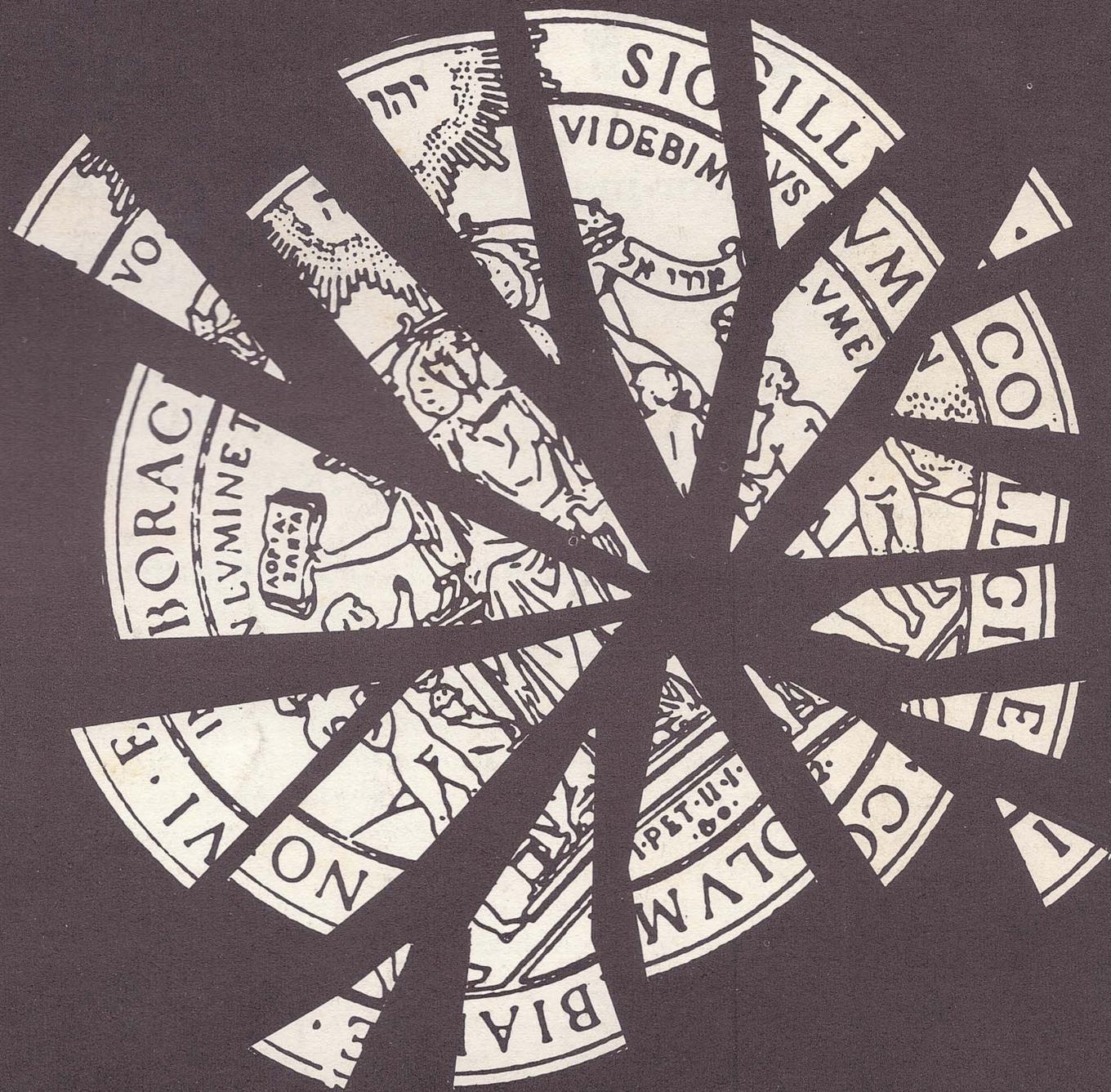


*alternative*



**CRISIS  
AT COLUMBIA**

# VOL **1** NO. **2**

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# *Hiya, fella...*

Our last issue, it will be recalled, contained an interview with a conservative governor who has been mentioned as a Republican presidential candidate despite his consistent denials of any presidential ambitions. Although it rather goes against our grain to be fair, we decided to make an exception in this case and interview a man who in many respects the exact opposite of Ronald Reagan: a liberal governor of a large Eastern state who has been mentioned as a Republican presidential candidate despite his consistent inability to formulate a coherent position on any question least of all his candidacy.

Q: Governor, how would you go about eliminating the problem of poverty if you were elected president?

A: Well, now, it seems to me that when you talk about "the problem of poverty" you're really talking about *two* problems: the problem of *poverty itself*, and the problem of the *people* who are poor. And now it's very clear to me that if you can solve that *first* problem, why you've got the *second* one licked. And so I would pledge the *total resources* of my administration to mobilize the *vast potential* of this country to engage in a *massive effort* to search for *new ideas* and *fresh insights* and *original approaches* to finding a just and equitable solution to this *tragic war*.

Q: About the war, governor . . .

