DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 068 012   HE 003 451

AUTHOR   Tamminen, Paul G.
TITLE   "Powerlessness Corrupts."
INSTITUTION   American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE   Sep 69
NOTE   29p.; A Report on the U.S. National Student
                Association National Congress (22nd), August 1969

EDRS PRICE   MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS   Activism; *College Students; Governance; *Higher
                Education; Racism; Student Attitudes; *Student
                College Relationship; Student Government; *Student
                Opinion; *Student Organizations; Student Role

ABSTRACT
          This is a report on the general nature of student
concerns and activities as reflected by the 1969 National Student
Association Congress. The author interprets past and present trends
and occurrences rather than summarizing the activities of the
congress. The topics covered include: student power (governance
structures); legal rights; confrontation politics; militarism in
American life and education; black issues and anti-racism; and
educational reform. (Author/CS)

"POWERLESSNESS CORRUPTS"

A Report on the U.S. National Student Association National Congress,
with Commentary and a Few Suggestions.
22nd National Congress
August 1969

Paul G. Tamminen
Commission on Academic Affairs
American Council on Education.
September 1969

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

The National Student Association National Congress is the yearly re-creative event in the ongoing life of the Association. Not only is it the occasion to elect new officers, adopt organizational resolutions, and set new substantive policies for the coming year, but it also is the organization's most effective moment for campus-by-campus contact. Because of the limitations faced by a national organization, and particularly by NSA in its financial capabilities, the national congress allows more intensive school contact, information exchange, and organizing than is possible to achieve during the year with traveling representatives or organizers. Related to this is the importance of the congress to individual schools as an oasis of renewal and re-education. It is a place where student leaders meet the other leaders of the youth movement across the country, are brought up to date on what's happening at other campuses and centers of change,** and broaden their own political and social contexts.

The important functions of the congress shape the nature of congress proceedings--i.e., the emphasis is on small-group, and person-to-person conversation and contact, rather than on large sessions of passive, centralized information-dispensing. In 1969, as discontent with the national headquarters grew, the general plenary sessions (which ran about eight of the evenings of the Congress) were less and less well-attended, and congress participants drifted into their own activities, both "social" and educational or political. While this kind of drift did not prevent the Association from passing minimal resolutions and policy declarations, it will likely have an effect on the upcoming year's activities, as low participant involvement and concern with Association-endorsed programs is likely to lead to less enthusiastic and effective implementation on the local campuses across the country.

** Student-run "organizations" such as Institute for Educational Development (Philadelphia), Educational Movement Center (San Diego), Transition Associates (New Haven), Campus Research Associates (New York).

--The Organization of This Report--

This is a report on the general nature of student concerns and activities as they were reflected by congress activities, rather than either a summary of congress activities per se or a description of the National Student Association itself. Because this kind of reporting requires a great deal of subjective interpretation of complex events, the paper must be viewed as its author's interpretation of past and present trends and occurrences, and not as a factual summary of completed activity. Beyond this there will be included the author's commentary and, in some cases, recommendations on the issues under discussion. With this forewarning, the reader can make the necessary distinctions between factual occurrences, editorial interpretation, and partisan recommendations.

The topics covered in this report roughly duplicate the major issue-areas in the congress "agenda." They are, in the order they will be discussed, as follows: student power--governance structures/ legal rights/ confrontation politics; militarism in American life and education; black issues and anti-racism; and educational reform. Last, a few final observations will be made about NSA and NSA activities.

---Student Power---

Student power is an umbrella term which covers many different areas of student concern--from educational reform, to the military on campus, to dormitory social rules. In this case the term will be used to cover three issues. The first two have to do with the formalized "process" of student power rather than with its substantive goals. The "process" issues are governance structures (as a means of institutionalizing student power) and legal rights (as a means of protecting student life and activity.) The third issue is that of confrontation politics-- a non-institutionalized and non-formalized means of asserting

student power--which is viewed as a necessary activity as long as student power rights are not institutionally recognized or as long as even institutionalized forms fail to provide adequate means of (preventive) "redress of grievances." Confrontation politics differs from governance structure and legal rights issues in that it is both a means of demanding institutional power and a means of demanding those substantive changes which formalized power itself could supposedly bring if it were to be achieved. These rough definitions provide a means of working with the large and vague issues encompassed within those over-used and abused words, "student power."

Governance Issues.

The most notable feature of the governance issue was the almost complete lack of any discussion of the topic. There were no scheduled seminars or symposiums concerned with kinds of or mechanisms for university governance structures, and none were initiated by congress participants, although participant-established seminars are regular practice and perhaps the most vital feature at national congresses.

In trying to understand this apparent lack of concern with the issue, it is possible to suggest a number of trends and concerns which might be seen as "causes" of the phenomenon. One is the shifting focus to off-campus issues, which has been led by SDS but is increasingly a concern of less radical groups. This shift naturally moves attention away from complex problems of university governance, at least insofar as the off-campus issue is not viewed as the direct responsibility or result of university activity. In addition, SDS began some time ago to view the "student power" movement as basically antithetical to society-wide revolution, claiming it both draws effort away from community work and separates students from the more oppressed in society by increasing student class advantages. Insofar as the student activist "mainstream" reflects the concerns of its most radical fringe, this could be seen as a contributing factor in decline

of interest in governance structures.

