

### **Providence**

**VOLUME VI, NO. 2** 

MARCH, 1970

#### PROVIDENCE COLLEGE TODAY:

# What's Going

STUDENT POWER

THE REV. JOHN F. CUNNINGHAM, O.P. Director of Residence

"Tell it like it is! You know what's been happening in student-administration relations. Give the alumni the facts and something of the philosophy behind them." These, roughly, were my instructions from a gently importunate editor. As the deadline approaches with the inexorability of the next student demonstration, I must force myself to think back on the last calendar year. surely one of the most crucial Providence College has experienced. I do not mean that the year was an unpleasant one. Exhausting and challenging it was to be sure, but not unpleasant. It represented the culmination of many currents of thought, including student resentment against campus living.

What, in fact, has happened in student-administration relations? A great deal. Students have become voting members on some of the more sensitive standing committees of the college. A joint committee of the Faculty Senate and the Committee on Studies recommended such student participation. The committee found that such student participation "is consistent with (the college's) traditional aims and objec-

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# On Here?

ROY PETER CLARK Class of 1970

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF PROTEST



The authors face to face.

Much has been said in recent years about the necessity of the students utilizing proper channels in its dealings with the Administration. This usually meant that any student proposal would have to survive a certain network of committees prior to the final judgment of life or death. For as long as anyone could remember, students were willing to go to great pains (and much red tape) to have their grievances about Providence College brought to the attention of the powers that be. Students were incessantly urged to "keep the channels of communication open with the Administration." The rationale here was that as long as students were battling through the labyrinthian ways of P.C.'s "proper channels," things would remain controlled, calm, and uncontroversial.

Last year the students of Providence College opened a new proper channel in their dealings with the Administration: Student Protest. This is true even though, despite a token demonstration by Student Congress, there has never been a genuine student demonstration at P.C. — at least as "demonstration" is now known within the workings of contemporary university politics.

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"the primary objective of the college is the intellectual development of its students . . ."

tives." The report of the committee was accepted overwhelmingly by the Faculty Senate and endorsed by the President of the College. It was not an ad hoc solution to student demands, a stop-gap measure, or a palliative for the students. The committee's report comprised some seventy-four pages which represented considerable research on the whole question of student participation in college policy determination.

Of course, this hasn't solved all the problems of student-administration relations. I have the feeling that if all the problems were solved, Providence College would become a terribly dull institution. The current college student at Providence College is idealistic in the best sense of the term; I find new pragmatists among them. They are socially concerned, anxious to help others. They are energetic with an energy that is indigenous to youth. They are dedicated to their causes with a missionary zeal. They are also, unfortunately, confused, distrustful, and suspicious. I suggest that a society which produces such angry reactions in its young had better ask itself some pretty serious questions.

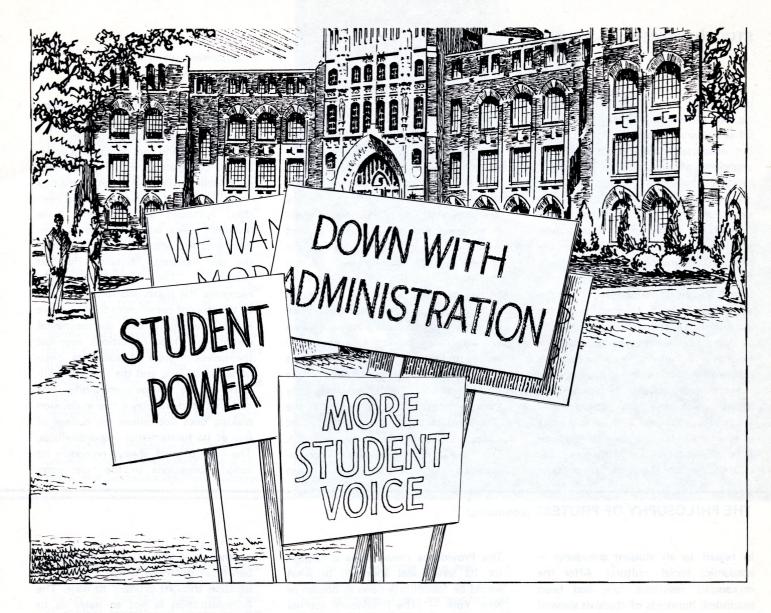
This generation is like no other generation of students in American history. The questions they pose have seldom been asked with such urgency. My personal opinion is that their root concern is the quest for identity (yes, I know that's a jargon-esque phrase, but it's accurate none the less) and honesty and total opposition to sham and phoniness. One of the main reasons for students' disenchantment is the discrepancy they find between the image and the reality. As one writer said, "In Catholic colleges the gap is between the image of a student who is apparently a well-scrubbed, apple-pie eating Christian athlete - a kind of post-Vatican II Frank Merriwell - and the students one usually sees."

The Providence College student has many new liberties. To name just a few: except for Freshmen, there is no longer a curfew in the residence halls; the dress regulation for the classroom has been abolished; students are allowed to have television sets in their dormitory rooms; students who have attained the legal age are permitted to possess and consume alcoholic beverages in their rooms, and visiting hours for young ladies are in

effect on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. In each instance these changes were made only after considerable deliberation on the part of those responsible for the regimen of the college. Was the correct decision made in every case? It would be a rash man who would claim this. But in every instance the decision was a corporate one that was made only after many parties had been consulted.

I must ask myself honestly: How should I as an educator react to these new liberties? Or, an even more basic question: What should the role of the student at the Catholic college be? At the risk of seeming terribly naive, I must say that the role of the student is to study and learn. The intellectual must hold a primacy in any institution of higher learning. Surely, the primary objective of the college — any college — is the intellectual development of its students through the discipline of the sciences and the humanities.

When I say that the role of the student is to learn, I mean this in the broadest sense and do not mean to make "learning experience" and "academic experience" synonymous. The



#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF PROTEST (continued)

Despite the fact that a massive student demonstration has never been staged by P.C.'s students, the important consideration is that a successful demonstration of protest against the Administration could have been carried off. Everyone knew this, including the Administration.

Two questions must be asked here:

1. Why was it possible, after years of student apathy, to arouse an energetic mobilization of students?

2. Why was the threat of a demonstration enough to apply considerable political pressure upon the Administration? The answer to the first question is rather simple: the issue over which the protest took place (mandatory on-campus residency) affected a great many students very per-

sonally. For many years students who didn't mind the walk were moving to off-campus apartments to escape the medieval social regulations associated with on campus living. When such poor conditions were brought to the attention of those persons we were most able to change the situation the traditional reply was "If you don't like it here, you have the choice to go elsewhere" (much like a child saying "It's my football, so we'll play by my rules"). With the new prohibitions against living off-campus, the students were robbed of their final route of escape. Thus, like rats trapped in a corner, the reaction was immediate, vigorous, and somewhat irrational. Students arose as a body to protest the

actions of the Administration. They were ready to do almost anything — indeed, some were ready to be violent. To the great fortune of us all, however, a prudent and sensitive Student Congress controlled the chaotic energies of the student body with great effectiveness. The result was peaceful demonstration and the immediate resolution of student grievances by the Administration.

The result of all this was the final emergence of student power on the P.C. campus. And to the surprise of us all—student interest was **not** just a short-lived effort on the part of students who wanted to move off campus. Immediate interest of many students was aroused

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primacy of the intellectual does not exclude other very important elements. Of subsidiary importance, for example, but absolutely crucial is the learning experience of living with one's peers in a residence hall, being subject to discipline and, in general, being caught up in the total experience of higher education. I view as one of the most important elements of collegiate life the climate or atmosphere of the college. When this climate is conducive to intellectual and social maturation, it contributes immeasurably to the life of the institution. There must be a reciprocity of respect between administrators. faculty, and students. We have come to realize this with particular urgency over the past year. In the ideal order, one might presuppose such respect and trust; in the pragmatic order, one must usually work for the establishment of these attitudes. Both students and those responsible for their education must

candidly admit that they can learn from each other.

I do not subscribe to the view that the student body should be totally self-governing either in its social or its academic life. What place should the student hold in relation to the faculty and administration? Is it a partnership? A tripartite arrangement? The present Administration has chosen to view the college as a community with all this implies. We are highly interdependent groups and the action of one group must necessarily affect the other. Since we are a heterogeneous group, our views will sometimes conflict. I do not regard this as undesirable; indeed, I consider it as an indispensable condition for the progress of the institution. It is only through intelligent dialogue and in the give and take of a brutally honest dialectic that we can move forward. Over the past year dialogue has increased and dialectic has been

sharpened. Mistakes have been made by all three elements of the college community, but the signs are promising.

I do not think that we can characterize the collegiate community by means of arithmetic. Perhaps a better analogy would be that of a senior-junior partnership. Although we sometimes have divergent views, we surely share a common goal and interest. As the Committee on Resident Student Life said recently: "The institution should recognize the rights and responsibilities of the student community to play a role in determining its own environmental conditions. These conditions manifest themselves in areas of academics, discipline, social life, and the physical wellbeing of the college community. The fact that students play a role in decision making does not relieve the college of any of its fundamental responsibilities. The college must always recognize its varied obligations to the civic com-

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF PROTEST (continued)

in regard to all student grievances — academic, social, cultural. After the on-campus residence rule had been rescinded, hundreds of students showed up at Harkins Hall for a mass meeting run by Student Congress. About a week later another 300-400 students showed up at Statements Part II, the now famous confrontation between student leaders and members of the Administration. Having been personally involved in this particular forum, I was amazed and gratified at the intense interest and excitement displayed by the students.

The answer to my second question (Why the **threat** of a demonstration was enough to apply considerable political pressure on the Administration) is not so simple. At the time, my first impression was that the Administration feared adverse publicity. Let's face it — P.C. is in the middle of a big fund raising drive and some of P.C.'s more affluent benefactors would frown severely upon the flexing of students' political muscles.