A: Yes, the war. Well, it seems to me that the only way . . . the only way in which we can end the war — in the sense of *bringing it to a close* — is through *peace*. Definitely.

Q: What about riots, governor?

A: These riots have been a *tragic rent* in the fabric of our nation, and I think that every law-abiding American agrees with me that there is *no excuse for violence* under *any* circumstances. And the only way in which we can put a stop to this senseless violence, of course, is to recognize that it is not the rioters themselves who are responsible, that they are the *innocent victims* of a terrible crime of which *you and I* are the guilty parties. And we're not going to mend this *tragic rent* in the fabric of our nation until we can guarantee a *decent life* to *every American*, irregardless of whether he's white, black, green or any other color.

Q: Does that mean that you favor a guaranteed annual income?

A: Under certain circumstances.

Q: Such as?

A: If it would be of benefit to the people of this country.

Q: One last question, governor. A lot of people were confused by your hesitancy in actually entering the campaign for the nomination. Can you explain why you delayed your announcement so long?

A: Certainly. I refused to enter the race until it became *absolutely certain* that a majority of Republicans were *not satisfied* with the pronouncements of the other candidate, and were anxious for someone who could present them with *new alternatives* and *fresh directions*. I believe now that I am the one *best qualified* to give Republicans a *real choice* in 1968.

Q: Is that why you delayed announcing until it was too late to enter any primaries?

A: You said that would be your last question.

# Columbia in Perspective

By John Meyer

John Meyer graduated from Yale in 1967 and is a Herbert Lehman Fellow in political science at Columbia.

"Perspective" is often the most important word in politics. It explains how rational men of good will may perceive events or policies in different ways. From their different points of view, what they are seeing are actually very different events. Nowhere has this been clearer recently than in the descriptions of the events which have paralyzed Columbia University for the past several weeks. *The New York Times* report of violent young revolutionaries senselessly destroying President Kirk's office or battling police hardly seemed to refer to the same events as Joe Gelles' or Marc Zanger's description in the *Yale Daily News* of heroic young intellectuals cruelly suppressed by the brutal power structure.

Both the *Times* and the *News* saw, and indeed had to see, events at Columbia through their own — perhaps somewhat distorting — perspectives. It is my aim to provide another perspective on the events — events which already seem to have set the pattern for new forms of social and political protest in this country. My perspective is, I think, that of most of Columbia's 25,000 students. We saw what happened from the inside. We stood outside Low Library, either as observers or as members of the anti-SDS "Majority Coalition."

From our point of view, the recent confrontation did not come as a bolt from the blue; it was hardly an isolated phenomenon. On the contrary, Students for a Democratic Society had been following a line of radical agitation for several years which had seemed calculated to force a final confrontation with the school administration. Last spring, for instance, SDS sat in to prevent CIA recruiting, and, in action which provoked a riot, obstructed Marine recruiters.

The issue of on campus recruiting

finally came to a head this fall. Confronted by SDS's tactics of organized violence and agitation, the advocates of open recruiting organized themselves into the "Students for a Free Campus." Through this group, we sought to prevent SDS from imposing its own criteria on what views could be represented on campus.

After a vigorous campaign with petitions and rallies on both sides, an official student referendum endorsed open recruiting for all organizations by 67.6% of the vote in a record turnout. Significantly, the Students for a Democratic Society refused to accept this clear expression of the democratic will; they later obstructed Dow Chemical recruiting.

The occasion of the present troubles was the case of the so-called "IDA Six," the leaders of a March 27 demonstration against university affiliation with the Institute of Defense Analysis who had been placed on disciplinary probation by the university. In this — as in most of the following events — the real issue was not the demonstrators' ends, but their tactics.

The March 27 demonstration had been conducted inside Low Library, the university administrative center, in plain and deliberate defiance of university rules banning *indoor* demonstrations. For once, the generally spineless university administration decided to act against SDS's defiance of university regulations. The leaders of the demonstration were placed on probation — not for demonstrating against IDA but for conducting their demonstration inside a college building.

On Tuesday, April 23, SDS planned another large indoor demonstration designed to force the university administration to admit that it could not and should not enforce the rule on indoor demonstrations. In the light of past

performance, it seemed likely that SDS's tactics would succeed. Students for a Free Campus decided SDS success here would present a threat to all those outside SDS who wished to live in a university in which rules were equally applicable to all.

They issued a call for those opposing SDS to muster on the steps of Low Library and confront the demonstrators before they could enter the building. After a long, tense, but non-violent confrontation, SDS withdrew to the controversial gym site in Morningside Heights, where they tore down an iron fence and assaulted several policemen. As police reinforcements rushed to the scene, SDS returned to the campus and (either following a contingency plan or out of simple frustration) seized Hamilton Hall, a classroom building, and held the Dean of the College, Dean Coleman, prisoner in his own office. Early Wednesday morning, they broke into Low Library and captured it as well.

They immediately issued several demands which the university was to be required to meet before its buildings would be returned: the university must halt construction on the infamous gym in Morningside Heights, disaffiliate from IDA, and grant complete amnesty to all demonstrators. The demand for amnesty became the focal point of the struggle at Columbia, for many who favored the demonstrators' more immediate demands felt that their methods might destroy the university if they went unpunished.

