



**FIRST DAY:** Building seized, pickets form  
DU's attack, defenders hurl ashtray stand



## It Can't Happen Here—Can It?

At 4:13 p.m. on a chill spring Sunday on the Cornell University campus in Ithaca, N.Y., the main doors of Willard Straight Hall swung open. A band of 100 black men and women students, some draped with bandoliers and carrying an arsenal of seventeen rifles, shotguns and homemade spears, marched out into the sunlight and into a stunned silence. "When they stepped out and I saw the ammunition on the belts and the rifles," recalls Lawrence Terkel, a white Cornell senior from Shaker Heights, Ohio, "my heart dropped to my toes."

This profound consternation was shared by almost everyone associated with Cornell—the faculty, the students, militant and uninvolved, parents and alumni. Moreover, it radiated beyond Cornell to every other U.S. campus and indeed beyond the universities to U.S. society as a whole. For at that moment now frozen in photographic history, the U.S. student revolt of the 1960s escalated to its third and most explosive stage.

Five years ago, at Berkeley, student activists had resorted to the well-tried tactic of sitting-in to win from the administration the right to speak at a microphone in Sproul Plaza. Exactly one year ago last week at Columbia University, student militants turned sit-ins into forcible seizure and "liberated" buildings in order to force a redistribution of university power. Last week at Cornell, the seized building became an armed camp where students claimed they were willing to die and take others with them. Faced with this situation university officials signed an amnesty agreement with the blacks "to prevent a growing and imminent threat to life."

Why did the black students arm themselves? In the continuous argument that convulsed Cornell throughout the week,

many claimed—with some justice—that the blacks genuinely feared armed attack by whites. Others, with a psychological bent, held that the blacks were mainly on a self-fueled "ego trip," and were asserting their masculinity—and no doubt there was some truth in that, as well. The more cynical insisted that the deployment of guns was for the benefit of the cameras and the media.

But the simple fact is that guns were deployed at Cornell and their very presence commanded certain concessions from the university, including amnesty for the seizure of Straight. Looking at the situation from afar, other universities reassured themselves that Cornell was a special case—an Ivy League school in a rural setting where hunting is a common recreation and where guns, knives and bullets are casually plentiful—and that, in any case "it can't happen here" at Chicago or Michigan or Stanford. But as one Cornell faculty man noted: "When you come down to it, guns work."

**War:** That unadorned element must now be factored into the calculations of administrators who have to negotiate with students, of admission officers who have to pick next year's entering classes (page 28), of faculty who are devoted to academic reason and discourse, of alumni called on to give to alma mater, of parents due to send the tuition checks, and of the students themselves who may find themselves between warring camps. Not even the militant white members of Cornell's Students for a Democratic Society chapter who formed a "defense perimeter" for the blacks in the Straight were of one mind about the guns. Some said they were "turned off," others said, "it was beautiful."

The traumatic events at Cornell took place in a week when the U.S. campus

seems to have turned into a national battleground. For the most part other schools were faced by familiar pressure tactics directed against familiar grievances: the war in Vietnam and the university's putative "complicity" in it, racism in U.S. society and in university policy, the still too minimal role of students in governing the university. But the sheer rate of student protest accelerated so rapidly that newspapers started carrying front-page summaries of building seizures and general disruptions, much like baseball box scores.

**Lock:** In New York, for example, some 200 black and Puerto Rican students locked themselves inside the gates of the City College of New York's south campus, demanding that the school admit more non-whites. At Harvard, the faculty of arts and sciences voted 251 to 158 to give black students power in choosing professors and curriculum for a new, black-studies program—the first time Harvard students have ever had such a voice. Harvard's Afro-American Society had charged that the administration had dragged its feet in setting up the program, and this was a major reason why the black students remained on strike after Harvard students voted to end their class boycott centered on ROTC and university-expansion issues two weeks ago. The faculty action will add six black students to the seven faculty members on a committee to develop the Afro-American studies program.

The day after the vote Prof. Henry Rosovsky, chairman of the faculty committee which had developed the program, resigned from it in protest. "My decision is not motivated by academic conservatism," said Rosovsky. "It is motivated by the belief that basic changes in educational policy should be studied





SECOND DAY: Blacks leave the Straight



Evans at the Afro house



Muller and Whitfield: An agreement

carefully and considered in a calm atmosphere." Astronomy Prof. Charles Whitney, also a member of the original Rosovsky committee, acknowledged that the move does establish a precedent that other students might use, but added: "We decided that if it is a department in which the students can bring to bear persuasive arguments, then maybe the precedent is not such a bad idea." Others at Harvard had at least one eye on Ithaca. "There was a lot of ordinary, garden-variety cowardice in the vote," commented one senior professor. "The incredible events at Cornell had some effect, of course, but people who voted yes, I feel, thought that there's bound to be violence eventually and they could buy 'peace in our time' by giving black students what they wanted."

