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WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

(A LOOK AT THE NATURE AND PROBLEMS
OF THE BERKELEY CAMPUS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AS SEEN
THROUGH THE STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS
OF THE FALL, 1964)

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INTRODUCTION

THE FALL SEMESTER OF 1964 WILL LONG BE REMEMBERED AT THE BERKELEY CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AS ONE DURING WHICH THE CAMPUS UNDERWENT ONE OF THE MOST TRAUMATIC EXPERIENCES IT IS POSSIBLE FOR A UNIVERSITY TO SURVIVE. STARTING AS A MINOR REBELLION AGAINST SOME RULINGS ISSUED BY THE OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS, THE ISSUES REACHED THE MAGNITUDE OF QUESTIONING THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS, REPLACEMENT OF THE CHIEF CAMPUS OFFICERS, AND THE PURPOSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN OUR CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY.

NUMEROUS REPORTERS ALONG THE WAY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO DESCRIBE THE EVENTS AND THE DEMANDS OF THE STUDENTS, BUT ONLY LATELY HAVE ARTICLES BEGUN TO APPEAR WHICH RECOGNIZE THE DEPTH OF SOUL-SEARCHING TO WHICH THE UNIVERSITY HAS BEEN COMPELLED. PERHAPS IT IS EVEN A BIT OPTIMISTIC TO ASSUME THAT THIS SOUL-SEARCHING WILL ACTUALLY TAKE PLACE. THOSE WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING THE PEACE OF THE CAMPUS MAY BE ONLY TOO HAPPY TO HAVE THE ISSUES LOST AND FORGOTTEN IN THE MIDST OF NEW REGULATIONS AND RULES GOVERNING POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE CAMPUS. IF THIS IS SO, AND IF THE STUDENTS AND THE FACULTY MEMBERS FAIL TO PRESS THE QUESTIONS THAT HAVE COME TO THE FORE LATE IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS, ONE OF THE GREATEST BENEFITS OF THIS UNREST WILL HAVE BEEN LOST, REGARDLESS OF THE GAINS MADE IN THE FIELD OF POLITICAL LIBERTY.

IT IS MY INTENTION, THEN, TO ENUMERATE SOME OF THE SIGNIFICANT QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ASKED AND TOWARD WHICH A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION SHOULD BE DIRECTED IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. IN DOING THIS, I WILL DRAW UPON SEVERAL CONTEMPORARY STATEMENTS OF THE STATE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN OUR SOCIETY AND THEN SUBJECT THESE TO THE LIGHT OF QUESTIONING WHICH HAS GROWN OUT OF THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT. A BRIEF SUMMARY STATEMENT OF THE EVENTS ON THE CAMPUS MAY BE IN ORDER TO SET THE STAGE FOR LATER OBSERVATIONS.

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT IS THE NAME GIVEN TO A SPECIFIC ORGANIZATION COMPOSED OF INDEPENDENTS AND REPRESENTATIVES FROM NUMEROUS POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS AROUND THE BERKELEY CAMPUS. THE ORGANIZATION CAME INTO EXISTENCE TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN THE RULES OF THE UNIVERSITY, AND PARTICULARLY THIS CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE FOR GREATER FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL EXPRESSION AMONG THE STUDENTS BOTH ON AND OFF CAMPUS GROUNDS. AT VARIOUS TIMES DURING THE LIFE OF THE FSM DIFFERING STRATEGIES WERE EMPLOYED IN THE ATTEMPT TO BRING ABOUT THESE CHANGES. RALLIES, PICKETING, SIT-INS, NEGOTIATIONS, CONVERSATIONS, PUBLICATIONS, AND FINALLY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE WERE ALL EMPLOYED AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER. IN RESPONSE TO THE ACTIONS OF THE STUDENTS, THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNIVERSITY AT TIMES WAITED, ORDERED, PLEADED, THREATENED, TOOK DISCIPLINARY ACTION, HAD STUDENTS ARRESTED, AND SHIFTED PERSONNEL IN THE ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE TENSIONS AND THE ISSUES.

AT AN EARLY STAGE OF THE CONFLICT A NEGOTIATING COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STUDENTS, THE FACULTY AND THE ADMINISTRATION, BUT THE INABILITY OF THE THREE MAJOR GROUPS OF THE CAMPUS TO TALK WITH EACH OTHER WAS DEMONSTRATED

BY THE RAPID DISINTEGRATION OF THE COMMITTEE. FROM THAT TIME ON THE STUDENTS ISSUED THEIR CHALLENGES THROUGH MICROPHONES ILLEGALLY SET UP ON THE STEPS OF THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING AND THROUGH LEAFLETS DISTRIBUTED ON CAMPUS, AND THE ADMINISTRATION RESPONDED WITH ITS ULTIMATUMS IN THE DAILY NEWSPAPER AND LETTERS SENT TO THE LEADERS.

WITH A FEW OUTSTANDING EXCEPTIONS, MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY REMAINED DETACHED FROM THE ISSUES AS THEY ATTEMPTED TO CARRY ON THEIR ACADEMIC AND RESEARCH WORK, UNTIL NEARLY EIGHT HUNDRED STUDENTS WERE ARRESTED IN THE MIDST OF A SIT-IN AT SPROUL HALL. AT THAT POINT MANY OF THE FACULTY AWOKE TO WHAT HAD BEEN GOING ON UNDER THEIR NOSES AND GENERALLY LENT THEIR SUPPORT TO THE DEMANDS THAT HAD BEEN MADE BY THE STUDENTS. AT THE SAME TIME THE PUBLIC WAS RECEIVING AN UNCLEAR PICTURE THROUGH THE NEWS MEDIA, CONCENTRATING ON THE PICTURESQUE SCENES OF BEARDED, SANDALED BEATNIKS SITTING ON THE GRASS SINGING FREEDOM SONGS, TOUSLED HAired MARIO SAVIO ADVOCATING THE COMPLETE STOPPAGE OF THE WHEELS OF THE EDUCATION MACHINE, AND THE STATEMENTS OF PRESIDENT KERR AND GOVERNOR BROWN ABOUT "OUTSIDE INFLUENCES," "COMMUNISTS" AND "ANARCHY."

A PATTERN WAS EARLY ESTABLISHED WHEREBY CHANGES IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE POLICY CAME ABOUT IN RESPONSE TO THE ACTION BY THE STUDENTS. STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS WERE FOLLOWED BY FURTHER CONCESSIONS BY THE ADMINISTRATION UNTIL IT WAS UNDERSTOOD BY THE STUDENTS THAT NO CHANGES WOULD COME ABOUT ON THE BASIS OF CAREFULLY CONSIDERED POLICY, BUT RATHER ONLY IN RESPONSE TO THE STRONGEST PRESSURES THAT THE STUDENTS COULD BRING. "NO PRESSURE, NO CHANGES" WAS THE CONVICTION OF THE STUDENT LEADERS.

ONE FURTHER OBSERVATION: THE REGULAR CHANNELS OF STUDENT ACTIVITY AND OPINION, THE ASSOCIATED STUDENTS, WERE ALMOST ENTIRELY IGNORED IN THE WHOLE STRUGGLE. APPARENTLY THESE CHANNELS WERE NOT SEEN AS ADEQUATE TO MEET THE ISSUES WHICH CAME TO THE FRONT. AT FIRST THE ADMINISTRATION ATTEMPTED TO FOLLOW THE STRUCTURE, BUT SOON LEARNED THAT THE ASUC LEADERS WERE NOT THE RECOGNIZED LEADERS OF THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, NOR OF A LARGE SEGMENT OF THE CAMPUS. GRADUATE STUDENTS, WHO PLAYED AN EXTREMELY LARGE PART IN THE DEMONSTRATIONS, ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE ASSOCIATED STUDENTS, AND THERE ARE MANY UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS WHO APPARENTLY FEEL THAT THEY ALSO ARE NOT REPRESENTED BY THE PEOPLE WHO MAKE UP THE STUDENT GOVERNMENT.

INSOFAR AS WE CAN SAY THAT THE ISSUES HAVE BEEN RESOLVED, IT IS POSSIBLE TO SAY SO THROUGH THE FACT THAT POLICIES HAVE BEEN CHANGED BY THE BOARD OF REGENTS, RULINGS HAVE BEEN CHANGED BY THE GOVERNING OFFICERS OF THE BERKELEY CAMPUS, AND PERSONNEL HAVE BEEN CHANGED BY THE EVENTS. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE CONDITIONS WHICH ALLOWED A SPECIFIC RULE DISAGREEMENT TO BLOSSOM INTO A FULL-SCALED REVOLT HAVE BEEN CHANGED SUFFICIENTLY TO ALLOW THE FUTURE SETTLEMENT OF SUCH PROBLEMS IN CREATIVE, OPEN AND PERSONAL WAYS.

I. TWO VIEWS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

A. PURPOSES

PRACTICE IN HIGHER EDUCATION, AS IN POLITICS, REMAINS LARGELY UNTOUCHED BY THE FACTS AND PRINCIPLES OF SCIENCE. WHAT OUR COLLEGES DO, TENDS EITHER TO BE GOVERNED BY TRADITION OR TO BE IMPROVISED IN THE FACE OF DIVERSE - USUALLY UNANTICIPATED - PRESSURES. IN THE LITERATURE OF THE FIELD THERE IS MUCH PARTISAN ARGUMENT, AND LITTLE EVIDENCE ON THE BASIS OF WHICH CONFLICTING CLAIMS MIGHT BE EVALUATED.⁶

WITH THESE WORDS NEVITT SANFORD BEGINS THE INTRODUCTION TO THE MASSIVE VOLUME WHICH HE HAS EDITED ENTITLED, THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, A PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL INTERPRETATION OF THE HIGHER LEARNING. CLARK KERR⁷ REFLECTS THE SAME THOUGHT IN THE USES OF THE UNIVERSITY WHEN HE STATES

"THE IDEA OF A MULTIVERSITY" HAS NO BARD TO SING ITS PRAISES; NO PROPHET TO PROCLAIM ITS VISION; NO GUARDIAN TO PROTECT ITS SANCTITY. IT HAS ITS CRITICS, ITS DETRACTORS, ITS TRANSGRESSORS. IT ALSO HAS ITS BARKERS SELLING ITS WARES TO ALL WHO WILL LISTEN - AND MANY DO. BUT IT ALSO HAS ITS REALITY ROOTED IN THE LOGIC OF HISTORY. IT IS AN IMPERATIVE RATHER THAN A REASONED CHOICE AMONG ELEGANT ALTERNATIVES.⁴

THUS WE BEGIN TO HAVE THE PICTURE OF AN INSTITUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION WITH NO PHILOSOPHY, NO STATED PURPOSE, NO RATIONALE, NO CAREFULLY CONSIDERED THEORY OF EDUCATION; ONLY A STRUCTURE AND DIRECTION DICTATED BY THE EXIGENCIES OF HISTORY. THE EXIGENCIES OF HISTORY, HOWEVER, HAVE A WAY OF BRINGING OUT A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION, EVEN IF ONLY BY DEFAULT. KERR SUGGESTS⁷ THAT THROUGHOUT HISTORY THERE HAVE BEEN GENERALLY THREE AIMS OF THE UNIVERSITY: 1) TO PRODUCE "GENTLEMEN," 2) TO PRODUCE "PROFESSIONALS" (TEACHERS, PREACHERS, LAWYERS AND DOCTORS), AND 3) TO PRODUCE "PUBLIC SERVANTS." IT IS THE LAST OF THESE THAT SEEMS TO BE THE FACT OF THE UNIVERSITY TODAY. AGAIN KERR:

THE FACT IS THAT THEY (UNIVERSITIES) ARE NOT DIRECTIONLESS; THEY HAVE BEEN MOVING IN CLEAR DIRECTIONS AND WITH CONSIDERABLE SPEED; THERE HAS BEEN NO 'STALEMATE.' BUT THESE DIRECTIONS HAVE NOT BEEN SET AS MUCH BY THE UNIVERSITY'S VISIONS OF ITS DESTINY AS BY THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT, INCLUDING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, THE FOUNDATIONS, THE SURROUNDING AND SOMETIMES ENGULFING INDUSTRY.⁶

IF CLARK KERR WERE AN IMPARTIAL OBSERVER OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SCENE IN THE UNITED STATES TODAY WE MIGHT WELL UNDERSTAND HIS STATEMENTS AS BEING DESCRIPTIVE, BUT HIS ROLE AS THE PRESIDENT OF ONE OF THE MOST OUTSTANDING UNIVERSITIES IN THE COUNTRY LEADS US TO THE CONCLUSION THAT IN SOME WAYS HIS DESCRIPTIONS MUST ALSO BE PRESCRIPTIVE. OBVIOUSLY THE PRESIDENT OF A UNIVERSITY MUST OPERATE ON SOME BASIC PHILOSOPHY, AND SINCE HE ENUMERATES NO OTHER, AND IN FACT REPUDIATES THE IDEA THAT THERE IS ANY

GREAT UNDERLYING EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY AVAILABLE TO THE "MULTI-
UNIVERSITY" TODAY, WE MUST ASSUME THAT "WHAT IS" AND "WHAT SHOULD
BE" ARE THE SAME, AS LONG AS "WHAT IS" STANDS IN BALANCE AND
EQUILIBRIUM. THIS IS BORNE OUT BY KERR'S OWN WITNESS, WHEN HE
STATES THAT THE TASK OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT IS TO "MAKE
PROGRESS" AND "KEEP THE PEACE."⁷

IN SHARP CONTRAST TO THE "DESCRIPTIVE EDUCATIONAL PHILO-
SOPHY" OF KERR, STANDS THE "PRESCRIPTIVE PHILOSOPHY" OF NATHAN
PUSEY, PRESIDENT OF HARVARD.

OUR JOB IS TO EDUCATE FREE, INDEPENDENT, AND VIGOROUS
MINDS CAPABLE OF ANALYZING EVENTS, OF EXERCISING JUDGMENT,
OF DISTINGUISHING FACTS FROM PROPOGANDA AND TRUTH FROM
HALF-TRUTH AND LIES, AND -- IN THE MOST CREATIVE OF THEM
AT LEAST, OF APPREHENDING FURTHER REACHES OF TRUTH. IT
IS ALSO OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT THESE MINDS ARE
EMBEDDED IN TOTAL PERSONS WHO WILL STAND WITH FAITH AND
COURAGE, AND ALWAYS, TOO, IN THOUGHTFUL CONCERN FOR
OTHERS.⁸

IT WOULD BE FAIR, I BELIEVE, TO DESCRIBE PUSEY'S EDUCATIONAL
GOALS IN TERMS OF THOSE WHO ARE ENROLLED IN THE UNIVERSITY,"
"...TO EDUCATE...MINDS...IN TOTAL PERSONS..." WHILE KERR'S
AIM SEEMS TO BE TO RESPOND TO THE PRESSURES AND NEEDS OF THE
SOCIETY WHILE ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN THE STABILITY OF THE IN-
STITUTION.

THE DIFFICULTY OF DEALING WITH A PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION
IN KERR'S THOUGHTS IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE VERY TITLE OF HIS
BOOK, THE USES OF THE UNIVERSITY. THE CHOICE OF THE WORD "USE"
WOULD CONTRAST WITH THE POSSIBLE CHOICE OF THE WORD "PURPOSE."
THE PURPOSE OF THE UNIVERSITY, THEN, WOULD APPEAR TO BE "TO BE
USED" BY THE SOCIETY IN WHICH IT IS ESTABLISHED. AND THE MEAS-
UREMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE INSTITUTION WOULD BE THE DEGREE
TO WHICH IT HAD BEEN USED BY THE SOCIETY.