The Providence news media is famous for its sensational approach to what would be fourth rate news in Boston or New York — (The Providence Journal made "Statements Part II" read like the Battle of the Bulge) — and so the publicity from a real demonstration at P.C. would certainly have caved in the dome of the Capitol Building. Thus, to avoid any possibility of bad publicity and a consequent decrease in alumni contributions, the Administration was reluctantly forced to eat crow — silently.

As I look back now, however, on the happenings of last February, I have slightly changed my opinion of exactly why the students were so successful. I still think that publicity had something to do with it, but certainly not everything. Looking carefully at the entire situation, I think that the great student uprising left the Administration genuinely surprised. I'm sure that the on-campus residence rule was just

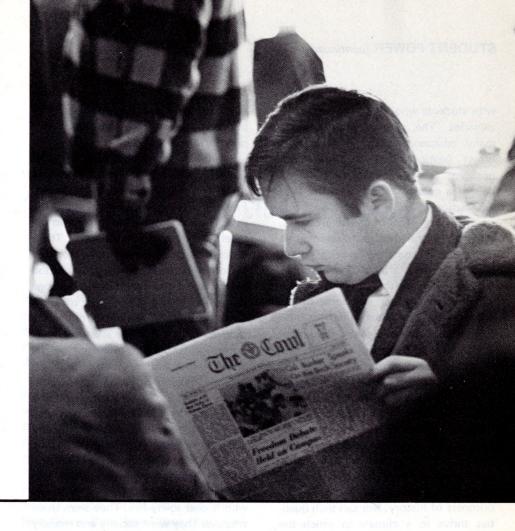
another in a long line of financiallybeneficial doctrines which the Administration thought prudent to issue. The Administration is not so naive as to think that there would not be some discomfort over the new ruling - there would probably be the usual letter of protest by the Student Congress, but, like all things in the past, it would gradually blow over. I honestly believe that an Administration convinced of the traditional political apathy of the average P.C. student met with a rude awakening. The surprise of the protest forced the Administration to sit back and consider the possibility that a real administrative mistake had been made. In any case, they were convinced enough to rescind that ruling.

Thus, we have entered a new era in the political history of Providence College, the era of Student Protest. Because of the potentially explosive nature of this new student tool, great care and consideration must accompany its use.

The Cowl plays a large role in the formulation of student attitudes.

munity. In bringing students into the community certain problems are created. While the college should not assume legal responsibility for the conduct of its students, it should cooperate with legal authority in assuring the rights of each member of the civic community as well as the rights of its students are respected. In attempting to assure these rights to all parties, the college should operate on the principle that in accepting a student it also assumes a responsibility of a nonacademic character, even as the student assumes such responsibilities in enrolling in the college. These responsibilities are the direct result of the 'community' concept of the college," a concept which I find to be the only viable one in operating an institution of higher learning.

None of us should be surprised at the present mood of discontent among students. But we can be rightfully annoyed



In the short period of six months since the issuing of the on-campus residency rule by the Administration, the notion of student protest and its use on this campus has been accepted by the majority of the student body. The experience of protest at Providence College during the past six months can certainly point to some important guidelines in developing of the policy of student protest in the future.

Principle #1: Demonstrations should be non-violent. The brief experience of last year proved that student protest does not have to be violent at P.C. Because there have been so few demonstrations at P.C. any non-violent means of student protest would be sufficient to stir up the desired interest and publicity. Violence must be avoided at all costs because it would only tend to further polarize elements of the college community, ultimately hurting the cause of the student. Similarly, I would be opposed at this time in the history of

P.C. to the absolute take-over of a building or total disruption of the academic processes. There are any number of other media of protest which could be used very successfully, and the leaders of the demonstration should pick and choose the appropriate means, depending on the type of issue which is being protested.

Principle #2: As much as possible, the Student Congress should maintain leadership in student protest. This relates back to the age-old conflict of power and legitimate authority. At P.C. the Student Congress adds legitimate authority to the demonstrable expressions of student power. Last year's experience proved that P.C. can utilize student protest with the greatest effectiveness. This principle demands that Congress be aware and sensitive to students' interests and needs. If the Congress does not exert the necessary control over student protest it is clear that other elements will rush in to fill

"student protest has been accepted by the majority of the student body" with students who play at being revolutionaries. The current mood among many educators seems to be one of breast beating. That we have been negligent goes without saying. But neither a collective *mea culpa* nor high indignation at student protests are going to solve any of our current problems. And while the fact of discontent is important, its roots are far from important. Discontent, after all, can be either healthy or unhealthy. I have detected much of the former and some of the latter on the Providence College campus.

The structure of healthy discontent is not difficult to detect. It must, first of all, be characterized by civility and mutual respect. If these be bourgeois! values, then I say: Vive le bourgeois! These qualities cannot exist if the student is convinced a priori that the faculty and administration are constricted by adherence to past values simply because they are old and venerable. We should not, after all, be prisoners of history. Nor can such qualities thrive in a climate in which the faculty and administration reject the insights of the students on the grounds

that they are novel and disrespectful of tradition, as if this were their only raison d'etre.

Healthy discontent or even rebellion can be quite noble. That the college student of 1969 is a rebel is obvious. Frankly, I think they should enjoy the role. There is a mysterious quality in the rebel that all of us find attractive. There is something quite admirable about a person who raises his voice to question his place in the world and challenge those who would deprive him of it. As Camus put it: "Freedom is not a gift received from a State or a leader, but a possession to be won every day by the effort of each and the union of all."

The unhealthy young rebels constitute only a small minority on the campus of Providence College. But they are such a noisy and colorful minority and are so well publicized that they have begun to affect the style of life and cast of thought of others. They can really get under the skin of someone who is over thirty-five. They seem to do whatever they want socially and morally and take their privileges for granted. And while they are spending their

parents' money they are condemning their parents as money grubbing materialists.

To say "they should be spanked" solves absolutely nothing. Nor should we lose our sense of humor. God knows many of them have. As one of the over thirty-five generation, I feel that I have a lot to learn from the new generation, even its more bizarre members. They have, for instance, moved the eye of morality away from sex to the much larger issues of race relations and international affairs. They are impatient and intolerant of dishonesty. They don't want to be conned; neither do the older members of society.

The young have every right to carp and criticize. But their own non-solutions to complicated problems don't help a great deal. Sometimes I wonder what their children will have to thank them for. For fouling their chromosomes with LSD? For copping out at a time when we need them? Just what are their credentials for billing themselves as the take-over generation?

Students at Providence College have taught the college's administrators at

#### THE PHILOSOPHY OF PROTEST (continued)

this leadership vacuum. This is what has happened at so many colleges and universities across the nation and explains the extraordinary success of SDS in the past two years.

Principle #3: Issues should be considered very carefully before the demonstration is utilized. As much as is possible the Congress should avoid the "non-negotiable" issue in regards to protest. There are really few issues which are absolutely non-negotiable, and a negotiable demand gives Administrators more leeway for concession and compromise. Furthermore, an issue must be chosen about which students feel very strongly. Such an issue would insure as great an amount of support as is possible - there is nothing more damaging to student interests than an organized demonstration that fizzles out. Such a demonstration could be interpreted either as a lack of student interest or a vote of no-confidence in Student Congress — both of which would be extremely damaging to student goals.

Principle #4: Demonstrations should always be extremely well organized and should not be mobilized until a good deal of student support is assured. The Congress should always carry out a process of educating the students concerning the desired goals and aims of the protest. Also, especially in certain types of protests, students should be notified of their legal rights by Congress. Congress should always, in such cases, seek professional legal advice before undertaking serious protest. Each student should be well aware of his rights and responsibilities should, for one reason or

another, violence breaks out and/or the police be called onto the campus.

Principle #5: There are really two types of demonstrations. The first (and most well known) is the protest demonstration which is used to meet administrative intransigence concerning a certain issue. There is also a type of demonstration which could be used to express student opinion, to show support for a certain issue, or simply as a vote of confidence in the Student Congress or the Administration. Both types of demonstrations are valid mediums of student power and should be used without hesitation if the situation calls for it

It has been said that this is the most crucial year in the history of Providence College. It will be a year during which numerous elements, all of great impor-

least two very important lessons: 1) some of the innovations they promote are genuine improvements; and, 2) the best way to deal with student power is to anticipate it and initiate changes before students demand them. Students should be permitted substantive voice in matters such as dormitory regulations, on the performance of professors, and on the retention or dropping of courses. At the risk of seeming terribly reactionary, I must say that a college or a university is not a democracy and cannot become one without degenerating into anarchy. At a conference about two years ago at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, the President of Washington University's student body put it very well: "Were Washington University to be turned over to students and faculty, it would fold in about six months because nobody would know how to run it."

Student power, si; student tyranny, no. Student strength has demonstrated its power; it bears the promise of glory. Student involvement in politics should be constantly encouraged; student abuse of the democratic system must always

#### "Student power, si; student tyranny, no."

be resisted. Students must be helped to realize that they have much more to gain by working actively within the existing system for change than by dropping out of it.

Administrators need to encourage, but not coerce; they need to care without being paternalistic; they need to guide without completely controlling; and, most of all, of course, they need to love.

We hope that the young, at least some of the present fascinating generation, remember not the angry and senseless things they have done, but the generous hopes that inspired them to act for a better life.

tance to the college, converge: 50th Anniversary Celebration, Department Chairmen elections, Curriculum Study Committee report, the first graduating class of the new decade, the building program. We are all hoping that this will be the year that P.C. arises from its now mediocre resting place. To insure that the voice of the students will not be lost amidst the singing of the cherubim and the seraphim, that voice of progressive reform will be raised more loudly and more effectively than ever before. The students of P.C. are absolutely determined to play a leading role in the shaping of the destiny of their own college.

