This is a report of a campus tour led by US Representative Bill Brock of Tennessee to gain a better understanding of student unrest. The 22 participating Congressmen were divided into 6 regional groups which together visited over 50 universities of all types and sizes. Their report discusses a series of issues named by students as major sources of concern or dissatisfaction. These issues include: communication channels, institutional unresponsiveness, hypocrisy, educational irrelevance, administrative over-reaction, black experience and non-white expectations, racism, the military-industrial complex, poverty and hunger, imperialism and the Third World, police state tactics, economic oppression, remoteness from power, misplaced priorities, Vietnam and the draft, materialistic values, and the media. The opinions of students on these issues are accompanied by comments by the author(s) of this report. Various recommendations for non-repressive federal action are offered. (JS)
Congress Looks at the Campus:

REMARKS

HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, June 24, 1969

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, I recently had the pleasure of leading a group of 22 colleagues in a volunteer tour of American campuses. Organizing into six regional groups, we visited over 50 universities of all types and sizes and personally met with over a thousand students, as well as many faculty, administrators, and other concerned adults. Our main purpose was to listen, not to lecture, and we came away with a new insight into student outlooks. One important result was the following written report, which we submitted to President Nixon on June 18.

Because of the publicity it has received in the national press, the high level of interest it has achieved, and the numerous requests we have received from fellow Members, I insert the report following my remarks:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Mr. President: We submit to you the following report of campus unrest. The critical urgency of the problem cannot be overstated.

This report reflects our impressions of student attitudes and problems, along with some proposed solutions applicable at local, state and national levels. It represents a general consensus of our 22 man group. However, because each of us undertook this task as individuals, we must reserve the right of members to expand upon, or even disagree with, any specific point.

It is our hope that the findings included in this document will be of use to you in your continued efforts at solving what has become a major national problem.

Respectfully yours,

Bill Brock, Edward Broder, George Busby, Lou Foyt, Donald Ferguson, Bill Steiger, John Buchanan, Lawrence Coughlin, Marvin Eich, James Hastings, Larry Hogan, Manuel Lujan, Donald Lukens, Peter McCluskey, Jack McDonald, Jerry Pettis, Albert Quie, Tom Railerbach, Phil Ruppe, Guy Vander Jagt, Lowell Weicker, William Whitehurst.

REPORT OF THE BROCK CAMPUS TOUR PREFACE
A deep concern about today's problem of unrest among our youth, and the realization that we possessed little reliable information about events on the American campus prompted us to go out to a variety of colleges and universities to talk with students, faculty, administrators, and other officials on their own ground. We had nothing to sell, no speeches to make, and offered only a desire to know and understand the factors which appear to threaten the destruction of many of our most respected institutions and the alienation of many of this nation's finest students.

The problems confronting higher education are so complex that no study or analytic effort yet mounted can really claim to be comprehensive. We recognize the need for continued in-depth research. Nonetheless, we believe we achieved substantial success with respect to our main concern—the acquisition of some degree of personal understanding of the nature of the problem.

We came away from our campus tour both alarmed and encouraged. We were alarmed to discover that this problem is far deeper and far more urgent than most realize, and that it involves some of our most respected institutions. The same is true of organized revolutionaries. By the same token, we were encouraged by the candor, sincerity and basic decency of the vast majority of students we met. Too often, however, we saw their idealism and concern twisted into aimless or destructive ways.

If one Point is to be emphasized in this report it is that violence in any form, in any measure, under any circumstances, is not a legitimate means of protest or mode of expression—and that it can no longer be tolerated in the university community than in the community at large. If there is to be orderly progress and a redress of legitimate student grievances, student violence must be averted.

As Erwin N. Griswold, Solicitor General of the United States, has said:

"The right to disagree—and to manifest disagreement—which the Constitution allows to the individual... does not authorize them to carry on their campaign of education and persuasion at the expense of somebody else's liberty."

It is clear that if violence on our campuses does not end, and if the reaction to it is on the one extreme too lax, or on the other extreme too harsh and indiscriminate, the vast moderate student majority may be forced into the arms of the revolutionaries, and those few who seek to destroy the fabric of higher education will have succeeded.

