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Book Review

Glenn E. Billington

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thoughts." Robert L. Knauss chronicles trends in student involvement in campus decision-making and suggests meeting the challenge of disruptive behavior with techniques of labor mediation and arbitration rather than a judicial approach.

Throughout the speakers' remarks, as well as during the panel discussions, there is a candid facing-up to the legal dilemmas presented by a combination of hard-to-mix ingredients: a sparse body of case law prior to the sixties; difficult-to-parry reactions in the form of public sentiment and repressive legislation and the necessity of sorting out community and institutional sanctions and restraints.

The language of this work is so precise that even without its substantive merits it is a thoroughly satisfying reading experience for one whose general reading fare is more obscured by ornamentation. The transcribed panel discussions are particularly enjoyable because the contributors answer one another's questions with an informality which gives the reader a sense of the personalities participating. This is especially true when there are differences of opinion. But agreeing or not, their impromptu remarks are just as well formed as their prepared texts.

A large bonus is the fascinating appendix, a digest of legal papers used by the contributing lawyers in their efforts to stabilize student protest situations, and two documents of particular practical value: the joint statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students, and a Model Code for Student Rights, Responsibilities and Conduct.

It is heartening to know that what the law is, and what it is becoming with regard to student protest, offers the potential for ameliorating stresses and tensions which might destroy our universities. But it seems to me there is also the danger that highly accelerated use of the courts and lawyers by adversaries within the academic community might in itself endanger the hope of mutual trust and tolerance for divergent views which surely should characterize university life.

*Reviewed by Glenn E. Billington**

DEMOCRACY AND THE STUDENT LEFT, by George F. Kennan (Little, Brown and Co., Boston, 1968), 239 pp.

One measure of a book written on current affairs is its ability to withstand the test of time. For that reason it is often useful to re-read a book after a reasonable amount of time has passed to see if the author's thesis remains important. The subject of this review is a book written in 1968, *Democracy and the Student Left*, by George F. Kennan, former U. S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and a widely respected diplomatic historian. The book, which fully deserves such a re-reading, consists of a speech the author delivered at Swarthmore College which was subsequently published in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* in

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early 1968, followed by thirty-nine letters written in response by college students and members of the older generation, and concluding with a reply by the author. The predominant theme presented in the original speech was the criticism of student protestors for their failure to present concrete alternatives to the policies of the Johnson administration. Kennan, as a professional diplomat, argued that creating foreign policy required the balancing of highly complex intangibles which the students, in their youthful naiveté, failed to recognize. The student response was nearly unanimous—stopping the war was a sufficiently concrete proposal. Kennan was optimistic that the War in Vietnam would be ended before the students graduated, but history has seen the War become the War in Southeast Asia and even the freshman of January 1968 has graduated by 1971.

Another theme of interest concerned the role of the university. Kennan bemoaned the use of activism among students, seeing in it a consequential loss of scholarship. Admittedly, the statements of many students indicate an absence of “scholarship,” but can that be traced to activism alone? The question could be asked—how many students at any university, in any era, have been actively involved in creative scholarship? How many, on the other hand, are merely involved in the social function of attendance while demonstrating their ability to learn a certain quantity of information, often by rote, before entering the mainstream of economic life?

Other topics explored include the draft, civil disobedience, the need for structural change rather than policy change, the meaning of revolution and several others.

Kennan summarized:

The problem is not how to make a bad system work well by abusing it; the problem is to change it in such a way that it will work well without abuse.

The final few pages presented a cursory listing of Kennan’s proposals for concrete changes needed in society.

Several books which have followed Kennan’s have further examined the questions raised in his book, particularly the criticism that the students lacked clearly presented alternatives. One book of particular interest is *Push Comes to Shove* by Steven Kelman, a student at Harvard writing about the April 1969 student strike at Harvard. Kelman, the leader of the Young People’s Socialist League at Harvard, was extremely critical of the S.D.S. radicals for their disdain of democratic principles and their unwillingness to go out and convince a majority of the people that their views were correct. But more so, Kelman saw the unreality of student activism being promoted by what he called a campus attitude hermetically sealed from reality. He lamented the “dream world” where socialists were called reactionaries, where “liberated” files were stolen documents, and where a “liberated” university was one where none of the academic functions for which the university was set up were going on. Finally, “[W]here else but in this dream world could the statement oft-repeated during the strike that

'we've learned more during this week than in all our courses at Harvard' be viewed as anything but a pathetic admission of how little serious work or study one had previously done?"

Kelman's book provides a very useful follow-up to Kennan's book by providing insight into the workings of the student radicals in the period around the time of Kennan's book. Of even more interest on the issue of students and social change as discussed by Kennan and Kelman is the recently published *The Greening of America* by Charles A. Reich, a professor of law at Yale. There the author states flatly:

There is a revolution coming. It will not be like revolutions of the past. It will originate with the individual and with culture, and it will change the political structure only as its final act. It will not require violence to succeed, and it cannot be successfully resisted by violence. It is now spreading with amazing rapidity, and already our laws, institutions and social structure are changing in consequence. It promises a higher reason, a more human community, and a new and liberated individual. Its ultimate creation will be a new and enduring wholeness and beauty—a renewed relationship of man to himself, to other men, to society, to nature and to the land.

Each book deserves close reading and contrasting by the reader who wants to gain insight into the rapidly changing phenomenon of the late 60's and early 70's which is being called the "youth revolution."

*Reviewed by Avery S. Friedman**

WHITE RACISM AND THE LAW, by Lois B. Moreland (Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1970), 230 pp.

The President's National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded its report by stating that what was most needed to prevent the splintering of this society into black and white is the elimination of white racism. The thesis of Ms. Moreland's work addresses itself to the question of finding a means by which racism and private discrimination may constitutionally be eliminated. Through interpretation of the equal protection clause of the fourteenth amendment as it applies to race relations, she asserts that there is no legal right of white Americans to discriminate against black Americans. The conclusion of her investigation is that the Supreme Court was and still is a decisive force in maintaining racism in this country.

Ms. Moreland observes that discrimination in America initially existed as a matter of custom and tradition. Although the freed slave was not by law denied access to places of public accommodations or to equal employment, his movements and opportunities were severely limited. Where the black man looked to the courts for relief, the court's regard for the sacrosanct principle of federalism, undergirded by white racist

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