

# The Restoration of Academic Authority

By ROBERT NISBET

All of a sudden the word *authority* has become popular in even liberal circles of the academic world. The prospect of the coming academic year is not a pleasant one at Berkeley, Harvard, Columbia, Michigan and other major universities in the land. Memory is too vivid of the kinds of happenings last spring on these campuses that were direct, calculated responses to Cambodia and Kent State. If each of these events was sufficient reason for a scuttling of the curriculum and jettisoning of courses in the name of "reconstruction" or "reconstitution," there can hardly fail to be other, equally evocative reasons forthcoming from the New Left to justify additional scuttlings and jettisonings around the country. Nothing generates causes of revolt and insurrection like the presence of a permanent cadre of left militants seeking causes.

How do we account for sudden affection in liberal hearts toward academic authority and its resuscitation on the campus? First, the sheer fatigue occasioned by militant causes. There have been too many of them for too long. Each, with its inevitable rally, demonstration or picket line is a form of violence—verbal and emotional if no other—and hence an assault upon the contexts of genuine teaching and scholarship.

Second is the mounting fear among even the most sanguine of faculty that public patience may be running out; patience with the university as an institution in our mass democratic social order. Great societies and periods of history have existed before in human history without universities; they certainly can again. Despite the well-sown myth of the university's indispensability to our technologically advanced society, there are other, existing sources of such knowledge needing only to be developed and multiplied. They will be cheaper and more efficient, being unhampered by the plethora of ranks, privileges and immunities that go with the essentially guild-like, quasi-aristocratic, Middle-Ages-sprung university. What the university in America had to offer was not unique manufacture of knowledge, but a unique structure of authority resident in a unique intellectual community. Very little else.

Third is the current state of academic freedom on the campus. Freedom to teach and learn is the principal casualty of events such as those which began at Berkeley in 1964 and reached a high point last spring after Cambodia and Kent State. When authority collapses in an institution, the scene is invaded by a host of petty tyrannies, no single one of them decisive by itself but, taken in the aggregate, capable of fettering inquiry in the classroom and, in the long run, of extinguishing free intellectual life on the campus. Such tyrannies range from direct violence through the semi-violence of building-blockades and picket lines all the way to the doubtless endurable but nonetheless corrosive emotional violence contained in public obscenity, epithet and relentless political pressure.

Add to these tyrannies the incessant rounds of faculty and committee meetings, not to mention conferences with students—whose capacity to be listened to is one of the great natural forces in the universe—and, all too clearly, the life of reason is made insecure at best.

One detects also a rising weariness, even among faculty members, with the kind of explanation of student insurrections that has become standard to the point of staleness when university presidents are consulted by members of Congress, by Presidential commissions and trustees. Viet Nam, black civil rights, the draft, imminent unemployment for some and the revolutionary ferment of modernity have been, by now, overplayed. It is too easy for many of us to recall the depression-grounded, Fascism-obsessed, unemployment-haunted and revolution-prone 1930s. Despite the swirling currents of national and international change, campuses were not then settings of vandalism masquerading as social idealism.

The student-faculty insurrections of the 1960s did not break down academic authority. It was the prior breakdown of authority that caused the insurrections. This breakdown had begun in the 1950s, the result of profound economic and social changes that disrupted the academic community and of a steadily rising internal politicization that fragmented traditional authority. In retrospect it is possible to see that even had there been no issues of Viet Nam and of civil rights, no "malaise of student soul before technology," insurrections in the 1960s would surely have occurred. Everything we know about insurrectionary and delinquent behavior suggests that "reasons" can always be quickly manufactured. What is alone sociologically crucial, however, is prior, extreme liberalization and democratization of traditional authority.

So high even at the present moment is the correlation between faculty-student outbursts on a campus and immediately prior—and substantial—increase in what has become dignified as "participatory democracy" that one may successfully predict in terms of this correlation. Over and over one finds that the worst and most prolonged of insurrections occur precisely where grants of governing authority to students and faculty have been greatest.

All of this is becoming clear to the great majority of faculty—the majority that chooses to be in class, to teach from scholarly competence, not revolutionary impulse, and that cherishes the academic community. Hence the rising demand for restoration of authority on the campus. Not only academic freedom but academic life hangs in the balance.

