

A New Breed Of Leaders Taking Over On Campuses

By M. Stanton Evans and Walter W. Meek
The Pulliam Newspapers

Parents and other Americans alarmed and confused by the reports of unrest on the nation's college campuses have reason to hope that the worst violence is over.

True, college and university officials everywhere are bracing for the expected "spring offensive" by the radical left. And the nation has clearly not yet seen the end of campus demonstrations and violence.

But there are hopeful signs that the student revolt has receded from the pitch of violence of last year.

There are indications that the New Left vanguard — Students for a Democratic Society — has lost strength.

Among several developing trends, two in particular seem to be changing the course of student dissent.

● Moderate and conservative forces are rallying against the destructive tactics of SDS and its allies.

● The dissident minority is split between white and black.

At colleges across the nation, elements opposed to the New Left and violence are beginning to speak and act with conviction. Some agree with New Left goals but not its tactics; others disown the goals as well.

The black students, in particular, have turned to their own leadership and counsel.

Under various banners across the country—Third World Liberation Front, Black Student Union, Afro-American Student Association — they are going their separate ways and this is depriving SDS of support it might naturally expect to have.

A typical attitude of black student leaders is that of Yusuf

Kaurouma, Afro president at the University of Colorado: "I'm not going to involve black students in anything that isn't good for black people."

"In effect, the blacks have said, 'Go do your own thing,'" lamented Dennis Stovall, former SDS chairman at the University of Oregon. "Of course it's reduced our effectiveness."

Last month when SDS launched its "spring offensive" at Columbia, an SDS picket line in front of Columbia's Hamilton Hall had only one black student. Several Negroes were observed crossing the line to get into the building.

At Michigan, the Black Student Union has criticized the student newspaper for, among other things, taking too radical positions, creating an unfavorable university image and jeopardizing appropriations from the legislature.

The trend at the majority of schools now is to go most of the way in granting black student demands.

The demands pretty much follow a pattern—black studies courses, black teachers and administrators, more black students, separate or special living facilities.

From Harvard to the University of Washington, schools across the country are moving in varying degrees to meet these goals, whether black students have made formal demands or not.

The reasons behind some of the black demands are obvious, but others are subjective and complicated. The whole issue is cloaked with the new emphasis on racial identity that has come to dominate the black movement.

A major factor behind the Negro demands, according to

some university observers, is the fact that many black students are committed to return to the ghetto, which means they want training tailored to black ghetto society.

"SDS has been scrambling for months and months to find some sort of coalition issue with the black kids," said Ken Glazier, a Harvard senior.

Scrambling for issues is a fair description of SDS activities at most campuses today. For reasons that aren't completely clear, the energy that was available for Vietnam war protests a year ago seems to have been dissipated.

To keep the movement moving, campus radicals are seizing other issues: the presence of ROTC; campus recruiting by the armed services and defense industries; defense-related research on the campuses; minority problems, "objectionable" speakers.

The list of issues is long and varied, but they fall into three broad groups, a survey indicates.

1. Traditional student-administration conflicts over social rules, such as dorm hours, use of automobiles, drinking and dress regulations.

2. Relatively new campus disputes concerning nonsocial areas like curriculum, grades, tuition, admission policies and selection of the faculty.

3. Openly political issues deriving from the Vietnam war, military recruiting and civil rights.

The activists fighting these issues include the much-publicized New Left, the less talked of but considerably more influential "reform liberals" and a smaller but increasingly active group of young conservatives. Even taken together,

Editor's Note: Two reporter-editors from the Pulliam newspapers have completed a study of the unrest on the nation's campuses. The following article summarizes their findings, developed in visits and interviews on more than 30 large and small campuses. The authors are M. Stanton Evans, 34, editor of the Indianapolis News, and Walter W. Meek, 33, assistant city editor of the Arizona Republic.

however, these groups add up to a minority on campus, each trying to arouse the nonpolitical majority.

Nearly all students, from New Left to New Right, are antipaternalist on social rules.

When the paternalism question is cut out, student opinion divides sharply and along predictable ideological lines.

The usual statement from "reform liberals," and they are heavily represented in campus governments and newspapers, is, "I agree with some New Left goals but oppose their methods." This is the position taken by Steve Kaplan of Harvard, student body president Randy Gurie of Louisiana State, moderate student leader Jeff Kunz of Wisconsin, Jessica Josephson of Skidmore.

