

Campus Fate Put To Nixon

Scranton Panel Says Only He Can End Crisis

By Ken W. Clawson

Washington Post Staff Writers

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest said yesterday that President Nixon must respond to a national crisis by exerting his "reconciling moral leadership" as a first step in stopping violence and bringing the generations together.

The three-month study of the commission headed by former Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania even-handedly criticized radical students, brutal police tactics, meek college administrators and the widening gap between the generations.

But it emphasized that all its findings and most of its recommendations are dependent upon President Nixon.

"Only the President has the platform and prestige to urge all Americans, at once, to step back from the battlelines into which they are forming.

"Only the President, by example and by instruction, can effectively calm the rhetoric of both public officials and protesters whose words in the past have too often helped further divide the country, rather than unite it," the report said.

No names were mentioned in the report, but Scranton indicated at a news conference that Vice President Agnew was one of those the commission had in mind.

The report added that "... insulting rhetoric is dangerous. In the current political campaign and throughout the years ahead, the President should insist that no one play irresponsible politics with the issue of campus unrest."

At a White House news con-



Associated Press

Former Gov. William Scranton submits campus unrest report to President Nixon.

ference seemingly designed to refute the report in advance, presidential counselor Robert H. Finch said that the President is "hardly in a position to dictate to governors and other candidates what they should say or do."

Regarding Agnew's series of comments on campus disruptions, Finch said that all members of the administration were free to speak their minds.

The President's aide also took issue with the "utmost urgency" position of the report by pointing out that he has encountered a "different climate" this fall on campuses because of stronger college administrators and innovative programs that seem to be taking hold.

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Text of Commission's
major recommendations.

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President Urged to Exert Leadership

UNREST, From A1

Mr. Nixon, who leaves today for a five-nation European tour, was given the report yesterday and promised Scranton that he would read it and discuss its findings upon his return. Scranton said the President gave him no assurances that he would carry out the recommendations.

Echoing the findings of a campus report early last summer by Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, Scranton indicated he did not believe that President Nixon or his advisers understood the campus situation, nor had the President exerted proper leadership since last spring's killings at Kent State University in Ohio and Jackson State College in Mississippi.

"Since the episodes of last spring, there has not been the kind of leadership needed to bring about the kind of reconciliation that we're talking about," Scranton said.

As the date of the Scranton report approached, the administration several times has indicated its belief that the place to stop campus unrest is "on the campuses," and Mr. Nixon has made it clear he wants a minimal federal role. Finch reiterated that yesterday, saying the campuses "should run their own shop."

But the Scranton report said the war in Indochina, racism, as well as the colleges themselves, are to blame for student unrest.

"... Nothing is more important than an end to the war in Indochina. Disaffected students see the war as a symbol of moral crisis in the nation which, in their eyes, deprives even law of its legitimacy. Their dramatic reaction to the Cambodian invasion was a measure of the intensity of their moral recoil."

The report also urged the President to "renew the national commitment to full social justice, and to be aware of increasing charges of repression. We recommend that he take steps to see to it that the words and deeds of govern-

ment do not encourage belief in those charges."

Scranton said at his news conference with all nine members of the commission appointed by the White House that the report's findings were unanimous. Afterward he was asked if there was controversy within the group over the direct and indirect criticism of Mr. Nixon's leadership as President.

He said there wasn't a great deal of controversy within the group. The entire commission was opposed to the war in Indochina, he said, and collectively believed there is a lack of social justice in the nation.

Scranton acknowledged, however, that even if the war ended soon, campus unrest would continue.

The commission said that polarization is so great that a significant domestic conflict or an unpopular foreign policy decision could trigger violent protest on campuses that would be followed by counter-violence and repression.

"We utterly condemn violence," the report said. "We must declare a national ceasefire."

Some of the most violent acts that have plagued campuses were blamed on highly mobile groups of revolutionaries, but the commission said these agitators are not the cause of most of the large-scale protests and disorders.