Instant authority is, however, no more possible than instant freedom. It would be very nice if the structure of academic authority, as this was known for so many decades in the American university, could be put together again, overnight, by majority vote of the faculty. But it cannot. That structure of authority was too fragile, too much the product of consensus, and of accepted academic role by all concerned, to be expected to rise now, Phoenix-like out of the ashes of the 1960s.

No other major institution in modern history has existed with the minimum of formal regulation and of contractual detail that one found in the university down until the late 1950s. It was unnecessary to prescribe meeting of classes for faculty. Potent though this structure of authority was, it was yet so finely drawn, and so much a part of the very atmosphere, as to be nearly invisible. Thus the essential character of the academic community; thus the special nature of academic freedom.

Such structures of authority, however, have one fatal weakness. Once seriously challenged by a militant minority, or subjected to chipping away by repeated acts of defiance by individuals, they cannot stand very long. They are vulnerable to even the feeblest and most jejune of attacks: Those such as the one mounted by Mario Savio and a few students

The author is professor of sociology at the University of California, Riverside, and was a member of the university's administration from 1953 to 1963. His next book, "The Degradation of the Academic Dogma," is scheduled for publication this spring by Basic Books, Inc.

at Berkeley in 1964. Once such structures are flouted, they are destroyed. Once destroyed they cannot be put together again.

It seems extremely unlikely therefore that present circumstances are likely to produce anything but new forms of power on the campus. Power, unlike the kind of authority I described just above, is at once more personal, more direct, more detailed and more formal. Although most persons tend to think of freedom as the consequence of eroding authority in a culture, this is not the case, for freedom cannot exist save in circumstances of accepted authority. Power, not freedom is the invariable response in history to conditions of shattered authority. The history of the modern national state can be written in terms of the declining authorities of other, older, traditional forms of authority in society.

What kinds of power can we expect to see on the campus as the condition of the minimal order required by academic performance in classroom, study, and laboratory? Let us overlook the repressive laws passed last year in 32 states, aimed at faculty-student disorders. We may take these for granted. An academic liberalism unable to distinguish between the authority of a dean or department chairman and the power of the legislature was bound to get ever larger dosages of the latter.

Let us also pass over the relentless increase in size and technical effectiveness of campus police forces. Let us, accepting the legislative and police powers as obvious by now, turn to other manifestations of power that will be vivid during the coming academic year. These are bound to have far more impact upon the nature of the university in America than can legislature and police which, after all, only seek to maintain civil order, not reorganize the university.

The first and crucial manifestation will be increased participation of boards of trustees, conservative boards, through effective majorities, in academic, including curricular affairs on the campus.

One may regret this, as I do, for the history of trustee intervention in academic matters is surely a checkered one. But the lay board is sovereign in American colleges and universities, and the pressure of public opinion, of government officials, and, most assuredly, of alumni groups will make such intervention certain.

Such trustee intervention will touch areas heretofore sacred to faculties: Areas of appointment and promotion, of academic admissions, of academic tenure, and, most especially, curriculum. For it was, as noted above, the seeming devastation of curriculum on the university campus last spring, in the wake of Cambodia and Kent State, that aroused public and government to a degree of alarm that nothing prior had been able to achieve.

None of these is an area in which trustee judgment is ordinarily very good. Trustees lack the qualifications of experience and of insight that can come only from experience. But trustee intervention will nevertheless take place in rising volume. One may hope that such intervention will quickly translate itself, time and crisis permitting, into more or less institutionalized, reasonably stable, channels. But who can be optimistic in times such as these?

The second major manifestation of power on campuses accustomed to, and now longing for, traditional academic authority will be—already is—a striking increase in administrative management of all spheres of academic life. University presidents are becoming stronger. The striking example set by President Hayakawa at San Francisco State a cou-

ple of years ago has virtually revolutionized trustee, alumni, and public conception of what a university and college president should be. The search for stronger presidents is, plainly, already on. Individuals of Mr. Hayakawa's combination of academic knowledge, temperamental buoyancy and fortitude are perhaps not common. But they exist—and in university faculties! It will not be necessary to go to industry, military or foundations for such persons, which is always a self-defeating mistake inasmuch as their ignorance of the details—the ever-vital details—of academic society makes them the prey of every academic charlatan on the campus.