...THE SCENE OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION WILL CON-
TINUE TO BE MARKED BY GREAT VARIETY, AND THIS IS ONE OF
ITS GREAT STRENGTHS. THE LARGE AND THE SMALL, THE PRI-
VATE AND THE PUBLIC, THE GENERAL AND THE SPECIALIZED ALL
ADD THEIR SHARE TO OVER-ALL EXCELLENCE. THE TOTAL SYS-
TEM IS EXTRA-ORDINARILY FLEXIBLE, DECENTRALIZED, COM-
PETITIVE -- AND PRODUCTIVE. THE NEW CAN BE TRIED, THE
OLD TESTED WITH CONSIDERABLE SKILL AND ALACRITY. PLU-
RALISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION MATCHES THE PLURALISTIC
AMERICAN SOCIETY. THE MULTIVERSITY, IN PARTICULAR, IS
THE CHILD OF MIDDLE-CLASS PLURALISM; IT RELATES TO SO
MUCH OF THE VARIETY OF THE SURROUNDING SOCIETY AND IS
THUS SO VARIED INTERNALLY.⁹

AGAIN THE CONTRAST WITH NATHAN PUSEY:

UNIVERSITIES WERE NOT PUT INTO THE WORLD TO PLAY
THE SERVILE ROLE OF ADMINISTERING EXCLUSIVELY TO ORDI-
NARY MUNDANE NEEDS. IT MAY BE THAT IN SEEKING TO ES-
CAPE SUCH DISHONOR THEY HAVE SOMETIMES WITHDRAWN INTO

A TOO-DETACHED POSITION. BUT TODAY THE DANGER IS CLEARLY FROM THE OTHER DIRECTION. THERE IS NEW NEED TO RECOGNIZE THAT THOUGH UNIVERSITIES HAVE A CONCERN AND A RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE EVERYDAY WORLD THEIR PRIMARY, THEIR FUNDAMENTAL, RESPONSIBILITY LIES TOTALLY ELSEWHERE. THIS IS FOR BASIC INVESTIGATION, FOR THE PURSUIT OF LEARNING ALMOST FOR LEARNING'S OWN SAKE, FOR POETRY AND FOR VISION, AND THEN FROM THIS KIND OF EXPERIENCE FOR THE PROVISION WITHIN SOCIETY OF A CRITICALLY CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE. AND THIS IS THE KIND OF ACTIVITY THAT COMMUNITIES SHOULD RESPECT IN, AND INDEED DEMAND FROM, THEIR UNIVERSITIES.¹⁰

KERR: "THUS IT ONLY PAYS TO PRODUCE KNOWLEDGE IF THROUGH PRODUCTION IT CAN BE PUT INTO USE BETTER AND FASTER."¹¹

PUSEY: "IT IS THEIR ESSENTIAL FUNCTION NOT TO PRODUCE GOODS OR PERFORM PRACTICAL SERVICES, BUT SIMPLY TO KEEP A LIFE OF MIND VIGOROUS AND FUNCTIONING AMONG US."¹²

B. EDUCATION AND THE STATE

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED BY THE SOCIETIES IN WHICH THEY EXIST AND THAT THEY THEREFORE OWE TO THOSE SOCIETIES THE FULFILLMENT OF THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH THEY WERE ESTABLISHED. BUT HIGHER EDUCATION HAS SOMEWHAT THE SAME RELATIONSHIP TO THE SOCIETY AS THE CHRISTIAN FAITH HAS TO THE CHURCH. WHILE IT APPEARS THAT THE CHURCH IS THE CONTAINER WITHIN WHICH THE CHRISTIAN FAITH IS HELD AND TRANSMITTED, IT IS ALSO TRUE THAT THE VERY NATURE OF THE FAITH IS SUCH THAT IT CONTINUALLY STANDS IN JUDGMENT ON THE CHURCH AND BRINGS ABOUT CHANGES AS THEY BECOME NECESSARY. SO, TOO, WITH HIGHER EDUCATION. THE NATURE OF EDUCATION ITSELF IS SUCH THAT IT PRODUCES THOSE WHO WILL ERECT THE FORMS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE COMING YEARS.

WE HAVE ALREADY NOTED THAT THERE ARE DIFFERING OPINIONS CONCERNING THE PURPOSES FOR WHICH THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED, WHETHER TO SERVE THE SOCIETY OR TO SHAPE IT. BUT THE FACT IS THAT THE UNIVERSITIES WILL SHAPE THE FUTURE WHETHER THIS IS THEIR REASON FOR EXISTENCE OR NOT. THEY WILL SHAPE THE FUTURE BECAUSE THEY ARE THE CENTRAL FORMING AGENCY THROUGH WHICH THE LEADERS OF THE SOCIETY WILL MARCH. THUS THE STATED PURPOSE OF THE INSTITUTION IS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THAT WHICH GOES ON WITHIN IT, WHICH DOES THE ACTUAL FORMING. WE WILL BE PRODUCING "SERVANTS OF THE STATE" OR "FORMERS OF THE STATE" DEPENDING UPON THE CONTENT AND CONTEXT OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.

WHEN THE UNIVERSITY WAS THE PRIVATE PROJECT OF A FEW CONCERNED INDIVIDUALS, IT WAS POSSIBLE FOR IT TO OPERATE IN ANY GIVEN DIRECTION, WHETHER IN ACCORD WITH THE POLICIES OF THE ESTABLISHED ORDER OR DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THEM. BUT THE UNIVERSITY OF TODAY IS NOT SO PRIVILEGED. NO SIGNIFICANT INSTITUTION CAN FUNCTION TODAY APART FROM THE EFFECT UPON IT BY THE FEDERAL AND STATE PROGRAMS AND THE NEEDS OF INDUSTRY AND SOCIETY AT LARGE. FOR EXAMPLE, DURING THE PAST YEAR, THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA RECEIVED FROM THE ATOMIC ENERGY COM-

MISSION ALONE \$210,000,000 AND FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA FOR ITS OPERATING BUDGET IT RECEIVED \$180,000,000. EVEN THOUGH MUCH OF THE AEC GRANT WAS INVESTED IN EQUIPMENT IT IS STILL TRUE THAT SUCH AN INVESTMENT REPRESENTS AN OUTSTANDING INFLUENCE ON VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY. IT IS DIFFICULT TO SAY, THEREFORE, THAT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA IS A STATE INSTITUTION. IT IS, RATHER, AN INSTITUTION OF THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES, AND TO SOME EXTENT, OF THE ENTIRE WORLD.

THE REAL PROBLEM IS NOT ONE OF FEDERAL CONTROL BUT OF FEDERAL INFLUENCE. A FEDERAL AGENCY OFFERS A PROJECT. A UNIVERSITY NEED NOT ACCEPT -- BUT, AS A PRACTICAL MATTER, IT USUALLY DOES. ONE OF THE QUICKEST WAYS TO LOSE A FACULTY MEMBER IS BY REFUSING TO ACCEPT THE GRANT HE HAS JUST NEGOTIATED WITH HIS COUNTERPART IN WASHINGTON. OUT OF THIS REALITY HAVE FOLLOWED MANY OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF FEDERAL AID FOR THE UNIVERSITIES: AND THEY HAVE BEEN SUBSTANTIAL.

A UNIVERSITY'S CONTROL OVER ITS OWN DESTINY HAS BEEN SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED. UNIVERSITY FUNDS FROM TUITION AND FEES, GIFTS AND ENDOWMENTS, AND STATE SOURCES GO THROUGH THE USUAL BUDGET-MAKING PROCEDURES AND THEIR ASSIGNMENT IS SUBJECT TO REVIEW IN ACCORDANCE WITH INTERNAL POLICY. FEDERAL RESEARCH FUNDS, HOWEVER, ARE USUALLY NEGOTIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL SCHOLAR WITH THE PARTICULAR AGENCY, AND SO BYPASS THE USUAL REVIEW PROCESS. THUS 20 TO 50 TO 80 PERCENT OF A UNIVERSITY'S EXPENDITURES MAY BE HANDLED OUTSIDE THE NORMAL CHANNELS. THESE FUNDS IN TURN COMMIT SOME OF THE UNIVERSITY'S OWN FUNDS; THEY INFLUENCE THE ASSIGNMENT OF SPACE; THEY DETERMINE THE DISTRIBUTION OF TIME BETWEEN TEACHING AND RESEARCH; TO A LARGE EXTENT THEY ESTABLISH THE AREAS IN WHICH THE UNIVERSITY GROWS THE FASTEST. ALMOST IMPERCEPTIBLY, A UNIVERSITY IS CHANGED.¹³

ANOTHER FEATURE OF THE EFFECT OF FEDERAL GRANTS UPON THE UNIVERSITY IS NOTED BY KERR WHEN HE OBSERVES THAT THE GREATEST NUMBER OF GRANTS ARE GIVEN TO THOSE INSTITUTIONS WHICH ARE ALREADY OUTSTANDING, THUS INCREASING THE SPREAD BETWEEN THE "STRONG" AND THE "WEAK" INSTITUTIONS. "WASHINGTON DID NOT WASTE ITS MONEY ON THE SECOND-RATE."¹⁴

BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT THAT HAS EXERCISED ITS INFLUENCE ON THE UNIVERSITY. PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND THE NEEDS OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE SOCIETY HAVE DEMANDED THAT THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BECOME THE TRAINING GROUNDS FOR THEIR TECHNICIANS. IN 1955 THE FRESNO STATE COLLEGE INSTITUTED A MAJOR FIELD OF STUDY IN WINE-MAKING, IN RESPONSE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE WINE INDUSTRY FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY IN THE TRAINING OF PERSONS SKILLED IN A PARTICULAR ACTIVITY. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SPECIAL TRAINING COURSES IS SUPPORTED ALSO BY THE USE OF FACULTY PERSONS AS CONSULTANTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW PROCESSES AND TECHNIQUES WHICH PRIVATE INDUSTRY THEN MAKES AVAILABLE TO THE PUBLIC.

A RADICAL REJECTION OF THIS PATTERN IS EXPRESSED BY ROBERT HUTCHINS, FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, WHEN

HE SAYS, "IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS THE FINANCIAL CONTROL OF THE COMMUNITY IS UNDOUBTED. BUT IT IS ONE THING TO SAY HOW MUCH MONEY THE COMMUNITY CAN SPEND ON EDUCATION AND ANOTHER TO SAY HOW IT SHALL BE SPENT."¹⁵ HE GOES ON TO SAY, "ATTEMPTS ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC TO REGULATE THE METHODS AND CONTENT OF EDUCATION AND TO DETERMINE THE OBJECTS OF RESEARCH ARE ENCROACHMENTS ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM."¹⁶

HUTCHINS IS JOINED BY PUSEY IN HIS CRITICISM OF DEVELOPING A UNIVERSITY ON THE BASIS OF OUTSIDE PRESSURES AND THE "NEEDS OF SOCIETY."

BUT A QUICK LOOK AT UNIVERSITIES TODAY -- ALMOST EVERYWHERE -- SUGGESTS THAT THE URGENT CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT, LAND REFORM, HEALTH, IMPROVED ADMINISTRATION, LABOR ORGANIZATION, SOCIAL NEED AND MILITARY ADVANTAGE INCREASINGLY DIRECT AND PERHAPS EVEN COMPEL THE ENTERPRISE OF UNIVERSITIES. UNQUESTIONABLY THE EVERYDAY WORLD OF PRACTICAL NECESSITY HAS MOVED IN FORCIBLY UPON THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING.¹⁷

KERR SEEMS TO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE INSTITUTION OF HIGHER LEARNING WILL BE THE REFLECTION OF THE NEEDS OF THE SOCIETY IN WHICH IT EXISTS. "THE TRULY MAJOR CHANGES IN UNIVERSITY LIFE HAVE BEEN INITIATED FROM THE OUTSIDE, BY SUCH FORCES AS...THE LAY UNIVERSITY GOVERNING BOARDS AND THE FEDERAL CONGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES -- AND ALSO, IN THE UNITED STATES, BY THE FOUNDATIONS."¹⁹

OUR PROBLEM IS WELL STATED, ALONG WITH A PROPOSED SOLUTION, BY HUTCHINS:

BUT HOW CAN WE HOPE TO IMPROVE THE STATE OF THE NATION? ONLY THROUGH EDUCATION. A STRANGE CIRCULARITY THUS AFFLICTS US. THE STATE OF THE NATION DEPENDS ON THE STATE OF EDUCATION; BUT THE STATE OF EDUCATION DEPENDS ON THE STATE OF THE NATION....WE CAN ONLY (BREAK THROUGH THIS VICIOUS CIRCLE)...IF SOME INSTITUTIONS CAN BE STRONG ENOUGH AND CLEAR ENOUGH TO STAND FIRM AND SHOW OUR PEOPLE WHAT THE HIGHER LEARNING IS.²⁰

C. THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

THE FIRST OBSERVATION TO MAKE IN CONSIDERING THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE MODERN UNIVERSITY IS TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS NOT ONE, BUT IS MADE UP OF MANY INDIVIDUALS, ALL OF WHOM FULFILL DIFFERENT TASKS WITH GREATER OR LESSER VISION AND TALENT. IT WOULD BE AS GREAT A MISTAKE TO SPEAK OF "THE ADMINISTRATION" AS IT WOULD BE TO TRY TO DEAL WITH "THE FACULTY" OR "THE STUDENTS." NONE OF THESE IS A TOTALITY TO ITSELF AND MUST BE SEEN AS THE DIVERSITY WHICH IT IS. HOWEVER, IN THE CASE OF THE ADMINISTRATION, UNLIKE THE OTHER TWO, THERE IS ONE OFFICE IN WHICH THE FINAL AUTHORITY AND RESPONSIBILITY LIES, THE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY. IN SPEAKING OF THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION, THEREFORE, WE WILL BE DEALING WITH THE TASK OF THE PRESIDENT AS IT WORKS ITSELF OUT THROUGH HIS MANY AIDS AND ASSISTANTS AND THE

NUMEROUS CHANNELS THROUGH WHICH HIS INFLUENCE IS FELT.

THE MAJOR CONFLICT CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT SEEMS TO BE WHETHER THE PRESIDENT SHOULD BE A MEDIATOR OR AN INNOVATOR. JUST AS IN THE CASE OF DEALING WITH THE PURPOSES OF HIGHER EDUCATION, SO IN THIS ISSUE, KERR AND PUSEY REPRESENT DIFFERING VIEWS. WITH RESPECT TO THE PURPOSES, PUSEY WAS EXPLICIT IN SETTING FORTH HIS VIEWS ON HIGHER EDUCATION, AND KERR'S VIEWS WERE IMPLICIT IN HIS TREATMENT. WHEN WE COME TO THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT, THE IMPLICIT AND THE EXPLICIT ARE REVERSED. KERR GIVES A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION TO THE TASK OF THE PRESIDENT AND HOW IT SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT, WHILE PUSEY DOESN'T SPEAK OF IT DIRECTLY, CHOOSING TO EXERCISE THE ROLE IN HIS WRITING OF THE PURPOSES.

LET US LISTEN FIRST TO SOME OF THE COMMENTS MADE BY KERR AS HE TALKS OF THE TASK OF THE PRESIDENT:

...THE NEW TYPE OF PRESIDENT REQUIRED BY THE LARGE UNIVERSITIES 'WILL BE A COORDINATOR RATHER THAN A CREATIVE LEADER...AN EXPERT EXECUTIVE, A TACTFUL MODERATOR...' ²¹

THE PRESIDENT IN THE MULTIVERSITY IS...MOSTLY A MEDIATOR. THE FIRST TASK OF THE MEDIATOR IS PEACE... THE SECOND TASK IS PROGRESS;... ²²

HUTCHINS WAS THE LAST OF THE GIANTS IN THE SENSE THAT HE WAS THE LAST OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENTS WHO REALLY TRIED TO CHANGE HIS INSTITUTION AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN ANY FUNDAMENTAL WAY. INSTEAD OF THE NOT ALWAYS SO AGREEABLE AUTOCRACY, THERE IS NOW THE USUALLY BENEVOLENT BUREAUCRACY, AS IN SO MUCH OF THE REST OF THE WORLD. INSTEAD OF THE CAPTAIN OF ERUDITION OR EVEN DAVID REISMAN'S "STAFF SERGEANT," THERE IS THE CAPTAIN OF THE BUREAUCRACY WHO IS SOMETIMES A GALLEY SLAVE ON HIS OWN SHIP, AND 'NO GREAT REVOLUTIONARY FIGURE IS LIKELY TO APPEAR.' ²³

THERE IS A 'KIND OF LAWLESSNESS' IN ANY LARGE UNIVERSITY WITH MANY SEPARATE SOURCES OF INITIATIVE AND POWER; AND THE ²⁴TASK IS TO KEEP THIS LAWLESSNESS WITHIN REASONABLE GROUNDS.

THESE QUOTES ARE SUFFICIENT TO FORMULATE FOR US THE PICTURE OF THE MODERN ADMINISTRATOR WHO SEES HIS TASK AS THAT OF MAINTAINING THE EQUILIBRIUM AND BALANCE OF THE INSTITUTION OVER WHICH HE HAS BEEN GIVEN SOME DEGREE OF CONTROL. THE INITIATIVE FOR THE STRUCTURE AND DIRECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY WOULD COME, THEN, FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT THE STRUCTURE: FROM THE FACULTY AS THEY SEEK TO PRESS FORWARD IN THEIR OWN FIELDS, FROM THE STUDENTS AS THEY DESIRE CERTAIN COURSES AND AVOID OTHERS, FROM THE SOCIETY AS IT SEEKS THE NECESSARY LEADERSHIP FOR ITS FORMS, FROM THE ALUMNI WHO HAVE THEIR OWN IMAGE OF WHAT THEIR ALMA MATER SHOULD BE, AND FROM NUMEROUS OTHER FACTIONS. IN THE MIDST OF ALL OF THESE PRESSURES, THE ADMINISTRATOR, ACCORDING TO KERR, MUST "KEEP THE PEACE" AND "MAKE PROGRESS."

ERIC ASHBY, MASTER OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND, WRITING IN A RECENT SATURDAY REVIEW, JOINS KERR IN ATTEMPTING

TO DESCRIBE THE TASK OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT WHILE DIFFERING FROM HIS INTERPRETATION OF THAT TASK. HE SAYS EXPLICITLY WHAT PUSEY IMPLIES IMPLICITLY, THAT THE TASK OF THE PRESIDENT IS TO ENCOURAGE CONFLICT.