These agitators cannot be successful, the report said, without an atmosphere of tension, frustration, and dissent.

The report supported the right of peaceful dissent, and observed that most student protesters are not violent or extremist. But it said that "perpetrators of violence" should be identified, removed from the university and prosecuted. The report also said that revolutionary faculty members have "no place in the university community."

Some findings and recommendations:

- Universities have not adequately prepared themselves to respond to disruption. They have been without suitable

plans, rules or sanctions. Some administrators and faculty have responded irresolutely. Frequently, announced sanctions have not been applied.

- Too many students have acted irresponsibly and even dangerously in pursuing their stated goals and expressing their dissent.

- State and local officials should make plans for handling campus disorders in full cooperation with one another and with the universities. States should establish precise guidelines determining when the National Guard should intervene in a campus disorder.

- Government should increase its financial support of higher education.

- The Pentagon should develop other ways to educate officers than ROTC programs.

- National Guard and police should be given more intensive training on controlling civil disturbances and be equipped with non-lethal weapons. Deadly force should only be used as a last resort.

- Universities should permit

speakers of every point of view to be heard, strengthen their disciplinary processes and should promptly summon law enforcement help if criminal violence occurs.

Underlying the campus problem, the commission reported, is an emerging youth culture that is inclined to separate itself from the rest of society with their dress and life style. This culture believes America has lost its sense of human purpose and see their elders "trapped by materialism and competition—prisoners of outdated social forms."

Feeling a religious fervor that they must remake America in their own image, new culture members exhibit a lack of tolerance and insist their own views should govern, the report said. They increasingly deny "the humanity and goodwill of those who urge patience and restraint and particularly those whose duty it is to enforce the law." Other Americans, the report added, are rejecting the new culture members, sometimes simply on the basis of how they look.

Campus Panel Finds Many at Fault

Washington Post Staff Writer
By Eric Wentworth

"The many serious weaknesses in American colleges and universities today have contributed significantly and needlessly to the growth of campus protest."

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest backs up this broadside by finding faults with students, professors, administrators, trustees, alumni, lawmakers and everyone else who has helped shape structures, policies and practices in modern day academia.

The panel recognizes in its 362-page report that colleges and universities are complex institutions, beset by conflicting pressures and constrained by intricate checks and balances. Thus, blame for some of their weaknesses cannot be easily assigned.

"The common distinction between 'hard' and 'soft' attitudes toward student disruption," it asserts, for example, "is dangerously misleading."

Still, the commission finds grounds for strong criticism of the academic community's various members.

It firmly opposes violence

News Analysis

by students or other young people—as well as by police. While notably understanding of students' intense attitudes, it condemns those who give moral support to the violent few.

It also urges students to voice their views with greater civility and tolerance and to show greater patience in their pursuit of change.

The commission attacks certain faculty members who "have acted improperly, irresponsibly and even illegally" in campus disorders.

It also criticizes professors overly preoccupied with outside service and consulting jobs, and calls for guidelines to limit such commitments.

In this connection, the panel says that students' complaints about poor teaching "often have a basis in fact." It recommends reviewing the tenure system that gives professors job security and, at least in principle, protects academic freedom.

In general, it adds, university faculties should police their own ranks and become

better informed about university governance.

The commission finds cases in which administrators have failed to prepare for possible disruptions in advance, or have overreacted or been too weak when trouble erupted.

At the same time, it notes, "Since an academic community is not a battleship, academic leadership is a subtle as well as a demanding task." A university administrator must have an open, honest and tough mind—and a "compassionate spirit."

Administrators must have the support of alumni, citizens and government leaders, the panel says, and "all three of these groups have been guilty of substituting thoughtless criticism for helpful support."

Trustees "seldom understand institutional, student, and faculty concerns well enough" to serve as needed intermediaries between the campus and the outside world in times of crisis, the commission says. Indeed, it adds, they may side with the outside critics.