But strong presidents cannot exist unless there are strong presidencies. Trustees appear to be seeing to that even as I write. One surmises that in many an institution only one instruction will be given a new president: Maintain academic and civil order. If he can do that, all gaucheries and sins in other respects will be overlooked.

With strong presidencies there will go strong administrations: Strong provosts, deans and department chairmen. One can trace much of the decline of academic authority in the American university after World War II through the degradation of these administrative positions, especially that of the all-important department chairman.

With strengthened administrations there cannot help but result substantially weakened faculties—I mean politically weakened faculties. This may have its advantages, for there are many teachers and scholars who believe faculty political strength is nurturing culture for permanent faculty politics. There is much evidence to support the view that the best of faculty, assessed by scholarly and teaching distinction, stay the farthest from the weird combination of Jacobin democracy and Byzantine bureaucracy that American university faculties have delighted in constructing during recent times. Such individuals elected academic life to teach and do research; not run for office. In academic politics, borrowing here from Yeats, the best do indeed lack conviction and the worst are filled with passionate intensity.

These are, I think, the major changes likely during the coming year or two. Among other changes, for good or bad, will almost certainly be abolition of tenure. Tenure came into being at a time when the university teacher was at about the level, in social and economic strength, of the country parson. No one would confuse the prestige, power and affluence of the university professor today with anything in the clergy. And the university is but a small part of the very large intellectual establishment in this country. Nowhere else in the intellectual establishment are mediocrity of mind, laziness and calculated subversion of role reinforced by the mystique of tenure. Tenure in the great universities has been for some time an anachronism. It will, I predict, shortly become a memory. The "reconstitution" and "reconstruction" of curriculum last spring made that inevitable.

There may be still other changes: For example the clearing from academic scene of the jungle of overgrowths in the forms of expensive, distracting bureaus, centers and institutes which have arisen under the university's Faustian assumption of role of Chief of Research Establishment, of Super-Humanitarian, of Patron of All Arts, of Adjunct Government to Washington, of Benign Therapist to identity-searching youth and of Loyal Revolutionary Opposition.

Each role is indeed an attractive one. But taking them together, it is difficult to imagine much teaching and scholarship getting done or an academic community existing. And, who knows, maybe as a consequence of these changes the university can commence the slow ascent once again of academic Olympus, to become once more an intellectual community, built around the learned disciplines and professions, rather than what it now so plainly is: Mere microcosm of society; very expensive and unneeded microcosm of society.

# Hayakawa Plans Child Care at State

By Carl Irving

Examiner Education Writer

EUREKA — President S. I. Hayakawa said today he will do his thing for the Women's Liberation Movement by establishing a large child-care center at San Francisco State College this fall. The center will enable

many emotionally mature young women to return to college, encourage them to have children at an early stage of their lives and be "damn good for marriage," said Hayakawa.

Just back from a trip to Japan, Hayakawa was interviewed during a meeting of Presidents at Humboldt State College near here. Fourteen of the 19 campus presidents are attending the meeting, called by Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke to prepare for the fall term, which begins at the end of the month.

Hayakawa denied a report that he was talking about resigning, calling it "foolishness." He also confirmed that he had offered a directorship of ethnic studies at San Francisco State to anthropologist James Hirabayashi.

Regarding the child care center, Hayakawa said he would find funds so that

young women who have been out in the world will be able to return to college.

He added: "There are many adolescents in college because they are expected to be. But those who have been out and are back have a definite purpose. They know enough about themselves emotionally. Many immature students bounce from major to major."

He said the center will enable emotionally mature young women to come to school, park their kids and go to class. As the husband matures in his job, the wife will be intellectually maturing at the same time.

"This is damn good for marriage," he said.

Having babies, he said, should "not be a form of slavery."

Regarding ethnic studies, Hayakawa said Hirabayashi had been "trying very hard" to find responsible faculty appointments. He said he had succeeded in "putting together a very responsible program in Asian-American studies. Some beginnings have been made in Latin American and American Indian studies," Hayakawa said.

In black studies, he added, "the outcome remains a little in doubt" noting that funding is available for eight faculty positions, none of which have yet been filled.

Hirabayashi is interviewing former members of the black studies department, along with two candidates "to fill as many of these vacancies as possible before we open the school year," he said.