IN ANY HEALTHY INSTITUTION INNOVATION AND ENTHUSIASM OUTRUN RESOURCES AND SO THERE ARISES A SUCCESSION OF CONFLICTS. THE PURPOSE OF THE INSTITUTION IS COOPERATION, BUT ITS VITALITY DEPENDS ON CONFLICTS. THE ADMINISTRATOR'S DUTY IS NOT TO SUPPRESS CONFLICTS; HE HAS TO ENCOURAGE THEM, AND THEN WHEN THEY ARISE HE HAS TO TAKE STEPS TO INSURE THAT THEY ARE RESOLVED. A HEALTHY UNIVERSITY OUGHT TO BE IN A STATE OF UNSTABLE EQUILIBRIUM --...²⁵

WHILE IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT NATHAN PUSEY SEES HIS OWN ROLE IN THE SAME CONTEXT AS THE TWO JUST DESCRIBED, IT IS SIGNIFICANT THAT HE CHOOSES INSTEAD TO PLAY THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHER RATHER THAN STRUCTURAL DIAGNOSTICIAN. HE REPRESENTS, THEREFORE, THE GROUP OF ADMINISTRATORS WHO ARE NOT WILLING TO GIVE UP THEIR ROLE OF "CREATIVE LEADER" IN THE INSTITUTION OVER WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN GIVEN JURISDICTION. PUSEY HAS SET FORTH CERTAIN GOALS WHICH HE SEES TO BE VALID FOR THE UNIVERSITY AND HAS CHOSEN TO ESTABLISH POLICY AND PRACTICES ON THE BASIS OF AN EVALUATION OF WHAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE END HE ANNOUNCES:

...A GOOD COLLEGE CONTINUES TO OFFER MEMBERSHIP IN AN EXCITING WORLD OF MIND....IT OFFERS INTELLECTUAL FELLOWSHIP AND BREEDS DISSATISFACTION WITH THE SHALLOW AND THE SENSELESS, THE DULL, AND DISHONEST. IT TENDS TO MAKE A MAN WISH TO THINK FOR HIMSELF. IT FILLS HIM WITH IMPATIENCE AT INERTIA AND INDIFFERENCE AND ANCIENT ENCRUSTATIONS THAT INHIBIT LIFE, CONFINING IT IN DARKENED PLACES. IT BREEDS IN HIM HOPE AND INTEREST AND ALERTNESS, MAKES HIM SENSITIVE TO THE NEEDS OF OTHERS, HELPS HIM LESSEN THE CONSTRAINTS OF IMPERIOUS SELF, PUTS PURPOSE IN LIFE, AND GIVES JOY IN THE PLAY OF MIND.²⁶

II. FROM THE DEMONSTRATIONS

WHILE THE DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE STUDENTS IN THE FALL OF 1964 WERE ORIGINALLY DIRECTED AT THE SPECIFIC POLICIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA GOVERNING POLITICAL ACTIVITY ON THE CAMPUS, IT WAS NOT LONG BEFORE THE OBJECTIONS AND OBSERVATIONS BEGAN TO RUN MUCH DEEPER. DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF DECEMBER, 1964, A STRIKE WAS CALLED BY THE FSM AND WHEN THE STUDENTS' PICKET LINES FORMED, THE SIGNS THEY CARRIED COVERED THE GAMUT OF STUDENT CONCERNS: "STOP THE FACTORY," "BEND YOUR IBM CARD," "MICKEY MOUSE ASUC," "PERSONS, NOT RAW MATERIAL," "SOCIOLOGY T.A.'S FOR FREE SPEECH." THESE AND MANY OTHER SIGNS CARRIED THE MESSAGE OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PRESENT STRUCTURE AND ATMOSPHERE AT THE BERKELEY CAMPUS.

ONE OF THE MAJOR THRUSTS OF THE STUDENTS HAS BEEN THE ATTACK ON THE IMPERSONAL NATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY. "WE'VE DISCOVERED EACH OTHER. WE DON'T WANT TO LOSE EACH OTHER. WE'RE HAVING A PEOPLE TO PEOPLE RALLY AT NOON." SO READS THE HANDBILL DISTRIBUTED ONE DAY AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE CAMPUS. THE NEED FOR A "PEOPLE TO PEOPLE" RALLY IN A COMMUNITY OF 27,500 STUDENTS IS DEMONSTRATED BY ONE OF THE PARODIES OF CHRISTMAS CAROLS, ISSUED ON RECORD BY THE FSM:

O, COME ALL YE MINDLESS
(TUNE: O COME ALL YE FAITHFUL)

O, COME ALL YE MINDLESS,
CONCEPTLESS AND SPINELESS,
SELL OUT YOUR INTEGRITY TO IBM.
DON'T MAKE A COMMOTION;
STRONG WANTS A PROMOTION.
O, DO NOT FOLD OR SPINDLE.
O, DO NOT FOLD OR SPINDLE.
O, DO NOT FOLD OR SPINDLE,
OR MUTILATE.

THE USE OF IBM CARDS FOR REGISTRATION, HEALTH APPOINTMENTS, CLASS ASSIGNMENTS, (AND EVEN RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE), COMMUNICATES TO THE STUDENT THAT HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE A NUMBER IN THE SYSTEM RATHER THAN A PERSON IN RELATIONSHIP. (DURING THE STRIKE, STUDENTS MADE USE OF THE IBM MACHINES TO PRODUCE CARDS WHICH SPELLED OUT STRIKE AND FSM.) DAY AFTER DAY THE STUDENTS COME UP AGAINST SOME ASPECT OF THE UNIVERSITY WHICH SEES THEM AS ONLY ONE OF MANY. WHEN A STUDENT WAITS FOR SEVERAL HOURS TO SEE HIS ADVISOR, ONLY TO HAVE THIS FUNCTIONARY EVIDENCE A COMPLETE LACK OF PERSONAL INTEREST, QUOTING RULES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO FORCE THE STUDENT TO BEND TO THE RULE INSTEAD OF SEEKING WAYS TO MAKE THE RULES WORK FOR THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT, THE IMPACT OF AN IMPERSONAL SYSTEM MAKES ITSELF FELT.

"INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY" WAS A PHRASE HEARD OFTEN IN THE SPEECHES FROM THE STEPS OF SPROUL HALL. TO BE A PERSON, AND TO BE RECOGNIZED AS ONE, CAME AS AN IMPLICIT, AND OFTEN EXPLICIT, DEMAND. TO SEE ONESELF AS ONLY A HUNK OF "RAW MATERIAL" OUT OF WHICH THE FINISHED PRODUCT IS TO BE FORMED BY THE ASSEMBLY LINE, IS NOT CONDUCIVE TO A SENSE OF PERSONAL INTEGRITY. THE

POSSIBILITIES OF PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND A SENSE OF PERSONAL IDENTITY ARE REMOTE WHEN THE PROFESSOR LECTURES TO 900 STUDENTS FROM A DISTANT PLATFORM OR OVER CLOSED-CIRCUIT TELEVISION. NOR IS THE EFFECT HEIGHTENED, WHEN AT COMMENCEMENT TIME THE ANNOUNCEMENT IS MADE DURING THE CEREMONIES, "ALL THOSE TO RECEIVE THE A.B. DEGREE IN LETTERS AND SCIENCE WILL PLEASE STAND." AND FIFTEEN HUNDRED STUDENTS STAND AS ONE TO HAVE THE DEGREE GRANTED, RECEIVING THE DIPLOMA BY IBM-ADDRESSED MAIL WITHIN THE FOLLOWING MONTH.

IN THE MIDST OF ONE OF THE SIT-INS IN SPROUL HALL, A TAPE-RECORDED STATEMENT BY MARIO SAVIO PRODUCED THESE WORDS:

IN OUR FREE SPEECH FIGHT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, WE HAVE COME UP AGAINST WHAT MAY EMERGE AS THE GREATEST PROBLEM OF OUR NATION -- DEPERSONALIZED, UNRESPONSIVE BUREAUCRACY. WE HAVE ENCOUNTERED THE ORGANIZED STATUS QUO IN MISSISSIPPI, BUT IT IS THE SAME IN BERKELEY. HERE WE FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE USUALLY TO MEET WITH ANYONE BUT SECRETARIES. BEYOND THAT, WE FIND FUNCTIONARIES WHO CANNOT MAKE POLICY BUT CAN ONLY HIDE BEHIND THE RULES. WE HAVE DISCOVERED TOTAL LACK OF RESPONSE ON THE PART OF POLICY MAKERS. TO GRASP A SITUATION WHICH IS TRULY KAFKAESQUE, IT IS NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND THE BUREAUCRATIC MENTALITY. AND WE HAVE LEARNED QUITE A BIT ABOUT IT THIS FALL, MORE OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM THAN IN.²⁷

BUT IT IS NOT ONLY THE SIZE OF THE INSTITUTION THAT IS THE OBJECT OF CRITICISM. THE VERY NATURE OF THAT TO WHICH THE STUDENT IS EXPOSED BECOMES A PART OF THE ESTRANGING PROCESS. MORE AND MORE THE CONTENT OF EDUCATION IS TURNED IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER AND GREATER SPECIALIZATION. THUS, IF THE STUDENT IS TO GRADUATE INTO SOCIETY PREPARED TO TAKE ON THE ROLE OF "PRODUCING AGENT" HE MUST UNDERGO THE SPECIFIC COURSE OF INSTRUCTION WHICH IS PRESCRIBED FOR HIS CHOSEN LINE OF WORK. GROWING FIELDS OF KNOWLEDGE IN SHRINKING AREAS OF CONCERN ISOLATE THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENT FROM THE REST OF THE ARENA OF MAN'S COMMON EXPERIENCE, AND FROM THOSE WHO ARE PREPARING FOR SOME FIELD OF ENDEAVOR OTHER THAN HIS OWN.

EVEN GREATER THAN THE OBJECTION TO SIZE AND SPECIALIZATION, HOWEVER, IS THE RESISTENCE EXPRESSED TO "BEING USED" BY SOCIETY FOR ITS OWN ENDS.

AT PRESENT IN THE UNITED STATES, STUDENTS - MIDDLE CLASS YOUTH - ARE THE MAJOR EXPLOITED CLASS. THE LABOR OF INTELLIGENT YOUTH IS NEEDED, AND THEY ARE ACCORDINGLY SUBJECTED TO TIGHT SCHEDULING, SPEED UP, AND OTHER FACTORY EXPLOITATIVE METHODS. THEN IT IS NOT SURPRISING IF THEY ORGANIZE THEIR CIO. IT IS FRIVOLOUS TO TELL THEM TO GO ELSEWHERE IF THEY DON'T LIKE THE RULES, FOR THEY HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO GO TO COLLEGE, AND ONE FACTORY IS LIKE ANOTHER.²⁸

IN AN ARTICLE "WHAT HAPPENED AT BERKELEY," JAMES CASS, WRITING IN THE SATURDAY REVIEW, HAD THIS TO SAY:

THE MODERN UNIVERSITY HAS LEFT ITS CLOISTER AND ENTERED THE MARKET PLACE. FAR FROM CONCERNING ITSELF SOLELY WITH THE SEARCH FOR ULTIMATE TRUTH AND TIME-TESTED PERSPECTIVES, IT HAS COME TO SERVE THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. THE SCHOLAR'S SKILLS ARE NO LONGER APPLIED SOLELY TO MAN'S PAST, BUT IN VERY LARGE PART TO HUMANITY'S FUTURE. NOTABLE ADVANTAGES HAVE BEEN GAINED BY THE UNIVERSITY FROM ITS NEW ROLE, BUT THERE ARE DANGERS, TOO, IN MAKING HIGHER EDUCATION SO RESPONSIVE TO THE IMPORTUNATE COMMUNITY.²⁹

ONE OF THE DANGERS IS THAT RECOGNIZED BY THE STUDENTS, THAT THE STUDENTS THEMSELVES ARE BECOMING MERELY THE COGS THAT MAKE THE WHOLE PROCESS WORK. IT IS NOT MERELY THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE SOCIETY THAT IS AT STAKE, FOR THE UNIVERSITY IS NOTHING APART FROM THE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE A PART OF IT. AND THE STUDENTS ARE, IN FACT, THE RAW MATERIAL OUT OF WHICH THE SCHOLARS, ENGINEERS, TEACHERS, PHYSICISTS, ET AL, ARE TO BE PRODUCED. AT ISSUE IS WHAT HAPPENS TO THE RAW MATERIAL?

THE BEST WAY TO IDENTIFY THE PARTS OF OUR MULTIVERSITY MACHINERY IS SIMPLY OBSERVE IT "STRIPPED DOWN" TO THE BARE ESSENTIALS. IN THE CONTEXT OF A DAZZLING CIRCUS OF "BAIT," WHICH OBSCURES OUR VISION OF THE MACHINERY, WE GET A FOUR YEAR LONG SERIES OF SHARP STACCATOS: EIGHT SEMESTERS, FORTY COURSES, ONE HUNDRED TWENTY OR MORE "UNITS," TEN TO FIFTEEN IMPERSONAL LECTURES PER WEEK, ONE TO THREE OVER-SIZED DISCUSSION MEETINGS PER WEEK LED BY POORLY PAID GRADUATE STUDENT "TEACHERS." OVER A PERIOD OF FOUR YEARS THE STUDENT-COG RECEIVES CLOSE TO FORTY BIBLIOGRAPHIES; EVALUATION AMOUNTS TO LITTLE MORE THAN PUSHING THE TEST BUTTON, WHICH RESULTS IN OVER ONE HUNDRED REGURGITATIONS IN FOUR YEARS; AND THE WRITING OF TWENTY TO THIRTY-FIVE "PAPERS" IN FOUR YEARS IN THIS CONTEXT MEANS THAT THEY ARE OF NECESSITY TECHNICALLY AND SUBSTANTIALLY POOR DUE TO A LACK OF TIME FOR THOUGHT. THE COURSE-GRADE-UNIT SYSTEM STRUCTURE, RESTING ON THE FOUNDATION OF DEPARTMENTALIZATION, PRODUCES KNOWLEDGE FOR THE STUDENT-COG WHICH HAS BEEN EXPLODED INTO THOUSANDS OF BITS AND IS FORCE-FED, BY THE COERCION OF GRADES.... HUMAN NERVES AND FLESH ARE TRANSMUTED UNDER THE PRESSURE AND STRESS OF THE UNIVERSITY ROUTINE. IT IS AS THOUGH WE HAVE BECOME RAW MATERIAL IN THE STRICTLY INORGANIC SENSE. BUT THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT HAS GIVEN US AN EXTRAORDINARY TASTE OF WHAT IT MEANS TO BE PART OF SOMETHING ORGANIC. JUMPING OFF THE CONVEYORS, WE HAVE BECOME A COMMUNITY OF FURIOUSLY TALKING, FEELING, AND THINKING HUMAN BEINGS. IF WE TAKE SERIOUSLY OUR COMMON AGREEMENT THAT WE STOPPED A "MACHINE" HOW CAN WE BE ACCUSED OF CONSPIRING TO DESTROY A "GREAT UNIVERSITY?"
WHERE?³⁰

OR, IN THE WORDS OF ANOTHER OF THE FSM CAROLS:

FROM THE TIP OF SAN DIEGO
TO THE TOP OF BERKELEY'S HILLS
WE HAVE BUILT A MIGHTY FACTORY
TO IMPART OUR SOCIAL SKILLS.

SOCIAL ENGINEERING TRIUMPHS,
MANAGERS OF EVERY KIND;
LET US ALL WITH DRILLS AND HOMEWORK
MANUFACTURE HUMAN MINDS.

MAKE THE STUDENTS SAFE FOR KNOWLEDGE
KEEP THEM LOYAL, KEEP THEM CLEAN.
THIS IS WHY WE HAVE A COLLEGE;
HAIL TO IBM MACHINE.

AS A HUMAN BEING SEEKING TO ENRICH HIMSELF, THE STUDENT HAS NO PLACE IN THE MULTIVERSITY. INSTEAD HE BECOMES A MERCENARY, PAID OFF IN GRADES, STATUS, AND DEGREES, ALL OF WHICH CAN EVENTUALLY BE CASHED IN FOR HARD CURRENCY ON THE JOB MARKET. HIS EDUCATION IS NOT VALUED FOR ITS ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE FREEDOM IT SHOULD ENABLE HIM TO ENJOY, BUT FOR THE AMOUNT OF MONEY IT WILL ENABLE HIM TO MAKE. CREDITS FOR COURSES ARE SUBTLY TRANSFORMED INTO CREDIT CARDS AS THE MULTIVERSITY INCULCATES THE VALUES OF THE ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY.³¹

THUS WE FIND THE STUDENTS LOOKING AT WHAT IS HAPPENING TO THEMSELVES IN THE MIDST OF WHAT IS CALLED "EDUCATION" AND STRIKING OUT AT THE SIGHTS THAT THEY SEE. THE STUDENTS HAVE READ THE USES OF THE UNIVERSITY AND QUOTE IT AT LENGTH TO PROVE THEIR POINTS. THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT THE UNIVERSITY SHOULD NOT BE A "PUBLIC UTILITY" SERVICING SOCIETY'S MANY BUREAUCRACIES. IF IT IS TO BE ONLY THAT, THEN IT IS NOT REALLY A UNIVERSITY, AND THIS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO THE ATTENTION OF THE SOCIETY WHICH HAS ESTABLISHED IT.