Another possible "cause" is the increasing disillusionment and cynicism with all authorities, institutional forms, and organizations that has resulted from a year of bitter and often unsuccessful confrontation with the political and educational "establishment." This in turn has two effects. First, the strong issue-orientation of students (i.e., the Viet Nam War, military research, "repressive" faculty dismissals, etc.) moves them toward engagement with those issues and away from "process" type problems, such as decision-making structures (even though in the long run decision-making is basic to substantive, day-by-day issues). As disillusionment with means of slow institutional change grows, students are even more likely to favor more immediate and personal issues over institutional structure change. Second, students are unlikely to be interested in participating in a structure which is viewed as inherently, or hopelessly, corrupt. Reinforcing this view is the perception that any actual student participation in governance structures would be so weak as to be virtually useless, or probably co-opting in its effect on more basic change. Submersion as a one-quarter minority in a body of "conservative" faculty and administrators is not viewed by the student activist as a useful, honest, or significant change from the status quo. (The new plan for the Columbia University Senate suggests twenty student representatives out of a total of one hundred "senators.")

A third trend which seems of considerable importance is that which views student interests, seen as very different from those of the institution, as best protected and strengthened by development outside of formal "governmental" cooperation within their institutions. This view does not preclude a sharing of institutional power, but rather discounts it as an immediate goal as being either unlikely, if it is to be significant, or undesirable, if it comes in the token amounts which present student power could achieve. This in turn leads to a new emphasis on organizing and strengthening the student movement. There was much

discussion of the importance of "mobilizing an active student flank," of building a

strongly independent student movement, and of finding ways of making student

governments more financially and psychologically free of the "parent" institu-

tions. What this indicates is a developing conception of the student movement

as an independent force for political, social, and cultural change which should

neither tie itself/nor concern itself exdlusively with the university. The

significance of this development, should it continue successfully and construc-

tively, needn't be emphasized. If a projection is made of increasing numbers of

persons engaged with education for increasing periods of time, in new kinds of

institutional arrangements, and in more flexible relationships than presently

exist, the potential strength of such an independent "student"-centered movement

is enormous. A student movement of this kind, with its own internal structure and

organization, its own deliberative bodies, its own financial base, and its own

powerful alternative culture and life style, is one means of developing a large-

scale "alternative" to the offerings of present educational institutions.

Returning to the problem of institutimal change, it is possible to see the

student movement, whenever it feels it has the strength, moving into cooperative

decision-making bodies with present institutional authorities. It might be

suggested that the student movement would best be advised to continue its inde-

pendent development, even while seeking, as agents of the students, its rightful

authority in the decision-making process of the institution. What this would mean

is that the student movement would continue to regulate its own affairs insofar

as they were their exclusive concerns (e.g., social rules, various student ser-

vices, etc.) while joining with the faculty and administration in regulating affairs

of institution=wide concern (e.g., educational policy, hiring practices, finan-

cial policy, relations with government and business, etc.). That is, the bene-

fits of developing an independent student movement should in no way obscure the

dvious importance of increasing student representation in the governance of the

institution. Similarly, the value of developing a large-scale alternative (i.e.,

alternative kinds of educational experiences, life-styles, personal relationships,

etc.) to the offerings of present educational institutions should not obscure the

importance of changing these non-governmental aspects of present institutions

toward the new forms and practices developed in the alternative student organizations.

Whether or not this trend will develop into something more vigorous and

wide-spread than it is now is an unanswerable question. At present, it is cer-

tainly not the norm on very many campuses.

The problem of reforming governance systems is still important for other

reasons as well. Consolidation and recognition of a student leadership and

a student position is a necessity for any permanent and stable situation in

which a "student" interest is to exist. It is similarly important in responding

to demands for change (often in "confrontation" form) which must be negotiated

or settled between recognizable groups. Another point generally recognized was

the undesirability of extensive judicial or due process battles which result

from protests over substantive issues which ought to be dealt with in non-judicial,

legislative forums. Legal rights are viewed as the "defensive" component of a

battle, the "offensive" end of which is a political and not judicial matter.

Legal Rights.

The strong sentiment in the legal rights workshops was for a "constitutional-

ization" of the campuses. It was argued that the universities have accepted so

much administrative law through increased involvement with federal projects and

funding that they "surely" couldn't object to accepting constitutional guidelines

in dealing with their students. (Note: It is interesting that a similar argu-

ment was used recently by a conservative Congressional legal counsel in arguing

for tighter university adherence to anti-protest financial aid regulations- i.e.,

the universities, which presently certify "everything else in God's world," cer-

tainly ought to be able to certify compliance with anti-protest legislation. This

argument seems to suggest that the universities should, if not immediately con-

stitutionalize their campuses or certify all federal regulations, pay close

and immediate attention to the legal implications of their immense entanglement

with public agencies and governing bodies. The complex issues involved in the

area of university-societal legal/political relationships could well turn out to

be far more important to the freedoms and concerns of both students and faculty

than the present legal battles over due-process, student courts, and so on.)

Whether or not the universities constitutionalize their campuses immediately,

however, the clear trend issuing from the congress is for an increasingly active

use of the courts as a means of protecting various student rights.

campus

It was also obvious, however, that/judicial systems aregoing to be the object

of increased concern in the coming year. This is due to two developments. First,

there seems a good possibility of increased use of confrontation politics, al-

though not necessarily of an "orthodox" or familiar nature. Judgement of the

"legality" of especially "novel" tactics will put a very heavy, and politically

delicate, load upon judicial procedures. Second, the new judicial codes which

have just been ground out at campuses across the country are phrased with such

generality that considerable interpretation will be required to apply them to

any particular activity. For instance, the new Cornell code lists as "behavior

which may be subject to appropriate sanctions" the following: "Conduct that

abridges the rights and interest of others. . .", and "Conduct that disrupts the

normal functioning (emphasis added) of the university." With so much room left

for interpretation; much thought must be given to who makes up the "judges and

juries" in judicial proceedings, and not simply to whether the defendant has had

the right to counsel, the right to call witnesses, and so on.