We agree with the editorial in the June 6 New York Times:

"If lasting damage to the independence of the universities is to be avoided, if the society's attention is to be redirected to its larger, more serious problems, violence has to cease and tranquility has to be returned to the campuses."

There is on the campus today a new awareness of potential student power and the emergence of a large group, probably the vast majority of student leaders and a substantial number of intelligent, concerned and perplexed young people, which has genuine concern over what it feels is the difference between the promise and performance of America. While these students have no monolithic leadership or single set of goals, they are fairly united in questioning the nature of the system. The problems of revolutionaries are so complex that no study or analytic effort yet mounted can really claim to be comprehensive. We recognize the need for continued in-depth research. Nonetheless, we believe we achieved substantial success with respect to our main concern—the acquisition of some degree of personal understanding of the nature of the problem.

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Additionaly, they can demonstrate in posi-
the hands of these hard-core revolu-
tions. Legislation which treats innocent and guilty alike in-
vertedly confirms extremist charges that the "establishment" is repressive and indif-
between the campus community and the
rational modes of appreciation can affect the
issue. 1 The creation of a better future will
indeed be impossible if the free and orderly
pursuit of knowledge is jeopardized by the
struction of our colleges and universities
rather than by the destruction of our colleges
universities either through anarchy, or through a refusal to
consider pleas for necessary improve-
ments. This report, in listing a series of ideas for
consideration, is offered not as a panacea, but,
the sincere good intentions of a
their elders, intolerant and un-
unwilling to reason, and their elders, tolerant and un-
the students feel.
Where we have reached conclusions of our
own, they have been specifically noted by
the approval of the students. The
alternative of students, intolerant and un-
willing to reason, and their elders, intolerant and un-
constitutes the
ingredients of chaos.

We feel that our universities can foster an environment of trust, participa-
tion, involvement and interaction, we believe
that the danger of violent confrontation
and the emotional climate which is its pre-
lude) can be reduced. To the extent that this
can be done, the sense of our society can foster an e-
vironment of quality, excitement and challenge throughout its
total educational system, creative leadership
can be developed. In this report we offer pro-
positions for implementing these goals. We
we can envision no greater tragedy for this
nation and the free world than for us to allow our educational
level to slowly settle into insularity, losing its edge, reality and becoming incapable of respond-
ing to the needs of students and society.

We also suggest more positive contact be-
tween the campus community and the
greater community—increased social action
programs, volunteer projects and similar activities which provide students with an
opportunity to work on pressing human problems side by side with other concerned citizens.

We are convinced that such experiences can be an important supplement to the
classroom, acting to restore student faith in
the basic soundness of the American system. Additionally, they can demonstrate in posi-
tive fashion the sincere good intentions of a
significant portion of the adult commu-
which many students and faculty with
whom we met so readily charged with

Finally, this nation has an enormous stake
in preserving our system of higher education.
"The task of the university," as Alfred North
Whitehead has written, "is the creation of the
future as far as rational thought

Faculties are criticized for time spent on
consulting work for the government or for
private industry, and for spending too much
time researching and publishing. These ac-
tivities, however worthwhile, are seen as iso-
ating the faculties from the concerns and
problems of the students.

In view of the mounting activities of
some faculty members, particularly in large
universities, are excessive. The "publish or
perish" phrase is not simply a cliche. In
many areas it implies a valid criticism.

Responsiveness

Claims of inadequate channels of commu-
nication frequently and limited with com-
plaints about the lack of responsiveness to
student demands.

This situation is aggravated where there is a
lack of agreement, or of shared perspec-
tive, between administration and faculty. De-
spite protestations to the contrary, such
circumstances are hardly unusual. Faculty
and administration often are at odds on
anything from the way to reply to stu-
dent requests to the quality, method, and
timing of university response to student
protests.

When university action is taken, or prob-
lems are at least under serious review, stu-
dents who are not involved in the step-by-
step deliberations fail to understand the
amount of planning required and the com-
plexity involved in the solutions they pro-
gress to the university.

The students feel that it is the adminis-
tration and the faculty who decide which
issues will be accepted as student spokes-
men. Even when some students are in posi-
tions of consultation with the university,
administration and faculty, a majority of
students may deny that actual representa-
tion or communication occurs. On one large
university, for example, a list of student lead-
ers drawn up by the Dean of Students and
a list prepared by the editor of the student
newspaper had no names in common.

