

Bulletin

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STUDENT POWER - A STUDY IN DISSENT

The following excerpts are from an address by Mr. John N. Turner, Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, to the Canadian Club of Montreal last month:

...The student movement has now become international. Berkeley '64 is no longer a phenomenon. Troops use tear gas at Duke, police wave riot sticks at Columbia, and the National Guard fixes bayonets at Wisconsin. Student revolts in Europe threaten their governments. The National Convention of the New Left held at Michigan State University last June embraced Trotskyism and anarchism, Naoism and *Tiers Monde*, with the echoes of Kropotkin and Proudham, Jacobin and the *enragé* of the free-speech movement. Indeed, Marx himself might have felt alienated amidst the rhetoric of the new Babylon. Student militants proclaim guerilla warfare in the educational arena. The campus becomes fortified. We witness the birth of the garrison university.

Canadians who smiled complacently when Mao's Red Guards took to the streets, or watched condescendingly the developments at Berkeley, have now seen our own students take to the barricades. Educators in Canada who had deplored the silence of youth in politics now confront the violence of the politics of youth. From McGill University in Montreal to Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, the clarion call for "confrontation" goes forth. Our own universities are up against the wall. Students, in the words of Mario Savio, are implored to lay themselves upon the bureaucratic machine and bring it to a grinding halt. Some of our universities are closed because of occupation or opened only by the police, and Sir George Williams has become the scene of the greatest student disorder in Canadian history....

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CAUSES OF CONFRONTATION

Why was it Sir George Williams University? Or, more importantly, one may ask, why any university at all? What are the root causes of the politics of confrontation? At first blush the issues may appear local, the confrontations spontaneous. A theatre production is denied, a professor is fired, a student editor is suspended. The convulsions are set in motion. But the roots run deep and beyond the university. The seeds have been sown but on other terrain. The university is held responsible but for forces over which it has little or no control.

Three heroes of youth were assassinated. President Kennedy had proclaimed "that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans", but some of that flame died with him. Martin Luther King had a bold vision for black and white together, but some of that dream died with him. Robert Kennedy held forth promise of a newer world, but some of that promise died with him. The full impact of these assassinations on the youth of the world is yet to be appreciated. The shock waves are still reverberating internationally.

Those most cruelly disinherited or orphaned were the young. The politics of hope became the politics of despair. The promise of values became the crisis *in* values.

Nations stockpiled weapons in the name of peace. Governments destroyed cities in order to save them. Economies accumulated wealth and distributed poverty. Technology controlled man rather than

released him. Corporate bureaucracies denied individuality while proclaiming it. The gross national product became Marcuse's One-Dimensional Man.

SOCIETY IN MINIATURE

It was not long before the university was regarded as a microcosm of society, a society in miniature. And so students began to ask questions about the university. As a "multiversity", does it conspire to alienate? As a researcher, does it service the military-industrial complex? As an urban university, does it treat the ills of our urban hives? As educator, is it relevant? As teacher, does it care? As administrator, does it understand? All of which was summed up in the remarks of a student at a meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of California:

"We have asked to be heard; you have refused. We have asked for justice; you have called it anarchy. We have asked for freedom; you have called it licence. Rather than face the fear and hopelessness you have created, you have called it Communistic. You have accused us of failing to use legitimate channels, but you have closed those channels to us. You, and not we, have built a university based on distrust and dishonesty."

The result was that more students became increasingly politicized. The politics of confrontation made it radical. The impersonality of the "mega-university" fuelled the radicalism. The communications media made it international. Co-operation gave way to confrontation. Dialogue gave way to disruption. Participation gave way to provocation. Students who had called for justice now spoke in the name of anarchy. Students who had argued for freedom now demanded licence. Students who looked to legitimate channels for expression now found illegitimate channels of violence. Assertions were to be treated as facts. Slogans were to substitute for solutions. Apocalyptic rhetoric was controlling and the argument became: "I can assemble; you may not. I can speak; you may not. I can organize; you may not."

