

The New York Times

Published every day by The New York Times Company

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
 ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
 ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1968*



ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
President and Publisher

HARDING F. BANCROFT, *Executive Vice President*
 FRANCIS A. COX, *Vice President*
 ANDREW FISHER, *Vice President*
 JAMES RESTON, *Vice President*
 IVAN VEIT, *Vice President*

JOHN B. OAKES, *Editorial Page Editor*
 A. M. ROSENTHAL, *Managing Editor*
 DANIEL SCHWARZ, *Sunday Editor*
 CLIFTON DANIEL, *Associate Editor*
 TOM WICKER, *Associate Editor*

Change of Heart...

It has taken the awful toll of four young lives to create an atmosphere in Washington receptive at last to the voices of youthful protest. But the irony which should not be lost on the campuses of the nation is that it was not the fruitless violence of students that softened the Administration's attitude; it was the violence of authority itself—and the nationwide wave of revulsion it created.

In the wake of the appalling event at Kent State University the climate in the capital is undergoing a remarkable change, at least momentarily. President Nixon has agreed to put a stop to the inflammatory rhetoric of high Government officials, specifically that of his mordant Vice President, Secretary of the Interior Hickel has pleaded eloquently with Mr. Nixon for greater understanding of young Americans. The President has responded by sympathetically receiving a Kent State delegation, conferring with the heads of eight universities and naming one of them as his special adviser on student opinion. And, of most immediate importance, the Administration has made preparations to receive antiwar protesters arriving in the capital for today's demonstration in a cooperative, even sympathetic, spirit—a marked contrast to last November's protest parade, which Mr. Nixon ignored to watch a football game on television.

Now it is up to the students themselves to take full advantage of their improved position. They can retain their moral advantage best by keeping the demonstration free of all taint of violence. They have had no dearth of advice to that effect from those they most respect.

Kingman Brewster, president of Yale, has reminded them that the "clenched fist and 'shut-it-down' rhetoric" have served only to help the Administration "sterilize the political influence of the universities." Mayor Lindsay and numerous others have given similar good counsel. Even such radical leaders as David Dellinger and Rennie Davis of the Chicago Seven have pointed out, belatedly, that wild rampaging is "not the way to achieve revolutionary change."

Of more far-reaching importance, campus activities are springing up that are more constructive than even peaceable demonstrations. Under Dr. Brewster's leadership some thousand Yale teachers and students will arrive in Washington Monday not to demonstrate at all but to meet and discuss issues with members of Congress who happen to be Yale alumni. Princeton faculty and students are putting together a Princeton Movement for a New Congress, pledged to work for candidates opposed to the war. Haverford's entire personnel—faculty, students, trustees and help—went en masse to Washington a few days ago to convey their opposition to the Cambodian adventure from office to office on Capitol Hill.

These departures from familiar and arid forms of protest—the student strike, the seizure of buildings, the chanting of obscenities—represent an impressive advance. But they make far greater demands on their practitioners. If students are to be heard, as the President himself now concedes they should be, it is surely desirable that they speak their minds coolly and persuasively, employing and receiving the courtesies of civilized discourse.

The extent to which this essential of democratic politics is now observed on both sides of the generation line is the extent to which even the infinitely sad deaths of the Kent State students will have advanced the cause of a free society.

...Violence on the Right

The assaults by construction workers on students in downtown Manhattan yesterday were a tragic reflection of the polarization brought by the Vietnam war, campus turbulence, racial tensions and an Administration-fostered mood of political repression. Even more, the clashes in the financial district and at City Hall were a frightening lesson in the ease with which right-wing vigilantism finds in left-wing extremism an excuse for pushing aside constituted authority and enforcing its own brutal form of injustice.

The youngsters who massed in Wall Street with the declared purpose of shutting down the Stock Exchange were scarcely operating in the spirit of the "day of reflection" Mayor Lindsay had urged as a tribute to the four students killed by National Guard bullets at Kent State University. But there was no use of force until the helmeted building tradesmen marched onto the scene and initiated their own reign of terror.

The hardhats, long scornful of excesses by privileged longhairs on campus, were obviously delighted at the opportunity to pour out their hatred on the students and any who dared to raise a voice in their defense. From that it was a swift jump to City Hall for a direct-action display of their venom against the Mayor, the most articulate spokesman in public life for the right to dissent and for adult understanding of college youth's frustrations.

The police, badly outnumbered in Wall Street, were even more seriously short of men at City Hall. The result was a shambles in which the rampaging unionists beat students, smashed windows and cowed city officials into ordering the American flag back to full staff, thus canceling the half-staff memorial to the Kent State dead originally decreed by the Mayor. Not one construction worker was arrested at any stage of this civic humiliation.

The building tradesmen, of course, are in the forefront of those who deplore crime in the street and the decay of law and order. They have now joined the

revolutionaries and bombthrowers on the left in demonstrating that anarchy is fast becoming a mode of political expression. Unless the peril in that trend becomes universally recognized, no one's liberty will be safe. American democracy can survive only in a climate of reason built on respect for law.