We feel that where these and similar situations
only lead to a conclusion that a lack of
real or visible responsiveness has been an
ingredient in campus conflict.

Student Intolerance

Although most students would deny it,
and many would be genuinely surprised by
the charge, the intolerance of a substantial portion of students is a contributing factor
to the general unrest. Often insulated from
day-to-day social responsibilities and con-
tact with other age groups, some students
infantile in their view of the factors and pressures that the governing
board must consider and endure.

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consistencies. The result for many has been a combination of deep social concern and a disenchanted with traditional institutions and approaches to problems.

Frequently students are strong in framing ideal solutions and weak in analyzing the factors involved in the problem and in its solution. Some demand immediate solutions and failing that, rush into confrontation as the "only alternative course". They may resort to "non-negotiable demands", a technique that is often cited as evidence of student intolerance.

The more militant students insist on acting as a group, feeling that their hope of success lies in refusing to deal with opponents on an individual basis. Refusal to negotiate may indicate merely a desire to disrupt for the sake of disruption but it may also reflect a lack of understanding and a lack of skill and confidence in the bargaining which the young Americans vitally employed in the democratic society.

Such intolerance contains dangerous seeds of self-destruction. Unchecked, it can only breed a lack of education on the part of those who have made higher educational opportunities available to more young Americans than any society in history.

It should also be recognized that some of the intolerance displayed is purposeful and perhaps inevitable for the revolution is determined to remain unappeased in the hope of prompting administration reaction of a sufficiently excessive or violent nature to "radicalize" the moderate student majority. He must seek this goal because radicalism as a force to destroy can achieve no objectives, can obtain no real results on our campuses today without the tacit or even open support of many complaints about many administrative procedures, and the extension of funds for military and industrial research.

In response to the effort to educate the disadvantaged, students charge that the university is society, fails to practice what it preaches. It should also be recognized that some of the intolerance displayed is purposeful and perhaps irreversible. The revolutionary is determined to remain unappeased in the hope of prompting administration reaction of a sufficiently excessive or violent nature to "radicalize" the moderate student majority. He must seek this goal because radicalism as a force to destroy can achieve no objectives, can obtain no real results on our campuses today without the tacit or even open support of...
The black student expresses bitterness about our system from personal experience. Many white students expressed concern about problems such as discrimination, poverty and hunger, but unlike the black students, most of them had not personally experienced these problems. As more than one black student said—"You have to be black to understand."

A substantial number of black students at predominately black institutions stated that they have lost faith in our political system, which over the years has promised them much, but in their opinion, delivered little. They say there are political wolves in the South and political foxes in the North. Many of the blacks want desperately to believe in the system, but can see no real progress being made. Their problem is more external than internal. They are concerned about non-college problems which they identify as discrimination, economic oppression, loss of identity, poverty, hunger and racism. They are willing to be rescued and desire true economic opportunity. Words and promises will no longer suffice.

In many cases the militant blacks at predominately black campuses are looking for a dramatic and, if necessary, violent upheaval in the United States. They would acknowledge our good intentions, but felt that the faster and more complete the failure of moderate programs, the sooner the final and absolute confrontation would occur. When asked how they would change the system, or what changes they would make, they didn't have an answer—but said that problem would take care of itself.

The black feels that the white radical is playing a game, and only need shave his beard and cut his hair in order to melt into the mainstream of the establishment, while the black student cannot.

The main goal of the majority of black students seemed to be service to their "black brothers and sisters". Some said that they would rather die for their people in the streets of the United States than in Vietnam.

The black students in most cases stated that their schools are inferior to white institutions, even when operated by the same authority, such as a state board of regents. In many cases, they also stated that, because of their inferior primary and secondary education, they are unable to compete with the white graduate or in predominantly white schools. Many black educators and students felt that the N.E.W. guidelines should be revised until our entire educational system is corrected, to allow for the continued existence of predominately black schools. The rationale offered was that the black schools would allow many blacks to attend college who couldn't get, or stay, in white colleges.

