

To tell them about you, you become vulnerable because you have said who you are and people can then be immensely destructive. That's where we are, and we need to be able to trust each other so we can discover reality and work to bring about social change. But we're caught up in our inability to trust anybody enough. This is why I'm against confrontation politics. It gets us even further from discovering where other people are. If you can't discover where they are, you can't bring about change.

I believe the issue is how to get people sufficiently un-hung-up to be able to discover their reality and how to help everybody out of their boxes. I think the answer is through dialogue, a genuine willingness to open yourself up to other people. I have seen some extraordinary things happen when this is done.

If the establishment is evil rather than stupid and ill informed, then we'd better give up—we haven't any chance of bringing about change peacefully. I don't believe this to be the case. I don't believe that the establishment is evil; I believe it is ill informed. To put it at the highest level, President Johnson is one of the most ill informed men in this country, and this is an inevitable consequence of being President because nobody is going to bring him bad news.

If you're dependent on someone for your livelihood and your survival, you don't bring him bad news. I spoke to one of the leaders of this nation, in terms of financial power, about three years ago, just before the first riots. Two things startled me and made me see how true this is. The first was his ignorance of the term "cybernation." He was completely outside the mainstream of the new debates which were emerging. Secondly, and more startling, he was totally unaware of the possibility of rioting that summer, whereas everyone who was understanding of what was going on in America knew that there would be serious rioting.

I suppose the real issue is whether or not confrontation works. Confrontation is certainly the dominant style among the activists of today. I believe that it must be dialogue or nothing, however. It is inevitable that the people in control of our society will be very uptight, and what makes them more uptight, like confrontation, is

extremely dangerous and makes intelligent change unlikely.

People in charge of our society are generally male between 45 and 65, and they are under several areas of profound personal threat. They are beginning to realize that young people know a great deal more in many areas than older people do. They are beginning to perceive that feminine values are a great deal more relevant to the future than masculine values. I don't mean this in terms of fundamental masculine and feminine values because I don't know what that means. I mean in terms of what Western society has defined as masculine and feminine values.

Also, the goal for which they have striven, to have power, doesn't work anymore. They wanted to get to the top where they could push buttons and everybody would jump. Only people don't jump anymore. The people you need to get things done are the very people you can't reach that way. They simply tell you they aren't interested, they'll go somewhere else.

We have a society in which people like this and many others are devoting practically all of their time convincing themselves the world is in fine shape. Almost all their psychic energy is expended building a statement that the evidence of social disillusion is not real, that things are really, all in all, perfectly good, perfectly fine, perfectly satisfactory. As the world continues to fall apart, as it is, the amount of energy needed to do this becomes greater, and the amount of energy available to bring about any change becomes less. A vague malaise is the result, a reluctance to take action.

Let me conclude with quotations from two rather divergent sources, Pogo and Goethe. Pogo said, "We have met the enemy, and we are they." Goethe said, "If we take man as he is, we keep him what he is. If we imagine man as he might be, we create what he might be." We have not imagined man as he might be and unless and until we do, he will not be what he might be.

Therefore, if you are going to be able to get those in power to analyze calmly and dispassionately the world in which they live, they are going to need help. If people are going to see reality, they are going to need help. Confrontation, when used in the student power movement or in any other situation, will not succeed in allowing this to happen. Dialogue, I believe, will. END

When a University Fails to Lead

By Dr. Norton E. Long

While one could haggle over the comparative merits of universities, I don't think anyone would have much doubt that the University of California at Berkeley was in the top five or ten universities of this country. Certain-

ly it had, and still does have, a first-class faculty, well-known for its research, if not for its teaching. It was well supported and able to attract very good students. It seemed to be reasonably well off in terms of the estimation of the people of California and the state legislature. It had a president of national and international renown.

Yet this institution fell on days of internal disruption and it opened itself up, I think, to a considerable extent

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because of its internal disruption, to outside attack and possibly to serious and long-term impairment. The causes of the disruption at Berkeley are causes that affect us all.