"this is the most crucial year in the history of Providence College"

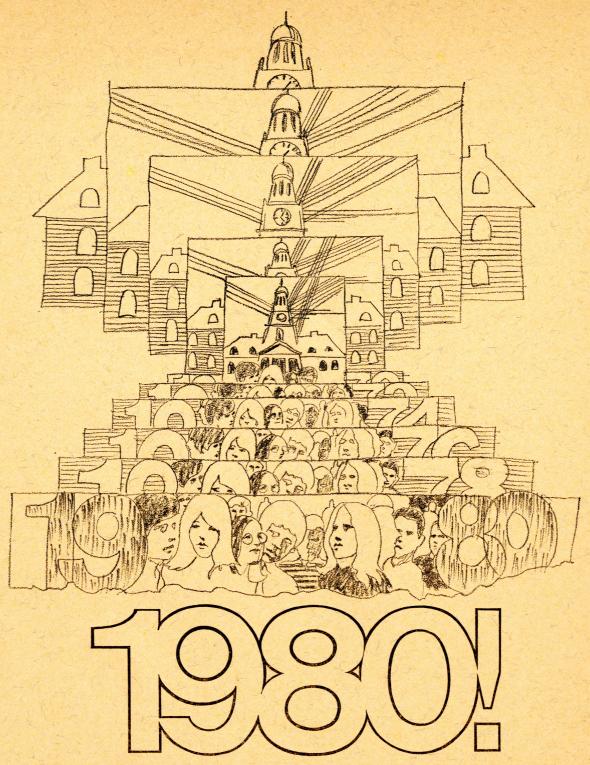
### The National Scene

### Introducing the "Newspage": designed to help readers keep up in an eventful decade

- Quiet Spring? In marked contrast to the wave of student unrest they experienced last spring, the nation's colleges and universities were fairly quiet last semester. Observers wonder: Will the calm continue in 1970 and beyond? There are signs that it may not. Ideological disputes have splintered the radical Students for a Democratic Society, but other groups of radicals are forming. Much of the anti-war movement has drifted off the campuses, but student activists are turning to new issues—such as problems of the environment and blue-collar workers. A nationwide survey of this year's freshmen, by the way, shows them to be more inclined than their predecessors to engage in protests.
- Enter, Environment: Air and water pollution, the "population explosion," ecology—those are some of the things students talk about these days. The environment has become the focus of widespread student concern. "Politicization can come out of it," says a former staff member of the National Student Association who helped plan a student-faculty conference on the subject. "People may be getting a little tired of race and war as issues." Throughout the country, students have begun campaigns, protests, even lawsuits, to combat environmental decay. Milepost ahead: April 22, the date of a "teach-in" on the environment that is scheduled to be held on many campuses.
- Catching Up: Publicly supported Negro colleges, said to enroll about a third of all Negroes in college today, are pressing for "catch-up" funds from private sources—corporations, foundations, alumni. Their presidents are telling prospective donors: "If you don't invest in these colleges and make it possible for Negroes to get an education, you will be supporting them on the welfare rolls with your taxes." Coordinating the fundraising effort is the Office for the Advancement of Public Negro Colleges, Atlanta, Ga.
- Nonresident Tuition: An Ohio woman married a resident of California and moved with him to that state. When she enrolled in the state university there, it charged her \$324 more per quarter than it charged California residents. Unfair? The woman said it was, and asked the courts to declare the higher fee unconstitutional. State courts dismissed her challenge and now their judgment

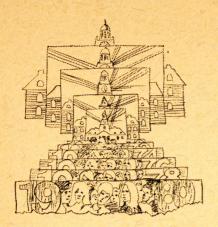
- has been left standing by the U.S. Supreme Court. The decision suggests that an earlier ruling of that court, which overturned state residence requirements for relief applicants, does not apply to higher education. Nearly 800,000 students are thought to be enrolled in colleges outside their home states.
- Money Trouble: Many members of Congress favor more federal funds for higher education, but President Nixon balks at the notion. He vetoed the 1970 appropriations bill for labor, health, and education on grounds its was inflationary, and the lawmakers failed to override him. Further austerity is signaled by the President's budget for 1971. He wants to phase out several programs of aid to colleges and universities, hold back on new spending for academic research, rely more on private funds. In the states, meanwhile, the pace of public support for major state colleges and universities may be slowing, according to reports from 19 capitals. Overall, state appropriations for higher education continue to grow, with much of the new money going to junior colleges.
- Foundation Tax: Exempted for decades from federal taxation, the nation's private foundations must now pay the government 4 per cent of their net investment income each year. Congress requires the payment in its Tax Reform Act of 1969, which also restricts a number of foundation activities. One initial effect could be a proportionate cut in foundation grants to colleges and universities. Foundation leaders also warn that private institutions generally—including those in higher education—are threatened by federal hostility. The new act, says one foundation executive, reflects an attitude of "vast indifference" in Washington toward the private sector.
- Double Jeopardy: Should a college's accreditation be called into question if it experiences student disruption over an extended period of time? In some cases, yes, says the agency that accredits higher education institutions in the mid-Atlantic states. Although it won't summarily revoke a college's accreditation because of disruption by "forces beyond its control," the agency does plan to review cases in which an institution suffers "prolonged inability to conduct its academic programs."

PREPARED FOR OUR READERS BY THE EDITORS OF THE CHRONICLE OF HIGHER EDUCATION



In the decade between now and then, our colleges and universities must face some large and perplexing issues

NINETEEN EIGHTY! A few months ago the date had a comforting remoteness about it. It was detached from today's reality; too distant to worry about. But now, with the advent of a new decade, 1980 suddenly has become the next milepost to strive for. Suddenly, for the nation's colleges and universities and those who care about them, 1980 is not so far away after all.



### Campus disruptions: a burning issue for the Seventies

Last year's record	Had disrup- tive protests	Had violent protests
Public universities	43.0%	13.1%
Private universities	70.5%	34.4%
Public 4-yr colleges	21.7%	8.0%
Private nonsectarian 4-yr colleges.	42.6%	7.3%
Protestant 4-yr colleges	17.8%	1.7%
Catholic 4-yr colleges	8.5%	2.6%
Private 2-yr colleges	0.0%	0.0%
Public 2-yr colleges	10.4%	4.5%
Public 2-yr colleges	10.4%	4.5%

BETWEEN NOW AND THEN, our colleges and universities will have more changes to make, more major issues to confront, more problems to solve, more demands to meet, than in any comparable period in their history. In 1980 they also will have:

- ► More students to serve—an estimated 11.5-million, compared to some 7.5-million today.
- ► More professional staff members to employ—a projected 1.1-million, compared to 785,000 today.
- ▶ Bigger budgets to meet—an estimated \$39-billion in uninflated, 1968-69 dollars, nearly double the number of today.
- ► Larger salaries to pay—\$16,532 in 1968-69 dollars for the average full-time faculty member, compared to \$11,595 last year.
- ► More library books to buy—half a billion dollars' worth, compared to \$200-million last year.
- New programs that are not yet even in existence—with an annual cost of \$4.7-billion.

Those are careful, well-founded projections, prepared by one of the leading economists of higher education, Howard R. Bowen. Yet they are only one indication of what is becoming more and more evident in every respect, as our colleges and universities look to 1980:

No decade in the history of higher education—not even the eventful one just ended, with its meteoric record of growth—has come close to what the Seventies are shaping up to be.

BEFORE THEY CAN GET THERE, the colleges and universities will be put to a severe test of their resiliency, resourcefulness, and strength.

No newspaper reader or television viewer needs to be told why. Many colleges and universities enter the Seventies with a burdensome inheritance: a legacy of dissatisfaction, unrest, and disorder on their campuses that has no historical parallel. It will be one of the great issues of the new decade.

Last academic year alone, the American Council on Education found that 524 of the country's 2,342 institutions of higher education experienced disruptive campus protests. The consequences ranged from the occupation of buildings at 275 institutions to the death of one or more persons at eight institutions. In the first eight months of 1969, an insurance-industry clearinghouse reported, campus disruptions caused \$8.9-million in property damage.

Some types of colleges and universities were harder-hit than others—but no type except private two-year colleges escaped completely. (See the table at left for the American Council on Education's breakdown of disruptive and violent protests, according to the kinds of institution that underwent them.)

Harold Hodgkinson, of the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education at the University of California, studied more than 1,200 campuses and found another significant fact: the bigger an institution's enrollment, the greater the likelihood that disruptions took place. For instance:

▶ Of 501 institutions with fewer than 1,000 students, only 14 per cent reported that the level of protest had increased on their campuses over the past 10 years.

- ➤ Of 32 institutions enrolling between 15,000 and 25,000 students, 75 per cent reported an increase in protests.
- ▶ Of 9 institutions with more than 25,000 students, all but one reported that protests had increased.

This relationship between enrollments and protests, Mr. Hodgkinson discovered, held true in both the public and the private colleges and universities:

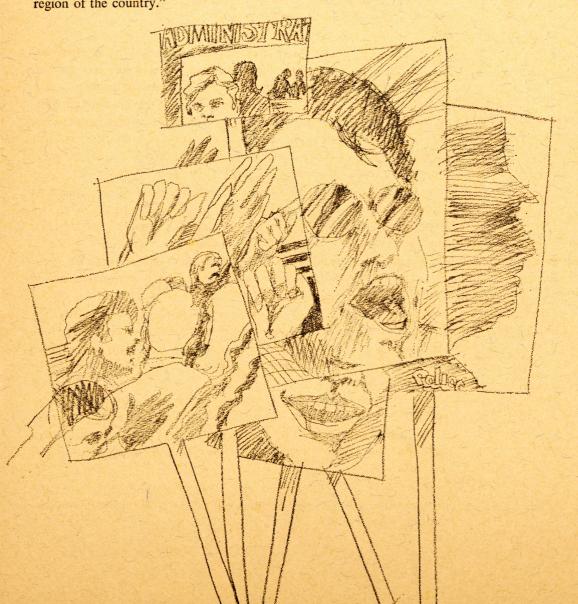
"The public institutions which report an increase in protest have a mean size of almost triple the public institutions that report no change in protest," he found. "The nonsectarian institutions that report increased protest are more than twice the size of the nonsectarian institutions that report no change in protest."