It is important to make a clear distinction between the purposes and goals of black militant students and white revolutionaries. Aside from similarities in tactics, there are substantial differences. Without doubt, the alienation and bitterness among some black students is so great that they have completely lost faith in the ability of the nation to remove obstacles to full equality (see preceding section). Many black student activists on predominantly white campuses, however, are not seeking to reform the political system, but to make it better suited to serve their needs and desires, to create the mechanism for training students from minority groups to go back into their communities to deal with their social and economic problems, and not to destroy the university. This is in contrast to the goal of destroying the institution held by some white and black revolutionaries. Thus black student activists might hold the white revolutionaries at arm's length—forming alliances when useful but preserving their separate identity and independence. By the same token, the formal involvement of black student groups in issues not directly related to minority student problems has been, in most cases, limited.

Large versus Small Institutions

An immediate difference appears in the ability of smaller institutions to deal with some problems more readily and with greater acuity than the multi-university. Size affects responsiveness, communications and many other needs. Meeting them at larger schools is more difficult, but it is not impossible, and the effort must be made.

Obviously, there are very good reasons for the tremendous growth of some institutions in recent years. The population explosion, increasing demand for more education, university financing, and the national reputation of specific institutions have all resulted in the development of a number of very large schools.

Thus, it is to find ways to preserve the benefits of size while overcoming its disadvantages. We must seek ways to strengthen the ability of our universities to provide close personal relationships and the environments available in small group settings. Greater development of community colleges, and even cluster colleges around the large university, can also play an important part in "humanizing" the learning process.

As with the section on internal factors of student unrest, our main concern is to clearly...
Students relayed to us deep feelings about "the System," "the Establishment," etc. The word, System, covers a good deal and its conjunction varies from campus to campus. In all we have discerned certain common threads. The System, as they define it, is characterized essentially as follows:

**Racism**

The student perceives the gulf between the promise and performance of this nation with respect to race relations. He sees inequality of opportunity, failure of the educational system, and he relates these to the country as a whole as well as to the university. For the most part, we found a perceived neglect of human problems to be the single largest motivating force behind the alienation of today's student. Whether in black studies questions, or in the university's relation with its surrounding community, an over-riding concern was the status of minority groups.

**Military Industrial Complex**

There is considerable student opposition to our formidable Defense budget. Why, they ask, do funds for domestic and educational programs get cut while the Defense budget goes almost unchallenged? They see a close relationship between the academic community and the military. They see university presidents sitting as members of boards of large industrial corporations. They see cuts being made in funds to hire teachers while boards of trustees authorize new buildings and facilities in order to receive greater federal research funds.

**Poverty and Hunger**

In this age of affluence the medium of television brings home to people the gap between well-to-do and the poor. There is a growing dissatisfaction on the part of students with the response of the nation to this disadvantage. They are not willing to wait to overcome decades of poverty and racial intolerance, and they question apparent past inaction. The immediate problems around the college campus often become the focal point for their attention. The failure of many institutions to act with regard for the neighborhood around them has caused the student to take as his own the cause of the Harlem or Woodlawn resident.

Certainly, student involvement in such matters is not new: witness the civil rights marches of the early 60's. What is new is the intense impatience with change or the apparent lack of change in the lives of many Americans.

**Imperialism and the Third World**

On a number of campuses a recurring question related to the role of the United States and the problems of what is termed the "Third World" (Blacks, Chinese, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, etc.). The view expressed was that we are the imperialists in Vietnam. In Formosa, in Latin America, and that the emerging nations are a new force with whom we have not yet come to grips. Some feel we are not treating other people in the world fairly, and from the view of the student, we are paying the price of not heeding the views and needs of others. In their view, self-determination, as expressed by the United States, is a pious proclamation which relates only to those with whom we agree.

**Police State**

The experience of one school more clearly demonstrates this problem than any other. When the students left in the summer of 1968 the campus police wore no weapons. When the students returned in the Fall of 1968 the campus police were equipped with billy clubs, guns, and mace. For a school that had experienced no difficulty, the students questioned why this was done. As violence grows, and as counter-violence escalates, the student views his relationship with both the university and the outside world as increasingly beset by the police and National Guard. Each demonstration brings with it the threat of violence on both sides.

**Economic Oppression**

The readiness of legislatures and alumni to strike bonds at campus turbulence seems only to reinforce the student's view that big government and big industry more and more dominate the university and society. What has happened at Peoples Park in Berkeley, on Merrin Street in Madison, and other places, are examples of a new concern for matters outside the university, yet, in which the university plays a role. Student housing, the increases in rent rates, merchants who charge higher prices to students (as they do to ghetto residents) are examples used by students to justify their claims of oppression.

