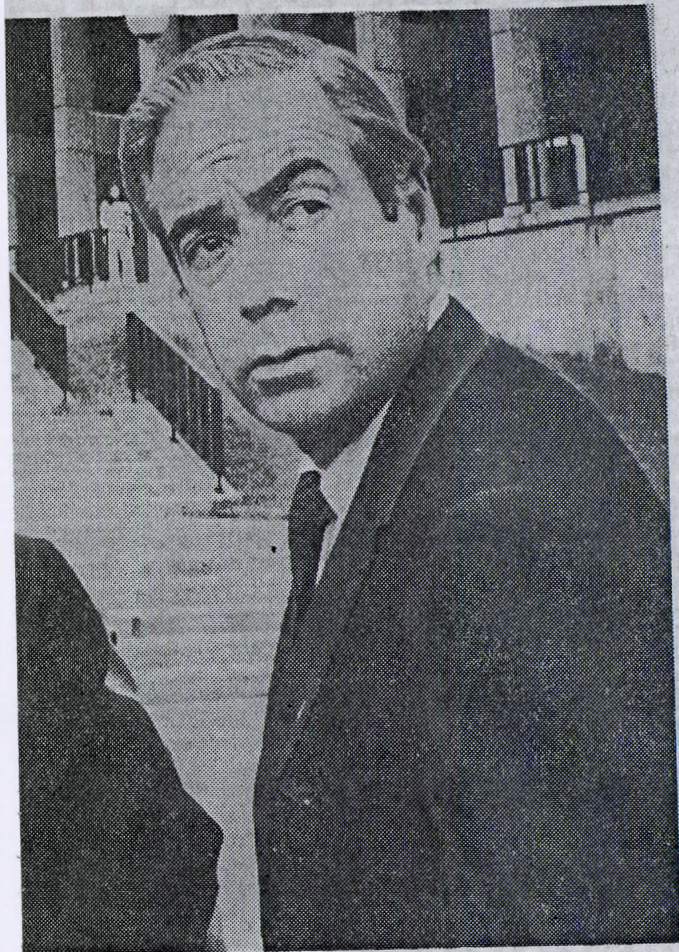
Sen. Gordon Allott (R-Colo.) reportedly was including all three in his Sept. 4 scathing attack on the commission's anticipated report.

While absolving President Nixon of responsibility for the makeup of the commission, Allott said that the selection of members "... rests heavily on the shoulders of a few of the President's senior domestic advisers."

The report he said, may "pour kerosene on the flames" of campus unrest. It

PRESERVATION

He Will Criticize Nixon, Police



United Press International

William Scranton on the troubled campus last month.

was learned later that Allott had received some information on the tentative shape of the report from inside the commission.

Earlier, Sen. Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) said in a Senate speech that he could detect the possible outcome of the

Scranton investigation because testimony being taken by the unit appeared to be "weighted in favor of those who have caused trouble and against those who want to get an education."

Byrd subsequently presented to the commission an

independent study on campus unrest.

The staff of the Scranton commission is headed by Matthew Byrne Jr., 39-year-old former U.S. Attorney for Los Angeles, who was appointed by President Johnson but was kept in office by the Nixon administration until last May. Byrne is well liked by the Justice Department and was seriously considered to head the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration before being named executive director of the campus unrest unit.

His deputy is John J. Kirby who is on leave from President Nixon's former New York law firm.

Emerging as the key staffer in putting the report together is Paul Weaver, professor of political science at Harvard and an associate editor of *The Public Interest*.

Six professional writers were hired for periods ranging from a few days to the three months of the commission's existence. They are Robert Abernathy, NBC News; James Reichley, *Fortune* magazine; Lee Winfrey, *Detroit Free Press*; Jack Bass, *Charlotte Observer*; Erwin Glikes, Basic Books division of Harper and Row, and Robert Rice, a former staffer of the Katzenbach crime and law enforcement commission.

Some newspapers refused to permit reporters to work for the commission because they believed it would compromise them in dealing with stories about the commission and its eventual report.

Bass said his newspaper,

a member of the Knight chain, granted him a leave of absence to write the 20,000-word section of the report dealing with the disorders at Jackson State College.

Bass, a political reporter, said he had an understanding that he would not write about the Scranton report. During his month with the commission, Bass said he was paid on a per diem basis of "less than \$100 a day" and expenses.

Reichley also took a month's leave of absence from *Fortune*, where he is a political writer. He also said he would not write directly about the upcoming report.

Reichley served as Gov. Scranton's legislative secretary from 1962 to 1967.

While the size of the commission staff varied during the summer, it reached its peak during the field investigations and hearings. It included more than a score of lawyers, police officials, university personnel and others.

Key staff people included: Paul Brest, law professor at Stanford University; Richard Baungart, political science professor at the University of Maryland; James J. O'Toole, former Time-Life employee who recently completed a Ph.D. at Oxford; Roland Patzer, vice president for student affairs, University of Vermont; James Strazzella, vice dean of the Pennsylvania Law School; Owen Fiss, law professor, University of Chicago, and Raymond T. Galvin, police science specialist at the University of Minnesota.

PRESERVATION