Another key finding: among the faculties at protest-prone institutions, these characteristics were common: "interest in research, lack of interest in teaching, lack of loyalty to the institution, and support of dissident students."

Nor—contrary to popular opinion—were protests confined to one or two parts of the country (imagined by many to be the East and West Coasts). Mr. Hodgkinson found no region in which fewer than 19 per cent of all college and university campuses had been hit by protests.

"It is very clear from our data," he reported, "that, although some areas have had more student protest than others, there is no 'safe' region of the country."

No campus in any region is really 'safe' from protest



Some ominous reports from the high schools

WHAT WILL BE THE PICTURE by the end of the decade? Will campus disruptions continue—and perhaps spread—throughout the Seventies? No questions facing the colleges and universities today are more critical, or more difficult to answer with certainty.

On the dark side are reports from hundreds of high schools to the effect that "the colleges have seen nothing, yet." The National Association of Secondary School Principals, in a random survey, found that 59 per cent of 1,026 senior and junior high schools had experienced some form of student protest last year. A U.S. Office of Education official termed the high school disorders "usually more precipitous,



spontaneous, and riotlike" than those in the colleges. What such rumblings may presage for the colleges and universities to which many of the high school students are bound, one can only speculate.

Even so, on many campuses, there is a guarded optimism. "I know I may have to eat these words tomorrow," said a university official who had served with the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, "but I think we may have turned the corner." Others echo his sentiments.

"If anything," said a dean who almost superstitiously asked that he not be identified by name, "the campuses may be meeting their difficulties with greater success than is society generally—despite the scare headlines.

"The student dissatisfactions are being dealt with, constructively, on many fronts. The unrest appears to be producing less violence and more *reasoned* searches for remedies—although I still cross my fingers when saying so."

Some observers see another reason for believing that the more destructive forms of student protest may be on the wane. Large numbers of students, including many campus activists, appear to have been alienated this year by the violent tactics of extreme radicals. And deep divisions have occurred in Students for a Democratic Society, the radical organization that was involved in many earlier campus disruptions.

In 1968, the radicals gained many supporters among moderate students as a result of police methods in breaking up some of their demonstrations. This year, the opposite has occurred. Last fall, for example, the extremely radical "Weatherman" faction of Students for a Democratic Society deliberately set out to provoke a violent police reaction in Chicago by smashing windows and attacking bystanders. To the Weathermen's disappointment, the police were so restrained that they won the praise of many of their former critics—and not only large numbers of moderate students, but even a number of campus sps chapters, said they had been "turned off" by the extremists' violence.

The president of the University of Michigan, Robben Fleming, is among those who see a lessening of student enthusiasm for the extreme-radical approach. "I believe the violence and force will soon pass, because it has so little support within the student body," he told an interviewer. "There is very little student support for violence of any kind, even when it's directed at the university."

At Harvard University, scene of angry student protests a year ago, a visitor found a similar outlook. "Students seem to be moving away from a diffuse discontent and toward a rediscovery of the values of workmanship," said the master of Eliot House, Alan E. Heimert. "It's as if they were saying, 'The revolution isn't right around the corner, so I'd better find my vocation and develop myself.'"

Bruce Chalmers, master of Winthrop House, saw "a kind of antitoxin in students' blood" resulting from the 1969 disorders: "The disruptiveness, emotional intensity, and loss of time and opportunity last year," he said, "have convinced people that, whatever happens, we must avoid replaying that scenario."

A student found even more measurable evidence of the new mood: "At Lamont Library last week I had to wait 45 minutes to get a reserve book. Last spring, during final exams, there was no wait at all."



Despite the scare headlines, a mood of cautious optimism

Many colleges have learned a lot from the disruptions



The need now: to work on reform, calmly, reasonably PARTIALLY UNDERLYING THE CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM is a feeling that many colleges and universities—which, having been peaceful places for decades, were unprepared and vulnerable when the first disruptions struck—have learned a lot in a short time.

When they returned to many campuses last fall, students were greeted with what *The Chronicle of Higher Education* called "a combination of stern warnings against disruptions and conciliatory moves aimed at giving students a greater role in campus governance."

Codes of discipline had been revised, and special efforts had been made to acquaint students with them. Security forces had been strengthened. Many institutions made it clear that they were willing to seek court injunctions and would call the police if necessary to keep the peace.

Equally important, growing numbers of institutions were recognizing that, behind the stridencies of protest, many student grievances were indeed legitimate. The institutions demonstrated (not merely talked about) a new readiness to introduce reforms. While, in the early days of campus disruptions, some colleges and universities made *ad hoc* concessions to demonstrators under the threat and reality of violence, more and more now began to take the initiative of reform, themselves.

The chancellor of the State University of New York, Samuel B. Gould, described the challenge:

"America's institutions of higher learning . . . must do more than make piecemeal concessions to change. They must do more than merely defend themselves.

"They must take the initiative, take it in such a way that there is never a doubt as to what they intend to achieve and how all the components of the institutions will be involved in achieving it. They must call together their keenest minds and their most humane souls to sit and probe and question and plan and discard and replan—until a new concept of the university emerges, one which will fit today's needs but will have its major thrust toward tomorrow's."

IF THEY ARE TO ARRIVE AT THAT DATE in improved condition, however, more and more colleges and universities—and their constituencies—seem to be saying they must work out their reforms in an atmosphere of calm and reason.

Cornell University's vice-president for public affairs, Steven Muller ("My temperament has always been more activist than scholarly"), put it thus before the American Political Science Association:

"The introduction of force into the university violates the very essence of academic freedom, which in its broadest sense is the freedom to inquire, and openly to proclaim and test conclusions resulting from inquiry. . . .

"It should be possible within the university to gain attention and to make almost any point and to persuade others by the use of reason. Even if this is not always true, it is possible to accomplish these ends by nonviolent and by noncoercive means.

"Those who choose to employ violence or coercion within the university cannot long remain there without destroying the whole fabric

of the academic environment. Most of those who today believe otherwise are, in fact, pitiable victims of the very degradation of values they are attempting to combat."

Chancellor Gould has observed:

"Among all social institutions today, the university allows more dissent, takes freedom of mind and spirit more seriously, and, under considerable sufferance, labors to create a more ideal environment for free expression and for the free interchange of ideas and emotions than any other institution in the land, . . .

"But when dissent evolves into disruption, the university, also by its very nature, finds itself unable to cope . . . without clouding the real issues beyond hope of rational resolution. . . ."

The president of the University of Minnesota, Malcolm Moos, said not long ago:

"The ills of our campuses and our society are too numerous, too serious, and too fateful to cause anyone to believe that serenity is the proper mark of an effective university or an effective intellectual community. Even in calmer times any public college or university worthy of the name has housed relatively vocal individuals and groups of widely diverging political persuasions. . . . The society which tries to get its children taught by fettered and fearful minds is trying not only to destroy its institutions of higher learning, but also to destroy itself. . . .

"[But] . . . violation of the rights or property of other citizens, on or off the campus, is plainly wrong. And it is plainly wrong no matter how high-minded the alleged motivation for such activity. Beyond that, those who claim the right to interfere with the speech, or movement, or safety, or instruction, or property of others on a campus—and claim that right because their hearts are pure or their grievance great—destroy the climate of civility and freedom without which the university simply cannot function as an educating institution."

Can dissent exist in a climate of freedom and civility?



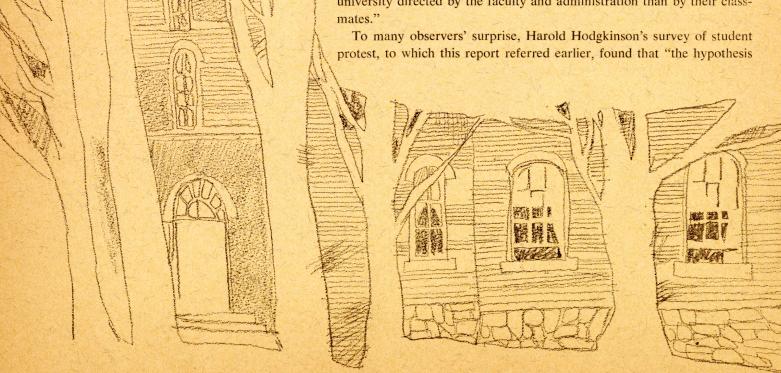
What part should students have in running a college? THAT "CLIMATE OF CIVILITY AND FREEDOM" appears to be necessary before the colleges and universities can come to grips, successfully, with many of the other major issues that will confront them in the decade.

Those issues are large and complex. They touch all parts of the college and university community—faculty, students, administrators, board members, and alumni—and they frequently involve large segments of the public, as well. Many are controversial; some are potentially explosive. Here is a sampling:

▶ What is the students' rightful role in the running of a college or university? Should they be represented on the institution's governing board? On faculty and administrative committees? Should their evaluations of a teacher's performance in the classroom play a part in the advancement of his career?

Trend: Although it is just getting under way, there's a definite movement toward giving students a greater voice in the affairs of many colleges and universities. At Wesleyan University, for example, the trustees henceforth will fill the office of chancellor by choosing from the nominees of a student-faculty committee. At a number of institutions, young alumni are being added to the governing boards, to introduce viewpoints that are closer to the students'. Others are adding students to committees or campus-wide governing groups. Teacher evaluations are becoming commonplace.