Many academic administrators tend to regard Berkeley as a higher case of misadministration on the part of a president and academic deans who did not early enough exercise repressive administration in order to prevent student unrest and student protest from getting out of hand. Probably the student protest and the student unrest may in the long term have been valuable, highly valuable, and necessary in the academic enterprise. Because at least among many of the issues the students raised were things that most of us have become conscious of: the serious neglect of the teaching function in the American university; the extraordinary overevaluation of research, not necessarily research that one would regard of first-rate scientific importance, and the overregard of a kind of publicity-type image in which academic administrators seek to decorate the university with outstanding names, regardless as to whether the result of the outstanding names is to produce outstanding education. So that, indeed, what the university was in danger of becoming was a kind of enterprise concerned with testimonial advertising, the collection of testimonial advertising, and the management of the image.

I suppose there isn't a thing in American life that is in some sense more revolting than the concentration on the creation and management of the "image." It exists throughout our society, whether it is the peddling of patent medicine or the creation of patent politicians or the creation of almost anything else, so that one tends to almost begin to believe that the "image" is all and the substance doesn't matter. In time the substance takes revenge on the image. While the Berkeley image was a very good image, they had very good people, and much of what they were doing was quite important, the students reacted in the sense that they were being shortchanged.

It is the function of the young, from time to time in an intergenerational break, to really revolt in a serious way—to say, "The king doesn't wear clothes. It's like that, it's all that simple, he doesn't wear clothes—the thing just doesn't make sense. Our lives are really all we have and we aren't about to sell ourselves that cheaply. We still have hopes, and our greatest hope is the hope for meaning; and if meaning is to exist anywhere, to be produced anywhere, it should be produced in the university."

To be sure, there is the danger of our revolts pulling the temple down on the heads of everybody, or producing the opportunity for a know-nothing reaction.

Because it split the intellectual community, because it gave weapons to the enemies of the intellectual community, Berkeley obviously is a classic lesson to those academic caretakers who say, "Look, you've got it pretty good, don't rock the boat, don't make waves. Reagan'll get you if you don't look out." Yet, I would hope that we are not going to be afraid of the Ronald Reagans, that we're not going to be afraid of the Neanderthals in the legislature, and that we're not going to be afraid of the small-town society which feels threatened by people thinking dangerous thoughts and thinking that the established ways may no longer make sense but could be improved upon.

If there is any justification at all for the privileged



Our society desperately needs people to tell it things it doesn't want to hear

status of the university, for its freedom to think, it is that that freedom should be used, and not that freedom should be used purely in the precious pursuit of esoteric knowledge. It should be used in the examination and criticism of the society's values and the implication of those values as they exist in the world of action and the world of affairs.

We cannot have a serious university that does not concern itself with the serious problems of life as they confront us in the contemporary world and the world that we are in the business of either making or drifting into.

The university has to accept the responsibility for doing. It cannot be simply a mass-production indoctrination establishment for providing people with credentials. It is certainly true that the university is a major part of our social stratification system. It is a way, in our Platonic republic, of deciding who are the men of brass, who are the men of silver, and who are the men of gold. It is a mechanism of developing leadership. Certainly it is a mechanism of providing people who have a preferred position in the society; but like any nobility that is a decent nobility, it had better be noble, and it had better accept some obligations. In fact, if it is going to be a leader, it had better have the guts, the will, the imagination, and the creativity to lead; and if it is going to go into

the intellectual leadership, that means it has to have the courage to think, to say, and to deal with the problems people will tell you it is not safe to deal with.

Our society desperately needs people to tell it things it doesn't want to hear.

A society that deserves to survive will support an educational institution which does indeed tell it things that are painful, which does indeed face seriously the problems that confront that society, which does indeed tell that society that it must adapt, and advance, if it hopes to have a future. Society cannot live in a world of unchanging stability. The battles that the liberals of the past fought are worthless battles if they don't lead on to the new battles that the coming generation must fight and that are logically entailed if there is any meaning to what was done in the past.