SDS called a "student strike" in support of its position. It also set out on a program of harassment designed to "radicalize the campus." Disruptive tactics included loudspeaker assaults on residence halls at one in the morning designed to convince students that they were "either with the demonstrators or against us." These tactics did serve to somewhat increase SDS's numbers. They also provoked a large

**We saw what happened from the inside. We stood outside Low Library either as observers or as members of the anti-SDS "Majority Coalition."**

and angry opposition ranging from the anti-SDS politically aware to large numbers of usually inactive fraternity members and athletes. Two large, potentially violent student groups now faced one another.

One of the central concerns of these non-radical students was that outsiders be kept off the campus. This was a request which university officials seemed unwilling or powerless to grant. For example, on Wednesday afternoon, a large group of anti-SDS students had dispersed after Dean Coleman promised that the gates to the university would be locked to prevent "invasions" by further groups of outsiders. In large measure, however, this was not done. Of the 720 who were finally arrested, 175 were outsiders having no connection with the university whatsoever.

The followers of black militant Charles 37X Kenyatta were a good example of such an invading group. On Thursday, with the approval of Dean Coleman, the anti-SDS coalition had successfully blocked the entry of Kenyatta's people on the campus using again the technique of non-violent confrontation. Finally, Dean Coleman gave the word for the group to step back in the belief that the police were going to come between the two groups to prevent violence. Instead, Kenyatta's group rushed through onto the campus.

Feeling betrayed by the administration, a substantial portion of the anti-

SDS group surrounded and attacked Fayerweather Hall, another of the buildings seized earlier by the SDS. Members of the faculty intervened and persuaded them to go to nearby Wollman Auditorium where they were joined by hundreds of other students. While the administration considered what to do, the students listened for hours to respected faculty members, including coaches, but remained determined to see some action taken against SDS. About 2 a.m. on Friday morning, Dean Coleman returned from administration conferences to announce that the police would be called in to maintain law and order. Those in Wollman, satisfied that the administration now had both the intention and the ability to handle the situation, followed Dean Coleman's request and went home to sleep.

As the police moved in on Low Library, the "Ad Hoc Faculty Committee," a group composed largely of junior faculty sympathetic to the radical students, intervened between police and SDS. Their intention was to obstruct the police physically so as to pressure the administration into reversing its action. They achieved their demands when they succeeded in getting one of their number injured. The police were withdrawn from the area, and SDS remained in control of the seized buildings. The anti-SDS students, awakening to find themselves once again "betrayed" by the adminis-

*(Continued on page 14)*



## The Modern Clergyman and The Politics of Passion

*By Edward Thomas Veal*

*“. . . politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement. No sound ought to be heard in the church but the healing voice of Christian charity. The cause of civil liberty and civil government gains as little as that of religion by this confusion of duties. Those who quit their proper character, to assume what does not belong to them, are for the greater part, ignorant both of the character they leave, and of the character they assume. Wholly unacquainted with the world in which they are so fond of meddling, and inexperienced in all its affairs, on which they pronounce with so much confidence, they have nothing of politics but the passions they excite.”* — Edmund Burke

It is a rare picket line or demonstration these days that is not graced by clerical collars. Indeed, that old distinguishing mark of dress might by now have died out among many Protestant sects, were it not for its usefulness in identifying left wing protesters as men of God. Such identification brings advantages both to the wearer and his cause, for the police will, nine and a half times out of ten, handle a cleric more gently than a lay protestor, and the protest as a whole gains a certain moral stature that it might otherwise lack. If a longhaired, draft-age youth attempts to destroy Selective Service records, he is a law-breaker and a coward, but if two Jesuits do the same thing, they are the first fingers of the avenging hand of God.

Since the clerical collar is at once shield and sword, no one should be surprised if many ministers, priests, and rabbis, feeling strongly about Vietnam or civil rights, throw themselves boldly into politics. A good case can be made for separating the spiritual and the

secular, but, in practice, that is a counsel of perfection. The only time that anyone really expects the clergy to confine their sermons to theological disagreements and their weekday activities to visiting the sick is when the clergymen in question happen to oppose one's own political views. Those who take offense at Rabbi X's kind words for Stokeley Carmichael never murmur when Father Y blasts the evils of communism.

Nevertheless, while it may be permissible for clerics to express their political sentiments, some forms of political expression do no good for either church or state. This is the proper objection to raise against the William Sloane Coffins and the Daniel Berrigans: that, protected by the cloth, they have grown irrelevant in their proposals and irresponsible in their actions. That they have abandoned sober and rational analysis for an emotion-based politics of passion.

The debate over the war in Vietnam shows the vocal, left-wing elements of the clergy at their worst. They have noisily trumpeted absurd explanations of the "real causes" of the war. How dull and unprovocative if America's present leaders should be sincere men acting, rightly or wrongly, to counter what they believe to be a major communist threat. Instead, the real causes of the war must be racism, as the National Council of Churches has alleged, or a desire to impose domestic dictatorship, as William Sloane Coffin is fond of hinting.