Not everyone approves the trend. "I am convinced that representation is not the clue to university improvement, indeed that if carried too far it could lead to disaster," said the president of Yale University, Kingman Brewster, Jr. He said he believed most students were "not sufficiently interested in devoting their time and attention to the running of the university to make it likely that 'participatory democracy' will be truly democratic," and that they would "rather have the policies of the university directed by the faculty and administration than by their classmates."



that increased student control in institutional policy-making would result in a decrease in student protest is not supported by our data at all. The reverse would seem to be more likely." Some 80 per cent of the 355 institutions where protests had increased over the past 10 years reported that the students' policy-making role had increased, too.

▶ How can the advantages of higher education be extended to greater numbers of minority-group youths? What if the quality of their pre-college preparation makes it difficult, if not impossible, for many of them to meet the usual entrance requirements? Should colleges modify those requirements and offer remedial courses? Or should they maintain their standards, even if they bar the door to large numbers of disadvantaged persons?

**Trend:** A statement adopted this academic year by the National Association of College Admissions Counselors may contain some clues. At least 10 per cent of a college's student body, it said, should be composed of minority students. At least half of those should be "high-risk" students who, by normal academic criteria, would not be expected to succeed in college. "Each college should eliminate the use of aptitude test scores as a major factor in determining eligibility for admission for minority students," the admissions counselors' statement said.

A great increase in the part played by community and junior colleges is also likely. The Joint Economic Committee of Congress was recently given this projection by Ralph W. Tyler, director emeritus of the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, Cal.: "[Two-year colleges] now enroll more than 20 per cent of all students in post-high school institutions, and at the rate these colleges are increasing in number as well as in enrollment, it is safe to predict that 10 years from now 3-million students will be enrolled . . . representing one-third of the total post-high school enrollment and approximately one-half of all first- and second-year students.

"Their importance is due to several factors. They are generally open-door colleges, enrolling nearly all high school graduates or adults who apply. Because the students represent a very wide range of background and previous educational experience, the faculty generally recognizes the need for students to be helped to learn."

What about the enrollment of youths from minority groups?



Negro institutions: what's their future in higher education?



#### ► What is the future of the predominantly Negro institutions of higher education?

Trend: Shortly after the current academic year began, the presidents of 111 predominantly Negro colleges—"a strategic national resource . . . more important to the national security than those producing the technology for nuclear warfare," said Herman H. Long, president of Talladega College—formed a new organization to advance their institutions' cause. The move was born of a feeling that the colleges were orphans in U.S. higher education, carrying a heavy responsibility for educating Negro students yet receiving less than their fair share of federal funds, state appropriations, and private gifts; losing some of their best faculty members to traditionally white institutions in the rush to establish "black studies" programs; and suffering stiff competition from the white colleges in the recruitment of top Negro high school graduates.

▶ How can colleges and universities, other than those with predominantly black enrollments, best meet the needs and demands of non-white students? Should they establish special courses, such as black studies? Hire more nonwhite counselors, faculty members, administrators? Accede to some Negroes' demands for separate dormitory facilities, student unions, and dining-hall menus?

Trend: "The black studies question, like the black revolt as a whole, has raised all the fundamental problems of class power in American life, and the solutions will have to run deep into the structure of the institutions themselves," says a noted scholar in Negro history, Eugene D. Genovese, chairman of the history department at the University of Rochester.

Three schools of thought on black studies now can be discerned in American higher education. One, which includes many older-generation Negro educators, holds black studies courses in contempt. Another, at the opposite extreme, believes that colleges and universities must go to great lengths to atone for past injustices to Negroes. The third, between the first two groups, feels that "some forms of black studies are legitimate intellectual pursuits," in the words of one close observer, "but that generally any such program must fit the university's traditional patterns." The last group, most scholars now believe, is likely to prevail in the coming decade.

As for separatist movements on the campuses, most have run into provisions of the federal Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bars discrimination in housing and eating facilities.

▶ What should be the role of the faculty in governing an institution of higher education? When no crisis is present, do most faculty members really want an active part in governance? Or, except for supervising the academic program, do they prefer to concentrate on their own teaching and research?

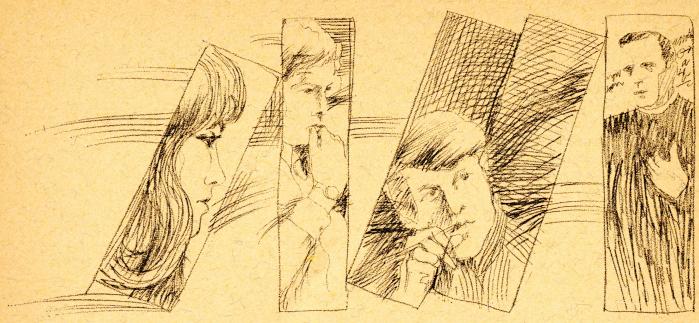
Trend: In recent years, observers have noted that many faculty members were more interested in their disciplines—history or physics or medicine—than in the institutions they happened to be working for at the time. This seemed not unnatural, since more and more faculty members were moving from campus to campus and thus had less opportunity than their predecessors to develop a strong loyalty to one institution.

But it often meant that the general, day-to-day running of a college or university was left to administrative staff members, with faculty members devoting themselves to their scholarly subject-matter.

Campus disorders appear to have arrested this trend at some colleges and universities, at least temporarily. Many faculty members—alarmed at the disruptions of classes or feeling closer to the students' cause than to administrators and law officers—rekindled their interest in the institutions' affairs. At other institutions, however, as administrators and trustees responded to student demands by pressing for academic reforms, at least some faculty members have resisted changing their ways. Said the president of the University of Massachusetts, John W. Lederle, not long ago: "Students are beginning to discover that it is not the administration that is the enemy, but sometimes it is the faculty that drags its feet." Robert Taylor, vice-president of the University of Wisconsin, was more optimistic: student pressures for academic reforms, he said, might "bring the professors back not only to teaching but to commitment to the institution."

The faculty: what is its role in campus governance?





Can the quality of teaching be improved?

▶ How can the quality of college teaching be improved? In a system in which the top academic degree, the Ph.D., is based largely on a man's or woman's research, must teaching abilities be neglected? In universities that place a strong emphasis on research, how can students be assured of a fair share of the faculty members' interest and attention in the classroom?

Trend: The coming decade is likely to see an intensified search for an answer to the teaching-"versus"-research dilemma. "Typical Ph.D. training is simply not appropriate to the task of undergraduate teaching and, in particular, to lower-division teaching in most colleges in this country," said E. Alden Dunham of the Carnegie Corporation, in a recent book. He recommended a new "teaching degree," putting "a direct focus upon undergraduate education."

Similar proposals are being heard in many quarters. "The spectacular growth of two- and four-year colleges has created the need for teachers who combine professional competence with teaching interests, but who neither desire nor are required to pursue research as a condition of their employment," said Herbert Weisinger, graduate dean at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He proposed a two-track program for Ph.D. candidates: the traditional one for those aiming to teach at the graduate level, and a new track for students who want to teach undergraduates. The latter would teach for two years in community or four-year colleges in place of writing a research dissertation.

► What changes should be made in college and university curricula? To place more emphasis on true learning and less on the attainment of grades, should "Pass" and "Fail" replace the customary grades of A, B, C, D, and F?

Trend: Here, in the academic heart of the colleges and universities, some of the most exciting developments of the coming decade appear certain to take place. "From every quarter," said Michael Brick and Earl J. McGrath in a recent study for the Institute of Higher Education at Teachers College of Columbia University, "evidence is suggesting

that the 1970's will see vastly different colleges and universities from those of the 1960's." Interdisciplinary studies, honors programs, independent study, undergraduate work abroad, community service projects, work-study programs, and non-Western studies were some of the innovations being planned or under way at hundreds of institutions.

Grading practices are being re-examined on many campuses. So are new approaches to instruction, such as television, teaching machines, language laboratories, comprehensive examinations. New styles in classrooms and libraries are being tried out; students are evaluating faculty members' teaching performance and participating on faculty committees at more than 600 colleges, and plans for such activity are being made at several-score others.

By 1980, the changes should be vast, indeed.

BETWEEN NOW AND THE BEGINNING of the next decade, one great issue may underlie all the others — and all the others may become a part of it. When flatly stated, this issue sounds innocuous; yet its implications are so great that they can divide faculties, stir students, and raise profound philosophical and practical questions among presidents, trustees, alumni, and legislators:

#### ▶ What shall be the nature of a college or university in our society?

Until recently, almost by definition, a college or university was accepted as a neutral in the world's political and ideological arenas; as dispassionate in a world of passions; as having what one observer called "the unique capacity to walk the razor's edge of being both in and out of the world, and yet simultaneously in a unique relationship with it."

The college or university was expected to revere knowledge, wherever knowledge led. Even though its research and study might provide the means to develop more destructive weapons of war (as well as life-saving medicines, life-sustaining farming techniques, and life-enhancing intellectual insights), it pursued learning for learning's sake and rarely questioned, or was questioned about, the validity of that process.

The college or university was dedicated to the proposition that there were more than one side to every controversy, and that it would explore them all. The proponents of all sides had a hearing in the academic world's scheme of things, yet the college or university, sheltering and protecting them all, itself would take no stand.