Hayakawa added that Hirabayashi "has been exploring the possibilities and support from the various ethnic groups involved. He seems to be having considerable success and I hope soon to announce officially his appointment as director."

Saturday, September 5, 1970

NICHU BEI TIMES

## Newspaper Survey . . .

### DR. S. I. HAYAKAWA RATED AS 'CONSERVATIVE' AS COLUMNIST

BOSTON, Sept. 4—Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, San Francisco State college president and syndicated columnist who considers himself a "liberal" politically, has been rated as "conservative" in a recent survey of newspapermen.

"Seminar" magazine, a quarterly review for newspapermen and published by the Copley Newspapers, conducted the survey among its 1800 member papers. Results are published in the magazine's September issue. The pool was designed to deter-

mine who is the "most fair" and "least fair" among the media. Under a scoring system which gave a plus-one for each positive response and a minus-one for negative votes, the Christian Science Monitor was rated "most fair" with a score of 85, followed by the Wall Street Journal of New York, 81.

The Los Angeles Times stood in fourth place and received a 20.

Dr. Hayakawa finished second among columnists rated and received 27 points.

NICHU BEI TIMES

Friday, September 18, 1970

### DR. HAYAKAWA GIVES TALK HERE ON JAPAN STUDENT MOVEMENTS

Japanese student radicals are better organized and equipped ideologically, but they share with their American counterparts an intellectual arrogance. Dr. S. I. Hayakawa, San Francisco State college president, said Wednesday.

Dr. Hayakawa made this report at a luncheon sponsored by the Japan Society of San Francisco, on his recent tour of Japan as a guest of the Japanese government.

The various leftwing parties of the Japanese student movement, organized into tactical units for demonstrations, have distinct ideological differences in contrast to the American student activists "who all seem to merge into each other in an untidy group," Hayakawa said.

From comfortable homes. The young people in both countries he said, share the experience of coming from comfortable, child-centered homes where they learned to "attach extraordinary importance to their own views."

"There is a tremendous amount of anti-democratic elitism in the student movements," he said. "They are monsters of intolerance . . . they cannot be bothered arguing with others . . . they simply announce what is right."

The politically radical Japanese youth "looks like a square," the president said, "while in the United States the hippie culture and slang has pervaded the radical movement."

Dr. Hayakawa said new leftists in the U.S. don't have clear ideological distinctions as they do in Japan.

Both Sides Control Violence

Furthermore, he said, both police and students in their frequent pitched battles have a tacit agreement that neither side will go beyond a certain level of violence.

"In Japan, although there is tremendous property damage during riots, the situation never really gets out of hand," he said. "The students and police tacitly agree not to use weapons other than staves and clubs."

And, after school days are through, the Japanese radicals tend to go to work for The Establishment, he said.

"But that's not the case with Jerry Rubin."







## OUR MAN ON THE TOWN

**By Jack  
Rosenbaum**



## Checked Out

There's a very red - faced bartender at Paoli's restaurant. The other closing hour after a busy shift he carried the night's receipts to the hatchback stand and handed the heavy sack over to be put in the safe. Next day he received a frantic call at home. Where was the money? Turned out the girl behind the stand wasn't Marie Claire, but a look-alike customer searching for her coat. She not only collected her garment, but disappeared with the loot.

S.F. State president S. I. Hayakawa will be 65 this summer, mandatory retirement age for state employees. But you can bet he'll be around for awhile. The college trustees can reappoint him on a year - to - year basis — and they will.

Ed Mardell was telling his daughters that when he went to school in Petaluma he had to walk two miles. "What were you protesting, Dad?" asked Ellen. . . . A prospective juror in a drunk driving case told Judge Harry Low to excuse her because she was prejudiced. "I go on trial next week on the same charge." Excused!

San Francisco Examiner

**EDITORIALS    OPINIONS    COMICS**  
**CLASSIFIED    OBITUARIES**

## OUR MAN ON THE TOWN

**By Jack  
Rosenbaum**



**TIME HEALS:** Once-embattled S.F. State resumed yesterday after the holidays and the 18,000-student campus looked like a seat of learning should. Students strolling with books in arms, an occasional romantic scene as boy and girl sat on the steps, studying together, half a dozen tables along the walks where young vendors were selling handmade leather goods, costume jewelry, candles. No radical rhetoric . . . Things are so ideal Pres. Hayakawa is packing for a one-week 14,000 mile speaking tour to Washington, D.C., Miami, and Hawaii.