Four separate problems are involved here. First: who sets the general

guidelines which describe acceptable and unacceptable activity? Second: who

determines whether any particular activity falls or fails to fall within these

guidelines? Third: who determines what kinds of sanctions are appropriate in those cases where activity is judged unacceptable? Fourth: who makes the particular application of these sanctions in particular situations? A judicial system should not properly be engaged in any more than the second and the fourth of these issues. At the present time, however, judicial systems are asked to do all four tasks. What this results in, and what students clearly resent, is a judicial system which assures "due process," but "due process" in a repressive (to students) and non-democratic context. Students are not going to agree to enforce rules which they have had no part in making. Students are asserting that over-all methods of governance and legislation of rules are ultimately determinative of the justice of any legal code or system. Students at the congress (as elsewhere) would claim that unless institutional goals are re-examined and reformed with attention to new demands and needs, even an "enlightened" judicial system will be unacceptable and "repressive." The problem that must be faced, as stated by Executive Director Tamm of the International Association of Police Chiefs, is that ". . .we are living in a society in which people do not agree about the meaning of the law and recognize no authority to arbitrate their differences." It seems reasonable to <u>assert</u> that so fundamental a problem as this can be resolved only by a basic examination of the laws and programs of the society (or campus society), and of the ways in which these laws and programs are established. As long as distrust and unexamined differences exist over <u>these</u> issues, distrust is certain to exist over means of "arbitrating. . .differences" and the "meaning of the law." This again suggests the importance of considering governance structures and, more urgently, of finding immediate ways of discussing university goals and priorities.

In regard to specific legal rights programs, the ways in which students are preparing to defend themselves are indicated by the legal rights seminar topics:

The Right to Confidentiality; Right Against Illegal Seizure; The Legality of

Your School's Discipline Code; Double Jeopardy; Discrimination in the Universi-

ty; First Amendment rights on Campus; Black Studies and the Law; Student Legal

Aid Departments for Individual Schools; and State-wide Legal Rights Networks.

Confrontation Politics.

A number of general observations can be made about confrontation politics

and the attitudes of the participants regarding them. First, although most

participants might not agree philosophically with confrontation politics, they

agree it works, or at least has obvious effects, which is more than could be

said of other tactics.

Nearly every participant was opposed to human-directed violence, although

feelings differeed widely as to property-directed protest.

Tactics are likely to move away from traditional forms (sit-ins, etc.)

toward more creative, novel kinds of "confrontation." This is due both to the

inflexibility of these tactics as formerly used and to more effective means

of punishing students who engage in such activities. Students are reading about

new "defensive" measures being taken by administrations, and aren't likely to

stick their necks out where they can be certain their/will be chopped off. It

is impossible to predict in general whether new tactics will tend toward more

imaginative, less "destructive" means of confrontation of toward more extremist,

"desperation" kinds of activity.

Confrontation in the past was viewed as a last-ditch method which was used

only when all other channels had failed. It was not sought out, but occurred

rather through "exhaustion" of other means of gaining a hearing or a change.

In general, it was the more unintelligent authoritative response to student re-

quests that brought about the most unintelligent demonstration, an unfortunate

relationship recognized by the demonstrators themselves.

The issues of protest are likely to be changing. Seemingly predictable old

issues which are likely to remain important are anti-war protests and black

protests, with a good chance of an increase in black-white student clashes,

particularly in urban centers. New aspects which seem to be developing are a

shifting of focus onto the faculty and onto off-campus issues. A recognition

of the influence of the faculty in many areas (expecially academic) should bring

about new forms of confrontation directed at them, although on non-academic issues

the faculty may be increasingly viewed as potential allies rather than as ad-

versaries. Off-campus issues, from rent-strikes to support for community action

groups, are likely to increase in number. It seems safe to predict that this will

pose an entire new set of legal and political problems for the university.

Those "off-campus" issues which are not directly controlled or influenced

by the university--i.e., the War, the militarization of American life, pollution--

will continue to strongly affect the university through their on-campus mani-

festations--recruiters, war-related research, etc.--with possibly the sharpest

conflicts coming over the issue of institutional involvement with "defense"

research. In some ways, these issues are the most difficult issues of all,

since they are not directly under university control, and thus cannot be "solved"

by university action, and yet are obviously closely related to university policy

in a way that "implicates" the university with them. At the same time, this is

the area in which the university can make its most positive attempts to adapt

to the new requirements of our time--i.e., it is here that the university most

clearly relates to society's problems without actually being the problem itself.

What, then, is to be the nature of this relationship? In dealing with these

issues, the university will begin to clarify the nature of its own relationship

to society at large.

Another possible development will be the increased use of "confrontation"

(broadly defined) as other than a last-ditch tactic. That is, it won't necessarily
                      after
be used only / other means of communication or influence have failed. This

development could result from a general belief in the effectiveness of confrontation as a tactic at <u>any</u> time, <u>if it is properly used</u>. This last qualification is necessary, as confrontation methods must be less drastic than before if they are to be used frequently with positive results.

It seems that administrators could recognize at least three notions: that confrontation polites <u>need not</u> be coercive or violent; that "confrontation" has probably been the <u>major stimulus</u> for change or a new willingness to change on their campuses; and that confrontation politics could become a force for changes which <u>they themselves</u>, given their basic educational principles, should like to see in increasing number. The challenge then faced by administrators and students alike is to find a good conversion mechanism for wants and demands so that confrontation can produce positive programs rather than hasty, short-term concessions (or expulsions) which neither satisfy students nor meet standards of intelligent reform.