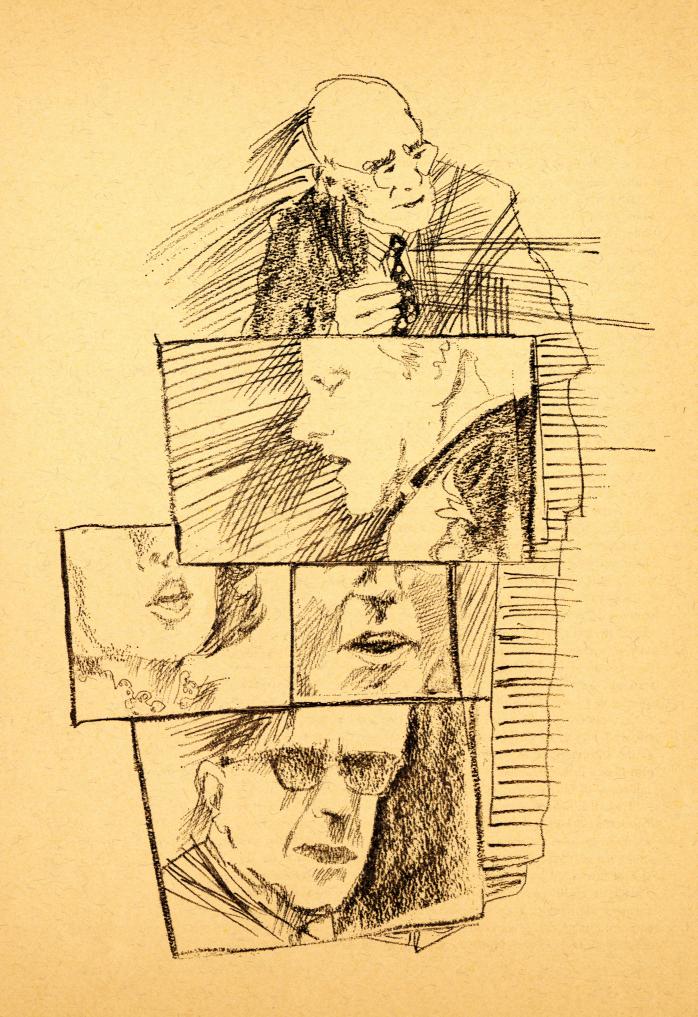
Today the concept that an institution of higher education should be neutral in political and social controversies—regardless of its scholars' personal beliefs—is being challenged both on and off the campuses.

Those who say the colleges and universities should be "politicized" argue that neutrality is undesirable, immoral—and impossible. They say the academic community must be responsible, as Carl E. Schorske, professor of history at the University of California at Berkeley, wrote in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, for the "implications of its findings for society and mankind." "The scholar's zeal for truth without consequences," said Professor Schorske, has no place on the campus today.

Julian Bond, a Negro member of the Georgia state senate, argued

One great question will tower above all others





the point thus, before the annual meeting of the American Council on Education:

"Man still makes war. He still insists that one group subordinate its wishes and desires to that of another. He still insists on gathering material wealth at the expense of his fellows and his environment. Men and nations have grown arrogant, and the struggle of the Twentieth Century has continued.

"And while the struggle has continued, the university has remained aloof, a center for the study of why man behaves as he does, but never a center for the study of how to make man behave in a civilized manner....

"Until the university develops a politics or—in better terms, perhaps, for this gathering—a curriculum and a discipline that stifles war and poverty and racism, until then, the university will be in doubt."

Needless to say, many persons disagree that the college or university should be politicized. The University of Minnesota's President Malcolm Moos stated their case not long ago:

"More difficult than the activism of violence is the activism that seeks to convert universities, as institutions, into political partisans thumping for this or that ideological position. Yet the threat of this form of activism is equally great, in that it carries with it a threat to the unique relationship between the university and external social and political institutions.

"Specifically, universities are uniquely the place where society builds its capacity to gather, organize, and transmit knowledge; to analyze and clarify controverted issues; and to define alternative responses to issues. Ideology is properly an object of study or scholarship. But when it becomes the starting-point of intellect, it threatens the function uniquely cherished by institutions of learning.

- "... It is still possible for members of the university community—its faculty, its students, and its administrators—to participate fully and freely as individuals or in social groups with particular political or ideological purposes. The entire concept of academic freedom, as developed on our campuses, presupposes a role for the teacher as teacher, and the scholar as scholar, and the university as a place of teaching and learning which can flourish free from external political or ideological constraints.
- "... Every scholar who is also an active and perhaps passionate citizen ... knows the pitfalls of ideology, fervor, and *a priori* truths as the starting-point of inquiry. He knows the need to beware of his own biases in his relations with students, and his need to protect their autonomy of choice as rigorously as he would protect his own....

"Like the individual scholar, the university itself is no longer the dispassionate seeker after truth once it adopts controverted causes which go beyond the duties of scholarship, teaching, and learning. But unlike the individual scholar, the university has no colleague to light the fires of debate on controverted public issues. And unlike the individual scholar, it cannot assert simply a personal choice or judgment when it enters the field of political partisanship, but must seem to assert a corporate judgment which obligates, or impinges upon, or towers over what might be contrary choices by individuals within its community.

Should colleges and universities take ideological stands?

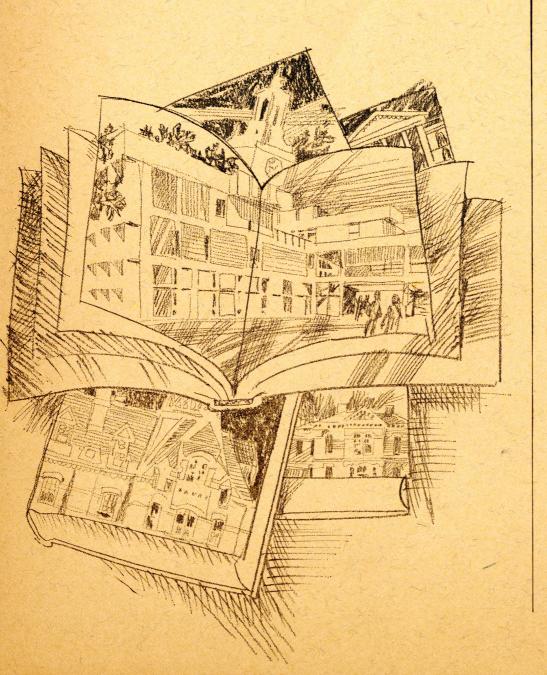


"To this extent, it loses its unique identity among our social institutions. And to this extent it diminishes its capacity to protect the climate of freedom which nourishes the efficiency of freedom."

WHAT WILL THE COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY be like, if it survives this tumultuous decade? If it comes to grips with the formidable array of issues that confront it? If it makes the painful decisions that meeting those issues will require?

Along the way, how many of its alumni and alumnae will give it the understanding and support it must have if it is to survive? Even if they do not always agree in detail with its decisions, will they grant it the strength of their belief in its mission and its conscience?

Illustrations by Jerry Dadds



The report on this and the preceding 15 pages is the product of a cooperative endeavor in which scores of schools, colleges, and universities are taking part. It was prepared under the direction of the persons listed below, who form EDITORIAL PROJECTS FOR EDUCATION, a non-profit organization informally associated with the American Alumni Council. The editors, it should be noted, speak for themselves and not for their institutions; and not all the editors necessarily agree with all the points in this report. All rights reserved; no part may be reproduced without express permission.

Printed in U.S.A.

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Carnegie-Mellon University

DAVID A. BURR
The University of Oklahoma

MARALYN O. GILLESPIE
Swarthmore College

CORBIN GWALTNEY
Editorial Projects for Education

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American Alumni Council

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January 23, 24, 25, 1970

## HOMECOMING WEEKEND

Keeping Up With The Styles - 1970



### ARTS

### and

### LETTERS

#### by Albert J. Hoban '32

Reprinted from LIBERAL EDUCATION, Vol. LV, No. 3. October, 1969.

The riot was still going strong when President Elliot P. Waddington left the shambles of his office in the administration building of the university. He walked ten blocks to the home of his uncle Charles, who had preceded him in office. The old gentleman was not at home. Elliot entered anyway and spent the next thirty minutes methodically wrecking everything within reach. So thorough was his performance that one would have thought the house had been invaded by the same students who had seized Elliot's own office a few hours before.

Those of us who had known Elliot as a friend and colleague were shocked and puzzled. When he was besieged by newspaper and TV reporters he refused to explain his conduct or to comment on it. His uncle was likewise noncommittal. A few days later Elliot, following the vogue for presidents who were caught up in campus violence that spring, submitted his resignation: the trustees accepted it knowing little more than the reporters. Eventually he joined his peers in that special anonymity reserved for deposed presidents. I heard nothing more of Elliot until a week ago when I received the letters which follow, accompanied by a brief note leaving the matter of their publication to my discretion.

Screwtape advice for the delectation of academic administrators.

Mr. Hoban, an alumnus, is vice chairman of the R.I. Board of Trustees of State Colleges, and regional director of the NLRB in Boston.

I now exercise that authority, not only because the letters reveal for the first time the provocation under which Elliot acted, but also because they throw light upon the processes of institutional governance in an era that may be passing.

October 15, 1968

#### My dear Elliot:

The agenda for the Board of Trustees meeting is the president's battle plan. It must be your personal creature. If you control it effectively you can use it to inspire visions, to fly trial balloons, to assuage the faculty, to circumvent the alumni and to bury your enemies.

When you decide what topics you will present to the Board you must place them where they will best serve your purposes. Trustees usually arrive at meetings harboring a vague suspicion that they failed to exercise their veto power sufficiently at the last session and the first thing they want to do is pull the trigger to make sure the gun is still working. Then too, individual trustees may feel that they did not have enough to say the last time, either because they were too pressed or too tired. Now they are alert and fresh with plenty of time to ask questions.