But this specter of a Munich at Ithaca may be overdrawn. A careful chronology of the events at Cornell reveals a cautionary and ambiguous moral story. No party had a monopoly on virtue, courage or honest discourse.

Spread gracefully over 200 acres high above Lake Cayuga in mid-state New York, Cornell University could serve as a movie set for a peaceful American campus. Water gushes through gorges in the rolling hills; well-scrubbed coeds stroll to class. Cornell is an Ivy League school, but it is also New York State's land-grant college; it has a large College of Agriculture and a College of Home Economics—and its 14,000 students come from rural areas of the state as well as from the cities and suburbs. Social life is centered in the 51 fraternities and ten sororities; there is little to do in Ithaca (population: 31,000).

Cornell is governed by 49 trustees, including the speaker of the State Assembly, and a representative of the state Grange. But the real power resides in James A. Perkins, a 57-year-old, Philadelphia-born Quaker, the liberal president of a liberal institution. When Perkins

came to Cornell six years ago from the Ford Foundation, he made up his mind to recruit Negroes—particularly bright students from the slums. Cornell today has 250 black students, and many of them feel they have been dropped into an enemy camp—condescending at best, actively hostile at worst, and geared to make them dark copies of middle-class whites.

Racial incidents have been growing on campus for more than a year. First, black students sat in the office of the economics department chairman to protest alleged racist remarks by a visiting professor. After the riots that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., anonymous whites telephoned threats to black students. This fall and winter members of Cornell's Afro-American Society staged a series of demonstrations for a separate black college. After each demonstration, the threatening calls from whites increased. "Rumors of black and white trouble were like a background noise," Perkins says.

Perkins himself was not safe from attack. In February, a black student grabbed his coat collar from the rear during a student meeting discussing the university's holdings in the Chase Manhattan Bank (accused of investing in South Africa). Some whites started carrying hunting knives when they were out late. Three weeks ago one member of Afro bought \$50 worth of ammunition in Ithaca—about the same time the trustees were voting to create a center for Afro-American studies to open in the fall.

Shortly after 2 a.m., Friday, April 18, the lid blew off Cornell's racial situation. It was Parents' Weekend and some 2,000 visitors were expected. Coincidentally, the board of student conduct (consisting of five students and four faculty members), after a six-hour meeting, announced it was dropping charges against blacks charged with stealing cushions from a girls' dorm. It gave mild reprimands to three others accused of being in demonstrations for the black college.

Less than an hour later a rock was thrown through a window of Wari (Swahili for "home") House, a cooperative residence for twelve black women, and a cross was burned on the front steps. Before dawn sixteen false alarms and two bomb threats were reported across the campus. No one is certain who was responsible. In any case, at dawn a day later 100 black students decided to seize Willard Straight Hall to protest the disciplinary decisions, mild as they were. Racing down halls shouting "fire," they routed 30 Parents' Weekend visitors from their beds and evicted 40 university employees. When one woman did not move out fast enough, the students ripped open her door with a crowbar. The blacks then chained Straight Hall's doors shut from the inside, pulled out fire hoses and pointed them at the entrances. No guns were inside at this time.

**Fight:** The first the campus knew of the seizure was at 6:03 when the student radio station WVBR, with studios in the basement of "the Straight," interrupted its program for a "relevant political message." Edward L. Whitfield, 19-year-old sophomore chairman of Afro, announced that blacks had taken over the building to protest Cornell's "racist attitudes." Whitfield, who went to Central High in Little Rock (where he was sixth in his class), is enrolled in a six-year Ph.D. program. Outside, white members of SDS, who knew of Afro's plans in advance, formed a line. "We were supposed to set a defense perimeter," said bearded David Burak. "We would be fighting and taking the lumps they have taken for 300 years."

As the blacks and their white supporters saw the issue, the protest was a political act, and the university did not have jurisdiction over political dissent. They also said the conduct committee was incompetent to judge them since the committee was all white. Explained Tom Jones, another Afro leader and former president of Cornell's freshman class:

"We chose Parents' Weekend because the university could not ignore our actions on Parents' Weekend. We chose Wilbur Straight Hall because it was the focal point of Parents' Weekend."