AN EVIDENCE OF THE CRITICISM LEVELED AT THE CONTENT OF THE EDUCATION BEING OFFERED, IS THE ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF THE STUDENTS TO ESTABLISH A "FREE UNIVERSITY," WHICH WOULD DO SEVERAL THINGS: 1) OFFER COURSES WHICH WOULD SUPPLEMENT THE REGULAR ACADEMIC WORK THAT IS NOW OFFERED, BY BRINGING DIFFERENT VIEWPOINTS TO BEAR ON THE SUBJECT MATTER, BY POINTING OUT THE BIASES AND UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS OF THE PROFESSOR, BY RELATING THE SUBJECT MATTER TO OTHER AREAS OF KNOWLEDGE, ETC., 2) OFFER COURSES WHICH WOULD FILL IN THE GAPS BETWEEN AREAS OF STUDY NOW OFFERED IN THE UNIVERSITY, BY BRINGING DIFFERENT DISCIPLINES TOGETHER AND BY APPROACHING DISTINCT DISCIPLINES FROM PERSPECTIVES NOT NOW OFFERED, AND 3) UNDERTAKING RESEARCH INTO THE NATURE AND CONTENT OF THE UNIVERSITY ITSELF, IN THE HOPE THAT THIS RESEARCH MIGHT AID THE UNIVERSITY IN BECOMING EVEN GREATER THAN IT IS.

ANOTHER OBJECT OF CRITICISM IN THE UNIVERSITY IS THE PRESENTLY CONSTITUTED STUDENT GOVERNMENT. CONSISTENTLY THE DEMONSTRATORS HAVE CHOSEN TO IGNORE THE OFFICIAL ORGANIZATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVES, CLAIMING THAT IT IS CONCERNED WITH ONLY CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY, AND THAT IT IS, IN FACT, ONLY A "COMPANY UNION" RUN BY THE ADMINISTRATION FOR THE PURPOSES OF PROVIDING "SAND-LOT" PLAY FOR THE STUDENTS.

THE STUDENT IS POWERLESS EVEN TO AFFECT THOSE ASPECTS OF THE UNIVERSITY SUPPOSEDLY CLOSEST TO HIM. HIS STUDENT "GOVERNMENT" BY POLITICAL CASTRATES IS A FRAUD

PERMITTED TO OPERATE ONLY WITHIN LIMITS IMPOSED AUTOCRATICALLY BY THE ADMINISTRATION. ^{THUS} IT IS CONSTITUTIONALLY MANDATED TO SERVE THE STATUS QUO.³²

EVIDENCE OF THE LACK OF CONFIDENCE IN THE ASUC AS AN EFFECTIVE ORGAN OF REPRESENTATION FOR THE STUDENT POPULATION OF THE CAMPUS IS THE ATTEMPT BEING MADE TO ORGANIZE AN "UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATION" ON A VOLUNTARY BASE. WHILE NOT SPECIFICALLY A PART OF THE PLATFORM OF THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT, THIS ATTEMPT IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE THOUGHT PATTERNS THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED THE STUDENTS OF LATE. THE FOLLOWING MATERIAL WAS INCLUDED IN A HANDBILL DISTRIBUTED ON CAMPUS ON DECEMBER 9:

UNDERGRADUATES

STUDENTS HAVE SEEN THE TOTAL INABILITY OF THE ASUC TO PLAY AN EFFECTIVE ROLE IN REPRESENTING THE POLITICAL VIEWS OF THE UNDERGRADUATE COMMUNITY. TO FILL THIS VACUUM IN A TIME OF CHANGE AND CRISIS THE UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATION HAS BEEN FORMED; THROUGH THE UA UNDERGRADUATES ARE OFFERED THE OPPORTUNITY TO EXPRESS AND IMPLEMENT THEIR OPINIONS.

THE FIRST COUNCIL MEETING OF THE UA WAS HELD DEC. 7. AT THIS MEETING REPRESENTATIVES OF 17 DEPARTMENTS APPROVED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT OF PURPOSE:

"THE PURPOSE OF THE UNDERGRADUATE ASSOCIATION IS TO OFFER EVERY UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT AN EFFECTIVE MEANS OF VOICING AND IMPLEMENTING HIS OPINIONS IN UNIVERSITY AFFAIRS...AND TO BECOME THE VOICE OF THE UNDERGRADUATES IN ANY EVENTUAL TRI-PARTITE SYSTEM OF DECISION-MAKING IN THE UNIVERSITY..."

MUCH OF THE DISSATISFACTION WITH THE ASUC STEMS NOT FROM ITS INABILITY TO DEAL WITH THE TRADITIONALLY STRUCTURED "STUDENT ACTIVITIES" BUT RATHER FROM ITS FAILURE TO DEMAND AND FULFILL A ROLE AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STUDENTS IN WHAT HAS BEEN REFERRED TO AS THE "TRI-PARTITE SYSTEM OF DECISION-MAKING." THE DEMAND OF THE STUDENTS IS THAT THEY BE RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THE GROUPS THAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN THE MAKING OF POLICY, THE DETERMINATION OF COURSES, AND OTHER FACTORS OF THE CAMPUS, ALONG WITH THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FACULTY.

A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE OF THIS DEMAND WAS STATED IN A PARAGRAPH INCLUDED IN A HANDBILL DISTRIBUTED ON CAMPUS EARLY IN THE DEMONSTRATION; TITLED PROVISIONAL PLATFORM OF THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT:

VI. THE APPROPRIATE CHANNEL FOR ENACTING AND INTERPRETING THE REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE EXERCISE OF CIVIL LIBERTIES ON THE CAMPUS SHALL BE A TRIPARTITE BOARD WITH EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF STUDENTS, A MAJORITY OF WHOM SHALL BE SELECTED BY A STUDENT POLITICAL UNION OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTION ORGANIZATIONS; FACULTY SELECTED BY THE ACADEMIC FREEDOM COMMITTEE OF THE ACADEMIC SENATE; AND MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION. THE BOARD SHALL HAVE A ROTATING CHAIRMAN,

SET ITS OWN RULES OF PROCEDURE, AND MAKE ITS DECISIONS BY CONSENSUS. THIS SHALL BE THE BOARD OF APPEAL AND FINAL REVIEW IN ALL DISPUTED MATTERS RELATING TO CIVIL LIBERTIES. TERMS SHALL BE LIMITED TO ONE YEAR.

WHILE THIS RECOMMENDATION HAS NOT BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION, IT REPRESENTS THE DESIRES OF THE POLITICALLY ACTIVE STUDENTS TO HAVE THEIR SHARE IN THE GOVERNANCE OF AT LEAST THIS ONE ASPECT OF THE LIFE OF THE CAMPUS. IT ALSO REPRESENTS THE LACK OF TRUST PLACED IN THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE HANDLING OF CIVIL RIGHTS MATTERS ON THE CAMPUS.

ANOTHER OBJECT FOR STUDENT CRITICISM IS WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED "PATERNALISM." THIS IS THE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE ADMINISTRATION THAT WHILE A STUDENT IS ENROLLED IN THE INSTITUTION IT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO BE IN LOCO PARENTIS, AND ENFORCE THOSE PATTERNS OF ACTION THAT WILL BE FOR THE BEST INTEREST OF THE STUDENT. LOCK-OUT HOURS FOR THE DORMS, FRIENDLY "CHATS WITH THE DEANS," RESTRICTIONS ON ON-CAMPUS POLITICAL ACTIVITY, THESE AND OTHER RELATIONSHIPS REPRESENT THE "PROTECTIVE" ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION TOWARD ITS CHARGES. THE INFORMAL "FLEXIBILITY" OF SUCH A SYSTEM IS APPRECIATED BY THOSE WHO FEEL THAT THEY ARE "IN TUNE" WITH THE SYSTEM AND ITS VALUES. BUT FOR THOSE WHO REPRESENT A VALUE SYSTEM CONTRARY TO THAT OF THE "POWERS THAT BE" THE FLEXIBILITY LEAVES MUCH TOO MUCH ROOM FOR PREJUDICIAL TREATMENT. SPECIFICALLY, THE CHARGE HAS BEEN MADE AGAINST THE ADMINISTRATION THAT IT REPRESENTS THAT ELEMENT OF SOCIETY WHICH IS UNFAVORABLE TO DRASTIC SOCIAL CHANGE, SUCH AS THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. THEREFORE, WHEN A STUDENT IS ACCUSED OF BREAKING A UNIVERSITY RULE AND BROUGHT BEFORE THE DEAN OF STUDENTS HE WILL BE TREATED HARSHLY, WHILE A STUDENT WHO IS CHARGED WITH CHEATING ON AN EXAM OR SWIPING A BOOK FROM THE BOOKSTORE, WILL BE GIVEN A "FRIENDLY WARNING" AND LET OFF. THE DEMAND OF THE STUDENTS, THEREFORE, IS FOR TIGHTER CONTROLS ON THE DISCIPLINARY SYSTEM, IN ORDER THAT EACH STUDENT WILL BE GRANTED THE PROTECTIONS OF LEGAL PROCESSES AND THE DECISIONS WILL BE TAKEN OUT OF THE HANDS OF INDIVIDUAL ADMINISTRATORS. THESE DEMANDS ARE CLOSELY RELATED TO THE DEMANDS OF CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS IN THE SOUTH, WHERE THE LETTER OF THE LAW IS IMPORTANT IN PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL, AND NO TRUST CAN BE PLACED IN THE "GOOD-WILL" OF THE PERSON EXERCISING AUTHORITY.

THUS WE FIND A WIDE RANGE OF DISCONTENT EXPRESSED BY THE STUDENTS OVER THE CONTEXT AND CONTENT OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS BEING CARRIED OUT AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. IN THE LATER DAYS OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS, THEY HAVE BEEN RECEIVING MUCH SUPPORT FROM OBSERVERS OF THE SYSTEM, BOTH FROM WITHIN AND WITHOUT, WHO HAVE STUDIED MORE CLOSELY WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING IN THIS INSTITUTION AND WHO HAVE COME TO MANY OF THE SAME CONCLUSIONS AS THE STUDENTS.

ONE OF THE MANY RECENT ARTICLES ON THE EVENTS IN BERKELEY HAS THIS TO SAY:

THE REAL MEANING OF THESE EVENTS CANNOT BE UNDERSTOOD BY LIMITING THE DISCUSSION TO AN ANALYSIS OF THE ON-CAMPUS ADVOCACY, OR OF THE USE OF ILLEGAL AND EXTREMIST

METHODS. DESPITE THE FSM'S NAME, FREE SPEECH HAS NEVER BEEN THE CENTRAL ISSUE -- SAVIO HAS ADMITTED AS MUCH. THE REVOLT IS NOT JUST AGAINST THE INJUSTICES OF SOCIETY AT LARGE BUT ALSO AGAINST THE UNIVERSITY AS A MICROCOSM OF THAT SOCIETY. TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE STUDENT AND FACULTY RESPONSE, ONE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY RESTIVE AS A RESULT OF CHANGES IN OUR SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION....

KERR WARNS THAT MAJOR UNIVERSITIES HAVE BECOME PRE-DOMINANTLY RESEARCH INSTITUTIONS; THAT TEACHING, PARTICULARLY ON THE UNDERGRADUATE LEVEL, HOLDS LITTLE INTEREST FOR MANY ON THE FACULTY; THAT ADMINISTRATORS TEND TO BECOME PREOCCUPIED WITH RAISING FUNDS AND GAINING INFLUENCE; THAT FACULTIES HAVE LITTLE INSTITUTIONAL LOYALTY, WITH MANY PROFESSORS CHOOSING THEIR UNIVERSITIES ON A CAREERIST BASIS. THESE CIRCUMSTANCES PRODUCE CONSIDERABLE RESENTMENT AMONG STUDENTS, AND KERR, IN FACT, PREDICTED A SHARP INCREASE IN TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS BETWEEN STUDENTS AND INSTRUCTORS.³³

III. OUTSTANDING DILEMMAS

THOSE WHO HAVE RECOGNIZED THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE ISSUES HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO RAISE QUESTION ABOUT THE SURVIVAL OF THE UNIVERSITY. ALREADY THERE HAVE BEEN SPECIFIC LOSSES, SUCH AS RESEARCH GRANTS CHANNELED IN OTHER DIRECTIONS, AND FACULTY WHO HAVE CHOSEN OTHER INSTITUTIONS RATHER THAN COMING TO BERKELEY. STATE LEGISLATORS HAVE INITIATED ACTION TO CUT THE ANNUAL APPROPRIATION, PROHIBIT SALARY INCREASES FOR FACULTY, AND INSTIGATE INVESTIGATIONS OF VARIOUS KINDS INTO THE FUNCTIONING OF THE UNIVERSITY. IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHAT FURTHER PENALTIES WILL BE SUFFERED, SUCH AS A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF GRADUATE STUDENTS SEEKING ADMISSION, THE LOSS OF FEDERAL FUNDS, AND THE RESIGNATIONS OF FACULTY FROM THIS CAMPUS WHO CHOOSE TO TEACH ELSEWHERE.

INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH THE REASONS GIVEN FOR CUTTING SHORT A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNIVERSITY COME FROM BOTH SIDES OF THE IDEOLOGICAL SPECTRUM. THOSE ON THE RIGHT END EXPRESS THEIR ANTAGONISMS BECAUSE THE ADMINISTRATION FAILED TO EXERT ITS AUTHORITY AND KEEP THE STUDENTS IN LINE. "OBVIOUSLY THE ADMINISTRATORS MUST BE IN CAHOOTS WITH THE RADICAL STUDENTS OR THEY WOULD HAVE ACTED MUCH MORE DECISIVELY IN CONTROLLING THE SITUATION." THUS INVESTIGATIONS OF COMMUNIST INFILTRATION INTO THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION WILL HAVE THEIR DAY. AT THE SAME TIME, THE MORE LIBERAL ELEMENTS OF THE SOCIETY RAISE THEIR COMPLAINTS BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE ADMINISTRATION TO MAINTAIN THE CONDITIONS OF LEARNING WHICH MAKE IT UNNECESSARY FOR THE STUDENTS TO EXPRESS THEIR OPPOSITION IN SUCH DRASTIC WAYS.

BUT WHETHER FROM THE "RIGHT" OR FROM THE "LEFT" THE CRITICISM OUGHT TO BRING ABOUT THE RECOGNITION OF THE NECESSITY OF DEALING WITH CERTAIN BASIC DILEMMAS WHICH MUST BE FACED BY UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE 20th CENTURY. I CHOOSE TO PRESENT THESE AS DILEMMAS SINCE THE PROBLEMS OF HIGHER EDUCATION SEEM TO PRESENT THEMSELVES IN OPPOSITES, WITH VALUES TO BE RE-

TAINED ON BOTH HORNS OF EACH DILEMMA.

1. THE FIRST DILEMMA FACED BY 20th CENTURY HIGHER EDUCATION IS THE TENSION THAT EXISTS BETWEEN EDUCATION FOR PROFESSION AND EDUCATION FOR PERSUASION. THIS TENSION IS WELL PRESENTED IN A PARAGRAPH FROM A PAPER REPORTING ON THE WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION CONSULTATION HELD IN BOSSEY, SWITZERLAND, IN MAY, 1964.

THE WORLD OF TECHNOLOGY MADE POSSIBLE VERY LARGELY BY THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY IN THE PAST HAS RESULTED IN THE RADICAL RESTRUCTURING OF THE UNIVERSITY. THE TREMENDOUS INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF STUDENTS, THE CHANGING PATTERNS AND NEW DEMANDS IN TEACHING AND RESEARCH, THE INCREASING PRESSURE AND CONTROL FROM STATE AND SOCIETY ON THE UNIVERSITY BECAUSE OF THE RECOGNITION THAT EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ARE INTEGRALLY RELATED, HAVE RESULTED IN THE RELATING OF THE UNIVERSITY MORE AND MORE CLOSELY TO SOCIETY. IN SOME SOCIETIES THE PLANNING OF THE UNIVERSITY IS A PART OF THE TOTAL PLANNING OF THE SOCIETY. IN ALMOST ALL OF THE SO-CALLED DEVELOPING NATIONS, THE UNIVERSITIES AS WELL AS BEING ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT ARE AN IMPORTANT PRESTIGE SYMBOL. THE CHANGE IN THE STRUCTURE AND CONCEPT OF THE UNIVERSITY FROM THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TO ITS MODERN FORM HAS RESULTED IN TENSION BETWEEN THE CONCEPT OF THE UNIVERSITY AS DEDICATED PRIMARILY TO THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH, AND THE UNIVERSITY AS A PLACE WHERE KNOWLEDGE USEFUL FOR A SPECIAL PROFESSION IS IMPARTED. THIS TENSION IS A DYNAMIC STIMULUS WHICH CAN LEAD TO THE CREATIVE REDEFINITION OF EACH OF THESE OBJECTIVES AND THEREFORE OF THE NATURE OF THE UNIVERSITY ITSELF.³⁴

IT IS MY GUESS THAT MOST STUDENTS WHO ENTER THE UNIVERSITY TODAY DO SO WITH THE INTENT OF SECURING THE TRAINING NECESSARY TO ENTER THEIR CHOSEN PROFESSION. THE FACT THAT THEY CHANGE MAJORS QUITE FREQUENTLY SIMPLY MEANS THAT THEY HAVE ALSO CHANGED THEIR PROFESSIONAL GOALS AND THEREFORE THE TRAINING THAT IS NECESSARY. OBVIOUSLY IT IS NECESSARY THAT WE TRAIN THE INDIVIDUALS NECESSARY TO MAKE THE WHEELS OF THE SOCIETY TURN. THE PROFESSIONAL MAN MUST HAVE THE BEST TRAINING POSSIBLE, AND IN THIS ERA OF SPECIALIZATION THAT TRAINING MUST BE THOROUGH AND EXTENSIVE. SLOWLY BUT EVER SURELY, THE REQUIREMENTS FOR OBTAINING MANY OF THE JOBS IN OUR SOCIETY ARE BECOMING GREATER AND GREATER. NO LONGER IS A BACHELOR DEGREE ADEQUATE FOR DOING TASKS SUCH AS SOCIAL WELFARE. IT IS NOW REQUIRED THAT EXTRA YEARS OF TRAINING BE OBTAINED LEADING TO AT LEAST A MASTER'S DEGREE. AND THE CONTENT OF THE COURSES IS EXPANDING TO INCLUDE MORE AND MORE SUBJECT MATTER, THUS DECREASING THE POSSIBILITIES OF GENERAL STUDIES. HOW, THEN, DO WE ACHIEVE THE GOALS TO WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY REFERRED IN QUOTING FROM NATHAN PUSEY:

OUR JOB IS TO EDUCATE FREE, INDEPENDENT, AND VIGOROUS MINDS CAPABLE OF ANALYZING EVENTS, OF EXERCISING JUDGMENT, OF DISTINGUISHING FACTS FROM PROPAGANDA AND TRUTH FROM HALF-TRUTH AND LIES,...