**Remoteness From Power**

A very large part of the alienation of students stems from their feeling that they cannot control their own destiny. Institutions are too large, and too remote, for the individual to have an opportunity to change that which he does not like. The multiversity concept is often pointed to here, as is the overwhelming size of government, industry, and labor unions.

**Misplaced Priorities**

Over and over again we heard about priorities and the feeling that there are "out of whack" in the United States. The space program, large farm subsidies, cuts in education, the Defense budget, and more, all were cited as examples of the failure of our society to meet its urgent domestic needs.

**Vietnam**

It is apparent that Vietnam originally served as one of the major factors in radicalizing students. It is still a major source of alienation and dissatisfaction with our society and our national government. Many consider the war immoral and unjust. An increasing number vow to take any steps necessary to avoid military service.

However, it was repeatedly brought home to us by radicals and moderates alike that an end to the Vietnam war would not mean an end to campus unrest—or even a major, long-range, reduction of tensions.

**The Draft**

Coupled with Vietnam the operations of the Selective Service System serve as a significant problem among students. The present administration of the draft is viewed as totally unsatisfactory, as being unjust to minority groups particularly, and as a tool of the Federal Government to enforce discipline. Faculty and students alike tend to equate expulsion from the university with compulsory service in Vietnam.

As one student put it, "This is a 'thing' culture, and I want it to be a 'people' culture." In the midst of affluence the student sees a society in which a high value is placed on material things. There is a longing for a belief, a belief in something other than material things. There is a deep conviction on the part of many students that they want to do something to help others, not only themselves. This is part of a rejection of materialism as viewed by the student. Moreover, there is a questioning of the fundamental values of our society, and our system of government.

**Over-reaction**

As can be seen from the portion of this report which analyzes confrontation, the efforts to control violence—as well as those steps leading to violence—too often create an over-reaction on the part of all concerned. In our view there has been an over-reaction on the part of students to what they consider to be the unresponsiveness of the institutions to legitimate calls for change.

This compounds what under the best of circumstances is a complex problem. But an excessive reaction from the outside world, aroused and disturbed as it is, does little to help. In a violent situation, students, faculty, administration and the community are caught in a tangled web of sympathy, fear, reaction and frustration. Obviously then, as the Eisenhower Commission on Violence has said in its most recent report: "Our reaction in response to a violent illegal situation can be very dangerous."

The idea that campus violence comes from only a few is a myth. There are many dedicated, bright students who are concerned about the problems but who are not yet violent. They have not, however, rejected completely the view that they should resort to violence. Unfortunately, it can spiral to some campuses where violence has produced results.

**Hypocrisy**

Through all the external and internal factors runs this thread. Each campus would produce differing examples of this theme, but it is an underlying feeling on the part of the students.

Students believe that our society is hypocritical. They point to the treatment of blacks while contrasting this to the ideal of the Declaration of Independence; they see poverty in the midst of plenty.
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The Media

Most of the people we talked with stated the opinion that superficial mass media coverage was contributing to the widening disillusionment and misunderstanding between the public and our nation's campuses. The media, particularly that utilizing the visual impression, concentrated on the dramatic, the sensational, the vivid acts of violence or disorder.

There is altogether too little effort made to thoughtfully explore the underlying issues and problems that concern the vast majority of students and educators who genuinely care about the future of our university community. We have found that many were surprised by our visit and by our willingness to listen and learn. There is a need to expand lines of communication. We urge that Cabinet officers, Members of Congress, the White House staff, and others in the Executive Branch begin an increasing effort for this kind of two-way street of listening, learning and responding. Once our communication has been established it will be important to sustain it. Some of the questions raised by students were truly the kind which deserve and demand answers. Some of the viewpoints expressed by students deserve understanding. And some of the misconceptions of the system of government within which we operate desperately need correction. This can best be done, we think, by staging an ongoing program of communication.

4. Lower the voting age. There is no question that the American college student for the most part is better educated and more politically concerned with contemporary problems in our country than at any previous time in our history. We feel that active involvement in the political process can constructively focus his idealism on the most effective means of changing in a free society.