Dapper Henry Nathan has solved the problem of protecting those wide, fancy ties from soup stains. At the opening of the new Sorrento Restaurant on Polk St. he asked owner Jerry Criscoulo for two napkins. One for the usual lap covering and the other to protect the tie.

人間尊重忘れずに

地に足つけよ

# 経済社会発展計画

経済企画院は、早くも新統制社会発展計画の児退し作業に着手した。この計画は、さる五月一日に閣議決定したばかりである。今年度から昭和五十年度までの六年間という長い期間の政策目標の綱計にならぬことだ。たのにも児退しということにならず、あまりにも安易な決定だからという印象を受ける。しかし、この際政府の無罪児退しと通しの甘に對する批判は一応おくとして、今回の児退しのねらいがこれまでの計画改定のうちに、単に経団連を現実の動きに合わせるで敷いであるといった核案のごとでないことは注目される。

いわば、ミソもクソも一積にしたようなGNP（国民総生産）拡大を柱とした経済計画が、国民の福祉をモノサシにした計画につくべきようにという点である。GNPを大きくすることを目的にしてきた政策を改め、GNPは国民の福祉の豊かにする手段にすぎないという転換を、言葉でなく、具体的政策として取り上げようとするのだ。

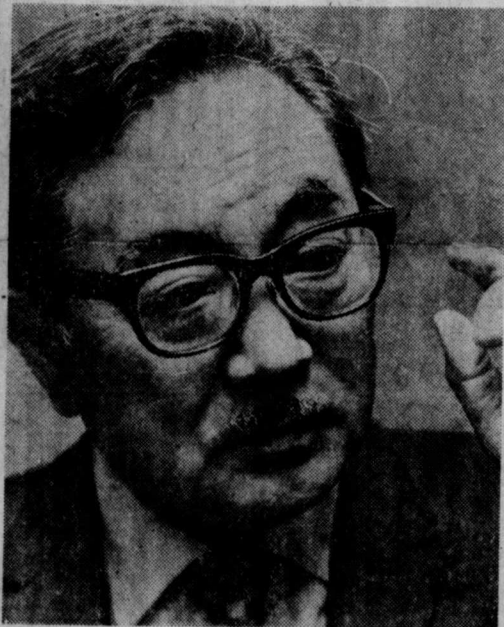
議會を利用しているが、利害関係や考え方の違いを一本化するため、とりかき進申や報告書が書かれたり、それらに、ばく然とした内容がなめらめら、やすい、とくに経済計画の二頁をそっくり代えようとする。この児退し直しでは、この態態が、面白い。GNPというバネを大きくするところが、公費や物価問題も解決する道だ、という高度成長論の根柢も、もっている官僚、産業界、学者はまだ走多い。

しかし、最近の公害事件の多発、新計画の期待どおり完成したとしても、現実の政治が実行できないものは、終にかいた土に終わってしまう。それだけでなく、むしろ国民とまともな罪を犯しかねない。技術面なく、多くの力べは多量なうが、この勢からゆる知識集中して実現可能な、人間尊嚴の経済計画を完成してほしい。

（高田雄夫記者）

外務省の文化人招待で来日した  
米カリフォルニア州立サンフラン  
シスコ大学学長

サミュエル・  
I・ハヤカワ



学究一転戦う学長

フランクな対話が成功しました

長のおを受け、長代行に推され、その活躍よりは。学生會のクルーの中に大胆はいり込め、激しい討論を繰返して、法議會に乗り込み、ときにはマイクロホンのコードを盗み抜いた。大敵の警備隊を導入、学生たちを片っぱしから検挙した。

「あのときはアメリカ人すべてが学園の混乱ぶりにすっかり失望していた。だから私が思い切った、ドラマチックな急転回をやつたものだから、あつてにとれたんじゃないかな」

学長代行あつての手紙や電報は毎「私の大学には自由のふん風があふれている」と語るハヤカワさん

へ、そしていまでは敵果たりも取りざされるほどの氏の急転回も興味深い。

もうと言論をいじり回すだけの言葉學者ではなかつた。アメリカベストセラーとなり、日本訳もある著書「思考と行動における言語」の序文で「若く人間は、女をかまえるため努力を使つた。しかし、言葉を持てている人間は、おたがいが話し合い、平和な生活が可成りとなつたと書いている。国際間の緊張を解決するための対話の必要性、そでの言葉の必要性が氏の第一テーマだつた。あいからず力がまかり通つた。よにみえする現在、言葉はむなしのだからか。