IS IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO "EDUCATE MINDS" WHILE WE ARE DEVELOPING SPECIFIC PROFESSIONAL SKILLS? UNFORTUNATELY IT APPEARS THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN SO AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, AT LEAST ACCORDING TO THE OBSERVATIONS MADE BY THE STUDENTS. ATTRIBUTED TO ONE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION IS A COMMENT PASSED ALONG BY A STUDENT: "IT IS POSSIBLE TO GET AN EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA IF YOU KNOW HOW TO USE THE SYSTEM." PERHAPS WE ARE TO ASSUME, THEN, THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE STUDENTS ARE CORRECT IN EXPECTING TO RECEIVE "VOCATIONAL TRAINING" AND THAT ONLY A MINORITY WILL BE ASTUTE ENOUGH TO SECURE "AN EDUCATION" AT THE UNIVERSITY.

MOST YOUNG MEN CONFORM BLINDLY TO THE SYSTEM. OCCASIONALLY AN EVENT, SUCH AS A STUDENT RIOT ACCOMPANIED BY VIOLENCE, REMINDS US OF MURRAY'S WORDS ABOUT THE RESENTMENTS, HOSTILITY, AND NIHILISM THAT RESULT FROM OPPRESSION. WHAT IS WORSE IS THAT MOST FACULTY CONFORM TO THE SYSTEM AS WELL. IT IS OFTEN SAID THAT ONE OF THE PRIME FUNCTIONS OF A COLLEGE IS TO SERVE AS A CRITIC OF SOCIETY. AFTER ALL, THERE IS IN AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL LIFE A DEEP STREAM OF DISSENT RUNNING BACK TO THOREAU AND MELVILLE. CERTAIN PUBLIC OFFICIALS, HOWEVER, CAN TRY TO MAKE OF THE EDUCATION OF YOUNG MEN AN INSTRUMENT FOR NATIONAL POLICY IN A WAY THAT SEEMS FRIGHTENINGLY TOTALITARIAN WITH HARDLY A VOICE RAISED IN PROTEST ON THE CAMPUSES OF OUR PROMINENT MEN'S COLLEGES.³⁵

THERE IS A TREMENDOUS RISK INVOLVED, BOTH FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INSTITUTION AND FOR THE SOCIETY WHEN IT ACCEPTS AS THE GOAL OF HIGHER EDUCATION THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRITICAL MINDS. FOR THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE IT IS MUCH MORE SECURE TO CONCENTRATE ON TURNING OUT THE TECHNICIANS. EXAMPLES OF THIS ARE NUMEROUS IN HISTORY, WHEN HITLER USED THE UNIVERSITIES OF GERMANY TO DEVELOP SCIENTISTS FOR HIS PURPOSES, AND WHERE THE SOVIET EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IS KEYED TO THE TRAINING OF TREMENDOUS NUMBERS OF SKILLED MINDS TO CARRY OUT THE NATIONAL PURPOSES. THE USE OF THESE TWO PARTICULAR EXAMPLES OBVIOUSLY IMPLIES A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE AUTHOR TOWARDS AN OVER-EMPHASIS ON THE TRAINING ASPECTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION. IT IS NECESSARY, THEREFORE, TO STATE AGAIN THAT PROFESSIONAL TRAINING IS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE UNIVERSITY AND CANNOT BE IGNORED, BUT IN OUR PRESENT DAY THE GREATER NEED IS FOR AN EMPHASIS ON EDUCATION FOR PERSUASION, DEVELOPING CONVICTIONS AND COMMITMENTS THAT RESULT IN THE CRITICAL EVALUATION OF EVERY ASPECT OF OUR CULTURE. THE DILEMMA FACED BY THE UNIVERSITY IS THE PROPER BALANCE BETWEEN THESE TWO IMPORTANT FUNCTIONS.

2. A SECOND DILEMMA IS THAT WHICH DERIVES PRIMARILY FROM THE SIZE OF OUR EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS. WHEN AN INDIVIDUAL ENTERS THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY OF 27,500 STUDENTS, 1500 FACULTY MEMBERS, AND NUMEROUS ADMINISTRATORS AND OTHER PERSONNEL, THERE ARE TWO SOMEWHAT OPPOSITE IMPACTS UPON HIM. FIRST HE BEGINS TO SEE HIMSELF AS ONLY A PART OF THE MASS, LOSING HIS INDIVIDUALITY AND GAINING A SENSE OF BEING A DROP OF WATER IN THE OCEAN, MOVING NOT AT HIS OWN WILL BUT IN THE MIDST OF TIDES AND WAVES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, THERE IS A STRANGE SENSE OF LONELINESS, OF BEING ENTIRELY DEPENDENT UPON HIMSELF. THE ONENESS WITH THE

REST OF THE OCEAN DOES NOT BRING WITH IT AN ACCOMPANYING FEELING OF BELONGING. THUS THE NEED FOR TWO KINDS OF STRENGTH IN THE PERSON: 1) THE STRENGTH TO MAINTAIN AN INTEGRITY OF INDIVIDUALITY, AND 2) THE STRENGTH TO BE ABLE TO MOVE INTO ONE OR MORE GROUPS FOR THAT RELATEDNESS THAT IS SO VERY IMPORTANT.

FOR THE UNIVERSITY THIS PRESENTS THE DILEMMA OF ATTEMPTING TO DEVELOP ATMOSPHERE AND PROGRAM WHICH AT THE SAME TIME AFFIRMS THE INDIVIDUALITY OF EACH PERSON AND RECOGNIZES HIS NEED FOR RELATIONSHIPS. OBVIOUSLY IBM CARDS ARE ESSENTIAL IN THE EFFICIENT MANAGEMENT OF THE AFFAIRS OF NEARLY 30,000 PEOPLE. IF THIS PUSHES THE STUDENT IN THE DIRECTION OF BEING A NON-ENTITY, THEN WHAT WILL COUNTERACT THAT MOVEMENT IN FAVOR OF HIS INDIVIDUALITY? IF WE OPEN RESIDENCE HALLS IN THE HOPE OF OFFERING PRIMARY GROUPS WHERE THE STUDENT NEED NOT BE ALONE, HOW DO WE PROTECT HIS PRIVACY AND AFFIRM HIS RIGHT TO BE DIFFERENT FROM EVERYONE ELSE IN THE HALL?

THE DILEMMA OF SIZE IS THAT OF TRYING TO HELP STUDENTS INTO RELATIONSHIPS WHILE AT THE SAME TIME MAINTAINING THEIR INTEGRITY AS INDIVIDUALS.

3) WE HAVE NOTED THAT THE DEMONSTRATING STUDENTS HAVE ASKED FOR A GREATER DEGREE OF LEGALISM IN THE CARRYING OUT OF THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CAMPUS. "DUE PROCESS OF LAW" IS THE GENERAL RUBRIC WHICH WOULD GUARANTEE THAT EACH STUDENT WOULD BE TREATED THE SAME WAY AS ANY OTHER STUDENT FOR A SIMILAR OFFENSE. "JUSTICE" IS THE CRY OF THE MINORITY. "UNDERSTANDING" IS THE DESIRE OF THE MAJORITY. ACTING CHANCELLOR MARTIN MEYERSON, OF THE BERKELEY CAMPUS, HAS STATED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO SEE ALL OF THE RULES OF THE CAMPUS CONSOLIDATED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THEY COULD BE PUT ON ONE PIECE OF PAPER, IN CONTRAST TO THE SIZABLE VOLUME WHICH IS NEEDED NOW. BUT THIS IMPLIES THAT MUCH INTERPRETATION OF THE RULES WILL HAVE TO BE DONE BY THE PERSONS GIVEN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF CARRYING THEM OUT. WHERE THE GOVERNING AUTHORITY IS TRUSTED TO "DO THE RIGHT THING" IT IS EASY TO OPERATE UNDER MINIMUM NUMBERS OF RULES. THIS DOES NOT SEEM TO BE THE CASE AT PRESENT.

GIVEN THE NATURE OF THE BERKELEY CAMPUS, WITH ITS DIVERSITY AND SIZE, IS IT AT ALL POSSIBLE TO DEVELOP THAT SPIRIT OF "TOGETHERNESS" THAT MUST BE BUILT ON THE ASSUMPTIONS THAT WE ARE ALL TOGETHER FOR THE SAME PURPOSE AND IN THE SAME DEDICATION. IT IS THIS SPIRIT THAT BUILDS THE NECESSARY TRUST. THE ALTERNATIVE IS TO ACCEPT THE DIVERSITY OF PURPOSE, INTENT, AND CHARACTER, AND MOVE AHEAD TO ATTEMPT TO DEVELOP RULES AND REGULATIONS WHICH EFFECTIVELY GOVERN THE ACTIONS OF EACH SO AS TO INTERFERE WITH THE OTHERS THE LEAST. UNFORTUNATELY, IN THIS PARTICULAR DILEMMA, HALF-WAY MEASURES SEEM TO BE WORSE THAN NONE AT ALL. TO ESTABLISH SOME RULES ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE ARE NOT ONE IN SPIRIT AND LEAVE THE IMPLEMENTATION TO AUTHORITY ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE ARE ONE IN SPIRIT, IS TO INVITE FURTHER CHAOS.

4) A FURTHER DILEMMA BELONGS PRIMARILY TO THE FACULTY. THE UNIVERSITY IS THE PLACE IN SOCIETY WHERE THE GREATEST COLLECTION OF INTELLIGENCE IS PRESENT AND WHERE THE GREATEST AD-

VANCES MAY BE MADE FOR THE FUTURE. WHEN AN INDUSTRY IS ANXIOUS TO PRODUCE "PROGRESS" IN ITS FIELD THE FIRST PLACE TO TURN IS TO THE FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY. THERE IS A LEGITIMATE CALL ON THE SERVICES OF THE IMAGINATIVE AND WELL-TRAINED SCHOLARS BY THE SOCIETY, WHETHER THAT BE EXPRESSED THROUGH PRIVATE INDUSTRY OR GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIES.

BUT ON THE OPPOSITE HORN OF THIS DILEMMA RESTS THE ESSENTIAL NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND THE INDIVIDUAL STUDENTS. THE TEACHING FUNCTION OF THE PROFESSOR MUST BE HIGHLIGHTED ALONG WITH HIS ACTIONS AS RESEARCH SCHOLAR AND CONSULTANT. KERR HAS COMMENTED ON THIS IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:

THE REASONS FOR THE GENERAL DETERIORATION OF UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING ARE SEVERAL. TEACHING LOADS AND STUDENT CONTACT HOURS HAVE BEEN REDUCED. FACULTY MEMBERS ARE MORE FREQUENTLY ON LEAVE OR TEMPORARILY AWAY FROM THE CAMPUS; SOME ARE NEVER MORE THAN TEMPORARILY ON CAMPUS. MORE OF THE INSTRUCTION FALLS TO TEACHERS WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE REGULAR FACULTY. THE BEST GRADUATE STUDENTS PREFER FELLOWSHIPS AND RESEARCH ASSISTANTSHIPS TO TEACHING ASSISTANTSHIPS. POSTDOCTORAL FELLOWS WHO MIGHT FILL THE GAP USUALLY DO NOT TEACH. AVERAGE CLASS SIZE HAS BEEN INCREASING.

AS A CONSEQUENCE, UNDERGRADUATE EDUCATION IN THE LARGE UNIVERSITY IS MORE LIKELY TO BE ACCEPTABLE THAN OUTSTANDING; EDUCATION POLICY FROM THE UNDERGRADUATE POINT OF VIEW IS LARGELY NEGLECTED. HOW TO ESCAPE THE CRUEL PARADOX THAT A SUPERIOR FACULTY RESULTS IN AN INFERIOR CONCERN FOR UNDERGRADUATE TEACHING IS ONE OF OUR MORE PRESSING PROBLEMS.³⁶

THE HUMOROUS STORIES, SUCH AS THE GRADUATE STUDENT WHO HAD TO FLY TO JAPAN FOR HIS ORAL EXAMINATIONS BECAUSE ALL THREE OF HIS COMMITTEE WERE THERE ON CONSULTATIONS, ARE ONLY THE SURFACE MANIFESTATION OF A PROBLEM WHICH HAS MANY MORE SERIOUS RAMIFICATIONS. THE PRIMARY CONCERN OF FACULTY MEMBERS FOR THEIR SPECIAL PROJECTS, SUPPORTED BY SIZABLE GRANTS FROM FOUNDATIONS AND GOVERNMENT, CUTS ACROSS THE EDUCATIONAL TASK ON MANY LEVELS, RANGING FROM THE FRUSTRATION OF A STUDENT WHO NEEDS A SIGNATURE OF A PARTICULAR PROFESSOR AND CAN'T LOCATE HIM FOR TWO WEEKS, TO THE ROTE PRESENTATION OF LECTURES BECAUSE THE TIME IS NOT AVAILABLE FOR THE PREPARATION OF NEW MATERIAL IN NEW FORMS.

THE DILEMMA OF THE FACULTY MEMBERS IS NOT SOMETHING NEW ON THE ACADEMIC SCENE. IN 1834 FIFTY-ONE STUDENTS WITHDREW FROM LANE SEMINARY IN CINCINNATI AS A RESULT OF OPPRESSIVE RULINGS PASSED BY THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES GOVERNING THE POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE STUDENTS. APPARENTLY THE FACULTY WAS CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TURMOIL OF THE CAMPUS. IN A LENGTHY STATEMENT ISSUED IN JANUARY OF 1835, THEODORE DWIGHT WELD, ONE OF THE STUDENTS, HAD THIS TO SAY ABOUT THE FACULTY;

IT IS THEIRS TO DIRECT THE INQUIRIES OF THEIR STUDENTS; BUT THEY MUST HAVE A CARE TO DIRECT THEM WHOLLY BY PRINCIPLE. IF THEY FIND THE STUDENTS DISPOSED TO SHRINK FROM

THE PRACTICAL RESULTS OF THEIR DISCUSSIONS, OR TO FLEE IN PANIC WHEN CALLED ULTRAISTS, OR TO REVERSE THEIR DECISION AT THE BIDDING OF A MOB, IT IS THEIRS, AS FAITHFUL LEADERS, TO INSPIRE THEM WITH FRESH COURAGE AND IMPEL THEM FORWARD. IF A STUDENT SHOULD NOT SUBMIT TO BE DIRECTED BY PRINCIPLE, IT IS CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE THAT HE IS NOT FIT TO SEARCH AFTER PRINCIPLE; AND IN SUCH CASE THE FACULTY HAVE UNQUESTIONED POWER TO DISCIPLINE OR DISMISS.³⁷

APPARENTLY THE FACULTY MEMBERS AT LANE SEMINARY HAD THE DILEMMA OF DEFINING THEIR TASKS AMONG NUMEROUS ALTERNATIVES AND HAD OPENED THEMSELVES TO THE FAILURE OF FULFILLING THEIR RESPONSIBILITY TOWARD THE STUDENTS.

HOW SHALL THE UNIVERSITY FULFILL BOTH ITS ROLE AS A PRODUCER OF KNOWLEDGE FOR THE SOCIETY AND ITS CONCERN FOR THE DEVELOPING MINDS OF THE STUDENTS THROUGH THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE FACULTY?