The university may be the battleground, and the representatives of the "establishment" under siege are the university officials. But the primary target is the "system", and the university is there only as stand-in for the system. The university, then, had to be reformed or destroyed. And so the university, as it were, is co-opted by the radicals rather than the radicals being co-opted by the university, as Marcuse would have it. Student militants, as Professor Nathan Glazer at Berkeley has pointed out, demand that the university offer a refuge and base for political action, if not a sanctuary for guerilla warfare.

Finally, the university is placed under siege. It is not only the students who are at the barricades but, as Professor Charles Frankel points out, it is education itself which is at the barricades. It is not just the university administration which is up against the wall, but the system society itself. The politics of confrontation are escalating into the politics of

demolition. The garrison university, while derivative of the garrison state, has a dynamic all its own. The crisis of the university is capable of its own Armageddon.

CONTROLLING THE CATACLYSM

How, then, is this cataclysm of violence to be controlled, if not prevented? How do we disarm the garrison university? What are the limits of legitimate protest? Is there a place for civil disobedience? What are the principles for free dissent in a free society? Before setting forth these guide-lines, let us make certain assumptions:

(a) We reject the idea that the university must be destroyed in order to save it, or that society must be destroyed in order to salvage it. Such apocalyptic views are better left to the Theatre of the Absurd.

(b) We reject the thesis that the university is, or must be held, responsible for all the ills of society, or that it can be the basis for its cure.

(c) We reject the idea of guerilla warfare in the university arena; we reject the abusive concept of demolition politics. It assumes a monopoly of virtue and an absolute righteousness which becomes self-serving. It betrays an arrogance of power that refuses dialogue.

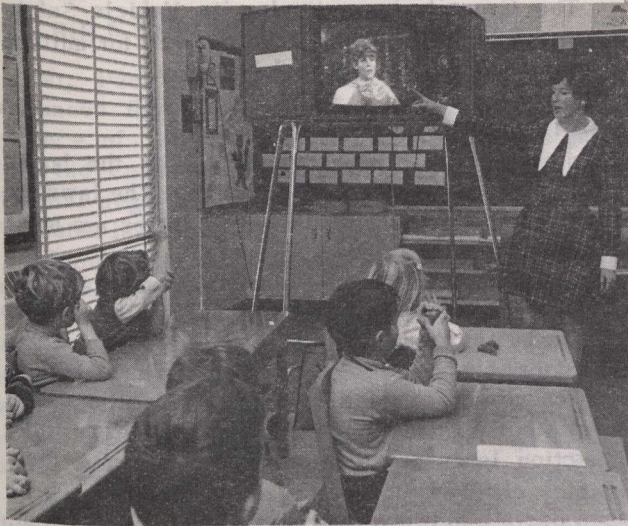
Let us now posit the guide-lines or principles of constructive dissent which must be read together, rather than separately or disjunctively:

(1) One cannot speak of the duty of government to live *under* the law and the right of an individual to be *above* the law. If a government is to be bound by its laws, so are its citizens.

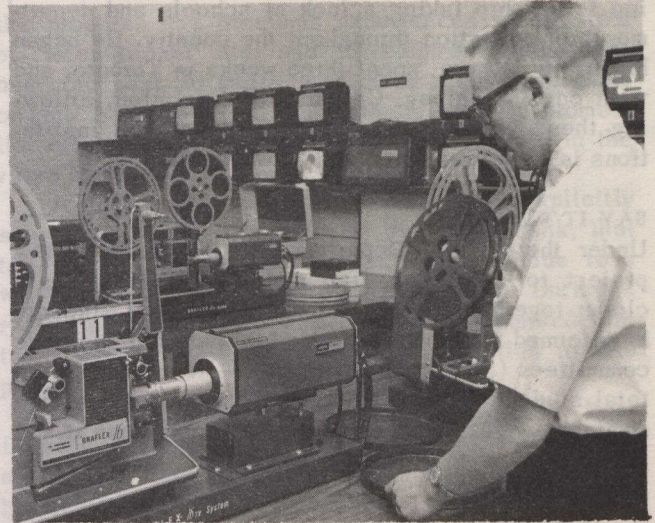
(2) The *right* to dissent does not mean that *all* dissent is right. The question is not "*May I dissent*" but "*How may I dissent?*" The right to free speech means what it says and nothing more. It is not, as Justice Holmes once pointed out, the right to cry "*Fire!*" falsely in a crowded theatre and thereby cause a panic. This is true even though one may be shocked or even outraged at the lack of proper fire regulations, or one may wish to dramatize the need to bring about government action in the public interest.