Over at the Delta Upsilon fraternity house, they saw things differently. Tom MacLeod, a junior from St. Louis, was awakened about 7 Saturday morning by a telephone call. A friend told him of the take-over. The DU house is about 100 yards from the Straight and some DU members were football players who knew some of the black football players in the Straight. MacLeod, president of the house, says that "about twelve brothers got up and aroused. We sat around for half an hour and I tried to calm down a lot of emotion. They decided it might be wise to open the doors for the parents. We went up completely unarmed, we just wanted to open lines of communications with the black athletes."

**Scream:** It was 9 a.m. and in addition to the SDS a small group of campus police and some spectators were assembled outside the Straight. Off to one side, nine DU men climbed in an open window of the Straight leading into the WVBR studio. "I was upstairs shooting pool and I heard black women screaming from the kitchen," says Jones. "The brothers came downstairs and we dealt with the situation as best as we could." One DU was hit on the head with a hammer, one says he was sprayed with Mace. The DU's retreated out the same window; three DU's and one black student were taken to the clinic with minor wounds.

After the skirmish Eric Evans, a senior from Chicago, leaned out the second-



Newsweek—Robert R. McElroy

#### FOURTH DAY: Jones at Barton Hall

floor window—over the red and white banner saying "Welcome Parents"—and announced: "Another raid like we just had is going to be dealt with in a way which is going to hurt a lot of innocent people." All day Saturday the blacks held the Straight while the SDS marched outside. A lone parent picketed the SDS. The wind rose; it began to snow and rumors whipped around campus. One black student outside the building reported that eight carloads of whites with guns were on the way.

President Perkins, meanwhile, canceled a speech prepared for the parents called "The Stability of the University." The administration promised "there would be

no police action" against the black students; outwardly it looked like another building seizure such as the ones at Columbia last year, Chicago last January and Stanford two weeks ago.

At 10:30 Saturday night, however, black students started carrying guns, ammunition and hatchets into the building. A black student appeared in a second-floor window cradling a rifle with a telescopic sight. A campus policeman called Perkins to tell him of the new development. "It was a shattering experience," Perkins said later. "The guns were not justified." Sunday morning Perkins issued a statement pointing to Cornell's past record of black recruitment and asked the black students to leave the building.

**Police:** By now he feared that someone—black or white—would be hurt. He appointed Steven Muller, Cornell vice president for public affairs, and W. Keith Kennedy, university vice provost, to open negotiations with the blacks to get them out of the building. The university started to work for a court injunction and then decided that an injunction couldn't be enforced by the 30-man campus police force or the Ithaca city police.

Sunday morning Muller and Kennedy entered the Straight for talks. At 4:13 p.m. the black students swung open the Straight's main doors and, escorted by eleven uniformed campus policemen, walked out—with their guns. Eric Evans had a bullet in the open breach of his rifle; he also had bandoliers of ammunition across his chest. The blacks raised the weapons over their heads in a victory salute; SDS leaders responded with a cheer and raised clenched fists. The pro-

## CLASS OF '73: NO LOYALTY OATH YET

**W**hile many harassed college officials have had their hands full with the activities of the classes of 1969-72 over the last three months, other officials have been dealing with the Class of 1973. Their labors ended last week, when the prized envelopes bearing admissions forms went out to some 1,575,000 high-school seniors expected to be freshmen this fall. In recent years the trend at both the sought-after liberal-arts schools in the Northeast and the multiversities of the Midwest and Far West has been to seek more black students as well as bright, socially committed white students. And these students in many cases have been the ones involved in the turmoil. Has such dissent produced an admissions backlash in favor of "more tractable" young people?

Most of the evidence suggests probably not. Certainly black admissions, which have been on the rise over the past few years, are higher than ever, particularly in the Ivy League. At Harvard, 109 blacks were admitted for next fall's freshman class—more than double

last year's total. Dartmouth has accepted 120 blacks, compared with 50 last year. The Seven Sisters schools (Barnard, Bryn Mawr, Mount Holyoke, Radcliffe, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley), which have trailed behind the Ivy League schools in recruiting blacks, this year show large gains in black enrollment: taken together, the seven women's colleges expect to have a freshman class that is 13 per cent black.