Jim Stovall, editor of the University of Tennessee Beacon, says: "Just because someone wants change doesn't mean he is necessarily a radical."

In some cases, de facto alliances have developed between liberals and conservatives.

At Wisconsin, for example, conservatives and liberals have cooperated in anti-New Left activity. At Indiana, student body president Edward Najam, a liberal, had conservative support in his election victory over a radical opponent.

All this leaves the New Left on American college campuses today not only a minority, but a minority within a minority.

Even at the hotspots of dissent, interest in student politics is slow to ignite.

A large number of students agrees, for example, with the Columbia senior who said, "If I want to get involved in politics, I'll do it elsewhere." Dale Stark, a sorority leader at Indiana, said, "I'm going here to be educated . . . I participate in other activities, but they come after my studies." Bob Misko of the Penn State commonwealth campus at Sharon

icans for Freedom and the Young Republicans combined in a show of numbers against the SDS.

Majority coalitions or similar groups exist at George Washington University, Penn State, Monmouth College in Illinois, Arizona State, Columbia and Tennessee.

At Purdue University, the Semper Fidelis Society conducted a blood drive to combat New Left antirecruiting efforts.

One unmistakable product of campus unrest has been an increase in student participation in the running of the schools.

At colleges and universities throughout the country, students find themselves sitting for the first time on faculty and administrative councils.

They are helping to choose university presidents, deans and faculty. In some cases, they are taking complete charge of student affairs and budgets.

At the University of Oregon, the SEARCH program, a student-centered system for putting into operation experimental courses for full credit, has produced offerings that include seminars on nonviolence, political revolution, underground cinema, black theater and racism in American culture.

A student committee at Harvard acts as critic of the university's academic performance.

It polls and interviews students and faculty, analyzes lectures, examinations, course requirements, the working conditions of graduate assistants, etc. Its reports are taken seriously, students say.

At the University of Washington in Seattle student influence is brought to bear by the 2½-year-old Graduate and Professional Student Senate. Its purview is "anything that affects student life," according to Bill Inglis, its first president and now an assistant to the university vice president.

Such new responsibilities and the reaction to violence are spawning a new breed of liberal-minded student leaders on some campuses.

The popularity contests for student offices, long dominated by gridiron heroes, fraternity boys and sorority girls, are fading.

The new breed opposes the violent and disruptive tactics of the New Left, but they're definitely not wedded to the status quo.

They are critics of higher education, pledged to fundamental changes in the universities and to a strong student

campaign to begin restructuring university curriculum.

At the University of Washington in Seattle, the new student government has several projects, including a campaign against the "publish or perish" system by which faculty is hired and fired.

But the first concern, said student vice president John Mosier, is the expected spring uprising of SDS. "If there isn't an effective student government here, the radical left can throw this campus in turmoil," he said.

It's too soon to know how effective the liberal leaders can be. Ed Wynn, a Berkeley graduate student and a Negro moderate, is doubtful. "The administrations will talk but not change. The worst thing from their point of view is for a strong student coalition to arise and take some of their power."

The emergence of this group of leaders has not been the only byproduct of turmoil on the campus.

A New Right has been making gains in recent months. Conservative students have been active in "majority coalition" efforts to oppose the left on many campuses. The national conservative organization, Young Americans for Freedom, encourages this effort which includes petition campaigns for an "open" or "free" campus, counter-demonstrations against SDS, speaker programs, publication of newsletters and other literature and distribution of posters and buttons.

In California, YAF is distributing 100,000 blue lapel buttons signifying opposition to the New Left. "This is a big project now," says YAF leader Pat Nolan of the University of Southern California.

At Columbia, where conservatives John Meyer, Lou Rossetto and Stan Lehr work through the night in a walk-up headquarters building cranking out manifestoes against campus violence, conservatives find their cause on the upswing.

Conservative students have their own view of student rights, urging correction of what they charge is imbalance in course material. At Stanford, YAF leader Harvey Hukari and Young Republican chairman Bill Boyd presented a list of proposals for more conservative-liberal balance in the cur-

riculum. At USC, Daily Trojan columnist Bill Saracino contends that faculties are slanted to the liberal side.