「そうは思わない。フランク

い。来は七曜目。山梨縣山梨市に住む同親をたすねるのが一番の楽しみだが、それも公式日程が終つて七日以後になること。それからまた日本の言語學者に会つた。その万國博覧會へ金貨、食糧訪問スエケジュールはきつしり。そしてまた多忙を強しむようにもみえ入である。

（河野邦人記者）

略歴 カナダ・バクレーバー生まれの世。両親は歸化した日系アメリカ人。ウィスコンシン大学などで言語學を学ぶ。五五年シカゴ大学教授から州立サンフランシスコ大学に転じ、言語學系主任教授。六八年同大学長代行。昨年七月学。言語學の新分野である意味研究の権威。64歳。

といった感じ。早口の語調が切れる」

「加藤学長とは共通の経験について大いに話し合った。うちの大学は岡崎勸取に際し、警官導入に踏み切り、長引いていた紛争を、一気に解決した。もちろん、学生の対話を回復し、キャンパスは正常に戻った。私の措置は正しかったと確信をもっている」

「状態にあった。進歩派のミズ学

「一学究であった氏が、英雄」として登場、カリフォルニア州はもとより全米で賛辞をあふたのは、一昨年十一月のサンフランシスコ州立大学の学閥紛争のときである。

当時すでに同大の紛争は一年以上も経ち、大学の管理機構はマヒ状態にあった。進歩派のミズ学

日百通以上に達した。その結果は二十ヶ年ほどに遡り、圧倒的多数が支持、賛助だったという。

「私の大学には自由のふん開気があふれている。私は学生生活の活動がすべてに拘束されず、いし、要するところとは断じて許さない」

「言語学者から戦う学長、

（率直に）話し合うことが大切だ。対話の回復がいつも心がけられている」

そう言しながら、語園がテレビ画面へと移っていったのは、やや意外だった。

「あのまきテレビは左翼学生のほうばかり聞いていた。それが私が乗り出すと、私の方へ回ってきた。事が究明に伝えられ、みんな

San Francisco, Calif.  
Chronicle  
(Cir. D. 478,704 - Sub. 443,306)

OCT 5 1973

# HERB CAEN

**CAENECDOTES:** Sen. Daniel Inouye tells it on himself—a woman approaching him aboard a plane in Hawaii to beam, “I just want to say that you’re doing a wonderful job, Doctor Hayakawa”. . . . Cora Swall, the excellent S.F. coloratura, is currently on concert tour of Alaska, where, she reports from Barrow, “The Eskimos live in tiny shacks, whale and moose meat drying outside, each with a color TV”. And it is apparent that those striking Memo-commercial ads are getting through, for as she begins singing in a school there, her high notes ringing, an Eskimo boy anxiously asked his teacher, “Will she break our glasses?” . . . And if you saw Officers Bob Blakemore and Mike Mattick rushing toward Park Emergency in their squad car, lights flashing, siren screaming, both of them singing around like crazies, we can tell you they have just been attacked by a horde of yellowjackets. Bob was stung 15 times, Bob but once.

# HERB CAEN

**THE AWFUL SUSPENSE** ends Tuesday. On that day, in Sacramento, Dr. S. I. "Don" Hayakawa, the tap-dancing tam-o-shanter kid, will announce officially that he's running for the Republican nomination for U.S. Senator. The powerhouse firm of Spencer-Roberts, Woodward & McDowell will package him for public consumption . . .

San Francisco Examiner

**Friday, September 24, 1971**

# The Facts of Life

**PRESIDENT S.I. HAYAKAWA** of San Francisco State College squarely faced the facts of life when he approved a birth control program on the campus, touching off a controversy among the State College trustees.

San Francisco State students do not all fit the image of Betty Coed and Joe College. Their average age is 25. Many are veterans, many have steady jobs, many are married. They are, in the great majority, mature people and the problems they face are the problems of maturity.

Since they pay for the program themselves, they are entitled to its services, conveniently located on the campus.

Hayakawa should stick by his guns.