For students this might imply the need for new training programs in confrontation politics--for example, the use of role-playing and game theory to gain a realistic understanding of who has power and who has authority on specific issues, and of where interests really coincide or differ. These and other sophisticated simulation training programs might well help students become more intelligent and effective in making "demands" of themselves and of the university. The advantages of this kind of student activism seem evident enough to warrant administration acceptance, if not actual support, of such programs.

The challenge this presents to the "authorities" of the university (whether faculty, administration, trustees, or regents) is to develop both a new philosophical openness to student "demands" and new forms through which to respond to these "demands." ** This requires a new understanding of "civil disobedience" and
** This must not be viewed as a substitute or total alternative to finding new governance mechanisms, but only as a means of responding positively to a potent existing force for change. It encourages openness in our efforts to understand how institutional change occurs and to finding new and imaginative ways of facilitating such change in educational institutions in an age when change is a necessary and constant factor.

traditionally-defined disruptive activity. (A basis for such reconsideration is suggested by political scientist Harvey. Wheeler in his paper, "The Constitutional Right to Civil Disobedience.") This returns discussion to the issue of judicial systems, which must incorporate a new concept of the right of students to civil disobedience. It argues for the creation of a judicial forum which can freely consider the possibility that particular forms of protest-activity represent valid and legal means of "petitioning for redress of grievances." This means judging an action not simply on the basis of its conformance to pre-set rules of behavior, but also in light of the alternatives actions and options that were actually available to the acting party at the time. Thus it would be improper to suggest that "no amnesty" be granted in any case, for in some cases actions might be declared legal and proper, given the circumstances and context in which they occurred. This also suggests the undesirability of trying to draw clear lines between "acceptable" and "unacceptable" behavior, since one couldn't know beforehand the circumstances surrounding the behavior, the actions which motivated it, and the alternatives to it that existed at the time. (This, of course, does not rule out the necessity of setting <u>some kind</u> of limit on behavior beforehand--e.g., person-directed violence, intimidation, arson, and so on; would never be considered justifiable. Wheeler, in his article, also suggests such additional tests for the activity as the action having to have a direct relationship to the grievance complained of; and that there should be prior evidence of an intent to challenge a specific "governmental" law or program.) Again, this idea does not argue against the importance of governance reforms; however, given the difficulty of creating a governing body which, no matter how democratically composed or how well-informed its electorate, does not still slip into intransigence, blindness, prejudice, or ignorance on important issues, it seems important to establish/non-legislative channels for presenting permanent
grievances and demands for authoritative consideration. The more rapidly social

changes occur in a system, the more necessary such channels would seem to be. ***

---Militarism in American Life and Education---

This study area focussed on the increasing militarization of American life and education, which manifests itself generally in such attitudes as "efficiency for efficiency"s sake" and the subordination of qualitative and political questions to technological ends, and more specifically in the selective service system, the War in Viet Nam, in increasing chemical and biological weapons research, and so on. There was an increasing sense of university "complicity" in these problems through contracts and research policies, course subject matter and teaching methodologies, institutional involvements (false "neutrality" toward the draft and the War), and institutional financial and investment policies.

Even if the War completely ends, these issues are certain to grow in importance. They will range from radical attacks on "counterinsurgency research" to modderate attacks on extensive university involvement with chemical and biological weapons research. Superficial manifestations of militarism, such as military recruiters on campus, will increasingly be ignored as diversions from the real issues--classified and "counterinsurgency" research, and other more fundamental kinds of military-educational contracts and cooperation.

*** In face of such violent and provocative disruptions as the recent one at the Harvard Center for International Affairs (Sept. 26), it is especially important to consider these ideas in order to avoid an irrational stampede to the side of "law and order," and a rigid positioning against all demonstrators. It is important to remind ourselves that in the past the overwhelmingly preponderant use of "violence" and "coercion" has been by the authorities (both civil and university) in either covert or overt form. The difficulty of keeping oneself open to the consideration of such ideas as creating new channels for positive "confrontation politics" (or civil disobedience) is justified only by the importance of this openness to achieving constructive change, and by the disastrous consequences which would follow a closing of our minds and "cracking down."

Related to this will be the issue of the nature of social science research and of "academic neutrality." As one of the seminar topics asked: "In Whose Interest is Social Science Research?" The statement recently adopted by the American Sociological Association at their national convention illustrates this issue well: "Most research by U.S. sociologists is funded and controlled by corporate interests, military-political elites, and the welfare bureaucracy, and has been oriented toward studying oppressed peoples for the purposes of their oppressors." As David Easton's presidential address to the American Political Science Association further indicates, this kind of thinking is spreading among professional as well as student ranks. The clear implication of all this is that the university community had best begin examining these issues with determination, honesty, and great immediacy, if for no other reason than the rather cynical one that major organized student=led opposition to current policies is not long in coming, even though it is unlikely to be effectively organized on a large scale this coming year.

In regard to this problem, the Viet Nam Moratorium presents an excellent opportunity to begin grappling with the difficult issues involved. The Moratorium presents an opportunity for the entire educational "community" to engage in discussion of precisely the problems mentioned above. It presents a time for honest community renewal, centered around an issue which almost the entire community for once can agree is worth discussing. Discussion of the war itself can be turned to discussion of the complex problems of the university's relation to society and to national programs, and plans can begin being developed to respond intelligently to the inevitable demands that will be made in the coming months and years. Simple discussion of these obviously important, and possibly crucial issues, will not in any way impair "institutional neutrality," unless the term is defined so narrowly as to exclude any kind of intellectual or social response to

the crucial issues of the day. The October Moratorium now appears to be developing

a relatively immense national backing. The expansion of the Moratorium into a

two-day period in November will present the universities with further opportuni-

ties and further pitfalls. To fail to act positively before these events could

only add weight to the charge that higher education is unable to "act for itself."

