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

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

Last year's record

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Last year's record</th>
<th>Had disruptive protests</th>
<th>Had violent protests</th>
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<tr>
<td>Public universities</td>
<td>43.0%</td>
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<td>Private universities</td>
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<tr>
<td>Public 2-yr colleges</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
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1980! **BETWEEN NOW AND THEN,** our colleges and universities will have more changes to make, more major issues to confront, more problems to solve, more demands to meet, than in any comparable period in their history. In 1980 they also will have:

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

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

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

1980! **BEFORE THEY CAN GET THERE,** the colleges and universities will be put to a severe test of their resiliency, resourcefulness, and strength.

No newspaper reader or television viewer needs to be told why.

Many colleges and universities enter the Seventies with a burdensome inheritance: a legacy of dissatisfaction, unrest, and disorder on their campuses that has no historical parallel. It will be one of the great issues of the new decade.

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

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

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

- **Of 501 institutions with fewer than 1,000 students, only 14 percent reported that the level of protest had increased on their campuses over the past 10 years.**
Of 32 institutions enrolling between 15,000 and 25,000 students, 75 per cent reported an increase in protests.

Of 9 institutions with more than 25,000 students, all but one reported that protests had increased.

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

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

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

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

"It is very clear from our data," he reported, "that, although some areas have had more student protest than others, there is no 'safe' region of the country."
WHAT WILL BE THE PICTURE by the end of the decade? Will campus disruptions continue—and perhaps spread—throughout the Seventies? No questions facing the colleges and universities today are more critical, or more difficult to answer with certainty.

On the dark side are reports from hundreds of high schools to the effect that “the colleges have seen nothing, yet.” The National Association of Secondary School Principals, in a random survey, found that 59 per cent of 1,026 senior and junior high schools had experienced some form of student protest last year. A U.S. Office of Education official termed the high school disorders “usually more precipitous,
spontaneous, and riotlike" than those in the colleges. What such
tumblings may presage for the colleges and universities to which many
of the high school students are bound, one can only speculate.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A student found even more measurable evidence of the new mood:
"At Lamont Library last week I had to wait 45 minutes to get a reserve
book. Last spring, during final exams, there was no wait at all."
PARTIALLY UNDERLYING THE CAUTIOUS OPTIMISM is a feeling that many colleges and universities—which, having been peaceful places for decades, were unprepared and vulnerable when the first disruptions struck—have learned a lot in a short time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“Those who choose to employ violence or coercion within the university cannot long remain there without destroying the whole fabric
of the academic environment. Most of those who today believe otherwise are, in fact, pitiable victims of the very degradation of values they are attempting to combat.

Chancellor Gould has observed:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To many observers’ surprise, Harold Hodgkinson’s survey of student protest, to which this report referred earlier, found that “the hypothesis
that increased student control in institutional policy-making would result in a decrease in student protest is not supported by our data at all. The reverse would seem to be more likely.” Some 80 per cent of the 355 institutions where protests had increased over the past 10 years reported that the students’ policy-making role had increased, too.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Trend: In recent years, observers have noted that many faculty members were more interested in their disciplines—history or physics or medicine—than in the institutions they happened to be working for at the time. This seemed not unnatural, since more and more faculty members were moving from campus to campus and thus had less opportunity than their predecessors to develop a strong loyalty to one institution.
But it often meant that the general, day-to-day running of a college or university was left to administrative staff members, with faculty members devoting themselves to their scholarly subject-matter.

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

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

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

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

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

Trend: Here, in the academic heart of the colleges and universities, some of the most exciting developments of the coming decade appear certain to take place. "From every quarter," said Michael Brick and Earl J. McGrath in a recent study for the Institute of Higher Education at Teachers College of Columbia University, "evidence is suggesting
that the 1970's will see vastly different colleges and universities from
those of the 1960's." Interdisciplinary studies, honors programs, inde-
dependent study, undergraduate work abroad, community service proj-
jects, work-study programs, and non-Western studies were some of the
innovations being planned or under way at hundreds of institutions.

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

By 1980, the changes should be vast, indeed.

1980!

BETWEEN NOW AND THE BEGINNING of the next
decade, one great issue may underlie all the others
—and all the others may become a part of it.

When flatly stated, this issue sounds innocuous; yet its implications
are so great that they can divide faculties, stir students, and raise pro-
found philosophical and practical questions among presidents, trustees,
alumni, and legislators:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Julian Bond, a Negro member of the Georgia state senate, argued
the point thus, before the annual meeting of the American Council on Education:

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

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

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

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

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

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

"... It is still possible for members of the university community—its faculty, its students, and its administrators—to participate fully and freely as individuals or in social groups with particular political or ideological purposes. The entire concept of academic freedom, as developed on our campuses, presupposes a role for the teacher as teacher, and the scholar as scholar, and the university as a place of teaching and learning which can flourish free from external political or ideological constraints.

"... Every scholar who is also an active and perhaps passionate citizen ... knows the pitfalls of ideology, fervor, and a priori truths as the starting-point of inquiry. He knows the need to beware of his own biases in his relations with students, and his need to protect their autonomy of choice as rigorously as he would protect his own. ..."

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

**1980! WHAT WILL THE COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY be like, if it survives this tumultuous decade? If it comes to grips with the formidable array of issues that confront it? If it makes the painful decisions that meeting those issues will require?**

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

*Illustrations by Jerry Dadds*