DUPLICATE FRAME



Monday, July 20, 1970

Are Bright Students Bored?

THE STAR'S

## Pages of Opinion

Page 14-A

Friday, July 17, 1970

## Hayakawa's 'All-Serve' Idea Makes Good Sense

A COMPULSORY TWO- or three-year hitch of national service for all American men and women starting at the age of 18.

That was the suggestion put forth this week by S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State University.

The college president also urged draft deferments for college students be stopped at once.

These were not off-the-cuff remarks made by Dr. Hayakawa. He was testifying at the first hearing of the President's Commission on Student Unrest.

WE THINK Dr. Hayakawa has an excellent idea.

A two-year period serving one's country—Dr. Hayakawa said it could be either in a military or civilian capacity—is not too much to ask of any young person.

And the age 18 is ideal.

Most young people have finished high school by this time, but yet have not started college or a lifetime vocation.

By the time they had completed

their national service, the young people would be much more mature and thus, have a better idea in planning their future.

TOO OFTEN TODAY a kid graduates from high school and is uncertain what he would like to do. So, he enrolls in college.

In many cases, young men leap into college as a means of beating the draft, totally unprepared to even select a proper course of study.

"Hayakawa's get-tough views," said the Associated Press, "clearly astonished some of the commission members..."

What is so "get-tough" about Dr. Hayakawa's suggestions?

WOULD WE BE getting tough to treat college students the same as those not in college when it concerns draft status?

We don't think so.

Would it be getting tough to ask America's young men and women to serve their country for a couple of years?

Of course not.

## Panel Hears Varying Theories on Campus Unrest

Require national service of some kind from all high-school graduates.

Make colleges responsive to change.

End the war in Vietnam.

These proffered solutions to campus unrest, and others just as familiar, are as different as the witnesses who last week offered them in Washington to the Presidential Commission on Campus Unrest. The commission heard 14 witnesses from the academic community, the police, the National Guard, and the U.S. Senate in its opening sessions of a quest to fulfill President Nixon's mandate to it. That mandate:

Identify the principal causes of campus violence, assess the reasons for breakdown in orderly expression of dissent, and suggest specific methods and procedures to resolve legitimate grievances.

The President set that difficult goal June 13 when he named former Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton to head the nine-man group and report back to him by Oct. 1. The commission was formed in the aftermath of protests over the killing of four students by National Guardsmen at Kent State University in Ohio on May 4 and the deaths of two more students by police at Jackson State College in Mississippi on May 15.

Last week's testimony indicated that the commission may never be able to identify a pervasive cause of campus troubles; if one exists, it is opposition to the Vietnam War. Few witnesses ignored that factor. Said Sen. Edward Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat: "It may well be that the only line in the commission's report that will have meaning for our colleges and universities is the line that reads 'This war must end.'" And 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 F. Palmer, 23, president of the U.S. National Student Association: "As long as there is substantial American military involvement in Indochina, students will continue to oppose it."

The Vietnam war was not the only factor cited as a cause of campus unrest. S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College, testified: "Campus disorders come not from those who are in school because they want to be, but from those who are trapped there, whether by Selective Service or by social pressures." He contends that many students are not mature enough for college when they enroll, are bored, and that "the bored student is social dynamite."

"It is no accident," he said, "that bright students at the prestige liberal-arts institutions have been... the principal trouble-makers," and he quotes Yippee Jerry Rubin as saying, "If we didn't have the Vietnam War we'd have had to invent it."

Mr. Hayakawa proposed reducing campus unrest by requiring high-school graduates to serve two to three years in either a military or a national service—such as forestry corps—to provide a maturing experience before they enter college.

Students testifying before the commission suggested still another target of blame: the Nixon Administration. Steven

Kelman, a recent Harvard graduate, contends that Vice President Agnew's verbal attacks on students polarized Americans against youngsters. He added: "Campus violence will continue as long as students continue to regard the American people not as potential allies in resolving problems, but as an enemy to be confronted."

For Charles Palmer, of the National Student Association, the most effective cure for campus ills must come from college administrators. "There will be continued student protest concerning the nonresponsiveness of the schools themselves to demand for change in curricula and governance of the institution. Ending the war and reforming the draft are not going to end dissent on campus. We can anticipate unrest as long as institutions of learning do not respond constructively and positively to pressures for change."