---Black Issues and Anti-Racism---

It is difficult to report much about the activities of the Third World

Commission, which produced the new National Association of Black Students (NABS),

as all Third World sessions were closed to non-Third World persons. The NSA

did agree to raise $50,000 to supports NABS, and the "floor-fight" which led

to this agreement represented the main evidence of black concerns at the Congress.

In sum, the blacks were thoughtfully well-organized and militant, and this can

be taken as an indication of how they will act during the coming year.

A good illustration of the problems surrounding the anti-racism issue is

the fight that occurred over credentials. In brief, the majority report of the

credentials committee recommended that all delegations be seated without being

certified as to whether they had engaged in "sufficient" anti-racism work during

the previous year. This was contrary to a resolution passed at the previous

Congress which had made anti-racism work for the following year a requirement

for receiving credentials at this year's Congress. The majority report argued

that anti-racism work would be least helped by excluding those schools which were

most in need of it from further NSA involvement. Although the author concurs

with this judgement, he is aware of the difficulties still to be faced in making

people confront their own prejudices and doing more about them in the coming year

than was done in the last. Anti-racism work, though a problem of extreme urgency,

is bound into the dilemma of asking people to sit in judgement upon themselves,

their close associates, and the institutions which sustain them. As recent experience

has shown, anti-racism organizing is extremely discouraging work.   While it is

true that the congress did agree to make anti-racism work their number one

priority for the coming year, it remains to be seen how enthusiastically and ef-

fectively the programs to implement this priority are carried out.   Some inter-

esting preliminary literature on the problems involved is listed in the biblio-

graphy at the end of this report.   NSA's success in this area in the coming year

might be viewed as an important indicator of the possibilities and problems to

be faced in more difficult, non-campus situations in the general society.

Almost needless to say, NSA's efforts should not be simply observed, but

rather aided or duplicated by the other members of the educational community.

Anti-racism is undoubtedly the most totally, sub-consciously, and groundlessly

avoided issue of the last two years.   The white community has assiduously ignored

black suggestions that whites examine their own house and stop trying to formu-

late programs for blacks.   The educational community has been as active in its

avoidance of these suggestions as has any other part of the system, focussing its

minimal energies on scrutinizing the details of black curricula with a "concern"

the blacks would probably be more than willing to do without.   The brief liter-

ature collected at the congress and listed in the bibliography presents some

ideas as to how the white educational community could begin paying genuine atten-

tion to its own deep-seated and unexamined forms of institutional racism.   Inspite

of the earlier mentioned difficulties inherent in the nature of white anti-racism

work, the institutions and associations of higher education must shed their myth

of "non-involvement" and find ways of actively engaging themselves with their own

problems.   Because of the newness and the difficulty of the problems, perhaps a

good way to start would be to seek cooperation with the National Student Associa-

tion as it also begins to renew its efforts and understanding of the problem this fall.

---Educational Reform--- ·

The following "outline" represents the author's conception of the major

issue-areas facing the (student) educational reform movement today. The par-

ticular organization of ideas presented here was shaped by the first few days

of group discussion in the educational reform study area. Within each issue-

area, a brief description is included of the ways students are presently engaged

with the problem.

Issue-Area One: Fundamental principles and goals of an educational system.

Ideas regarding fundamental goals and principles are very vague in the

movement, as they are in the rest of the educational community. Two ideas, how-

ever, were particularly prominent and might be viewed as the major themes which

shape more specific theories and programs. They were, in highly-generalized

form: 1) a stress on personal needs and development over societal needs; 2) a

stress on finding forms of "socially relevant" study.

Issue-Area Two: Fundamental principles and goals as embodied in the struc t ures
of the higher education system.

Part A: What is the maximally desirable set of structures and programs
to achieve your goals?

Ideas considered here are: independent study programs, consomitant with

modularly structured and individualized courses of study (including elimina-

tion of grades and standardized evaluation procedures; new uses of professors

and other persons of expertise as "resources", "consultants," and "counselors"

rather than "instructors;" new forms of student-to-student teacher-learner rela-

tionships; increased attention to "affective" educational experiences and to

interpersonal relations in learning (and therefore work) situations; more "labor-

atory" experience in the form of "action research" in the social sciences and

creative art in the humanities; and use of programmed materials for easily di-

gestable, rote-type subject matter.

Methods

<u>Part B:</u> Having decided upon programs and structures, what is the best general approach available to achieve them given present institutional arrangements?

Several approaches were considered. One is to push specific programs on several fronts, each of which has tie-ups with other parts of the educational program and is therefore likely to precipitate further change: e.g., grading reform or abolition; elimination of requirements; course evaluation; expanded independent study programs; and so on. Most of the large number of schools which have now developed a serious educational reform movement are presently engaged in this approach in one form or another.

A second approach is to develop a master plan for the total reconstruction of the curriculum, and then organize around adoption of this totality rather than piecemeal programs. This is the approach used successfully to achieve the recent Brown University reforms and could become more widely used should the educational reform movement become better organized with more inter-school cooperation and program-development.