Still, there is little harm in these hysterics — until warped analysis becomes the basis for prescriptions for action. Violence, the Coffins tell us, settles nothing in international affairs; on the other hand, it may be just the right method for determining government policies. If the magistrates listen to opinions that we dislike, then, by Yahweh, we'll force them to listen to *us!* So clergymen aid draft-dodgers and participate in Pentagon riots, in the hope that the White House will bow to coercion. And is this not the very attitude which they accuse Washington of taking toward Hanoi?

It is sad to see intelligent, capable men ignoring their duty to examine issues carefully before pronouncing upon them. The cause of good government loses much

when men versed in Judaeo-Christian religious principles offer foolish and uninformed advice. Worse, the cause of religion also suffers. To comfort the sick, to console the afflicted, to encourage the meek, to rebuke the haughty, to pray for those in need of God's grace: these duties of the pastor neither attract headlines nor shake the foundations of the country, yet they are what the Church does best, and no other institution can do them. If the Coffins, the Browns, the Blakes, the Pikes, the Groppis, and the Berrigans believe that their religion is more than an ancient myth (and unless they believe this, they have been taking money under false pretenses all their lives), then they must know that civilizations come and go, while the humblest and most sin-scarred soul is eternal. If the shepherd chases unicorns, who will guard the flock from the wolves?

In their soundest moments, the leftist clergy often worry about two distressing trends, increasing lack of principle in government and decreasing interest in the Church. Curiously, they themselves make no opposition to the one trend and foster the other. They have abandoned intelligent political discourse, then wonder when political discourse is less intelligent. And they have channeled the major part of their energies away from the traditional pastoral duties, then cannot see why former church-goers turn to psychiatrists or to hedonism.

Fortunately, the vast majority of clergymen have nothing to do with the politics of passion. The irresponsible ones and the extremists seem numerous because they are more newsworthy than their brethren. However, it is the noisy minority which dominates religious magazines, seminary textbooks, and policy writing committees. If this minority does not soon discipline itself to the responsibilities that go with positions in the public eye, if it does not start treating those who disagree with it as something better than venal reactionaries, the Church and the synagogue may yet gain the dubious distinction of being more radical and less charitable than SDS.



# THE ABOLITIONISTS ANSWERED

By Scott Drum

As a result of recent fomentation by the *Daily News*, the SDS, and other organs of campus dissonance, the military establishment (in the form of Naval and Army ROTC units) is again being assaulted. This time the attack takes the form of a movement to eliminate the ROTC offerings at Yale, or, if that proves unattainable, at least to cripple the program by eliminating the credit that the University now gives for some of its courses.

Although proponents of such action often plead the contrary, it is fairly obvious that the movement is substantially motivated by a dislike of all things that hint of military "contamination," a mood that has risen largely out of the current protest against the Vietnamese War. Because of an inability to directly affect the course of United States policy, this protest has evolved into attacks against peripherally associated institutions (e.g. demonstrations against representatives of the Dow Chemical Company, don't-pay-your-telephone-tax movements, etc.).

The nearest "war-associate" for students today is their campus ROTC, and it is not surprising that it should be the convenient focus for many campus protests. But as with the Dow and telephone-tax protests, this one suffers from a fundamental illogic that says that eliminating ROTC (even if carried to every campus in the country) will interfere substantially with the production of the war. Such attacks serve no useful purpose in altering U.S. military policy; they merely serve to deprive fellow students of their choice as to how they will fulfill their service obligation. To those who prefer to fulfill their obligation in a federal prison, it makes no difference what opportunities are offered to them, but to institutionalize this indifference for others is a position of questionable legitimacy.

The issue of Vietnam is transitory, but a decision to eliminate ROTC would have permanent implications. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the program on its own merits alone.

The basic contention of the opposition seems to be that military science as a discipline is incompatible with the foundations of the university. Specifically, it is argued that courses of vocational nature do not belong in the curriculum of a liberal-arts college. If this is so, just where should the line be drawn between vocational and "liberal" training? Too often a liberal education is defined as one which will produce a politically liberal individual.

If the university feels obliged to eliminate ROTC on vocational grounds, should it not for the sake of consistency expunge its courses in computer programming, accounting, and engineering for the same reason? It is hard to see where these disciplines are any less vocational in nature. For instance, both the Naval Science and Geography departments offer courses in the use of maps. How is military history any less valid than other historical studies? Is there not a similarity between E. & A.S. 65b, "Applications of direct and indirect energy conversion, such as conventional heat engines, jet propulsion . . . (etc.)," and Naval Science 401a, "Introduction to heat engines, steam, diesel and nuclear propulsion . . .?"

If vocational courses are so offensive to the anti-ROTC group, why have we not heard cries of outrage over these others? Could it be that these people are more interested in sacking the military than in academic purity?

Another often heard complaint is that the University bears the financial brunt of the program. However, estimates by both university officials and the Department of Military Science show that in return for the roughly



\$25,000 per year that Yale expends on ROTC operations, the military supplies almost \$100,000 per year in scholarship assistance to Yale students. In the absence of this assistance, these students would be drawing to a considerable extent on University scholarship funds.