A list of recommendations presented to California education officials by YAF includes: "1. Creation of a Free Market Studies Department . . . 2. Implementation of voluntary student body fees . . . 3. Election of campus newspaper editors . . . 4. Strict enforcement of all laws designed to maintain order on campus . . ."

Much conservative activity has been channeled into the normal political process, chiefly through the Young Republicans. Young Republican leader Rob Polack, a law student at Louisiana State University, says the conservative young Republicans at his school are the most effective political force on campus.

Conservatives say their purpose is to get an education, not to give one, that their foremost "right" is to receive the schooling they contracted for. Twelve students at Columbia have filed suit against the university, charging that the school's failure to prevent the shutting down of classrooms denied them the service for which they had paid tuition.

Visits to 30 schools of varying sizes in many sections of the nation suggest that the widespread impression that the campuses are dominated by radicals seizing buildings and spitting obscenities at opponents is far from the mark.

The "silent majority" is finding a voice. At most major

schools where the New Left is active there is also a "majority coalition" or "committee for an academic environment" advancing the cause of order on the campus.

This and other developments described here suggest there is hope for a calming of passions on the campus.

The ferment is real and an end to violence will not mean an end to problems on the campus.

Beyond the violence and the reactions to it, there are issues that involve the very nature and purposes of the American university. Is there too much emphasis on building careers and too little on building individuals? Should there be more "relevant" work oriented to racial strife and other contemporary problems? Should the universities refocus their efforts to impart disciplined habits of mind?

There are charges that American higher education has lost its sense of purpose, and by trying to be all things to all of society's special interests it is not performing any single function properly.

There are complaints that schools are too big, that faculties spend too much time on research, publishing and consulting work — at the expense of teaching.

These feelings are widely shared by students of all persuasions. The rise of a non-New Left leadership can help defuse the violence, but this leadership still wants these questions debated.

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Reaction against New Left use of force is evident in campus polls, rallies, petition drives. Open recruiting by military services and others on campus was supported by 67 per cent in a referendum two years ago at Columbia.

During the '68 strike at Columbia, students voted by better than 3 to 2 against amnesty for the strikers and by 4 to 1 in disagreement with SDS tactics, even though similar majorities favored the New Left position on two substantive issues. At Stanford, students voted 3924 to 1695 in condemnation of SDS tactics, 3 to 2 in favor of retaining academic credits for ROTC.

At that school, Young Amer-

PUBLIC NOTICE

NOTICE TO CREDITORS No. 22503

Superior Court of the State of California for the County of Santa Cruz.
Estate of NAOMI M. GARDNER, Deceased.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN to the creditors of the above named decedent that all persons having claims against the said decedent are required to file them, with the necessary vouchers, in the office of the clerk of the above entitled court, or to present them, with the necessary vouchers, to the undersigned at the offices of Messrs. Lucas, Wyckoff, Miller, Dunton & Comstock, attorneys at law, P. O. Box 1119, Santa Cruz, California, 95060, which is the place of business of the undersigned in all matters pertaining to the estate of said decedent, within four months after the first publication of this notice.

DATED: April 2, 1969.

THOMAS F. GARDNER,

Administrator of the estate of the above named decedent.

LUCAS, WYCKOFF, MILLER,
DUNTON & COMSTOCK

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Sometimes sympathetic to the views of the left-wing minority, they invariably support the broad goals of the black student movement.

They seldom claim to reflect the views of the silent, disinterested or apathetic majority on all issues. But their emergence is a major element of the student response to the New Left.

This new breed can be found at Harvard, Colorado, San Francisco State and campuses in between.

Steve Diaz is a 20-year-old junior at San Francisco State College, a school under continuous police protection for more than three months. He is chairman of the United California Students for an Academic Environment. Born at S.F. State last November as the Committee for an Academic Environment, CAE formed a statewide organization in December embracing 30 campuses.

Its short term goal is to help end violence and disruption at California schools.

For S. I. Hayakawa, the embattled S.F. State president, the CAE has been the most visible evidence he's had for his claims that the vast majority of students support his stand against striking radicals. The official student government supported the strikers.

Diaz, in fact, aims at nothing less than reorganization of the California college and university systems.

Pat Stimer, new president of the Associated Students of the University of Colorado at Boulder, said politicians and university officials should quit focusing on SDS "so that we could get down to some important issues."

"The real issue is that there's a larger society out there, and the university has to deal with