A third approach is to developing a total alternative plan but seeking its implementation on a limited scale--e.g., in an "inner college" or "residential college" in which only a small part of the total student body participates, but does so on a full-time basis. This approach is gaining increasing consideration, as it offers the advantages of 1) allowing an "experimental" approach to larger change; and 2) requiring a smaller group of willing student and faculty to initiate it. These advantages are particularly important at large universities, where the problem of sheer size presents acute obstacles to reformers, leading many to advocate the formation of "cluster colleges" as a necessary prerequisite for other changes.

<u>Part C:</u> Having decided upon a general approach, what are the optimal tactics and strategies available to carry it out?

Here the ideas range widely, as indicated by the following random list: extensive faculty relations work; seeking outside grants to establish student-run

programs and alternatives; extensive organizing of students through personal

contacts, forums, various media devices, etc.; boycotts and class strikes;

minor harassment and personal confrontation methods; class "discussions" of

educational philosophy, programs, and course goals; departmental-based study

and action groups; publicity stunts--e.g, burning exams, vacating classrooms

to a professor and a student's running tape recorder, etc.; various uses of

course and teacher evaluation. In addition, consideration is being given to

the possible uses of university governing bodies to speed curricular reform

(assuming the presence of significant student power, or representation.).

Issue-Area Three: Fundamental principles and goals as embodied and developed
outside the structures and programs of the "system"--values and the social-
cultural environment--but still within the "system."

The social-cultural environment is recognized as important because it both

heavily affects the formation of the learner's values and is a self-contained

valuable experience itself. This environment isn't deliberately organized but

is rather an outcome of the over-all student "culture(s)." Nevertheless, there

exist enough differences among student cultures at different institutions so that

the relative influence of political and social activism, drug sub-cultures,

artistic and musical movements, and so on, becomes an important consideration

in talking about constructing any "new" educational experience. This means that

educational movement workers cannot narrow themselves to considering only "curric-

ular" reforms in their activities, but must also take into account the effect of

the social and cultural environment they will be joining and helping to create

through their actions. Although this would seem to imply the need for a heightened

political awareness in the educational reform movement, this has yet to signif-

icantly develop.

Issue-Area Four: Constructing alternative structures, programs, life-styles,
and environments.

There exists considerable feeling on the "leading edge" of the educational

reform movement that present educational institutions offer no openness or

possibility for change at the present time. Thus it becomes necessary to

go completely outside the "system" and establish alternative programs, cultures,

and life-styles in which people can build new lives and new programs to replace

the irreparably distorted institutions of the status quo. (Even if you still

feel reform within established institutions is possible, as this author does,

there are still great advantages to be gained by going outside present insti-

tutions, whose repressive values and shortage of "space" for real innovation

makes the discovery and development of new programs and ways of living extremely

difficult.) A number of such attempts, often called "living-learning commun-

ities," have been initiated and are now in the process of development. Related

to this concern is that for finding institutional forms and life-styles which

are flexible, self-examining, and open to continuous renewal, so that following

generations needn't repeat your struggle to breakaway from established insti-

tutions and value-systems.

Issue-Area Five: The Impossibility of educational reform.

A final but crucial judgement which must be made is whether or not educational

reform is a realistic means of seeking social change in our present society. While

few students presently seem to feel that it is useless (though more are consid-

ering the option of leaving present institutions in the ways just described)

those who do are left seeking new (or very old) forms of political-social action.

This in turn could lead to the development of entirely different models of

political-educational ways of life, although no attempt will be made here to guess

what new ideas and programs of this sort will be devised.

---Some Final Observations---

Little has been said of the Services department of NSA, even though the

services offered to schools are extensive and valuable, both in the content of

21

.the programs offered and in the money income they bring NSA and member schools.

An idea of what the Service department offers may be gained by reading the services

handbook referenced in the Miscellaneous section of the bibliography.

A review of the NSA National Supervisory Board's report (Appendix A) to

the congress gives a good idea of the problems NSA faced last year and the pro-

grams and priorities it has set for itself for the coming year.

It is the author's "observation" that NSA will continue to have numberous

problems in the coming year--financially and organizationally. Student dislike

of centralized organizations, the very diversity and difficulty of local campus

problems, plus foundation and government distaste for student organizationswhich

"dare" to play an active social-political role combine to produce nearly overwhelming

obstacles to a successful "national student union." Thus., though NSA will sur-

vive the coming year and strengthen its position, it is likely to remain in a

precarious position, far from being a true national student union.

The new president of NSA, Mr. Charlie Palmer, appears to be a person whom,

if approached with full openness and honesty, will himself be willing to openly

consider common problems with "establishement" organizations such as the Council.

No evaluation of this year's NSA staff is yet possilbe. How much President

Palmer will "set the tone" of the national office won't be known until it is seen

what particular relationships of authority, independence, and cooperation he

tries to establish in the central staff.

The title of this report is "powerlessness corrupts." More than a play

on words, this title indicates the very observable reality that people without

power lose control over their own lives and over the quality-determining decisions

about their lives which only they have a right to make; this in turn leads to

the great corruption--the loss of the self-confidence, self-respect, and
self-love which are man's fundamental motivation in his search for and
maintenance of human good.

Mayor Richard D. Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, said the same thing this spring
in a commencement address to graduating seniors, whom he implored not to abandon,
through either cynicism or despair, their struggle for change:

> "If we're really striving for peace and unity, now is the time
> to practice what we preach. There is nothing sacred in silence.
> There's nothing Christian in powerlessness. There's nothing temperate
> in timidity. Each of us has a moral committment to his community and
> to his fellow man."

Implications of the NSA Congress for the work of the Council.

1. Reform of institutional governance will have to take into account the trend in the student movement to set up wholly independent organizations which will represent students on issues both directly related to the institution and independent of the institution--i.e., these independent student organizations will seek to represent the student body in the institutional governance process, but as an independent agent rather than as a sub-part of the process.