One sometimes hears that the ROTC courses are intellectually stifling and completely antithetical to the purposes of a liberal-arts education. But then, is it more so than some of the other courses which, as of now, are considered valid components of the curriculum? Within any university there are some disciplines, like philosophy and psychology, that seek to teach methods of thinking, while other disciplines, like math and engineering, teach the application of thought. And within any one of these latter areas, there must be a certain set of ground-rules established. An engineer who ignores the "stifling" laws of action and reaction is going to find it hard to contribute much of value to the study of propulsion. Similarly, a potential Naval officer must know the rules of navigation if he is ever going to get his ship to port. No claim is being made that military science is more intellectually stimulating than psychology, but it would be hard to make the

same claim for a number of other course offerings.

Furthermore, it is hard to conceive that a group that objects to control of the military by "a bunch of unthinking automatons" would be unopposed to placing more power in the hands of the service academies. Yet if the university is prohibited from supplying officers through the ROTC, would this not be the result?

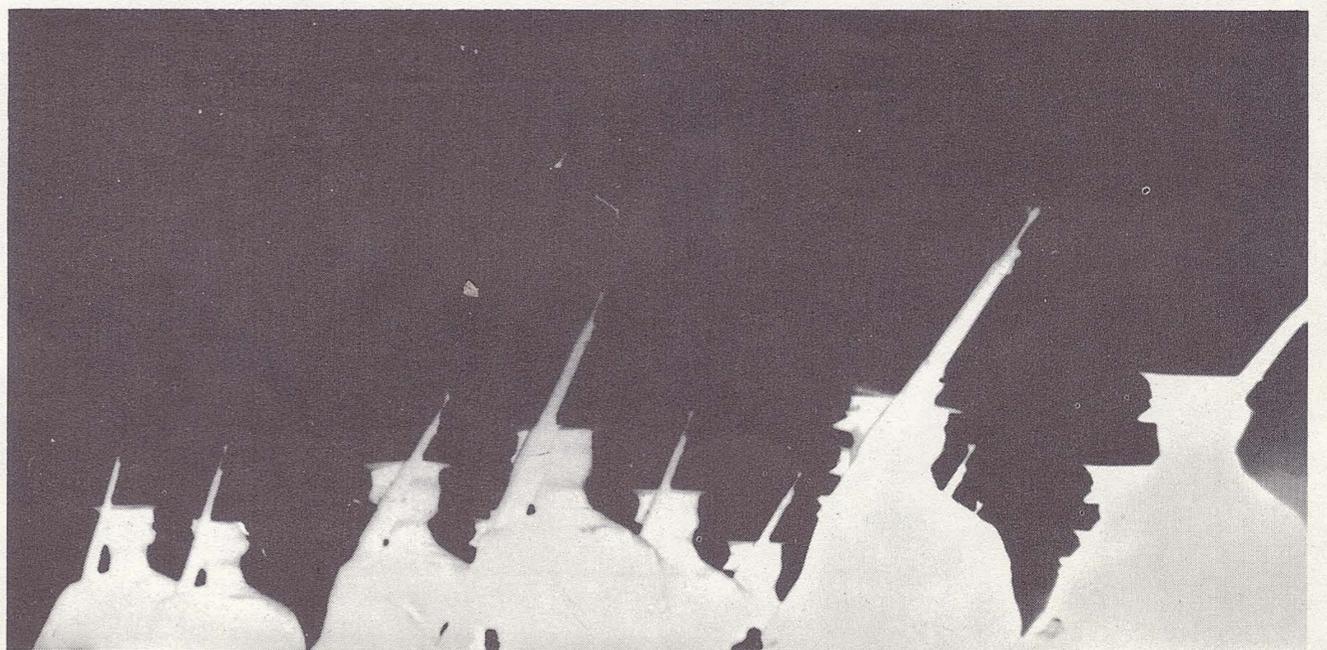
As Yale's Secretary, Reuben Holden, has expressed it, "The concept of the universities educating young men to become military officers is in the best time-tested tradition of civilian control of the military forces of our nation. Military officers are in this way selected from a cross-section of the national population and have a strong background of civilian education. The Officer Corps does not become a tight-knit clique cut off from civilian values, serving only itself and not the nation."

In addition Yale has always encouraged students to employ their talents in positions of responsibility and service in whatever professions they choose. Within the military profession, which everyone is required to "choose" for a certain time, service as an officer is the best way to fulfill these goals. It stands to reason that it is not adverse

to university policy to provide students with such an option.

And since ROTC is an option and not required, it is hard to determine just how the program is adversely affecting those students who protest its existence — unless of course they are suffering from a psychological aversion to the sight of a uniform or are offended by the knowledge that the university would actually permit a group on campus that did not subscribe to their particular beliefs.

Throughout ROTC's existence, the Services have cooperated extensively with Yale committees in revising the ROTC curriculum. They have agreed that the chief importance of the program is to procure well-educated officers, rather than those simply with military training. Successful efforts have been made in the past to introduce civilian instructors into the courses, and much of the technical instruction involved has been relegated to summer and post-graduation training. If the anti-ROTC forces are truly interested in the welfare of the university rather than merely lashing out at the military, then perhaps their efforts would be directed toward continuing constructive improvement rather than dismantlement.



