

NIXON IS ADVISED TO HEED STUDENTS

Head of Campus Unrest Unit
Praises College Youths in
Report to the President

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Excerpts from Heard's report
are printed on Page 34.

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WASHINGTON, July 23—

President Nixon's special adviser on campus unrest urged the President today to undertake serious efforts to improve his awareness of student attitudes and to take them into account when formulating foreign and domestic policies.

This recommendation was coupled with an equally strong plea asking Mr. Nixon to use the moral leverage of his office to ease racial tensions and give blacks some sense that the national Government understands and cares about their problems.

These and other recommendations were contained in a statement by Dr. Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University, who served Mr. Nixon as a consultant on campus problems from May 8 to June 30.

The statement was released by the White House late this afternoon, and consisted of a summary from Dr. Heard of his thoughts about the usefulness of his seven-week mission, a summary of his activities, and a series of revealing private memorandums that he and his co-adviser, Dr. James E. Cheek of Howard University, sent to the President during their term of service.

A single theme dominated the 40-page document and tied together its various strands:

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The student revolt, the authors insisted throughout, may seem baffling and chaotic to outsiders but underneath it is a deep moral commitment, a seriousness of purpose, to eliminate what the students genuinely believe to be the weaknesses of American society.

To this basic theme the authors added a corollary sub-theme—never explicitly stated, but always close to the surface. Given the integrity, idealism and passion of the students, they suggested, the Administration would be well-advised to listen to them and ill-advised to attempt to make political capital of the disturbances they cause.

Dr. Heard seemed to be under no illusions that it would be simple to bridge the gap. He pointed out that the perceptions of the men who run the country as to what is important, and the priorities of the next generation are radically different.

He noted, for example, that the concept of an "honorable" settlement in Vietnam, important to the President, strikes the student generation as insane because, in its view, American participation in Vietnam is itself dishonorable.

Similarly, Dr. Heard reported, the country's leaders tend to believe that American society can be made whole again by patchwork methods and by drawing the alienated into the system; the students, meanwhile, are resisting the system itself and regard "the whole social order as being in a state of erosion."

Nixon's Concern Cited

In an introductory statement, Mr. Heard said that Mr. Nixon had displayed serious concern over campus developments during the course of nine private and semiprivate discussions, as well as "a searching interest in what we had to say about campus beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors."

In addition, he went on, Mr. Nixon had already undertaken a variety of useful steps. He said that he and Dr. Cheek had recommended that the President sign the voting rights bill, revoke the tax-exempt status of segregated private academies, ask the Justice Department to intervene in Jackson, Miss., during the weekend of the burials of the youths killed at Jackson State, confer privately with a range of campus officials and students, and undertake other efforts to soothe campus passions.

Mr. Heard conceded that the President might have undertaken these initiatives without prompting from his two campus advisers, but he professed himself "pleased with these responses."

But in the first of four memorandums that he and Dr. Cheek sent the President—dated June 19, over six weeks after the Cambodian invasion, the shootings at Kent State, and the subsequent uproar—Dr. Heard relayed to Mr. Nixon his serious doubts as to whether the President and his senior associates grasped even at that late date the dimensions or the spirit of the campus revolt.

"We do not believe that our national Government really understands that a national crisis confronts us," Mr. Heard wrote the President.

"The condition cannot be conceived as a temporary, aberrational outburst by the young, or simply as a 'campus crisis' or 'student crisis.' Because of its immediate and potential consequences, the condition we face must be viewed as a national emergency, to be addressed with the sense of urgency and openness of mind required of national emergencies."

Mr. Heard buttressed this assertion with a portrait of what he described as "a large and important segment of students." He did not contend that this segment represented the entire student population, which he described as "intensely polarized," but he said that it embraced a surprising number of students of normally moderate or conservative points of view.

The portrait he drew—based on interviews—suggested a campus community driven leftward by the Cambodian venture, full of integrity and idealism, acutely conscious of its own separate identity, increasingly disaffected by what it regarded as official "repression"—including, Dr. Heard noted, "sledgehammer statements by public officials impugning the motives of dissent"—and the unresponsiveness of Government to student concerns.

Warning on Indochina

Dr. Heard went on to say that he had been advised that "events of this summer" would determine "which colleges and universities open this fall, and under what conditions." He warned that any further widening of the war in Indochina would "make it impossible for some institutions to operate normally."

Dr. Heard said that he had made detailed recommendations to the President privately, revealing only the general areas in which he thought the President could take steps to ease tensions. They ranged from broad exhortations to the President to open himself to campus views, to specific suggestions to provide more Federal funds for poor students and welcome more young people into government service.