**Planned:** The University of Michigan has increased its minority-group enrollment to 1,000 with the admission of 200 this year, mostly blacks. "There aren't a lot of black-power extremists here because the program has been carefully planned," admissions director Clyde Vroman explains. "We're not like some schools which have just begun recently to admit students from disadvantaged groups—pulling hundreds of people off the streets in late August for September enrollment." Other Big Ten schools have special programs to enroll blacks and other students from minority groups. Indiana University admissions of-

ficers point to "Group 19," a special program which has accepted 200 "disadvantaged" students, most of them blacks. At the University of Illinois, "Project 500" has accepted about 250 blacks out of the fall freshman crop of 5,630.

Most of the special programs to recruit more black students have received a helping hand from blacks already on campus. Amherst College (which received 2,661 applications for 300 places) has accepted 38 blacks this year (27 last year). Members of the college's Afro-American Society, with biographical file cards on every black candidate, have been calling blacks who have been accepted and exhorting them to come to Amherst in the fall. At Princeton, the Association of Black Collegians has cooperated with the university admissions office to help boost black enrollment (which is up 46 per cent over last year—111 blacks out of an entering class of 1,346). Princeton has also admitted 30 students from other minority groups, including Mexican-Americans, American Indians, Cuban-Americans, and students of Puerto Rican descent. Says admissions director John T. Osander: "The blacks have dramatized the failure of our col-



cession of 110 blacks, with riflemen deployed as flankers, then marched across the campus to the Afro headquarters. Back in the Straight they left behind inscriptions on several walls that read "Kill the honkies" and "Kill all fraternity pigs"; some cigarette and candy machines had been forced open, but table settings in the Elmhurst Room for parents were not touched.

When the blacks reached the Afro house, riflemen took up positions on the steep lawn while Muller and Kennedy and Afro leaders went inside. Twenty minutes later they emerged while Whitfield read the agreement: a full faculty meeting would be called the next day to drop the judicial proceedings against the five students originally involved in the December disturbances; Cornell would give the blacks legal help to overcome any civil charges from the Straight occupation; the university would give the blacks amnesty for the occupation, provide police protection for blacks and a full investigation of the cross-burning incident. As the blacks stood by with their guns, Muller and Kennedy signed the typewritten document.

**Resign:** By Monday, the Straight was open again. But the pictures and story of the "capitulation" were already on front pages across the U.S. At Cornell, there were strategy caucuses all over campus and threats of faculty resignations. Perkins declared the campus in a "situation of emergency" the next morning and said that any student carrying a gun on campus or trying to take over a building would be suspended. He then spoke to a meeting of 10,000 students in Barton Hall, a large ROTC armory in the mid-



Perkins: 'A shattering experience'

dle of campus. The president did not refer to the guns, the building seizure or the racial tensions directly; he simply asked everyone to approach the situation as "humane men." Many students were angrily disappointed by Perkins's performance. "I wanted to yell, 'Say something already,'" said one junior.

The faculty, meeting Monday evening, rejected the agreement to nullify the disciplinary proceedings against the five students. Robert D. Miller, dean of the faculty, who had promised the blacks that he would try to persuade the faculty to honor the agreement, resigned on the spot. "I was anxious to do anything to avoid a tragedy," he said. "Let's face it,

this was an armed camp." But the idea that arms had played a role in the university decision-making process was abhorrent to some faculty men. "I do not want to teach at an institution where arms are carried openly," said government Prof. Clinton Rossiter, "or for that matter, where crosses are burned."

**Guard:** At the DU house, members walked guard on the third floor and splashed floodlights on cars passing by outside; a campus policeman was stationed in the foyer. Two cars of campus policemen were stationed outside Wari House; others guarded the Afro headquarters. Six of the twenty members of another fraternity house moved into friends' apartments off campus; others slept with golf clubs next to their beds. At least one senior faculty member who had voted against the blacks on Monday moved his family to an Ithaca motel after receiving anonymous telephone threats.

The tactic had clearly eroded some white support for Cornell's black students. "Guns, guns, guns, that's all they can talk about," said one black coed. "Don't they understand we're talking about the legitimacy of black students on a white college campus, our survival as an entity in a hostile environment?" To rally support for the blacks and to protest the faculty vote, SDS called a student meeting in Barton Hall Tuesday night.