# Federal Cure

## For The Race Problem — Bad Medicine

By Steve Holzer

The Gospel according to Washington (*Time* magazine) noted the passage of the 1968 Civil Rights Act last month, referring to it as a "landmark of the Johnson Administration." It certainly is. The Act takes this nation another major stride down the same road of delusion it has been traveling these past eight years. Delusion that our government is really moving to solve the racial crisis and delusion as to the ultimate consequences of the Liberal approach to our major problems.

The Federal government has not attacked the disease of America's racial ailment, but rather the symptoms. The open housing provision of this year's enactment officially bans discrimination in 80% of the nation's housing. But the magic wand of Federal edict concentrates as usual on the specific symptom of neighborhood housing patterns rather than on the entire disease, which is the *economic* inability of black America to live with white America. Fully 50% of all non-white Americans are poor — and a Negro family living on \$2,500 a year cannot move into a more costly white neighborhood, legal open housing or no. The promise of "open housing" is negligible; for it would, of course, require that the government put more money directly in the hands of the poor. But with the red tape and inefficiency of the current welfare system this is about as probable as the presidential election of Harold Stassen.

The Federal government has 174 separate agencies running 175 separate welfare programs. This wasteful bureaucracy does not even reach *half* of the poor with the more than \$8

billion dollars allotted for that purpose.

This penchant of the government to ignore the structural causes of the race problem led CORE associate director Roy Innis to utter the sad but unheeded truth that this bill was a "hoax on the black people." By continually promising what it cannot deliver, the current approach to the race problem creates unfounded hope: hope which turns to despair, despair which turns to alienation, and alienation which turns to violence. The failure of the Liberal approach is attested to by black alienation which increases yearly — in the face of yearly "landmark" legislation. Last summer Newark, Detroit, and New Haven exploded — *after* the "historic" Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the "monumental" Voting Rights bill of 1965. This spring dozens of American cities underwent virtual insurrection. God knows what this summer will be like — *after* the "landmark" act of 1968. That the rights-bill-a-year approach has indeed failed was summed up by black militant LeRoi Jones, who said of his Newark counterpart, while vigilante Anthony Imperiale, "I respect him. He doesn't lie like white liberals."

But what if this Civil Rights Act is the fairy-tale exception to the rule — an instant smash on the civil rights circuit, so-to-speak? It remains an ill-conceived bill. It remains such because of that old-fashioned, horse-and-buggy day, Goldwaterian truth that refusing to police the sale of private property may indeed permit what is morally undesirable — but that it is more undesirable to give the State the power to legislate morality. It has been

## “This bill is a hoax on the black people”

Roy Innis of CORE

a traditional belief in this nation that the moral aberration of a private individual, which affects few others, is not to be feared as much as the misconduct of the public power, which affects all. But, then, this is clearly not the age of tradition — and if open housing is not strictly Constitutional, well, humanity must supersede legality. And yet perhaps this antiquated fear of centralized power can still tell us something in a year when we have war without the consent of Congress, the draft without the consent of those drafted, and “urban renewal” without the approval of those affected. Power relinquished to government is by no means a guarantee that those who wield it will do so wisely, as conservatives tried so unsuccessfully to say in 1964. Vietnam and urban renewal stand as classic examples which suggest that a wariness of government power cannot be ascribed to mere right-wing paranoia.

There is a viable alternative to the failure of the Liberal approach to the race problem: the Federal government should stop its tragi-comical tampering with the symptoms of the disease, an approach which has shown no results except to increase the police power of the central government and further alienate the black American.

But it should start facing the disease itself: the broad structural problems of economics, politics, and education. If the national government were *really* concerned about the future of black America, it would enact antitrust legislation applicable to the unions, which are notoriously discriminatory. It would eliminate the welfare bureaucracy, so inefficient and destructive of initiative, and substitute a negative income tax with employment incentives (first suggested by conservative economist Milton Friedman in 1962). It would decrease the strings attached to Federal funds to help restore self-government to the cities, which are now coming under black political control. It would not promise massive new expenditures, resulting in both inflation and larger interest on bonds which are transfers of income *from* the poor. It would simply terminate Federal aid to education in any state practicing school discrimination. It would in short stop treating this national crisis as an issue in which the undeliverable promise of “instant equality” means delusion for the black, more police control for the white, and more votes for the candidate. The road to equal opportunity for black America will only be traveled at the expense of the heretofore sacred cows of the New Deal coalition which have been

the principal bulwark of Liberal election victories — the unions, the welfare establishment, the Southern populists, the Democratic city machines. There will be those who sneer at all this as naive — but, then, that which is sensible and that which is politically pragmatic have rarely been coincident in contemporary politics.

But politically naive or not, such is the new direction the government of this Republic should take if Summer 1968 is not to mean the alienated uprising of black America, and November 1968 the frustrated answer of white America.

# The Faculty Issue

*By Anthony R. Dolan*

It is Cyrus Vance who will oppose William Buckley for a seat on the Yale Corporation. The reasons for Vance's nomination are obvious; he is prominent, liberal, and apt to give Yale's enfant terrible a damn good race.