Therefore no experienced president ever begins the day with an item in which he is particularly interested. He leads off with something he would prefer to have rejected, usually an item supported by the faculty senate. Or he may offer a small but controversial expenditure against which the trustees can assert their prerogatives. It is only after this prologue that they can be relied upon to conduct the serious business of the day.

Always be sure that you schedule more business than the meeting can possibly dispose of. A leisurely meeting invariably gets a president into trouble. Since trustees tend to watch the pennies and let you take care of the dollars, it is good practice to precede large expenditures with small items that take up a lot of time and cause the meeting to get behind. An alternative is foreshadowing, the suggestion that there is something of great concern and interest several pages ahead. This assures speedy and favorable consideration of everything in between.

Most trustees are equipped with a still small voice that tells them toward mid-afternoon that they have made an adequate contribution to higher education for one day. By four o'clock they can be relied upon to assist you in disposing of the remainder of the agenda with dispatch.

A word of caution. Fatigue can take its toll of presidents as well as trustees and you should conserve your energy by means of casual hand-offs to administrators and members of the faculty whom you should carefully select and bring to the meeting for this purpose. The use of associates is most important. As specialists they are invaluable aides in matters of doubtful merit and their powers of obfuscation are unlimited. Faculty members can confound the trustees with the same eloquent groans and sighs they use so effectively in class. Administrators can be used to postpone answering direct questions by suggesting further studies; the business officers can discuss irrelevant business matters with the businessmen and the Dean of the Law School can divert the attention of the lawyer trustees.

I know I need not caution you about the dangerous side effects of assistants who are more helpful than need be, or who volunteer constructive suggestions directly to the trustees.

There will be days when, in spite of all your plans, the trustees will be shortsighted enough to reject one of your proposals. Do not despair. A vote of the trustees is never final and binding; it signifies delay but not defeat. When you return to your office simply place the rejected project in your open file with the other matters which are to be resurrected in suitable disguise at later meetings. If you are to be a worthy president you must cultivate the art of serving old wine in new bottles.

Sincerely,

Charles

My dear nephew:

I was happy to receive your suggestion that I could be of assistance to you in your relations with the Board of Trustees of the university. During my own tenure, I saw many trustees come and go and learned enough about their general character to assemble certain guiding rules — I hesitate to call them principles — which should be of value to you.

For reasons which will become clear presently such rules are omitted from the many handbooks being published these days for the edification of new presidents and although most of the techniques I describe are in daily use throughout the nation, they have had to remain a matter of oral tradition among presidents so that I must ask you to destroy them once they have been read.

The foundation on which any successful presidency rests is a recognition that the welfare of a university and its chief executive are one. In political life an elected representative knows that he can serve the public welfare only while he is in office so that his most altruistic aspirations are captives of this simple truth. Thus, it is not from motives of base ambition, as so many people think, that he measures his conduct by its effect upon the next election but because he knows that his own victory is indispensable to public progress.

In like manner the prosperity of a university is inextricably tied to the tenure of its president. It is he who must improve its quality and direct its growth along the path of national distinction and to do so he must remain in office. In theory your trustees are wise and thoughtful men moved to accept your proposals by no other force than logical persuasion but in reality they are swayed by the same emotional forces as men of lesser stature and the president who has reason as his only ally will soon suffer the pangs of rejection and resignation. Since a university can suffer no greater trauma than the precipitous loss of its president it is only proper that you should employ those practical devices which executives have used from time immemorial to promote the welfare of their institutions.

As time goes on the relationship between you and the university will grow ever closer until the personal and the institutional fuse in one person and you may take such action as you see fit, secure in the knowledge that whatever is good for you is good for the university.

Sincerely,

November 6, 1968

My dear Elliot:

General opinion has it that trustees are public spirited citizens who serve worthy causes without compensation of any kind. I am certain that every newly appointed trustee burns with a bright resolve of unselfish service. However, as the reading piles up, as meeting dates become more numerous and inconvenient, and as his friends with children in the senior year in high school bedevil him, the average trustee begins to ask, "Why didn't somebody tell me?" To which there is no answer except to say that it has been a permanent part of the system of higher education for a certain number of otherwise astute people to be gulled into serving on governing boards.

Nevertheless, there are limited ways in which you can ameliorate his condition, at the same time earning his good will and cooperation for your meritorious projects. A joke that never seems to wear out is one that points up how much the trustees do not receive for the work they do for the university. I am told that the victims of confidence men delight in repeating the details of their victimization. For some unaccountable reason trustees never get tired of being reminded of how they have been taken.

One occasion on which such a reminder can be introduced is when you are distributing to the trustees their football tickets, special parking permits, cuff links and other insignia of office. Naturally, as you move up to Boston rockers and electric golf carts such banter becomes counter-productive.

It takes several months for most trustees to learn that they will not have the impact upon the life of the university that they had anticipated. However when they finally become reconciled to the institutional shackles that restrict us all their minds turn to the only public rewards associated with their office — honorary degrees and monuments.

In his dealings with trustees a president has no assets which are more valuable or more unstable than honorary degrees and the names of new buildings. The former confers ultimate academic status on a trustee during his lifetime and the latter gives him a token immortality. You must husband these assets. Of course, it would be unwise and unethical to buy a trustee's vote with the promise of an honorary degree and I urge you to resist the temptation. On the other hand one individual has no control over the subjective anticipations of another. If, as each trustee completes his term, you express the gratitude of the university for his service by recommending him for an honorary degree, the senior members of the Board may quite properly commend your good judgment and credit it to the merit of your proposals generally. As times goes on you will observe that senior members of the Board become more and more perceptive.

It is your good fortune to be president during a period of major campus construction and you will have the opportunity to name many buildings. Some will be preempted by tradition. For example, you may wish to name the new library for your predecessor on that score, although my personal choice is the new theology quadrangle. It is also good policy to fulfill promises made to those unselfish benefactors who paid for new buildings on condition that they be named after them. But when such obligations have been fulfilled you will still have a few structures left for use in dealing with trustees.

Bear in mind that while a new building is being discussed — from preliminary sketches, through specifications, bidding, ground breaking and actual construction — visions of its portal will constantly intrude upon the mental processes of your trustees. During such periods your proposals to the Board will prosper, but remember always that once a building is named it becomes invisible to the trustees. So make the most of each structure as it goes along and never name one building until you have another on the drawing boards.

Sincerely,

Charles

December 10, 1968

My dear Elliot:

There is no need for you to dread your budget presentation.

In the first place a university budget has the same purpose as a business or church budget. It is an exercise in concealment by means of words and figures, the more words and the fewer figures the better. You must repress any childish urge to clarify either the document itself or its presentation.

An imaginative use of euphemism is essential. The Sarouk rug in your office appeared in the budget as acoustical floor covering and the facility in the field house that everyone else calls a swimming pool is still an aquatic training device to me.

Just as tax accountants make small questionable deductions to be seized upon by alert Internal Revenue agents, the foresighted president will make easily discoverable errors in his budget. Uncovering such errors gives the trustees a sense of having done their duty and less attention will be paid to matters more artfully concealed. Of course, when the discovery is made you should admit the error and accept personal responsibility for it. A wounded glance at a vice president selected at random is permissible.

You should always dress down for the budget meeting. For one thing a president's person reflects the relative poverty of the university. Even presidents who affect the tweedy look will appear in shiny blue serge for their budget presentations. Of more personal concern is the fact that your own salary is determined at this time. The new suit for which you paid two hundred dollars can cost you two thousand if you insist on wearing it on this particular day.

Traditionally you will omit the figure for the president's salary from the budget, leaving a blank space to be filled in by the trustees. This has proven to be one of the most remunerative traditions I established during my tenure and I suggest that you continue it, along with the customary withdrawal from the meeting when the item is ready for discussion.

Trustees regard the campus, including the Board Room, as a quiet grove, untouched by the material aspects of the world outside. It matters not that they have achieved their own wealth by keeping a sharp eye out for salary increases, stock options and fringe benefits; they find it distasteful to discuss such a sordid subject as the president's salary. How to preserve the myth and still take care of the president and his family?

The answer lies with the Vice President for Business Affairs, your surrogate. The title of this office was chosen to bridge the gap between the academic and business communities. Trustees view its incumbent as a man with a foot in each world, a colleague of scholars who knows the value of a dollar. It is not surprising therefore that they relish the task of discussing his salary and matching it to the standards of their own world.

Your aim, of course, should be to seek the highest possible salary for the Vice President for Business Affairs, pointing out the huge sums he has saved by following the advice of the trustees, hinting vaguely about overtures from our rival institution across the river and otherwise appealing to their collective conscience. The trustees will admire the fervor of your advocacy on another's behalf and, if you speak rapidly, will not reflect upon the ultimate effect of their decision.

Once the increase for this key position is determined, the academic vice presidents' salaries fall in line behind it. This is the signal for you to excuse yourself from the room, leaving assurances that whatever the trustees do in your absence will be gratefully accepted. If you have taken proper care of the Vice President for Business Affairs his salary will be disgracefully close to your own.

Sincerely,

Charles

My dear Elliot:

Merry Christmas! I would also wish you a Happy New Year if I were not so disturbed by your plan to refurbish the Board Room in modern style. I trust that you are not the originator of such an unfortunate suggestion.

In the first place new furniture in the meeting room will be visible evidence of affluence, certainly a discordant background for the presentation of your annual austerity budget. Moreover, in selecting the style of anything you should be aware that what appears current to you appears to the trustees, any of whom could be your father, as a daring leap into the future. If your concept of modern furniture is what I think it is, I fear you are taking unnecessary risks.

The present style and placement of the furniture in the Board Room represents a functional judgment; it is not the accidental accumulation you surmise. In all things relating to trustees one must err on the side of repose. Discomfort can sometimes be to your disadvantage; lethargy never. It is for this reason that the trustees have deep lounge chairs with soft springs while the members of your staff sit in straight chairs with hard seats to stimulate their minds.