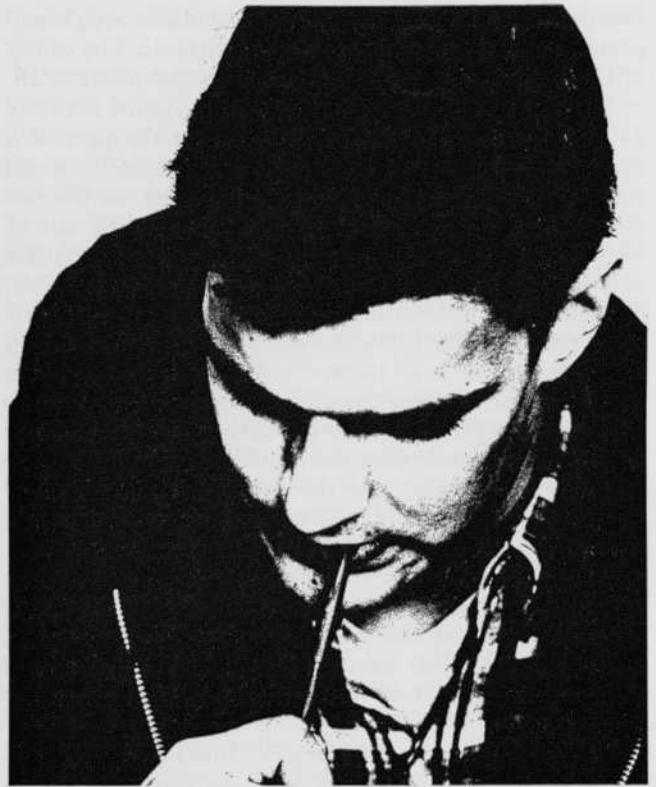
It seems to me that the university is a kind of curiously exempt institution that our society has fortunately created, in which it is possible for people to try out a whole set of new roles, to deal with deviant behaviors that the society in general would tend to frown upon. Because of the nature of the university, the society can permit in this atmosphere the development of new folkways, new ways of thinking, new sets of values. And it is a very sensible thing that our society has found the capacity for controlled innovation.

The American corporation, as a means of its own survival, has found the absolute necessity of putting major funds into research and development. The university is, or should be, a main means for the society of researching and developing its own future. It must be willing to support creative innovation in a non-threatening institutionalized setting, if it is going to be able to adapt and survive down the road. And not least in the innovations that are important for us is the constant necessity for the society to recreate and renovate its meanings. All meanings have an almost inevitable tendency to decay, to become tarnished, to lose any effective command over the human spirit and imagination, as the mode of their embodiment, as the phrases in which they are expressed become stale, become clichés, become bureaucratized institutions. The word does indeed perish instead of staying alive.

The university is, I think, in its most significant job, concerned with the constant attempt at the creation of meaning. To do this, one has no patent formula for how to be innovative. To do this, one has to confront the most basic and serious problems of the society and see how the older values that we have can be enlarged, can be renovated, can even be made honest in terms of the situation of the present.

Students are forcing on our attention a whole range of things. They go all the way from the civil rights revolution and the sit-ins, the insistence of some kind of decent, adult, courageous dealing with sex relations and people's private lives, and the need of people to have private lives and dignity and individuality, to the problems of how do you deal with poverty, how do you deal with race relations, how do you deal with international relations, how do you deal with deviant or different political philosophies such as communism, and how do you deal with the problem of the educational enterprise and its governance, and the positions of students in it.

Here the university is almost incapable of teaching



The ultimate horror that people have to face is not evil but mediocrity

effectively, because the most important part of teaching students is teaching the students to outgrow their teachers—teaching for independence. It is very difficult to teach people independence without granting them significant independence. It is very difficult teaching students how to exercise power without giving them power. It is very difficult to tell students that they are part of a community, a community of learning, in which learning is not a two-way street. It is very difficult to tell them that they will not be given the opportunity and the responsibility of discussing the reasonableness, the good sense, of what is going on in the nature of the enterprise with those who are teaching.

There can probably have been no more serious disservice to the government of the United States, conceived in its broadest form, than the kind of Mickey Mouse undertaking of the All-American boy and girl university, the basketball capitals of the Middle West, the Greek letter escape from reality, the four glorious years in which everybody is supposed to live the way their parents think they might like to have lived, if they had only had the opportunity to live so—the carrying-on of the university as a kind of imaginative debauch for the alumni. I think scarcely anything could have been more intellectually degrading.

It seems to me that the good thing about the student attack on the academic establishment is the demand to be taken seriously and an insistence on being treated as adults.