The panel asserts that recent campus disorders have shown "startling weaknesses

in the systems of governance at most universities." In general, it endorses greater participation by students, faculty and staff in policy-making—but opposes undercutting administrative leadership.

Everybody cannot participate on all issues, it notes, and decision-making should tend to involve those most competent or most affected by the results.

Beyond these and other specifics, the commission sees some general weaknesses in today's institutions.

A basic, deep-rooted problem on many campuses, the commission finds, is the erosion or loss of a "sense of community." A frequent factor is bigness, and the panel calls for limiting the size of existing campus populations—starting new branches instead—and for steps toward decentralizing very large universities to help regain "human scale."

The commission devotes a separate chapter to black students and their quest for equal access to higher education. It calls for more federal aid to needy students, and "massive" aid for traditionally black colleges.

Major Recommendations of

The following is the text of major recommendations from the report of the President's Commission on Campus Unrest:

Far more important than the particular recommendations of this Commission are the underlying themes that are common to all:

Most student protesters are neither violent nor extremist. But a small minority of politically extreme students and faculty members and a small group of dedicated agitators are bent on destruction of the university through violence in order to gain their own political ends. Perpetrators of violence must be identified, removed from the university as swiftly as possible, and prosecuted vigorously by the appropriate agencies of law enforcement.

Dissent and peaceful protest are a valued part of this nation's way of governing itself. Violence and disorder are the antithesis of democratic processes and cannot be tolerated either on the nation's campuses or anywhere else.

The roots of student activism lie in unresolved conflicts in our national life, but the many defects of the universities have also fueled campus unrest.

Universities have not adequately prepared themselves to respond to disruption. They have been without suitable plans, rules, or

sanctions. Some administrators and faculty members have responded irresolutely. Frequently, announced sanctions have not been applied. Even more frequently, the lack of appropriate organization within the university has rendered its response ineffective. The university's own house must be placed in order.

Too many students have acted irresponsibly and even dangerously in pursuing their stated goals and expressing their dissent. Too many law enforcement officers, have responded with unwarranted harshness and force in seeking to control disorder. Actions — and inactions — of government at all levels have contributed to campus unrest. The words of some political leaders have helped to inflame it. Law enforcement officers have too often reacted ineptly or overreacted. At times, their response has degenerated into uncontrolled violence.

The nation has been slow to resolve the issues of war and race, which exacerbate divisions within American society and which have contributed to the escalation of student protest and disorder.

All of us must act to prevent violence, to create understanding, and to reduce the bitterness and hostility that divide both the campus and the country. We must establish respect for the

processes of law and tolerance for the exercise of dissent on our campuses and in the nation.

We advance our recommendations not as cure-alls, but as rational and responsive steps that should be taken. We summarize here our major recommendations, addressed to those who have the power to carry them out.

For the President

We urge that the President exercise his reconciling moral leadership as the first step to prevent violence and create understanding. It is imperative that the President bring us together before more lives are lost and more property destroyed and more universities disrupted.

We recommend that the President seek to convince public officials and protesters alike that divisive and insulting rhetoric is dangerous. In the current political campaign and throughout the years ahead, the President should insist that no one play irresponsible politics with the issue of "campus unrest."

We recommend that the President take the lead in explaining to the American people the underlying causes of campus unrest and the urgency of our present situation. We recommend that he articulate and emphasize those values all Americans hold in common. At the same time we urge

him to point out the importance of diversity and coexistence to the nation's health.

To this end, nothing is more important than an end to the war in Indochina. Disaffected students see the war as a symbol of moral crisis in the nation which, in their eyes, derives even law of its legitimacy. Their dramatic reaction to the Cambodian invasion was a measure of the intensity of their moral recoil.

We urge the President to renew the national commitment to full social justice, and to be aware of increasing charges of repression. We recommend that he take steps to see to it that the words and deeds of government do not encourage belief in those charges.

We recommend that the President lend his personal support and assistance to American universities to accomplish the changes and reforms suggested in this report.

We recommend that the President take steps to assure that he be continuously informed of the views of students and Blacks, important constituencies in this nation.