This is not to say that you may not wish to change the placement of individual trustees from time to time. For example, you will want those who have loud voices seated close to the chairman. It cuts down their volume and makes it difficult for those farthest away to hear them when they criticize you.

Trustees who doze and those who are hard of hearing represent an advantage which is small but not to be overlooked. They hesitate to ask questions because they are not sure of what they have missed and usually what trustees do not hear will not hurt you.

Incidentally, you may observe a fairly high incidence of drowsing at Board meetings. A few years ago, quite by accident, I discovered the thermostat in that room is five degrees off. With so many more important matters on my mind I did not get around to adjusting it. You may consider it prudent to be equally preoccupied.

It should be one of your prime concerns to make sure that the trustees are fed a diet that comports with your objectives. Curiously, the trustee who lunches on crackers and milk every other day expects steak at a Board luncheon. It is in your interest to indulge him. A simple lunch of four courses, including rich dessert, served in a leisurely manner and followed by cigars will immobilize the most recalcitrant trustee for at least five items on the afternoon agenda.

Sincerely,

My dear Elliot:

I suggest that you give further consideration to your inspiration to inaugurate cooperative programs with the university across the river. Its late president and I spent many years promoting the academic rivalry that you propose to abolish and we found that it produced more and greater benefits for higher education than cooperation ever could have achieved.

The intrinsic merit of academic proposals do not lend themselves to easy exposition and in Board presentations our faculty advocates succeed in making them even more confusing. Understandably, trustees are reluctant to spend money on something they do not understand but they also have a keen sense of the danger of falling behind somebody else. They equate an academic gap with a missile gap. It is enough for them to know that our rival has a new project on solid state materials to persuade them that the physics department should be expanded. By means of a mutual disclosure of each other's plans my old friend and I were able to keep the boards of both universities in constant state of escalation.

Obviously, you should not seek to excel our rival to your own detriment. It would serve no useful purpose, for example, to consult the student body on disciplinary policies, as your young colleague over there is doing, as if his hands were not fully occupied administering the caprices of the faculty and trustees.

In addition you should keep alive the brooding threat of communist education. I was a member of the lucky generation of presidents that received a free boost from Sputnik and for that I can take no credit. However, I directed some of the momentum into a Center for Slavic Studies which can be relied upon to feed back discoveries of new Soviet programs that periodically jeopardize our nation's leadership in scientific education. Nothing will move a board of trustees more effectively.

Incidentally, I have no idea how you can reassure the Board member who thinks the proliferation of Russian, Indian and Japanese names on the faculties of our great universities is evidence of an international conspiracy. If my experience is of any assistance I found that each recommendation for such an appointment was invariably approved without discussion simply because neither I nor the trustees could pronounce the candidate's name.

It is well to avoid what is novel in your presentations to the Board. If you are being pressed by the faculty senate on an unwise project you may wish to describe it as a bold new experiment. Otherwise present any new program as the rediscovery of an ancient discipline. The Greek and medieval periods are inexhaustible sources for this purpose, particularly the Universities of Paris and Bologna where virtually every subject under the sun had its place in the catalogue with the exception of sex which was an extracurricular activity and should be kept there.

This is a situation in which the presidential art requires that you be skilled in serving new wine in old bottles.

Sincerely,

Charles

February 12, 1969

My dear Elliot:

I have read with interest but small concern the student petitions you sent me last week.

Do not become alarmed. By now you must have met the Defense Department representatives and Mayor Thornberry and reached a meeting of the minds on many problems of mutual interest. I'm sure that you have found them to be patriotic public servants and congenial companions, certainly not identifiable as the ogres described in the petitions. What the students fail to realize is that the facilities that contribute so much to their education and personal comfort would not have been possible without generous grants from the Defense Department and the cooperation of the mayor in clearing slums to create the space we needed for the new dormitories.

Unfortunately, you cannot explain this to the students: if you communicate directly with them all you will do is whet the appetites of radical elements. Any recognition of the student body only serves to confer an unwarranted validity to an immature vision of society.

Every generation of students burns off some of its excess energy in protests against the existing order. All you can do is let the affair run its normal course down to burning you in effigy on the lawn in front of the library, a relatively painless denouement.

Sincerely,

My dear Elliot:

It is not the genuine experts among the Board of Trustees who should give you cause for alarm. The professional in law or medicine is the least troublesome of trustees. He is not in the habit of expressing his expert opinion without being paid for it and anyway he prefers to accept the judgment of his friends who tell him that he was selected as a trustee, not for his professional skill, but because of his exceptional gifts of wisdom and understanding. He will appreciate the diverting attention of the dean of his professional school who, with a minimum of prompting, can admit his envy of active practitioners.

No, it is the trustee who acquires his expertise after coming on the Board who will provide you with some of your most distressing moments. Usually a mediocrity, he decides that the key to distinction lies in specialization and, ignoring all other business of the Board, he selects some narrow field of knowledge, reads extensively in it and lies in wait to display his erudition. You may be presenting a proposal for an Institute of Eastern European Studies when you find yourself ambushed with a question about some obscure Serbian patriot of the seventeenth century. Fortunately, this trustee seeks no greater reward than your fumbling embarrassment and once this has been accomplished he will be the strongest advocate, not only of this particular proposal, but everything else on the day's agenda.

To some degree the appointment of a female trustee will inhibit camaraderie at Board meetings and her presence will make it difficult to use the kind of anecdotes I forwarded to you as lubricants for the decision making process. This is not necessarily a net loss because she will also limit the vocabularies of some of your more outspoken critics on the Board. But the puzzling thing about a female trustee is her ambivalence. While our culture dictates that she must hold office in a representative capacity for her sex she invariably resents the assumption that she knows more about women than her male associates. Thus she will be affronted if you assign her to a task force to survey the School of Home Economics but will welcome an opportunity to be on the team to evaluate the football coach. Finally, for some curious reason, female trustees disorient mathematicians and should be kept away from them.

Then there is the full-time trustee. This is the man who is retired and because he has nothing else to do with himself devotes all his energies and irrelevant experience to being a trustee. Frankly, no complete remedy has been found for this condition. He has more time than you do, he reads everything you send him and many provocative articles that you have taken great care to omit from the trustees' reading list. He also wanders around the campus asking questions.

All I can suggest is that you do your best to keep him occupied with harmless distractions. The ad hoc assignment, that most versatile weapon in a president's armory, can serve this purpose. I always kept ready at hand a list of controversial

and insoluble problems for assignment to administrators and faculty committees. Some of them were equally effective in diverting full-time trustees, keeping them busy for months at a time. Issues involving intoxicating liquors on campus and single dormitories for both sexes can be studies forever, certainly for the full term of a trustee.

Every ten years or so a president meets a trustee who is outstanding in all respects, analytic, imaginative, constructive, articulate and therefore, uncommonly dangerous. The combination of such qualities is as out of place in a trustee as in a vice president and while there is little risk that the trustee will replace you — though it is not unheard of — such a trustee is certain to upset the delicate balance of power on the Board that a president must cultivate if his own recommendations are to tip the scales in favor of what is enligtened and progressive.

It is therefore essential for a president to subvert any center of power except his own. For this purpose I suggest that you keep in reserve one particular subject for ad hoc assignment against the day when such a trustee appears on your Board. It is my opinion and that of the vast majority of my colleagues, that the undertaking most suited to the excessively able trustee is a survey of student and faculty parking, an institutional quagmire from which no task force has ever been known to return.

Even as I pass along the fruits of many years of observation I worry lest you assume that trustees fall into classifications or categories and that all you need do is assign them to their proper place and your problem is solved. Nothing could be further from the truth. General evaluations of trustees must always take second place to the extensive appraisal of the individual. It is true that all trustees have certain common characteristics which make them more visible to the appointing authorities; they are usually popular, well to do and officially unknown to the police. Beyond that they come in all shapes, sizes, depths and tempers. To you as president what they have in common is less important than their individual differences.

For this purpose I always maintained a detailed curriculum vitae on each of my trustees. Where he went to school, his marital status, what business or profession he is in and his religious affiliation are obvious subjects of inquiry but it is more important to ascertain the nature of a trustee's avocations and idiosyncrasies. My few failures over the years are attributable to insufficient data in this area. For example, the School of Education once nearly foundered because I failed to give sufficient weight to the educational philosophy that one of the trustees had absorbed while teaching a Bible class on Sundays.

As you tour the basements and warehouses of the campus you will observe many incongruous items, from dusty stacks of McGuffy's Readers to an assortment of cricket bats; in the dead files you will find exhaustive papers on such subjects as Technocracy and the Theology of Aimee Semple McPherson. Disdain them not; they were the humble means which moved trustees to noble ends.

Sincerely,

April 10, 1969

Dear Elliot:

I write in haste because I have just heard on the news broadcast that some of your students are threatening to march into your office and sit there until you reply to those ridiculous petitions they sent to you in February.

I regret that I must place some of the responsibility for the situation on your doorstep, Elliot. After the football team compiled such a poor record last fall you should have anticipated trouble of this kind. It was also a bad mistake to have that outside contractor take over the eating halls to cut the cost of the operation. When students are disappointed in two areas of such overriding concern as sports and food they are almost certain to take out their frustrations in irresponsible actions. In my time it took the form of panty raids, in yours it breaks out in a social crusade.

Eventually you will have to make a dramatic gesture by firing the football coach or the food service contractor or both. In the meantime you must show enough presidential backbone to resist this show of strength.

When the youngsters assemble outside the administration building I suggest that you remain in your office where they can see you and send the Dean of Students with a message that you refuse to give them an audience and a demand that they disperse immediately.

They never dared to enter my office without permission and they won't dare to enter yours.

Sincerely,

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#### **Providence**

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