The other side of that coin is a very great unwillingness to behave in an adult manner. I am afraid that this makes it rather difficult to achieve the purpose of adult treatment, when a sense of fundamental seriousness and sustained concern seems to be lacking. That wasn't entirely true of the early Berkeley situation. The students seem to have been quite serious and to have known what they were about. They were seriously concerned about failures in teaching, failures in concern with education, failures in dealing with students, and this omnipresent sense of phoniness that afflicted the institution—the lack, really, of any embodiment of high enterprise.

I don't know what you do about this. We can talk about how to involve students more in their classrooms, how to involve students more in thinking about faculty members, how to involve students more in thinking about what should be the content of courses. This is of serious value, something well worth doing. But I suspect that, important as these things are, they don't come close to being as important as this pervasive sense of a huge, shambling enterprise that is in some way mindless, that our difficulty is the lack of adequate purposes.

The reason why presidents of universities are attacked is less because they are tyrannical despots than because they are namby-pambies.

The ultimate horror that people have to face is not evil but mediocrity. In fact, I suppose what Hannah Arendt meant when she said that the face of evil in Eichmann was really banality is to some extent what students are concerned about. There isn't a sufficiently meaningful challenge to give people an assurance that life, what they hope to do with their lives, has vital significance.

I suppose this is the real reason for attacking one's leaders, presidents, deans, and college professors—a claim that vital institutions that are concerned with spiritual values have the capacity for spiritual leadership.

I don't know how you can get vision into a university, and I am sure that this is the one thing that students are most concerned about. I don't think any more that the Negroes can wait for the white man to set them free, that students or faculty can wait for some Prince Charming to come in as president of the university and set the university free, or set it on fire, or set it going. I think anybody, anywhere, in any group, if serious, if deeply committed and willing to deal significantly with the problems of their time, will be able to effect leadership, and that this leadership will spread. END

Report from Oklahoma State

A look at some unsettled days in the fall

JIM FITE'S VISIT to the OSU campus couldn't have been more timely. Some would say untimely. In fact, some OSU faculty and administrators are saying he is part of a neatly drawn conspiracy which all at once has brought a new pack of worries down upon the troubled administration of Dr. Robert B. Kamm. How else explain a chain-reaction occurrence of calm-shattering events—shattering to the university's "image," too—in the space of less than a week? These happenings clicked off like clockwork:

- Dr. Margaret Brooks resigned as honors program director and botany professor. A central figure in last spring's criticism by a faculty board of allegedly repressive actions by Dr. Kamm, she said administrative pressure led to her decision.

- A new controversy boiled up ov-

er the Student Association Forum's invitation to a controversial speaker, Dr. Timothy Leary, high priest of LSD. The board of regents banned him and issued new rules on campus speakers.

- The United Ministries, informal group of campus ministers, speared the regents with a statement condemning the speaker ban.

- A special edition of *The Drummer*, off-campus newspaper, praised Brooks and blasted the regents' speaker guidelines.

- The Student Senate, for which Dr. Brooks was adviser, called a massive rally of students on the library mall.

- Both the senate and the honors council, which Dr. Brooks also served as adviser, issued resolutions supporting her. As the senate's counsel, she had signed the contract with Leary.

- A provocative panel discussion arranged by the AAUP on "student freedom," with Fite the featured panelist, fell during this period of unrest.

It was a bad week but problems of Dr. Kamm began shortly after his in-

auguration in Oct. 1966, and have seldom let up. A few of the earlier incidents, not necessarily in exact order:

- An invitation to Dr. Thomas J. J. Altizer, "death-of-God" theologian, was withdrawn after the president's office let it be known that Dr. Kamm questioned propriety of having a controversial speaker on campus during his first year as president.

- The American Civil Liberties Union was denied a campus meeting place for a regular session.

- Dr. Richard Larson, a key professor in OSU's nationally recognized sociology department, resigned, charging violation of academic freedoms.

- State FBI Chief Lee Teague suggested forming groups to exercise vigilance against possible subversion on state college campuses.

- Three other key faculty members resigned—two in sociology.

- The dean of the College of Arts and Sciences left OSU. While he left for a considerably better job, he was also known to be unsympathetic to the Kamm viewpoint on academic freedom.

This article was written by an OSU faculty member and appeared originally in the Oklahoma Courier, the newspaper of the Oklahoma City-Tulsa Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church. The Courier chose not to disclose the author's identity because of the "climate" on the Stillwater campus at the time it was published.