We recommend that the President call a series of national meetings designed to foster understanding among those who are now divided. He should meet with the governors of the states, with university leaders, with law enforcement officers, and with Black and student lead-

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ers. Each participant in these meetings should be urged to bring with him practical suggestions for restoring trust and responsibility among those whom he represents, and commit himself to continue this process of national reconciliation in frequent meetings throughout the school year.

For Government

We strongly urge public officials at all levels of government to recognize that their public statements can either heal or divide. Harsh and bitter rhetoric can set citizen against citizen, exacerbate tension and encourage violence.

Just as the President must offer reconciling leadership to reunite the nation, so all government officials—at all levels—must work to bring our hostile factions together.

Like the President, the governors of the states should hold meetings and develop contacts throughout the school year to further the cause of reconciliation. Like the President, other federal, state, and local officials must be sensitive to the charge of repression and fashion their words and deeds in a manner designed to refute it.

We urge state and local officials to make plans for handling campus disorders in full cooperation with one another and with the universities. We urge the states to establish guidelines setting forth more precisely the circumstances that justify ordering the Guard to intervene in a campus disorder.

We recommend that the federal government review all its current policies affecting students and universities to assure that neither the policies nor administration of them threatens independence or quality of American higher education. At the same time government should increase its financial support of higher

education.

We urge public officials to reject demands that entire universities be punished because of the ideas or excesses of some members, and to honor their responsibility to help preserve academic freedom.

We recommend that the Department of Defense establish alternatives to ROTC so that officer education is available to students whose universities choose to terminate on-campus ROTC programs.

We recommend greatly increased financial aid for Black colleges and universities. All agencies of government that support such institutions should massively increase their grants to enable these colleges to overcome past shortcomings.

We support the continuing efforts of formerly all-white universities to recruit Black, Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and other minority students, and we urge that adequate government-sponsored student aid be made available to them. We recommend that in the process of becoming more representative of the society at large, universities make the adjustments necessary to permit those from minority backgrounds to take maximum advantage of their university experience.

Bombing and arson pose an increasing threat to lives and property on campus. We urge prompt enactment of strict controls over the sale, transfer, and possession of explosive materials. Such statutes are needed at both the federal and state levels.

For Law Enforcement

We have deep sympathy for peace officers—local and state police, National Guardsmen and campus se-

curity officers—who must deal with all types of campus disorder. Much depends on their judgment, courage, and professionalism.

We commend those thousands of law enforcement officers who have endured taunts and assaults without reacting violently, and whose careful conduct has prevented violence and saved lives.

At the same time, we recognize that there have been dangerous and sometimes fatal instances of unnecessary harshness and illegal violence by law enforcement officers.

We therefore urge that peace officers be trained and equipped to deal with campus disorders, firmly, justly and humanely. They must avoid both uncontrolled and excessive response.

Too frequently, local police forces have been undermanned, improperly equipped, poorly trained, and unprepared for campus disturbances. We therefore urge police forces, especially those in smaller communities, to improve their capacity to respond to civil disorders.

We recommend the development of joint contingency plans among law enforcement agencies. They should specify which law enforcement official is to be in command when several forces are operating together.

Sending civil authorities on to a college campus armed as if for war—armed only to kill—has brought tragedy in the past. If this practice is not changed, tragedy will come again. Shoulder weapons (except for tear gas launchers) are very rarely needed on the college campus; they should not be used except as emergency equipment in the face of sniper fire or armed resistance justifying them.

We recommend that Na-

tional Guardsmen receive much more training in controlling civil disturbances. During the last three years, the Guard has played almost no role in Southeast Asia, but has been called to intervene in civil disorders at home more than 200 times.

We urge that the National Guard be issued special protection equipment appropriate for use in controlling civil disorders. We urge that it have sufficient tactical capability and non-lethal weaponry so that it will use deadly force only as the absolute last resort.