5) CLARK KERR READILY DESCRIBES ONE HORN OF ANOTHER DILEMMA WHEN HE SPEAKS OF THE FORMATION OF THE UNIVERSITY AS A RESULT OF THE MANY VARIOUS PRESSURES WHICH PLAY UPON THE INSTITUTION. UNFORTUNATELY HE IGNORES, OR FAILS TO RECOGNIZE, THE OTHER HORN, IN THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNIVERSITY TO LEAD AND TO FORM THE SOCIETY ITSELF. THE UNIVERSITY IS A "PUBLIC" INSTITUTION. THIS MEANS THAT IT IS AN AGENCY OF THE GENERAL POPULACE FOR THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ITS PURPOSES. BUT IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT THE ORIGINAL IMPETUS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION HAS BEEN LOST, OR PERVERTED, SO THAT IT NO LONGER SERVES THESE FUNCTIONS, JUST AS THE CHURCH STANDS JUDGED BY THAT WHICH BROUGHT IT INTO EXISTENCE WHEN THE CHURCH, AS AN INSTITUTION, STANDS IN THE WAY OF ITS ORIGINAL PURPOSES.

THE DILEMMA OF PUBLIC RESPONSIVENESS AND INDEPENDENT ACTION LIKEWISE PLAYED A ROLE IN THE INCIDENT AT LANE SEMINARY. WELD HAD THIS TO SAY:

WE NEVER SUPPOSED THAT WE SHOULD BE PROHIBITED FROM DISCUSSING QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE ALREADY FOUGHT THEIR WAY TO THE THRONE OF PUBLIC OPINION. AND DOUBTLESS WE COULD NOW RETURN TO THE SEMINARY AND TEACH OUR SABBATH SCHOOLS, AND TALK ABOUT MISSIONS, AND TEMPERANCE -- (STEERING CLEAR OF THE WINE QUESTION,) THE YEAR ROUND, WITHOUT MOLESTATION. BUT THIS IS A MERE MOCKERY OF DISCUSSION, SO LONG AS A PERVERTED PUBLIC SENTIMENT CAN SAY TO US, "HITHERTO SHALT THOU COME AND NO FURTHER." WHATEVER MAY HAVE BEEN THE MOTIVE OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES, THEY HAVE DRIVEN THE PLOUGHSHARE ACROSS THE WHOLE FIELD OF INQUIRY. THERE IS NOT ONE SUBJECT OF DISCUSSION, NOT ONE BENEVOLENT ENTERPRISE THAT IS NOT THUS PLACED AT THE MERCY OF A CAPRICIOUS POPULACE.³⁸

THE "CAPRICIOUS POPULACE" HAS EVERY RIGHT TO BE CONCERNED WITH WHAT HAPPENS IN "THEIR" UNIVERSITY. THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY WHICH INFORMS THE ADMINISTRATION, THE UNDERLYING PRESUPPOSITIONS UPON WHICH THE FACULTY OPERATES, THE VALUE

STRUCTURES WHICH ARE SUPPORTED BY PUBLIC FUNDS; THESE AND MANY OTHERS MUST BE CONTINUALLY EVALUATED BY THOSE WHO PARTAKE OF THE FRUITS OF THE UNIVERSITY. AT THE SAME TIME, THOSE WHO SET THE POLICIES AND THE PRACTICES OF OUR INSTITUTIONS SHOULD BE EXPECTED TO EXERCISE THE WISDOM FOR WHICH THEY WERE SELECTED IN DETERMINING HOW THE INSTITUTION SHOULD SERVE THE SOCIETY WHICH ESTABLISHED IT.

IF THESE WERE THE ONLY DILEMMAS FACED BY THE ADMINISTRATION OF A UNIVERSITY THE LIFE OF AN ADMINISTRATOR MIGHT BE FAIRLY COMFORTABLE. UNFORTUNATELY, THE NATURE OF THE "BEAST" IS MUCH MORE COMPLEX THAN CAN BE DEFINED IN THESE TERMS. BUT ALLOW THESE TO STAND FOR THE MANY OTHERS WHICH MUST BE FACED.

IV. OBSERVATIONS

OUT OF A CONSIDERATION OF THE VARIOUS PHILOSOPHIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE PROBLEMS ARISING FROM THE RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE CAMPUS THERE GROW SOME CONCERNS AND OBSERVATIONS WHICH I WISH TO EXPRESS, WHICH I HOPE WILL LEAD IN THE DIRECTION OF RECONCILIATION AND RENEWAL FOR THE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY. IT WOULD BE PRESUMPTUOUS TO REFER TO THE COMMENTS THAT FOLLOW AS "ANSWERS." I PRESENT THEM FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION AND LIGHT.

1) EDUCATION IS FUTURE-ORIENTED. WE PUT OUR CHILDREN IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, AND THEN SEND THEM ON TO THE UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE LOOKING TOWARD TOMORROW, WHEN THEY WILL BE EXPECTED TO "PRODUCE" AND BE ABLE TO COPE WITH THE PROBLEMS WHICH WILL BE THEIRS AT THAT TIME. IN THIS SENSE, EDUCATION IS ESSENTIALLY OPTIMISTIC. IT IS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE RESULT OF EDUCATION WILL BE OF BENEFIT BOTH TO THE INDIVIDUAL WHO PASSES THROUGH IT AND TO THE SOCIETY THAT "REAPS ITS REWARDS."

THE ORIGINS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES TOOK PLACE DURING THE FRONTIER STAGES OF OUR NATIONAL GROWTH. FOR EXAMPLE, IN OHIO, WITH MORE COLLEGES THAN ANY OTHER STATE, ONLY THREE HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED WITHIN THE PAST SEVENTY YEARS.³⁹ THE ORIENTATION OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS OF THE VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS WAS TOWARD THE FUTURE. MY EXPERIENCE IN AFRICA DURING THE PAST SUMMER HAS ALSO GIVEN EVIDENCE OF THIS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PIONEERING SPIRIT, OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE, AND EDUCATION.

IN THE UNITED STATES, HOWEVER, THERE HAS COME UPON THE SCENE IN THE PAST DECADES A FEAR OF THE FUTURE, A FEAR OF WHAT

TOMORROW HOLDS THAT MAY DESTROY ALL THAT WE CHERISH. WE FEAR THE POSSIBILITY OF A NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST, A MORAL DEGENERATION, A COMMUNIST TAKEOVER, A POPULATION RUNAWAY, AN AUTOMATION CHAOS, AND ANY NUMBER OF OTHER THREATS. IN THE MIDST OF THESE FEARS WE HAVE BECOME, POSSIBLY, THE MOST DEFENSIVE NATION ON EARTH. WE HAVE SO MUCH, THAT IF THERE IS GOING TO BE ANY CHANGE, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE FOR THE WORSE.

BECAUSE OF THIS FEAR OF THE FUTURE, TRUE EDUCATION HAS NOW BECOME SUSPECT. IF EDUCATION IS ORIENTED TOWARD THE FUTURE, THE ONLY POSSIBLE USE FOR IT WOULD BE TO DEVELOP THOSE METHODS AND TECHNIQUES WHEREBY WE CAN DEFEND THAT WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY GAINED. WHEN EDUCATION PRODUCES IDEAS AND SYSTEMS WHICH BRING INTO QUESTION OUR OWN OPERATING ASSUMPTIONS, THEN WE TEND TO CRITICIZE THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS FOR REACHING OUTSIDE OF ITS JURISDICTION, OR WE DEFINE EDUCATION IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PRECLUDE THE CRITICISM FROM ARISING.

IT SEEMS APPARENT THAT THIS IS ESSENTIALLY WHAT HAPPENED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. THE EVOLUTION OF EDUCATION AT BERKELEY MOVED FURTHER AND FURTHER TOWARD AN EDUCATION FOR SKILLS AND WHEN A SIGNIFICANT GROUP OF STUDENTS BEGAN TO RAISE QUESTIONS, NOT ONLY ABOUT SOCIETY AT LARGE BUT ALSO ABOUT WHAT WAS HAPPENING TO THE UNIVERSITY, THE POPULACE REACTED WITH STINGING CRITICISM OF THE STUDENTS FOR LEAVING THEIR "EDUCATION" IN FAVOR OF POLITICAL ACTION.

WHAT SEEMS TO BE NEEDED IS A RENEWED SENSE OF FRONTIER, OF OPTIMISM FOR THE FUTURE, WHICH WILL ALLOW FOR THE AIRING OF DIVERGENT AND UNFAMILIAR VIEWS IN THE CAMPUS CONTEXT. IN PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCE THIS MEANS A RE-AFFIRMATION OF EDUCATION ITSELF, NOT FOR THE "USES" TO WHICH IT MAY BE PUT IN THE SERVICE OF THE PRESENT SOCIETY, BUT FOR THE LONG-RANGE CONTRIBUTION THAT IT WILL MAKE TO MAN'S EXISTENCE BY ITS CONTINUAL EVALUATION, REASSESSMENT AND PRESCRIPTION. THIS CONFIDENCE IN FREED EDUCATION CAN ONLY BE A COROLLARY TO THE BELIEF THAT WE CONTINUE TO LIVE ON A FRONTIER, WHERE THE FUTURE IS SEEN AS BEING FULL OF OPPORTUNITY AND CHALLENGE, AND WHERE CHANGES MUST BE A PART OF OUR ADAPTATION TO THAT FUTURE.

2) IN 1961 THE VARIOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPS AROUND THE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS IN BERKELEY DECIDED THAT EFFICIENCY DICTATED THE USE OF THE IBM SYSTEM IN SECURING THE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF THE STUDENTS WHO GAVE RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ON THEIR REGISTRATION CARD. THE SYSTEM WAS DEVELOPED AND CARRIED OUT, RESULTING IN GUMMED LABELS WHICH WERE ATTACHED TO THE ENVELOPES FOR THE VARIOUS MAILINGS. THE SYSTEM HAS NOT BEEN USED SINCE! ENTIRELY APART FROM MATTERS FINANCIAL, THE RESPONSE OF THE STUDENTS WAS ENOUGH TO CANCEL ANY FURTHER PLANS FOR AUTOMATION IN THE RELIGIOUS MINISTRY. "NOW I'M AN IBM LABEL FOR THE CHURCH!" THE DEMAND FOR AT LEAST A HANDWRITTEN ADDRESS ON THE ENVELOPE WAS THE CRY OF A PERSON ASKING TO BE RECOGNIZED AS SUCH.

THE FORCES FOR DEPERSONALIZATION IN AN INSTITUTION THE SIZE OF BERKELEY'S CAMPUS ARE SO GREAT, AND IN MANY CASES SO NECESSARY FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE INSTITUTION, THAT THEY MUST BE CONSCIOUSLY OFFSET BY OTHER FORCES. IF IT IS IMPOSSI-

BLE TO CARE FOR 27,000 STUDENTS IN PERSONAL PROGRAM COUNSELING AND REGISTRATION PROCEDURES, THEN IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT OTHER FORMS OF PERSONALIZATION BE FOUND. ONE DIRECTION IS TO EMPHASIZE THAT ADMINISTRATORS MUST MAKE CONSCIOUS EFFORTS TO MEET THE STUDENTS WHERE THEY LIVE AND STUDY. TO SAY THAT OFFICE HOURS ARE AVAILABLE IS NOT ADEQUATE. APPOINTMENTS ARE A METHOD OF MAKING IT POSSIBLE FOR A BUSY ADMINISTRATOR TO BE AVAILABLE TO THOSE WHO WISH TO SEE HIM, BUT THEY CAN ALSO BE A BARRIER TO THE NECESSARY PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION THAT KEEPS THE ADMINISTRATOR INFORMED OF MOVEMENTS THAT ARE TAKING PLACE ON HIS CAMPUS, AND OF THE PROBLEMS THAT EXIST IN THE LIVES OF STUDENTS WHO NEVER MAKE APPOINTMENTS. AVAILABILITY IS NOT JUST A MATTER OF TIME, IT IS ALSO A MATTER OF LOCATION, IT IS AN ATTITUDE WHICH THE ADMINISTRATOR MUST HAVE TOWARD THE STUDENTS.

OTHER STEPS THAT MIGHT BE TAKEN IN THE RE-PERSONALIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITY INCLUDE THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF PRIMARY, FACE-TO-FACE GROUPS IN WHICH THE STUDENTS ACROSS DISCIPLINARY LINES CAN SHARE THEIR CONCERNS AND IDEAS. UNTIL THE RECENT DEMONSTRATIONS THERE WAS VERY LITTLE CONVERSATION TAKING PLACE ON THE CAMPUS AS THE STUDENTS CONCENTRATED ON THE ASSIGNED TASKS AND WENT ABOUT THEIR INDIVIDUAL WAYS. BUT CONSIDERATIONS OF MUTUAL CONCERN HAVE BROUGHT STUDENTS FROM DIFFERING COMMITMENTS INTO ENCOUNTER WITH EACH OTHER TO THE BENEFIT OF ALL.

MY MAIN CONCERN HERE IS THAT WE NOT LOSE PERSONS IN THE MIDST OF THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. WE HAVE ADOPTED THE PHILOSOPHY THAT HIGHER EDUCATION IS FOR THE MASSES. THIS IS A NEW CONCEPT AND THE IMPLICATIONS HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULLY SEEN. BUT ONE OF THESE IS THE DANGER OF LOSING THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE GROUP PROCESS.

3) THE UNIVERSITY HAS OPERATED ON THE AFFIRMATION THAT A PROFESSOR MUST DO RESEARCH IF HE IS TO KEEP UP TO DATE IN HIS FIELD OF TEACHING. I WOULD NOT ARGUE THIS POINT. IT IS TRUE. BUT THE FALLACY IN APPLYING IT TO THE SITUATION IN THE UNIVERSITY TODAY IS THAT MOST OF THE RENOWNED SCHOLARS ON THE FACULTY DO NOT START WITH THE PREMISE THAT THEY ARE TEACHERS, BUT THAT THEY ARE SCHOLARS DOING RESEARCH. THUS, IT IS NOT A MATTER OF COMPELLING TEACHERS TO DO RESEARCH IN MOST CASES, IT IS A MATTER OF FORCING RESEARCHERS TO DO TEACHING. THERE IS A SERIOUS QUESTION WHETHER THIS IS AS DESIRABLE A SITUATION AS THE OPPOSITE.

A FRIEND WAS INTERVIEWED THE OTHER DAY BY A STUDENT IN ONE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES WHO HAD A LENGTHY QUESTIONNAIRE TO COMPLETE. HE APOLOGIZED FOR THE LENGTH OF THE FORM AND STATED THAT HE COULDN'T GET A GRADE IN THE COURSE UNTIL HE HAD COMPLETED A GIVEN NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRES BECAUSE THE PROFESSOR WAS DOING SOME RESEARCH FOR WHICH HE NEEDED THE STATISTICS! THE USE OF THE TEACHING PROCESS TO SUPPLEMENT THE RESEARCH PROJECT IS INEXCUSABLE.

THE CONCEPT OF EXPOSING THE STUDENTS TO THE MOST BRILLIANT MINDS IN GIVEN FIELDS IS AN EXCELLENT THEORY IF THE EXPOSURE IS OF SUCH A NATURE AS TO SIGNIFICANTLY AFFECT THE STUDENTS. BUT WHEN THE COURSE IS ANNOUNCED UNDER THE OUTSTANDING PROFESSOR,

ONLY TO BE TAUGHT BY TEACHING ASSISTANTS WHILE THE PROFESSOR IS INVOLVED IN OTHER MATTERS, THE THEORY BREAKS DOWN. A LONG-RANGE UNIVERSITY PLAN, ACCEPTED BY THE BOARD OF REGENTS AT ITS MEETING ON JANUARY 22, STATED THAT THE UNIVERSITY "...IS PLEDGED TO SHARE WITH EACH OF ITS STUDENTS THE BEST EDUCATION THAT A DISTINGUISHED FACULTY CAN PROVIDE." THE DIFFICULTY IS THAT THE "BEST EDUCATION THAT A DISTINGUISHED FACULTY CAN PROVIDE" MAY BE INFERIOR TO THE EDUCATION WHICH A LESS-DISTINGUISHED FACULTY CAN PROVIDE IF WHAT DISTINGUISHES THAT FACULTY ARE AWARDS AND PRIZES BASED ON RESEARCH SUCCESSES AND BOOKS PUBLISHED! WHILE IT IS A TRIBUTE TO A UNIVERSITY TO HAVE MANY NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS ON IT FACULTY, IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN THAT THE CLASSROOM INSTRUCTION WILL BENEFIT FROM THEIR PRESENCE.

IT IS TIME, THEN, TO TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TEACHING AND RESEARCH. GRANTED THAT THESE ARE TWO MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY AND NEITHER OF THEM SHOULD BE NEGLECTED, HOW SHALL THE PERSONNEL BE UTILIZED TO THE MAXIMUM BENEFIT OF BOTH? I WOULD PROPOSE THAT THERE IS A NEED FOR A RE-APPRAISAL OF THE DEMAND THAT EACH PROFESSOR BE INVOLVED IN BOTH FUNCTIONS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THEY SHOULD BE ISOLATED INTO ONE OR THE OTHER CATEGORY, BUT THAT THE OPPORTUNITY BE GIVEN TO CONCENTRATE IN ONE OR THE OTHER, WITH ONLY THE ABSOLUTE MINIMUM OF OVERLAP FOR THOSE WHOSE TALENTS AND INTERESTS LIE PRIMARILY IN ONLY ONE ASPECT OF UNIVERSITY LIFE.