More than 6,000 of Cornell's 14,000 students streamed out of the rain into Barton for the meeting. Afro leader Tom Jones, a senior from Cleveland, led off with a militant speech: "The faculty voted that this thing which they called a principle was worth more to them than a black life—that's no surprise to us, black

leges to seek out the talented young people who, for one reason or another—their race, or their economic background—have not applied or even considered applying to the best schools."

Stanford has accepted Charles Boulding of East Palo Alto, Calif., student body president of Ravenswood High School and chairman of its black student union. Last fall, he helped start a sit-in at the predominantly black high school over the issues of more black teachers and black studies. Chuck, a varsity basketball player and trumpet buff, says: "I'm against violence. I want this nation to come together and be the nation it can be." But, he also says, "Someone's going to have to get out in the ghetto to help my brothers." Robert Nicholas Burmseiter Jr. is a student-body president, too: Aragon High School in San Mateo, Calif. A nearly straight-A student, he was accepted at Harvard, Princeton, the University of California at Los Angeles and the U.S. Naval Academy—in addition to Stanford. He is a 6-foot 2-inch, 200 pound football and basketball player who says: "I could see myself as being active, but not in a militant sense."

But whether an applicant will turn out to be a campus radical is no simple black-and-white matter, and college admissions officers are divided on whether there ought to be—or even can be—admissions policies that weed out radicals—white or black. "We're not interested in people who will tear down buildings and build a new society," Walter A. Snickenberger, dean of admissions at Cornell, commented in an interview given, interestingly enough, before the events of last week. Of the 2,500 future Cornell freshmen (out of 7,500 applicants), Snickenberger says: "It didn't help a candidate's chances any if he noted he was an active member of SDS."

**Detective:** Other admissions directors say there's no way to identify potential radicals. "Discriminating politically would be very hard for us to do here," says Anthony T.G. Pallett, director of admissions at the University of Chicago. "We've found that a student's later political activities usually aren't forecast in his application." J.W. Robson, UCLA dean of admissions, says flatly: "We don't conduct detective work to admit a class of conservative students."

And campus disruptions seem to affect

the admissions process in other ways. They may be responsible for the decrease in applications this year for admission to Berkeley, Columbia and San Francisco State. But Columbia is rethinking—in a plethora of committees—the principles underlying its decision-making processes this year. So entering Columbia freshmen may ultimately encounter the most "restructured" campus anywhere. And at least one university has significantly altered its admissions policies with student complaints in mind: the University of Chicago has cut the size of its freshman class from 700 to 500, in an attempt to reduce such alienating factors as large classes and crowded dorms.

Yet the pressures to which admissions directors have had to respond have not been all unpleasant. The Yale and Princeton administrations have recently yielded to student demands for coeducation. Princeton director of admissions John T. Osander reports that 130 girls will be accepted in order to have 90 female freshmen this fall. Inslee Clark, admissions dean at Yale, filled 240 places reserved "for girls only" out of 2,850 applications. Yale, he says, looked for "girls who can stand on their own two feet."



lives have never meant very much in this country." Jones added that "in the past it has been the black people who have done all the dying. Now the time has come when the pigs are going to die too. When people like J.P. [Jim Perkins], who declared martial law, are going to be dealt with, when the faculty is going to be dealt with . . . We are moving tonight. Cornell has until 9 o'clock to live. It is now three minutes after 8."

**Rap:** Jones's speech had mixed effects. Most of the students still supported the blacks' demands—particularly, that disciplinary proceedings be dropped. But they were not willing to escalate to more building take-overs or further violence. SDS and Afro were forced to cancel plans to seize Day Hall; instead, the students voted to stay in Barton for the night. As it turned out, more than 2,000 students spent the night "rapping" with each other in small groups, playing gui-



**FIFTH DAY: A victory for 'moderation'**

tars, sleeping on blankets and playing basketball. The next morning The Cornell Daily Sun, the student paper, ran an editorial titled "The Center Speaks." "The huge congregation in the citadel of Cornell's ROTC," the Sun said, "served notice to the faculty that it has had enough of pigheadedness and insensitivity. Cornell was heading for an explosion and the faculty didn't seem to care enough to avoid it. The thousands in Barton Hall last night did care . . . [they] served the entire university by acting as a moderating force."