The right to vote will give Young America the chance to become a responsible, participating part of our system. In essence they will have the chance to put their performance where their words are.

Between the time they become eligible to vote, and the time they presently become eligible to vote, there is a natural tendency to lose interest in politics and government because there is no right to participate. An extension of the franchise to the age of 18 when their interest is high can help engender in our youth (and our future leadership) an awareness of the full meaning of democracy.

5. Draft reform. In line with your own recommendations for reform of the Selective Service System we believe Congress should move to act promptly on this important issue. It is a matter which affects hundreds of thousands of American young people and it is presently a sword over their heads. This can be improved and positive action on the matter would be significant.

6. Encourage student participation in politics. We found that the overwhelming majority of students with whom we visited held little regard for either political party.

The questioning of our system of government points to a loss of confidence in established institutions and that includes political parties. An increase in this loss of confidence poses a serious danger to the viable functioning of American government. Just as government must be responsive, so must political parties be responsive and open.

7. Expand opportunities for involvement. We advocate encouraging desire on the part of many students to do something to help overcome the problems of our society. This dedication or commitment to help others is a hopeful, important area which should be encouraged. Specifically, we recommend establishing a National Youth Foundation.

We believe this concept should be initiated in order to better utilize the energy and resources of student groups. Models of student-community involvement were found at the University of South Carolina, Radcliffe and Michigan State University, among others, and we urge legislation to foster and encourage this opportunity for experience, learning and application.

We also recommend establishing a Student Teacher Corps. Many more students are considering entering the teaching profession and this idea is one which we feel should be encouraged. In concert with the Teacher Corps, the student teacher concept can be a valuable tool to tap student potential and expand the learning opportunities for the disadvantaged.

Further, we recommend increasing our support of the College Work-Study Program, National Defense Student Loan Program, and the Educational Opportunity Grant Program. These three Federal programs have been indispensable in meeting the needs of students and the institutions in responding to student demand. They are budgeted at levels far below the authorization, and we believe they should be increased.

From the community at large, American business, which has played such a large role in financially supporting higher education, must commit human resources as well. Effective job-opportunity programs, work studies programs, business men and other community leaders teaching on campus, intern and apprentice efforts, leadership in student-community problem solving, attendance at campus forums, among others, could measurably enhance the experience-learning process.

8. Coordinate youth programs. We think it would be helpful if an effort were made to coordinate all the present youth programs of the Federal government through one central office. At the moment there is considerable proliferation among many agencies as well as duplication of effort. In order to more effectively use the present resources of the Federal government we urge your consideration of a mechanism to coordinate and follow through the work of our numerous programs and agencies.

9. Perspective. There is a need to mobilize opinion and resources. A sense of perspective is lacking on the part of the students and on the part of the public. What students are
saying is, in some cases, the same as what the average American is saying regarding priorities, responsiveness, and humanization. Presidential leadership, governmental concern, and communication are all part of the necessary work which must be undertaken if we are to replace revolution with reform, and despair with hope. Clearly we have found that violence is no answer, and that violence as a means to achieve an end is counter-productive. The crucial factor in the widening gap between students and others is the student's perception of reality. That must be understood by all who seek solutions. This requires of us comprehension, and of the student, understanding.

10. Balance. Henry Thoreau observed that, "There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil to one who is striking at the root.

To take an isolated view of our universities as the one weak link in our educational system is to unfairly single out college students, their parents, professors and school administrators.

We must remember that the average college freshman has already undergone a dozen years of formal education before he enters the gates of the university. Obviously, he is going to reflect, at least in some measure, the strengths and weaknesses of the training he has already received. Many of his attitudes and many of the factors which may lead him into difficulties on campus, have already been implanted.

Therefore, a sweeping change in campus conditions alone is no guarantee of a return to orderly progress in our universities. There exist imperfections in our educational system from pre-school programs to graduate studies. These flaws in American education deserve the immediate and thorough attention of the nation. The problems which have already surfaced on the college campus exist in various dormant forms in our secondary schools, and the inadequacies which foster them can often be traced back even further.

Consequently, what is needed is not a piecemeal approach to reform, but a sweeping change in campus conditions. But the path to this change is fraught with difficulty.

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