THE THIRD LEG OF THIS SAME PROBLEM OF FACULTY COMMITMENT IS THE ASSIGNMENT OF FACULTY PERSONS TO THE TASK OF ACADEMIC COUNSELING. THIS HAS BEEN A MAJOR HEADACHE TO THE FACULTY AS WELL AS TO THE STUDENTS. FOR THE MAJORITY OF FACULTY PERSONS THE TASK OF ADVISING STUDENTS ON THEIR VOCATIONAL AND ACADEMIC PROBLEMS IS A RESPONSIBILITY THAT THEY COULD WELL DO WITHOUT. AND ON THE SIDE OF THE STUDENTS THERE HAVE BEEN SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF EXPERIENCES OF RELATIONSHIPS WITH PROFESSORS WHO DID NOT KNOW THE RULES OR REQUIREMENTS OR WHOSE INTEREST WAS ELSEWHERE. THE PROVISION OF ADEQUATE NUMBERS OF ACADEMIC COUNSELORS WOULD BE A GREAT SERVICE TO ALL SEGMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY.

4) AN OPERATING ASSUMPTION THAT SEEMS TO TAKE HOLD OF MOST LARGE INSTITUTIONS IS THE FEELING THAT INTERNAL CONFLICTS SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO BE SEEN BY THE PUBLIC, HENCE THE ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE THE DIFFICULTIES IN THE QUIETEST POSSIBLE WAY. ITS ROLE AS A PUBLIC INSTITUTION HAS MADE THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EVEN MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO THIS TEMPTATION. IT HAS BEEN FELT THAT IF THE PUBLIC BECAME AWARE OF PROBLEMS WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY IT MIGHT THREATEN THE IMAGE OF PRESTIGE WHICH IT HAS IN THE PUBLIC EYE.

ON THE CONTRARY, I WOULD PROPOSE THAT BRINGING THE INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE UNIVERSITY INTO THE LIGHT OF DAY AND EXPOSING THEM TO THE SCRUTINY OF ALL CONCERNED IS THE BEST POSSIBLE WAY OF OBTAINING THE NECESSARY DIALOGUE, DEBATE AND PROPOSALS FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE TENSIONS. THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT TO SAY THAT ALL OF THE DIRTY LINEN OF THE INSTITUTION SHOULD BE EXPOSED TO THE GAZE OF CURIOUS BYSTANDERS, BUT THE TEMPTATION TO SUPPRESS CONFLICT FOR THE SAKE OF INSTITUTIONAL STABILITY SHOULD BE RESISTED AT ALL POINTS.

DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN, PROFESSORS, ADMINISTRATORS, AND ALL OTHERS INVOLVED IN BRINGING ABOUT CHANGES IN THE UNIVERSITY SHOULD EXPECT THAT THEIR DESIRES WILL BE SCRUTINIZED PUBLICLY, SEEKING THE WISDOM OF ALL CONCERNED TO RAISE QUESTIONS AND MAKE SUGGESTIONS. THE WELFARE OF THE UNIVERSITY WILL BE SERVED BEST WHERE THERE IS OPEN GIVE AND TAKE IN THE MOST CRITICAL AREAS OF DECISION.

STUDENT SHOULD HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO COMMENT ON THE MANY VARYING FACETS OF THE UNIVERSITY, INCLUDING CURRICULUM, GOALS, AND EVEN PERSONNEL, NOT BECAUSE THEY "HAVE A RIGHT TO" BUT BECAUSE EVERY DECISION MADE FOR THE WELFARE OF THE UNIVERSITY SHOULD BE MADE IN THE LIGHT OF ALL POSSIBLE CRITICISM AND SUGGESTION. THUS THE EDUCATIONAL THEORY OF A UNIVERSITY SHOULD BE CARRIED OVER INTO ITS VERY ORGANIZATION.

5) THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT WAYS IN WHICH THE STRUCTURE OF THE DEAN'S OFFICE STANDS IN THE WAY OF ITS ACCOMPLISHING THE VERY TASK WHICH IT HAS BEEN CREATED TO FULFILL. OF ALL OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, THE OFFICE OF THE DEAN OF STUDENTS IS THAT WHICH IS MEANT TO BE THE CLOSEST TO THE PROBLEMS AND LIVES OF THE STUDENTS. THIS MEANS THAT IT SHOULD BE MOST ACCESSIBLE TO THEM.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE STUDENT, HOWEVER, AS HE MUSTERS UP SUFFICIENT COURAGE TO GO TO SEE ONE OF THE DEANS. IS ONE WHICH LEGISLATES AGAINST EFFECTIVE CONTACT. IN ORDER TO COME INTO CONTACT WITH A DEAN, THE STUDENT MUST MAKE HIS WAY TO THE END OF THE HALL OF THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING (WHERE HE ALSO RECEIVES HIS CINCH NOTICES), PASS THROUGH A WAITING ROOM WHERE SEVERAL OTHERS AWAIT THEIR TURN, CONFRONT A SECRETARY BEHIND A HIGH COUNTER, FACE AN ARRAY OF FILES, DESKS, AND OTHER PARAPHERNALIA OF THE SYSTEM, BE SEATED WHILE AWAITING THE WORD, AND FINALLY RESPOND TO HIS NAME TO WALK THE HALLWAY TO A PRIVATE CUBICLE WHERE THE DEAN IS AVAILABLE FOR A SPECIFIC APPOINTMENT. THUS, THAT ASPECT OF THE ADMINISTRATION WHICH IS INTENDED TO BE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE STUDENTS IS ACTUALLY SEPARATED FROM THEM BY THE NATURE OF ITS OWN STRUCTURE.

IN CONTRAST TO WHAT IS NOW IN PRACTICE WOULD BE AN ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD MAKE THE DEANS IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE TO THE STUDENTS, ENCOURAGING CONVERSATIONS AND COUNSELING AND HELPING THE STUDENTS TO REALIZE THE DESIRE OF THE STAFF TO BE INVOLVED. THIS MIGHT MEAN REVERSING THE FLOOR ARRANGEMENT OF THE OFFICE, PUTTING THE FILES AND THE SECRETARIES IN THE BACK ROOMS AND BRINGING THE DEANS INTO THE FRONT HALL! IF PAPER WORK AND ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE ARE WHAT KEEP THE DEANS IN THEIR OFFICES THEN SOMEONE ELSE SHOULD BE BROUGHT ON THE STAFF TO BE IN IMMEDIATE CONTACT WITH THE STUDENTS OR DO THE PAPER WORK.

ALONG WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE AVAILABILITY OF THE DEANS IS THE PROBLEM OF THEIR AUTHORITY. IN MUCH OF THE CRISIS OF THE RECENT MONTHS ON THE CAMPUS, THERE HAS BEEN CONVEYED THE IDEA THAT NO REAL AUTHORITY RESTS WITH THE PERSONS WHO COME INTO CLOSEST CONTACT WITH THE STUDENT. THE DEANS BECOME MERELY INTERPRETERS, ENFORCERS. IF A STUDENT PRESENTS A VITAL CONCERN

TO THE DEAN HE CAN ONLY EXPECT THAT IT MUST BE PASSED ALONG TO THE HIGHER AUTHORITIES IN ORDER FOR ACTION TO BE TAKEN. THERE IS, THEREFORE, NO CONVICTION THAT CONVERSATION IS BEING CARRIED ON AT THE LEVEL WHERE POLICY CAN BE MADE.

IF THE OFFICE OF THE DEAN IS TO BE A SIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN THE UNIVERSITY SCENE, AND IT MUST BE SINCE IT IS THAT OFFICE WHICH IS CHARGED WITH IMMEDIATE RELATIONS WITH THE STUDENTS, THERE MUST BE SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY INVESTED THERE TO MAKE THE CONTACT WORTHWHILE AND SIGNIFICANT.

6) IF THE DEAN'S OFFICE SHOULD BE BROUGHT IN CLOSER CONTACT WITH THE STUDENTS, HOW MUCH MORE SHOULD THE ASSOCIATED STUDENTS! WHAT STRIKES ONE FIRST ABOUT THE ASUC IS ITS SIMILARITY TO THE REST OF THE CAMPUS! THIS IS TOO BAD! IF THE ASSOCIATED STUDENTS IS REALLY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE STUDENTS, THEN IT SHOULD REFLECT THE PECULIARLY STUDENT ATTRIBUTES.

TO CONCENTRATE ON ARCHITECTURE FOR THE MOMENT, A LOOK AT THE STUDENT UNION SEEMS ALMOST TO BE A LOOK AT THE ALUMNI HOUSE. THERE IS NO SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE UNION AND UNIVERSITY HALL, WHICH HOUSES ALL OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES OF THE STATEWIDE UNIVERSITY. CLEAN, NEAT, ATTRACTIVE, PRECISE DECOR, WELL-SCHEDULED, ETC., ARE THE CHARACTERISTICS OF A WELL-RUN UNIVERSITY BUILDING, BUT ARE HARDLY THE CONDITIONS FOR ACTIVE STUDENTS. WHAT IS TO BE THE DECOR OF THE NEW STUDENT OFFICE BUILDING? WILL IT REFLECT THE FACT THAT IT IS A STUDENT BUILDING, LEAVING ROOM FOR CHANGING STUDENT INTERESTS AND GENERATIONS? OR WILL THERE BE POSTED "DON'T WRITE ON THE WALLS," ETC.?

THE A.S.U.C. STORE HAS COME IN FOR MUCH CRITICISM FROM THE ACTIVE STUDENTS. THE MAIN OBJECTION IS THAT IT IS NOT THEIR STORE. EVERY ATTEMPT HAS BEEN MADE TO CONVINCe THE STUDENTS THAT THIS IS THEIR STORE, BUT TO NO AVAIL. IT DOESN'T LOOK LIKE THEIR STORE, IT CHARGES JUST AS MUCH AS OTHERS AND IT SEEKS ITS PROFIT FROM THE STUDENTS. IT EVENS LETS THE STUDENTS KNOW THAT IT DOESN'T TRUST THEM BY PUTTING INTO EFFECT ALL OF THE PRECAUTIONS THAT IT CAN AGAINST STUDENT PILFERING. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THERE ARE CHARACTERISTICS OF A TRUE STUDENT BOOK STORE THAT WOULD BE CLOSER AKIN TO THE DISCOUNT HOUSES THAN TO THE PRIVATE COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISES ACROSS THE STREET FROM THE CAMPUS.

ANOTHER ASPECT OF REAL STUDENT LIFE THAT IS MISSING ON THE CAMPUS IS THE EXISTENCE OF A NEWSPAPER THAT IS TRULY CRITICAL OF THE FALSENESS, THE FACADE, THE DEVIIOUS, THE DISHONEST, ET AL. DAVID BOROFF, COMMENTING ON THE STUDENT NEWSPAPER, HAS SAID,

HERE AGAIN THE ITCH FOR RESPECTABILITY AMONG ADMINIS-
STRATORS CAN PROVE THE UNDOING OF AN INDEPENDENT STUDENT
PRESS. I AM AMAZED AND APPALLED AT THE CURIOUS MYOPIA
AMONG SOME COLLEGE ADMINISTRATORS -- AS IF SOME SCHOOLBOY
JAPERY IN PRINT HAD SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES! THE BEST SCHOOLS
ARE THOSE IN WHICH THE STUDENT PRESS IS UNTRAMMELED, WHERE,
IN FACT, ⁴⁰ INTERFERENCE IS SIMPLY UNTHINKABLE, THE ULTIMATE
IMPIETY.

AND ELSEWHERE IT HAS BEEN SAID THAT THE EDITOR OF A CAMPUS NEWS-PAPER WHO HAS NOT BEEN CALLED IN BY THE DEAN OR DENOUNCED BY THE FACULTY IS NOT WORTH HIS SALT.

BOROFF INCLUDES IN HIS ARTICLE SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING OTHER ASPECTS OF THE CAMPUS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO THE PERSONAL FEELINGS OF THE STUDENTS, SUCH AS THE BULLETIN BOARDS AND THE BEATNIKS. HIS IS ONE OF A GROWING NUMBER OF VOICES BEING RAISED TO CALL INTO QUESTION THE OPERATING ASSUMPTIONS OF MANY ADMINISTRATORS CONCERNING THE "STUDENT" ASPECTS OF OUR INSTITUTIONS.

7) THROUGH ALL OF THE EVENTS OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS ON CAMPUS HAS RUN THE PROBLEM OF THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION SCENE. WHILE CLARK KERR PRESENTED HIMSELF AS A MEDIATOR, IT WAS OFTEN DIFFICULT TO SEE WHO HE WAS MEDIATING BETWEEN. OBVIOUSLY ON ONE SIDE WERE THE STUDENTS. BUT THE MAJOR FORCE ON THE OTHER SIDE SEEMED TO BE KERR HIMSELF (AND THOSE WHO EXERCISE HIS DELEGATED AUTHORITY.) THIS BRINGS TO THE FORE THE IDEA THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS, IN FACT, BECOME THE UNIVERSITY, WITH THE FACULTY MEMBERS AS EMPLOYEES AND THE STUDENTS AS CUSTOMERS. OFTEN, IT WAS SAID OF THE STUDENTS, "IF THEY DON'T LIKE IT AT CAL WHY DON'T THEY GO SOMEWHERE ELSE?" THIS CASTS THE STUDENTS IN THE ROLE OF "PAYING GUESTS" WHO COME TO RECEIVE WHAT IS THERE TO BE OFFERED. THE ADMINISTRATION, THEN, IS THE DEFINITION OF THE UNIVERSITY.

WHEN THE STUDENTS GET "OUT OF LINE" THE "UNIVERSITY" CALLS IN THE LOCAL CIVIL AUTHORITIES TO ENFORCE THE DISCIPLINE WHICH THE SCHOOL HAS BEEN UNABLE TO PRESERVE. BUT THIS DENIES THE REALITY OF THE UNIVERSITY AS A DISTINCT COMMUNITY, A COMMUNITY WHICH INCLUDES SCHOLARS OF ALL AGES AND ALL DEGREES OF ACADEMIC COMMUNITY ACCOMPLISHMENT. THE STUDENTS ARE JUST AS MUCH A PART OF THE COMMUNITY AS THE FACULTY, AND SOME WOULD SAY THAT THEY ARE MUCH MORE A PART OF THE COMMUNITY THAN THE ADMINISTRATORS. THE ROLE OF ADMINISTRATORS HAS BEEN A MODERN ADDITION TO THE STRUCTURE⁴¹ OF UNIVERSITIES, AS THEY HAVE GROWN IN SIZE AND COMPLEXITY. BUT PUSEY'S COMMENT STILL STANDS:

THE UNIVERSITY IS A COMMUNITY OF SCHOLARS. ITS TASK IS TO KNOW, TO STUDY, TO CARE, TO GUIDE -- TO SEEK TO KNOW ALL THAT HAS BEEN LEARNED AND IS OF CONCERN TO MEN, TO KEEP THIS KNOWLEDGE VIABLE, TO HAVE IT STUDIED AND TAUGHT, TO ADD TO IT -- AND IN SO DOING, BY A MYRIAD OF SEPARATE EFFORTS TO INCREASE MIND'S INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD.⁴²

THE FACT THAT MOST ADMINISTRATORS ARE CHOSEN FROM THE RANKS OF SCHOLARS IS EVIDENCE OF THE JEALOUSLY WITH WHICH THE UNIVERSITY GUARDS ITSELF FROM PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZERS. BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN THE ADMINISTRATION FAILS TO SEE THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNITY WITH WHICH THEY ARE DEALING, AND ACTS IN SUCH WAYS AS TO EXCLUDE CERTAIN SEGMENTS FROM THE COMMUNITY. IT IS NOT TOO STRONG AN INDICTMENT OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE BERKELEY CAMPUS TO SAY THAT IT FAILED TO ACT IN THE UNDERSTANDING OF THIS COMMUNITY AS IT TURNED TO THE CIVIL AUTHORITIES TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEM.

NORMAN COUSINS, IN A SATURDAY REVIEW EDITORIAL, HAS BROUGHT INSIGHT TO BEAR IN STATING:

THE ADMINISTRATION MISTAKENLY ALLOWED ITSELF TO BECOME A FULL ANTAGONIST IN A WAY, MARSHALING ALL AVAILABLE FORCES, INCLUDING OUTSIDE POLICE, INSTEAD OF CREATING A NEW CONTEXT FOR REASONABLE SOLUTION. EVEN THE STATE BOARD OF REGENTS SEEMED MORE INTENT ON REAFFIRMING ITS UNQUESTIONED AUTHORITY THAN IT WAS ON INVOKING THE KIND OF WISDOM THAT COULD RESTORE THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA TO ITS HIGH ESTATE IN AMERICAN EDUCATION.

.....