Vance and Buckley, it goes without saying, are miles apart on innumerable issues. Nowhere is their disagreement more obvious than in the dispute over the liberal bias at Yale.

Buckley attacks Yale for being "distinctly and observably hostile to the conservative point of view." Vance does not share his concern: "As for the dangers of liberalism, I consider myself a liberal and you can draw your own conclusions."

It is hardly an easy thing to determine a university's hostility or non hostility towards a particular political philosophy. Universities are, one hopes, more concerned with truth than political equilibrium. So too, the best criteria for faculty appointments is a professor's capabilities and not his politics.

There is something to said however for the university that has on its faculty advocates of divergent points of view. For the student, such divergence can be a stimulating and broadening influence.

The alternative, surely, is not appealing. The graduate of an institution that has conciously or unconsciously excluded a legitimate dissent from the classroom is at an intellectual disadvantage. He is unfamiliar with a school of thought, he has not been exposed to one of its accomplished advocates, and he may, of consequence, find himself disagreeing with a philosophy that he doesn't even understand.

There are disadvantages to terminology like "liberal", "conservative," "moderate" etc. Still, if we are careful not to use them too loosely, such labels may, in

distinguishing philosophical and political outlooks, serve a useful purpose.

We can then, safely identify a contemporary "conservative" dissent. We may say as well that it is viable and growing. It had become the political credo of the Republican Party and explains, at least in part, the phenomnon of a Ronald Reagan or William Buckley. As a political movement, it cannot be lightly dismissed.

There are universities that recognize this; their faculties show it: economist Milton Friedman at the University of Chicago, sociologist Ernest Van Den Haag at New York University, foreign relations expert Stefan Possony at Stanford University and Robert Strausz Hupe at the University of Pennsylvania, professor of English literature Jeffery Hart at Dartmouth . . . these are a few of the universities and a few of their "conservative" faculty members.

Yale remains unseduced. Those two or three Yale professors who dare call themselves "conservative" are either retired or primarily involved in the graduate schools. Indeed, the average under graduate spends his entire career at Yale encountering professors whose political beliefs range from Marxism to modern Republicanism without ever once, excepting the occasional visits of the Governor of California, encountering a "conservative" in the classroom.

From the faculty standpoint especially, the left has been heard at Yale, the right has not. It is the student who suffers. There is something very sad about the Yale economics major who has never read a scrap of Ludwig Von Mises or Frederick Hayek; or the political science major who has never heard of Russell Kirk or Willmore Kendall.

Yale could use a "conservative" scholar or two. If for his willingness to bring "conservative" thinkers to Yale, Mr. Buckley's candidacy is worth supporting.

MEYER —

(Continued from page 5)

tration, formally organized the so-called "Majority Coalition."

Friday and Saturday were days of relative peace filled with an incredible number of meetings attempting to work out a compromise. SDS rejected one proposal after another. On Sunday, the results of a student referendum which had been held on Thursday and Friday showed that the majority of Columbia students supported SDS's ends but rejected its tactics. Construction of the gym was condemned 4093 to 1433. IDA was condemned 3572 to 1855. But SDS's tactics were "deplored" 4124 to 1325 and amnesty was rejected 3166 to 2054.

On Sunday afternoon, the Majority Coalition adopted a plan to surround Low Library and prevent people, food, or anything else from going in to aid the demonstrators. Debate on the plan was spirited, most students feeling that the constituted authorities should act for the community in such situations — that individuals, on either side, should not take the law into their own hands. However, it was successfully argued that the legal and social contract between student and university had been dissolved by the inability of the university administration to protect the freedom of individual students to use the facilities of their own university. With reluctance, the Majority Coalition adopted the plan, making it clear that it sought no power and would welcome university action.

At five o'clock on Sunday, April 29, the Majority Coalition assembled and marched on Low Library, meeting "token opposition" from faculty members who had been patrolling the area since Friday. However, a *modus vivendi* was worked out in which the Coalition respected the faculty claim to a stone ledge which ran around the building. In return, the faculty agreed not to allow SDS to cross their territory unless the Majority Coalition lines had already been breached — and

even issued a set of "ground rules" to that effect. Once again, the opposition to SDS — in the absence of action by university officials — had resorted to its technique of non-violent confrontation.

For the next few hours tension along the lines was great. The whole conventional political spectrum from Kennedy and McCarthy to Nixon and Reagan was represented along the line, with athletes now decidedly in the minority. During the night, several forays were made by SDS with no result and about 3:30 a.m. they drifted away.

During the next day, SDS made numerous attempts to talk its way in or send individuals through the lines. However, having seen talk and moderation fail in the previous few days, the Majority Coalition leadership decided to remain firm. About three in the afternoon, SDS attacked. After marching around the line three times, about fifty of them — many of whom were non-students — broke through the lines by throwing ammonia in the faces of those opposite them. A struggle ensued and the invaders were repulsed before any actually entered the building. Finally, the administration deployed a line of police between the two groups to prevent real bloodshed.