As for what the commission can do to solve these problems, Mr. Palmer commented: "I think many students see this commission as a possible vehicle for change, but believe your recommendation will be only superficially followed and that your report will join the Kerner and Eisenhower commissions' statements on some dusty shelves."

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## OUR MAN ON THE TOWN



By Jack Rosenbaum

## Presidents' Lady

Out of frying pan, etc.: Mrs. Guynn Perry, secretary to Dr. Hayakawa, has worked for seven presidents at S.F. State in five years. Before that she was in the registrar's office and asked for a quieter job to get away from the turmoil and confusion.

S. I. Hayakawa:

## Many Student Activists Don't Belong in College

(This is a condensed version of testimony that S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College, gave recently before the President's Commission on Student Unrest.)

WASHINGTON — In seeking the causes of student unrest, I believe we have not paid enough attention to the degree to which many young men and women are involuntary and restless captives of the educational system. Student deferments for the draft have been a disaster, producing in effect a privileged elite who must remain in college to protect their privileged status. Even more seriously, there is the prevailing upper-middle-class expectation that everyone should go to college—preferably a "good" college.

From about the age of 15 onward, young men and women, whether or not they have a bent for intellectual life, are pushed and prodded by parents and teachers—and even more by community expectation—to get into, if not a "good" college, any college. Campus disorders come from those who feel trapped, whether by Selective Service or by social pressures.

Physically mature, energetic, restless, but confined in institutions which are by definition a preparation for life, many of the young are bored. The bored student is social dynamite. It is no accident that bright students at the prestige liberal-arts institutions have been, through these past several years of campus uproar, the principal trouble-makers.

"WE MUST LISTEN TO THE young people. They are the best and brightest of their generation. They have something to tell us," say the sentimental apologists.

I agree, but the message I hear is not the same as that which others purport to hear. They are saying clearly and unmistakably, "WE WANT OUT! We are tired of being treated as children.

We are tired of preparing for life. We want to tackle real problems, not classroom exercises. And if we can't leave school without being drafted, we want to reconstitute the universities until they are just like the outside world, with pressure groups and power politics and intimidation and graft and guerrilla warfare. We're tired of our play pen."

'Let us unleash that energy to solve some of the many problems of society and environment...'

So the disruptive activists have a point. To them college is indeed a play pen and has to be made "real." It would be doing them a real favor to expel them, since they so clearly don't want the sheltered scholarly environment of a university. But by the curious logic of at least an influential part of college faculty nowadays, you can't expel them. To expel them is to make them liable to the draft, which would send them to Vietnam, where they will be killed, so that expulsion is equivalent to a death sentence!

BUT THE NONVIOLENT, nondisruptive majority of our student bodies also have a point. To them the college, far from being a play pen, is a place for serious work in preparation for becoming a teacher, a lawyer, an engineer, a scientist, a poet, a businessman. They don't want the campus "reconstituted."

What we need for young men and women in America now are two things. First, all who want higher education and cannot get it should be given a chance to get it. Second—and this applies especially to the upper middle class—all who don't

want higher education, or are not sure they want it, should have the freedom to postpone college or not go to college at all—a freedom that is now felt not to exist at all because of the draft.

The educational problems of the poor and under privileged are being worked on, with the expansion of junior colleges throughout the nation, the recruitment of minority students, financial aid programs and the like. But the problem of the captive student is ignored. What can be done for him?

FIRST, I BELIEVE DRAFT deferments for college students should be stopped at once. We must place young men of all income levels on the same basis. Instead of the draft, with all its built-in inequities and chance, I should like to see a program of compulsory national service for all young men and women at the age of 18. The service can be civilian or military, at the option of the individual.

It has long seemed to me that our young men and women are our most seriously underused natural resource. Among the young there are not only abundant health and energy but also abundant vision and idealism and eagerness to remold the world nearer to the heart's desire. Let us unleash that energy to solve some of the many problems of society and environment with which we are beset.

We have much to be grateful for in the student revolution, if the shocking events of the past few years really compel us to re-examine our national policies regarding youth and late adolescence. These extremely important years after childhood and before adulthood are a period to which we, as a society, do not assign a clearly defined cultural role, so that we have different approaches among different social classes. It is time we tried to evolve a national philosophy and policy regarding this important stage of life.

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