FOR IF IT IS NOT UNUSUAL FOR STUDENTS TO ENGAGE IN PROTEST OR SHENANIGANS, IT IS EQUALLY TO BE EXPECTED THAT SCHOOL AUTHORITIES WILL KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT STUDENT PSYCHOLOGY TO DEAL WITH THE INFRACTIONS WITHOUT CALLING UP THE MILITIA. HAVING TO COPE WITH ERRATIC BEHAVIOR IS A STANDARD ITEM IN THE EDUCATOR'S KIT OF RESPONSIBILITY.⁴³

THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL IN COPING WITH THE "SHENANIGANS" OF MOST OF THE STUDENT POPULATION, WHEN THOSE SHENANIGANS REPRESENTED THE TRADITIONAL EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES OF UNDERGRADUATES. BUT WHEN THE STUDENTS BECAME INVOLVED WITH EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY, WITH CIVIL RIGHTS AND WITH THE USE OF POWER IN MASS MOVEMENTS, THE ADMINISTRATION WAS AT A LOSS TO KNOW HOW TO RESPOND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY.

I WOULD PROPOSE THAT MUCH OF THE REASON FOR THIS FAILURE WAS THE CONFUSED INTERPRETATION WE HAVE DEVELOPED ABOUT WHO IS THE UNIVERSITY. AND THE RESULT IS NEARLY EIGHT HUNDRED MEMBERS OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY FACED WITH COURT TRIALS FOR TRESPASSING ON UNIVERSITY PROPERTY, RESISTING ARREST BY CIVIL AUTHORITIES AND REFUSAL TO DISPERSE AT THE COMMAND OF CITY POLICE. THE MOST BITING CRITICISM OF THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION CONTAINED IN THE BRIEF PRESENTED TO THE COURT BY THE FACULTY MEMBERS ON BEHALF OF DISMISSAL OF THE CHARGES AGAINST THE STUDENTS IS THE STATEMENT: "THE HARASSMENT, PETTY VINDICTIVENESS, AND ARBITRARINESS SUFFERED BY THE STUDENTS THROUGHOUT THE FALL SEMESTER OF 1964 INDICATE THE UTTER FAILURE OF THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION TO UNDERSTAND HOW MEMBERS OF AN ANCIENT AND PROUD COMMUNITY OUGHT TO TREAT ONE ANOTHER."⁴⁴

THE NECESSARY DIRECTION FOR MOVEMENT IS A RECOVERY OF THIS UNDERSTANDING OF THE ACADEMIC COMMUNITY, IN WHICH ALL SEGMENTS OF THE COMMUNITY SEE THE OTHERS AS INTEGRAL AND SIGNIFICANT FOR THAT WHICH THEY CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE WHOLE.

EPILOGUE

THE EVENTS ON THE BERKELEY CAMPUS OF THE PAST FEW MONTHS HAVE BEEN PAINFUL. IF MY OWN FEELINGS HAVE BEEN AT ALL REPRESENTATIVE OF THOSE OF OTHERS, THERE HAVE BEEN MOMENTS OF ANGER WHEN OBSTRUCTIONS WERE PLACED IN THE WAY OF PROGRESS, WHEN COURSES OF ACTION WERE CHOSEN WHICH SEEMED DESTINED TO BRING ABOUT GREATER TENSIONS; THERE HAVE BEEN MOMENTS OF FRUSTRATION, WHEN IT SEEMED THAT THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NOTHING THAT COULD BE DONE TO RESOLVE THE ISSUES; THERE HAVE BEEN MOMENTS OF HOPE, WHEN SOME RAY OF UNDERSTANDING SEEMED TO SEEP THROUGH THE CLOUDS OF UNCERTAINTY AND MISUNDERSTANDING; THERE HAVE BEEN MOMENTS OF ANXIETY, AS THE RESULTS OF A PARTICULAR MEETING WERE AWAITED TO SEE WHAT FACTORS WOULD HAVE TO BE DEALT WITH NEXT.

THERE ARE VERY FEW PEOPLE ON THE BERKELEY CAMPUS, AND IN THE STATEWIDE UNIVERSITY, THAT HAVE NOT BEEN AFFECTED DEEPLY BY THESE EVENTS. I MUST ADMIT THAT THE EVENTS HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A CHANGE IN ME OF UNFORESEEABLE CONSEQUENCES.

BUT MY HOPE, AND THE REASON FOR THIS LENGTHY STATEMENT, IS THAT THE AFFECTS OF THE DEMONSTRATIONS, THE CONVERSATIONS, THE CONFLICT, THE CHANGES, WILL BE FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR A UNIVERSITY WHICH HAS ALREADY PROVEN ITS GREATNESS IN THE PAST AND HAS THE POTENTIAL FOR DEMONSTRATING A LEADERSHIP WHICH THE SOCIETY SO DESPERATELY NEEDS IN THE DAYS TO COME. THE GREATER TRAGEDY WILL BE THE FAILURE OF ALL CONCERNED TO USE THE PAST EVENTS AS THE BASIS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING FOR THE FUTURE.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹SEE APPENDIX FOR MORE COMPLETE CHRONOLOGY
- ²SANFORD, NEVITT, THE AMERICAN COLLEGE, NEW YORK: JOHN WILEY & SONS, 1962.
- ³ALL REFERENCES TO KERR ARE TAKEN FROM THE BOOK KERR, CLARK; THE USES OF THE UNIVERSITY: CAMBRIDGE: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1963.
- ⁴IBID., P.6.
- ⁵IBID., P. 47.
- ⁶IBID., P. 122.
- ⁷IBID., PP.36F.
- ⁸PUSEY, NATHAN. THE AGE OF THE SCHOLAR, CAMBRIDGE: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1963, P. 16.
- ⁹KERR, OP.CIT., PP.117F.
- ¹⁰PUSEY, OP.CIT., P. 51.
- ¹¹KERR, OP.CIT., P. 124.
- ¹²PUSEY, OP.CIT., P.109.
- ¹³KERR, OP.CIT., PP.57F.
- ¹⁴IBID., P. 50.
- ¹⁵HUTCHINS, ROBERT, THE HIGHER LEARNING IN AMERICA, NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1936, P. 20.
- ¹⁶IBID., P. 21.
- ¹⁷PUSEY, OP.CIT., P. 176.
- ¹⁸IBID., P. 178.
- ¹⁹KERR, OP.CIT., P. 105.
- ²⁰HUTCHINS, OP.CIT., P. 32.
- ²¹KERR, OP.CIT., P. 35.
- ²²IBID., P. 36.
- ²³IBID., P. 33.
- ²⁴IBID., P. 35.
- ²⁵ASHBY, ERIC, "A UNIVERSITY PRESIDENCY: WHAT IT TAKES" IN SATURDAY REVIEW, NOVEMBER 21, 1964, P. 59.
- ²⁶PUSEY, OP.CIT., P. 153.
- ²⁷SAVIO, MARIO, "AN END TO HISTORY" IN HUMANITY, DECEMBER, 1964.
- ²⁸GOODMAN, PAUL, AS QUOTED IN WE WANT A UNIVERSITY, PUBLICATION OF THE FSM. (MIMEOGRAPHED)
- ²⁹CASS, JAMES, "WHAT HAPPENED AT BERKELEY," IN THE SATURDAY REVIEW, JANUARY 16, 1965, P. 69.
- ³⁰CLEAVELAND, BRAD, IN WE WANT A UNIVERSITY, PUBLISHED BY THE FSM, P.5F.
- ³¹IBID., P.8.

- 32 CLEAVELAND, BRAD, OP.CIT., P. 8.
- 33 LIPSET, SEYMOUR MARTIN AND SEABURY, PAUL, "THE LESSON OF BERKELEY" IN THE REPORTER, JANUARY 28, 1965.
- 34 FROM THE REPORT, THE CHANGING UNIVERSITY IN A CHANGING WORLD, FROM THE WORLD STUDENT CHRISTIAN FEDERATION CONSULTATION ON "ECUMENICAL STRATEGY IN THE ACADEMIC WORLD" HELD AT THE ECUMENICAL INSTITUTE, BOSSEY, SWITZERLAND, IN MAY, 1964; P. 4.
- 35 FREEDMAN, MERVIN, "THE MEN'S COLLEGES AND THE IMAGE OF MAN" REPRINTED FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 1964, NO. 57.
- 36 KERR, OP.CIT., P. 65.
- 37 WELD, THEODORE DWIGHT, "LANE SEMINARY, A STATEMENT" ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE EMANICIPATOR, NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JANUARY 6, 1835. VOLUME III, NO. 1.
THE EVENTS OF THE LANE INCIDENT MAY BE FOLLOWED IN SMITH, HANDY AND LOETSCHER, AMERICAN CHRISTIANITY, VOL. 2.

THE WELD STATEMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED AND IS INCLUDED IN THE APPENDIX TO THE BRIEF FILED WITH THE MUNICIPAL COURT OF THE COUNTY OF ALAMEDA IN THE CASE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA VERSUS MARIO SAVIO, ET AL, PRESENTED BY A NUMBER OF UNIVERSITY FACULTY MEMBERS ON BEHALF OF THE NEARLY EIGHT HUNDRED STUDENTS ARRESTED IN THE SIT-IN OF DECEMBER.
- 38 WELD, OP.CIT.
- 39 SWEET, WILLIAM WARREN, RELIGION IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE, NEW YORK: CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, 1952, P. 167.
- 40 BOROFF, DAVID, "STATUS SEEKING IN ACADEME", SATURDAY REVIEW, DEC. 19, 1964, P. 47.
- 41 FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR SEE ERIC ASHBY, OP.CIT.
- 42 PUSEY, OP.CIT., P. 93.
- 43 COUSINS, NORMAN, "ESCALATION IN CALIFORNIA" IN THE SATURDAY REVIEW, JANUARY 30, 1965., P. 20.
- 44 A SUGGESTION FOR DISMISSAL IN THE CASE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA VERSUS MARIO SAVIO, ET AL, SUBMITTED BY: CERTAIN FACULTY MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, P. 19.

HOW THE CRISIS DEVELOPED

(AS REPORTED IN THE REPORTER, JANUARY 28, 1965)

SINCE 1934, POLITICAL FUND RAISING, CAMPAIGNING, AND THE RECRUITMENT OF VOLUNTEERS FOR OFF-CAMPUS ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN PROHIBITED AT THE BERKELEY CAMPUS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. UNTIL LAST FALL, THIS BAN DID NOT APPLY TO A TWENTY-SIX-FOOT STRIP OF BRICK WALK JUST OUTSIDE THE SATHER GATE ENTRANCE TO THE CAMPUS, WHERE STUDENTS HAVE BEEN RECRUITED FOR A VARIETY OF OFF-CAMPUS CIVIL-RIGHTS ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING THE PICKETING ON SEPTEMBER 4 OF WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND'S OAKLAND TRIBUNE. THE REVOCATION ON SEPTEMBER 14 OF THIS TRADITIONAL PRIVILEGE PRECIPITATED THE FOLLOWING EVENTS:

SEPTEMBER 21 - A "UNITED FRONT" - SOME TWENTY STUDENT GROUPS COVERING THE ENTIRE POLITICAL SPECTRUM - HELD A PROTEST RALLY IN THE UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, SPROUL HALL.

SEPTEMBER 28 - CHANCELLOR EDWARD W. STRONG AGREED TO PERMIT CAMPAIGNING IN CERTAIN CAMPUS AREAS, BUT REAFFIRMED THAT OFF-CAMPUS POLITICAL ACTION COULD NOT BE MOUNTED ON UNIVERSITY PROPERTY. A STUDENT LEADER REPLIED: "WE WILL SETTLE FOR NOTHING LESS THAN TOTAL VICTORY."

SEPTEMBER 30 - EIGHT STUDENTS, INCLUDING MARIO SAVIO, HEAD OF THE UNIVERSITY FRIENDS OF THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE, WERE CITED FOR DELIBERATE INFRACTION IN A TEST OF STRONG'S RULING, WHILE HUNDREDS MORE SIGNED STATEMENTS DECLARING THAT THEY WERE EQUALLY RESPONSIBLE.

OCTOBER 1 - AFTER AN ALL-NIGHT SIT-IN AT THE DEAN'S OFFICE, CHANCELLOR STRONG ANNOUNCED INDEFINITE SUSPENSION OF THE EIGHT. MORE TEST INFRACTIONS CULMINATED IN THE IMMOBILIZATION, FOR THIRTY-SIX HOURS, OF A CAMPUS POLICE CAR BY A STUDENT MOB.

OCTOBER 2 - SOME 450 POLICE OFFICERS WERE CALLED TO THE CAMPUS BY UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT KERR AS GOVERNOR BROWN ANNOUNCED THAT "THIS ATTEMPT...TO USE THE CAMPUS UNLAWFULLY...WILL NOT BE TOLERATED." DURING THE AFTERNOON, HOWEVER, KERR AGREED TO A RULES REVIEW ON CONDITION THAT ALL PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS CEASE.

OCTOBER 3-4 THE "UNITED FRONT" FORMED THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT (FSM) BUT AGREED TO RESPECT THE MORATORIUM ON DEMONSTRATIONS DURING HEARINGS TO BE HELD IN THE FOLLOWING WEEKS.

OCTOBER 21 - THE ACADEMIC SENATE'S HEARING COMMITTEE REQUESTED REINSTATEMENT OF THE EIGHT STUDENTS DURING THE HEARINGS. CHANCELLOR STRONG REFUSED.

NOVEMBER 5 - THE TRIPARTITE COMMITTEE (STUDENTS, FACULTY, ADMINISTRATORS) SET UP TO REVIEW CAMPUS RULES WAS DEADLOCKED. FACULTY MEMBERS FAVORED LIFTING BANS ON ADVOCACY OF ALL BUT ILLEGAL OFF-CAMPUS ACTIVITIES; THE FSM INSISTED THAT THE QUESTION OF LEGALITY SHOULD BE DETERMINED BY THE COURTS.

NOVEMBER 9 - TWELVE HUNDRED STUDENTS RALLIED IN SPROUL HALL. THE MORATORIUM ENDED AND FUND-RAISING TABLES WERE SET UP.

NOVEMBER 10-11 - SEVENTY STUDENTS WERE CITED FOR VIOLATIONS, AND TEACHING ASSISTANTS VOICED SUPPORT OF FSM.

NOVEMBER 12 - A COMMITTEE OF THE ACADEMIC SENATE CRITICIZED UNIVERSITY POLICY AND RECOMMENDED IMMEDIATE REINSTATEMENT OF THE EIGHT SUSPENDED STUDENTS.

NOVEMBER 20 - THE BOARD OF REGENTS REINSTATED THE EIGHT AND ANNOUNCED THAT FUND RAISING AND RECRUITMENT WOULD BE ALLOWED, BUT THAT STUDENTS COULD NOT ADVOCATE ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES.

NOVEMBER 30 - CHANCELLOR STRONG NOTIFIED SEVERAL OF THE EIGHT PREVIOUSLY SUSPENDED STUDENTS, INCLUDING SAVIO, THAT THEY FACED NEW DISCIPLINARY ACTION. THE IMMEDIATE EFFECT WAS TO INCREASE FSM SUPPORT.

DECEMBER 1 - THE FSM ISSUED A TWENTY-FOUR-HOUR ULTIMATUM: CHARGES MUST BE DROPPED AND THE LEGALITY OF POLITICAL ACTIVITIES BE DETERMINED BY THE COURTS, OR "THE UNIVERSITY MACHINE WILL COME TO A GRINDING HALT." THE ULTIMATUM WAS REJECTED.

DECEMBER 2 - SAVIO LED SOME EIGHT HUNDRED STUDENTS INTO SPROUL HALL FOR AN ALL-NIGHT SIT-IN.

DECEMBER 3 - GOVERNOR BROWN SENT IN POLICE AND MOST OF THE SIT-INS WERE DRAGGED FORCIBLY FROM THE BUILDING AND ARRESTED. GRADUATE STUDENTS PICKETED IN PROTEST AND FACULTY MEMBERS RAISED BAIL.

DECEMBER 4 - GRADUATE STUDENTS AND TEACHING ASSISTANTS WENT ON STRIKE.

DECEMBER 7 - AFTER A WEEK-END CONFERENCE WITH DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN, PRESIDENT KERR ANNOUNCED A COMPROMISE: AMNESTY FOR THE ARRESTED STUDENTS, BUT A POSTPONEMENT OF A DECISION ON POLITICAL ADVOCACY. SAVIO TRIED TO USE KERR'S MICROPHONE TO ANNOUNCE A RALLY AND WAS HAULED OFF BY POLICE, THEN ALLOWED TO RETURN.

DECEMBER 8 - THE ACADEMIC SENATE PROVIDED FOR AN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE AND ADOPTED A RESOLUTION URGING FULL FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ADVOCACY, AND ORGANIZATION.

DECEMBER 18 - AS CHRISTMAS VACATIONS BEGAN, THE BOARD OF REGENTS ALSO SET UP A COMMITTEE, ASSERTING THAT IT CONTEMPLATED NO LIMITATIONS BEYOND THE PURVIEW OF THE FIRST AND FOURTEENTH AMENDMENTS, BUT WILL PROHIBIT "CONSPIRACY" TO COMMIT ILLEGAL ACTS OFF CAMPUS.

DURING THE VACATION PERIOD, CHANCELLOR STRONG WAS REPLACED BY MARTIN MEYERSON, DEAN OF THE COLLEGE OF ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN, WHO PLEDGED "UTMOST FAIRNESS" TO THE STUDENTS.

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MARCH, 1965