That same afternoon, the Ad Hoc Faculty Committee proposed a final compromise — the key feature of which was "uniform punishment" for all demonstrators, which, of course, meant nominal punishment. Perhaps — a la Linda LeClair — the University would deny them snack bar privileges. The Faculty Committee warned that if the proposal were rejected, it would no longer stand between SDS and police action. The Administration accepted with some reservations. SDS flatly refused. The police were called in to remove the demonstrators.

The police action and the reaction

to it at Columbia are another, much longer story. Although 148 students, faculty, and outsiders were injured (as were more than a dozen policemen), there have been no confirmed reports of any serious, lasting injuries. In any case, police brutality is not really the dominant issue. Before they began dragging students from the building, police read a statement asking them to leave voluntarily. Once again the protesters refused to compromise in any way.

The events at Columbia have been, as SDS is fond of pointing out, "politically educational." The lesson has been that when moderates are faced by well-organized radicals willing to resort to violent "non-violence" to gain their ends, they must either organize or surrender. The Columbia administration and faculty have proven once again that in the case of militant revolutionaries, reason, restraint, and concessions lead not to compromise but to ever-increasing radicalism and intransigence.

The confrontation at Columbia is not over yet, even though it is being felt throughout the country. The day after the police action, Mark Rudd, SDS Chairman, focused the true issue — who will rule the university. In an afternoon interview on WKCR he stated, "We hope the cops leave soon so we can control the university." From my perspective, who will control Columbia seems to be the real question.

# RIGHT SIDE UP

*By Jerome Adler*

The one emotion which it is impossible to entertain towards the rioters is respect. One can respect Stokely Carmichael, to be sure; one *had better* respect Stokely Carmichael, in any case, for all that he is an abomination to humane people of both races. But the rioters? for the honky's blood to flow in a foul stream down Broadway and lap against the polluted temple of City Hall; the crowd roars its approval, vows a violent vengeance on the racist honkies who that minute are conspiring, somewhere in Scarsdale, to clamp the yoke of oppression ever more firmly on the collective neck of black America . . . and then proceeds to a self-destructive of looting and burning which throws the white community into a momentary panic, to be sure, but somehow never really touches it. Not once — not in Watts, nor in Newark, nor in Detroit nor Washington nor Baltimore nor New York — have the rioters ventured out of their own neighborhoods and into the wealthy suburbs where defenseless honkies cluster as thick as the leaves on a tree; partly, of course, because the looting is so much better downtown, but also partly because, Stokely notwithstanding, the riots are in essence directed inward, ten miserable generations of black America finding their bitter climax in nihilistic violence. The riots are not bands of desperate young workers grimly manning the barricades in the Montparnasse, but hordes of plump women filling their station wagons with stolen beer and returning to homes gutted by fire; their symbol is not the red flag but the stolen color television set lying smashed in the gutter.

We cannot respect the rioters, then, because they seem to have no respect for themselves. In a blind fury they strike out and smash their own communities into smoking wrecks, all the while greedily carting off the pawnable bits and pieces. Patrick Moynihan suggested something about black self-respect once, several years ago, and was promptly hooted out of the liberal community as a vicious racist; I do not think Patrick Moynihan is a racist, nor do I consider myself one, but I am willing to accept the consequences of advancing an unpopular thesis because I think it needs to be advanced.

The real challenge facing America, then, is not simply to tear down a million tenements and replace

them with federally-subsidized high-rises, but to restore black self-respect. And it is a challenge, in the final analysis, which can only be met by the black man himself. What we're going to have to learn, and what Richard Nixon alone among the presidential candidates seems to realize, is that it is less damaging to one's self-respect to be called "boy" by some ignorant Georgia pig farmer than it is to be told that you will never make it in America unless the government annually passes a complicated law insulating you from every conceivable indignity and spends a hundred billion dollars in tearing down your home and teaching you to be a computer programmer. Riots, after all, occur not in the Deep South, but in places like New Haven, a city where no black need be to far from that ultimate symbol of aggressive egalitarianism, Yale University. However they are disguised, the various programs suggested by our liberal leadership amount to charity on the part of whites towards blacks, and one can never accept charity without losing respect for the giver, the gift, and, most of all, one's self. What the blacks of America want, in the final analysis, is not to be cared for by the whites, but to be respected by them, so that they may respect themselves. That explains a Stokely Carmichael, of course; it also explains why I believe that the agony of black America will be ended only when white Americans develop confidence in the blacks' ability to overcome their special disadvantages and achieve by themselves the economic and social equality to which they aspire.

What I am proposing is, I think, far more difficult than anything suggested by, say, Governor Rockefeller; far more difficult for a politician, in any case, since it demands self-restraint, and does not lend itself well to self-righteous speechmaking. Nor is it easy to propose that white Americans check a movement which has been gathering momentum for a decade or more, and stop constructing model cities in favor of such relatively subtle approaches to the problem of black poverty as readjusting tax laws to encourage new small businesses in urban areas. But, even more than I want to see poverty eliminated, I want to see dignity restored to the poor. And dignity is something which the government is not only incapable of giving, but which it helps to destroy with its very generosity.