For the University

Every university must improve its capability for responding effectively to disorder. Students, faculty and trustees must support these efforts. Universities must pull themselves together.

The university should be an open forum where speakers of every point of view

can be heard. The area of permitted speech and conduct should be at least as broad as that protected by the First Amendment.

The university should promulgate a code making clear the limits of permissible conduct and announce in advance what measures it is willing to employ in response to impermissible conduct. It should strengthen its disciplinary process. It should assess the capabilities of its security force and determine what role, if any, that force should play in responding to disorder.

When criminal violence occurs on the campus, university officials should promptly call for the assistance of law enforcement agencies.

When faced with disruptive but non-violent conduct, the university should be prepared to respond initially with internal measures. It must clearly understand the options available to it and be prepared to move from one to another if it is reasonably obvious that an earlier tactic has failed.

Faculty members who engage in or lead disruptive conduct have no place in the university community.

The university, and partic-

ularly the faculty, must recognize that the expansion of higher education and the emergence of the new youth culture have changed the makeup and concerns of today's student population. The university should adapt itself to these new conditions. We urge that the university make its teaching programs, degree structure, and transfer and leave policies more flexible and more varied in order to enhance the quality and voluntariness of university study.

We call upon all members of the university to reaffirm that the proper functions of the university are teaching and learning, research and scholarship. An academic community best serves itself, the country, and every principle to which it is devoted by concentrating on these tasks.

Academic institutions must be free—free from outside interference, and free from internal intimidation. Far too many people who should know better—both within university communities and outside them—have forgotten this first principle of academic freedom. The pursuit of knowledge cannot continue without the free exchange of ideas.

Obviously, all members of the academic community, as individuals, should be free to participate actively in whatever campaigns or causes they choose. But universities as institutions must remain politically neutral, except in those rare cases in which their own integrity, educational purpose, or preservation are at stake.

One of the most valid criticisms of many universities is that their faculties have become so involved in outside research that their commitment to teaching seems compromised. We urge universities and faculty members to reduce their outside service commitments. We recognize that alternative sources of university funding will have to be developed to take the place of the money attached to these out-

side commitments. Realistically, this will mean more unrestricted government aid to higher education.

Large universities should take steps to decentralize or reorganize to make possible a more human scale.

University governance systems should be reformed to increase participation of students and faculty in the formulation of university policies that affect them. But universities cannot be run on a one man, one vote basis with participation of all members on all issues.

Universities must become true communities whose members share a sense of respect, tolerance, and responsibility for one another.

For Students

Students must accept the responsibility of presenting their ideas in a reasonable and persuasive manner. They must recognize that they are citizens of a nation which was founded on tolerance and diversity, and they must become more understanding of those with whom they differ.

Students must protect the right of all speakers to be heard even when they disagree with the point of view expressed. Heckling speakers is not only bad manners but is inimical to all the values that a university stands for.

Students must face the fact that giving moral support to those who are planning violent action is morally despicable.

Students should be reminded that language that offends will seldom persuade. Their words have sometimes been as offensive to many Americans as the words of some public officials have been to them.

Students should not expect their own views, even if held with great moral intensity, automatically and immediately to determine national policy. The rhetorical commitment to democracy by students must be matched by an awareness of the central role of majority rule in a democratic society, and by an equal commitment to techniques of persuasion within the political process.

The Commission has been

impressed and moved by the idealism and commitment of American youth. But this extraordinary commitment brings with it extraordinary obligations: to learn from our nation's past experience, to recognize the humanity of those with whom they disagree, and to maintain their respect for the rule of law. The fight for change and justice is the good fight; to drop out or strike out at the first sign of failure is to insure that change will never come.

This Commission is only too aware of America's shortcomings. Yet we are also a nation of enduring strength. Millions of Americans—generations past and present—have given their vision, their energy, and their patient labor to make us a more just nation and a more humane people. We who seek to change America today build on their accomplishments and enjoy the freedoms they won for us. It is a considerable inheritance; we must not squander or destroy it.