2. Changes in campus judicial procedures, if they are to be effective, must clarify and, in the process, limit the tasks of campus judiciaries. Specifically, the tasks of setting the guidelines of acceptable conduct and of deciding appropriate sanctions for infractions should be moved to a non-judicial forum, which should include equitable student representation.

3. Increasing use of "confrontation politics"--attempts to get change by working outside established channels--suggests that administrations and faculty might better work with students in developing appropriate new political approaches rather than simply responding to their use.

4. The issues behind the Vietnam Moratorium are of such fundamental importance to society and to the roles of colleges in society that they should be priority matters for campus discussion and action even in the absence of the Moratorium movement.

5. The issue of racism in society and on campus is so important that ACE should work with NSA in the coming year trying to find appropriate actions for colleges to take beyond instituting black studies or establishing separatist facilities.

6. Serious and open-minded attention should be given to the development of new curricular patterns and teacher-learner relationships and to institutional support for the development of alternative educational experiences, on or off-campus.

7. ACE should initiate discussions with the new president of NSA on ways in which we might work together.

8. Overall, the issues in 1 through 6 represent facets of institutional unresponsiveness to student concerns and the consequent frustrations and increasing attempts to move around rather than through institutional procedures. ACE should try to identify why and where unresponsiveness occurs, and ways of combatting such unresponsiveness, as well as searching for new means of assuring a fair hearing for all claims and suggestions. "Fair hearing" in this sense must include the real possibility of the recommended change actually being made.

Bibliography of Materials Collected at the Congress.
(on file, Comm. on Academic Affairs)

STUDENT POWER

Governance Structures--

Meehan, Mary. Role and Structure of Student Government.
U.S. National Student Association, 1966.

Meehan, Mary. Developing Leadership for Student Government.
U.S.NSA, 1966.

"Proposal for a University Senate"(Submitted to Columbia University
in the city of New York by the Executive Committee of the Fac-
ulty, March 20, 1969.)

Rommel, Erwin. "One Way to Begin," (Researching campus power
Structures), U.S.NSA, 1968.

Schwartz, Edward. "Student Power--A Return to the Program,"
Mimeographed article, 1967, 12 pp.

Senterfitt, Pam and Toothaker, Allen. A Training Plan for Campus-
Community Organizers. US NSA, 1969.

"What Makes a Campus Power Structure?" Student Government Infor-
mation Service, U.S.NSA, 1966, 17 pp.

Legal Rights--

Drug Law Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1969. (First Issue of new
Drug Studies Program bulletin on current events and legis-
lation regarding drugs.)

"Drug Studies," (Single sheet description of drug studies program
conferences to be held during 1969-70 school year.)

Legal Rights: Working Papers; 22rd congress. (Collection of
articles on student rights, defender programs, etc.)

Liebert, Roland. Student Conduct and Social Freedom. U.S.NSA, 1966.

Confronáation Politics--

Wheeler, Harvey. "The Constitutional Right to Civil Disobedience,"
Unpub. paper, Feb., 1968, 15 pp.

MILITARISM IN AMERICAN LIFE AND EDUCATION

"The Case for Voluntary ROTC," A Report Prepared and Submitted By A Special Study Group of the Student Government Emergency Commission to Effect Voluntary ROTC. Univ. of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio. 1968. 38 pp.

Draft--"National Council to Appeal the Draft: Literature and Bibliography List." 3 pp.

"The Power of the Pentagon," The Progressive, June, 1969. (entire issue on the question of Foreign Policy and National Priorities.)

Vietnam Moratorium--particippattion forms, strategy, and publicity.

"War as a Way of Life: Working Papers." For 23rd National Student Congress. Includes:
"Corporate Imperialism for the Poor."
"The New American Militarism."
"The Wretched of the Earth." (excerpt)
"Containment and Change." (excerpt)
"Colonialism and Liberation in America."
"Urban Counterinsurgency: An Introduction."
"Chicago's Power Broker: Mayer Daley."

BLACK ISSUES AND ANTI-RACISM

"Black Students in Higher Education: Working Papers for Third World Commission." 1969. 60 pp.

"An Evaluation of the NSA Racism Project: 1968-69." 1969, 20 pp.

"Five Proposals for Anti-Racism Action," USNSA, Aug. 1969, 7 pp.

"The Black Manifesto." by the National Black Economic Development Conference.

"New White Backlash: Part I." by People Against Racism, 1969, 9 pp.

Racism in Higher Education, ed. by Tom and Susan Isgar. U.S.NSA, 1969, 124 pp. ***

Resolutions considered or passed by the 22rd USNSA National Congress:
Tentative National Association of Black Students.
Regarding NSA as a Racist Institution.
Regarding National Mexican-American Political Assocation.
Chicano Delegation Resolution.
Tax Refusal.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Information on "Resource People" at Congress.

"Transition Associates," description of their work and services.

MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

"Manual for NSA Coordinators." Ed Schwartz. 41 pp. 1968.

Workshop Working Papers--22nd National Student Congress.
 Contents:
 "Documents Regarding the National Study of Campus Unrest."
 "What the Poor Are Up Against in Texas."
 "The Myth of the Free Scholar."
 "Who's in Charge?"
 "The Sexual Caste System: on Passing Two Whores and a Nun."

Student Services Manual, and related Documents.

"A Financial Program for NSA." James H. Sutton, Aug. 1969.

"Prospectus for an Assistance Center for Community and Junior
 College Students," June 10, 1969. U.S. NSA, 38 pp.

"Report to the Delegates by the Officers--USNSA, 1968-69."