Meanwhile, faculty members, recognizing both the potential for violence and the moral force of thousands of students in Barton demanding reform, were meeting to reconsider Monday's vote. At a two-hour full faculty meeting at noon Wednesday the faculty finally reversed itself, voting to nullify the disciplinary hearings against the five black students and deciding to develop a new judicial

system. Miller withdrew his resignation. "Basically," said Cushing Strout, an English professor, "we couldn't conceive of watching troops and students battling in conflict. We felt we had to draw back from the abyss of chaos." Rossiter changed his vote, saying he was "forced by my own conscience and the rational persuasion of students and faculty to look at this with fresh eyes."

After the faculty meeting, President Perkins and many professors walked over to Barton Hall, by then jammed with 9,000 students. As Perkins sat on the floor of the stage, black student leader Eric Evans mocked him publicly because the president had put his arm on Evans's shoulder, in a "grandfatherly" gesture. Then one SDS leader picked his way across the crowded stage, grabbed a can of Pepsi-Cola that Perkins had been drinking, and lifted it high for all to see. Then he drank from it and handed it back to the president.

When his turn came, Perkins saluted the meeting as "one of the most positive forces ever set in motion in the history of Cornell." He then added that "I hope to expunge to the fullest extent possible the seizure of Willard Straight Hall." He was given a standing ovation—complete with raised fists—when he finished.

**Fear:** But the emotional impact of students carrying guns, of students thinking their lives are threatened, of professors moving their families off campus, of a university temporarily overcome with fear, cannot be expunged that easily. Perkins faced a growing faculty revolt. Allan P. Sindler, chairman of the government department, who drew up the old judiciary system, denounced Cornell for "uneven and vacillating enforcement" of rules and announced his resignation. The faculty reversed itself, he charged, because of "a latent and almost manifest show of coercion." Government Prof. Walter Berns, who received a distinguished-teaching award earlier in the year, denounced the vote as "abject surrender" and quit, too. Another government professor, Allan Bloom, charged that "the resemblance on all levels to the first stages of a totalitarian take-over are almost unbelievable." More than a dozen professors signed a petition that they would not teach until assured that the campus was disarmed.

Perkins maintained that he had little choice during the week, and that he acted to keep violence from erupting on campus. "A continuation of the course we were on," he said, "offered no chance of a solution."

**T**he school's future course is still uncertain. In the familiar litany, "Cornell will never be the same again." Nor will any other university. The sight of guns on campus, says black psychologist Kenneth Clark, "restimulates the feelings of revulsion and sadness one felt when viewing the Birmingham police use of cattle prods on human beings and the recent hysterical sadism exhibited by

Chicago police." "When the black revolution confronts people with guns," says Dick Hyland, a Harvard junior and SDS member, "it makes you reassess your commitment. If you follow our rhetoric to its logical extreme, it's probably what it comes to. But for upper-middle-class American students, it's frightening."

Whether the effect of the Cornell experience on certain liberal white attitudes will be anything more than transitory is questioned by other observers. "Never underestimate the power of white-liberal guilt," says Kenneth S. Lynn, a former Harvard professor who has been teaching at Washington's new Federal City College. "Three hundred years of oppression is a trump card."

Under student pressure in the last few years the U.S. university structure has been slowly turned around and reinvigorated. What to do when pressure shades into coercion is the outstanding question. "Depending on the courage of teachers and administrators," says philosopher Sidney Hook, "the liberal university will move either in the direction of South American and Asian universities, where students determine very largely the nature of the curriculum, where they get political experience but not a real education, or the university will be restructured so that students have rights of consultation, if not powers of decision. A third possibility, suggests Berkeley political scientist Sheldon Wolin, is that a backlash may develop to student dissent—and lead to political repression from the right."

**Veto:** The University of California regents, including Gov. Ronald Reagan, recently voted to assume veto power over faculty appointments, taking away an almost sacrosanct academic tradition from faculty and administration. This would enable the regents, who are appointed by the governor, to prevent the hiring or the promotion of any professor with views repugnant to the majority of the regents. The regents acted under pressure from conservative members. "You might say a vote of confidence has been withdrawn," University of California president Charles Hitch said after the regents' vote. And in Washington, Congress is searching for foreign influences behind student unrest, while calling for stricter enforcement of laws that provide for taking away Federal scholarships from students convicted of crimes on campus.

Perhaps the greatest danger of such reaction is that it may promote an indiscriminate attack against all young activists, for it may fail to distinguish between idealistic students who want to shape a more open and democratic society and those few who want to make revolution for their own romantic or political reasons. But beyond this, the escalation of protest at Cornell last week may well lead to greater tragedy. For once guns are introduced on campus, it is probably only a matter of time before somebody uses them.