"Report to the Delegates by the National Supervisory Board of
 the USNSA, 1968-69."

"Report to the Congress, 1968-69," by Danny Boggs, Chairman, NSB
 Legal and Finance Committee.

Delegate Listing--1969 22nd National Student Congress.

Graham, Pat. "Games Workbook." USNSA, 1969. 40 pp.

Birenbaum, William M. "The University is a Marshmellow." 1961, 13 pp.

Graham, James. "About NSA: Some Answers to the questions raised by
 the YAF and other Right-Wing Groups." U.S.NSA, 1969, 6 pp.

Codification of Policy, 196768, U.S.NSA.

Publications List--U.S.NSA.

"Woman's Rights: "Abortion;" "Repeal of Abortion Laws;" "Rights
 of Woman.""

--AGENDA, ACCOUNTS OF EVENTS.---

Agenda--Pre-Congress Congress.

Main Congress Agenda (Aug. 19-29).

US NSA Congress News. (Daily newsletter of Congress.)

News reports (magazines, newspapers) on Congress happenings.

Report of the 1969 National Supervisory Board to the 22nd National
 Student Congress.

(Additional Education Reform documents)
 The Institute for Educational Development. (Description.)
 The Robinhood Relearning Company. (Description.)
 The Urban Confrontation Program. (Description.)
 "A Minority Report on Educational Reform."
 "An Educational Offensive for Greeks." US NSA, 1966.

REPORT OF THE 1969--1970 NATIONAL·SUPERVISORY BOARD to the 22nd National Student Congress:

We are all committed as individuals to fundamental social change in America,,but the vehicle which we seek to utilize in this effort, the NSA, has become structurally inadequate, economically prostrate, and politically directionless. The frustration this has produced, both for us, the Third World, and other groups with which we could ally ourselves, has reached its peak in the chaos of this congress.

We propose, therefore, a new direction, a new structure, a new financial base, and a new politics. It can be based on the experiences we have all shared, the interests we all have in common, and the goals we all seek to realize. We must organize ourselves, and we must organize our schools, to work in the following areas:

I. ANTI-RACISM WORK

We believe that since racism is a problem origination in the white community of which most of us are member, that our basic orientation be to educate and organize whites.

We identify two major problems which contribute to the racist nature of society:
1.) the insensitivity of individuals to the mechanisms and mores of other cultures,
2.) the actions and policies of institutions which deny societal access to members of the Third World.

We committ ourselves to programs dealing in both areas: to developing through national and area staff, comprehensive analyses of the mechanics and solutions of both problems, and to applying, through the area staff and a corps of trained organizers these analyses to the particular campuses and communtiies. The working papers presented ideas didscussed at this Congress by all of us today, by the PAR, and by the anti--racism caucus provide a model to guide our efforts.

II. DECENTRALIZATION AND AREA COORDINATION

"Student power" work on campuses, membership base strengthening, and inter-university communication must be facilitated by the hiring of full-time personnel for each area. This personnel must be selected by and be responsible to the Area Steering Committees. The development of cohesive and powerful student networks in each area by the coordinator and NSB members will allow our ultimate dream of a national student union to be achieved.

III. EDUCATIONAL REFORM

For student, reform of the educational institutions of this country are both our urgent need and unique opportunity. The Center for Educational Reform, already decentralizing throughout the country, and leading NSA's efforts in this important area, should be continued. Its projects must serve as both a focus on work and center·for informational and other assistance to local efforts.

IV. UNIFICATION OF EFFORTS IN LEGAL RIGHTS, DRUG STUDIES, "DRAFT" RESISTANCE

We urge bringing together of these programs into one oriented toward legal aid and information dissemination on student rights, drugs, and the draft. The decentralization of this program from Washington would also be advisable if potential financial resources materialize.

V. VIETNAM MORATORIUM

We must lend our support to the Vietnam moratorium planned for the coming Fall, and any other actions which develop and are deemed appropriate by the NSB and officers to bring immediate withdrawal from Vietnam.

These are our priorities. Specific programs must be formalized by the NSB, the area steering committees, and the National Office to pursue these priorities. The following guidelines should be met.

I. AREA CENTERS

The development of area centers are of utmost importance. The area co-ordinator, the full-time anti-racism coordinator, the ed. reform and the legal rights staff will work out of these centers. They shall train organizers for the communities and campuses in each of these areas -- racism, ed. reform, student power, and legal rights. They shall distribute information pertaining to the issue areas. And they shall assist the individual campuses in solving problems and in developing an independent financial base.

II. NATIONAL OFFICE

Although the staff in the national office will be reduced, its importance will remain paramount. The officers must articulate and coordinate our purposes and programs at a national level. Campus liason information service, service functions can sensibly remain centralized. And national financial sources can be investigated and exploited as long as they do not compromise the independent position of the association.

III. Finances

We propose the following steps be taken to rebuild and stabilize our economic base:
1. Full utilization of the Services Contract by those member schools who chose to do so.
2. Lowering national dues to $25 for schools under 3,000 students and $50 for schools over 3,000 students.
This allows significant increases in regional and area assessments.
3. Development of national grant proposals.
4. Development of regional and area sources of income by us all, but particularly by the area coordinators and NSB members. Possibilities include: a.) Foundations, b.) Universities and colleges, c.) Unions, d.) Churches, e.) Corporations, f.) Etc. (Again, these should not compromise the independence of the Association.)
5. National, regional and local resource productive projects such as the development of campus organizing skills training centers.

In addition, present income from the Ed Reform grant, Legal Rights grant, dues, and services contracts must be conserved and administered as carefully and responsibly as possible.