(3) There are several legitimate forms of protest. A person distressed at the inadequacy of fire regulations may speak in a public forum, print and distribute pamphlets or leaflets, organize mass meetings and picketing for the same purpose, denounce the political leaders as incompetent or corrupt, and exercise any other form or modality of dissent. Ultimately, there is the power of the ballot box, and while there are those who may argue that elections are nothing but a "ritual in which the system renews itself", opposition has still found itself translated into governmental policy and dissent has still seen itself prevail. Order under law, then, does not mean a law that is rigid or inflexible or insensitive to change. The law must reflect movement in society.

(4) Acts of dissent cannot always be expected to express themselves in "polite" dissent or in the



Teachers choose from 2,000 films and videotapes provided by the school boards, then phone their request to librarian.



Librarian selects the film, then technician transmits programme back to the classroom within minutes of request.

TELEVISION IN THE CLASSROOM

Television monitors have replaced traditional classroom film and slide projectors in four Ottawa schools for the duration of a two-year experiment in Information Retrieval Television (IRTV). The idea was developed jointly by the Northern Electric Research and Development Laboratories and the Ottawa School Board.

The purpose of the experiment is to assess the feasibility of combining telephone and television to get audio-visuals out of a central library and into the classroom when they are needed. One limitation of conventional educational television is the inflexibility of scheduled broadcasting which puts control of programming in the hands of the broadcaster

rather than the teacher. IRTV returns the control to the teacher, who phones a request for a programme to the library and gets it within a matter of minutes.

Heart of the IRTV experiment, and what makes it unique, is Bell Canada's coaxial cable network which links the four schools to the library, making it possible to transmit programmes on any one of 12 channels to each of the 130 classrooms involved in the experiment. Bell also provides telecine chains, videotape reproducers and the technicians to operate them. The experiment is co-sponsored by Bell, the Ottawa Public School Board, the Ottawa Collegiate Institute Board and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

STUDENT NOTES

EXCHANGE TEACHERS

Large Canadian school-boards are being invited to encourage their teachers to take part in the United States-Canada teacher exchange programme for the school year.

There are already several exchanges planned for 1969-70, but there are still a number of U.S. teachers (mostly in California) who are eager to find a Canadian exchange counterpart. The interchange applies to teachers from kindergarten through secondary school. But at the moment, there are more U.S. high school teachers than elementary teachers of history, English, physical education, geography, mathematics and home economics who would like to spend a year in the United States.

FILM-MAKING CONFERENCE

Lectures, panel discussions and seminars featuring outstanding film directors, communications experts and screen educators from the United States and Canada are on the agenda for the June conference planned by the Canadian Association for Screen Education, in co-operation with York University, Toronto.

Those attending the conference will learn about the sociological implications of film, teaching approaches to selected films, the documentary, film editing, problems of film distribution, the multi-media approach to language and the screening of films made by students.

EDUCATOR FROM GAMBIA

Gambia's director of education, S.H.M. Jones, has been in Canada on a two-month Commonwealth visit-

ing fellowship taking a look at schools and departments of education throughout the country. He began his trip at Ottawa, spent three weeks in Toronto, and went on to Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton, following these visits with a tour of educational institutions in New Brunswick and Newfoundland.

SAY IT WITH SAID

Under the Ontario Department of Education's new project to bring Canadian and Caribbean students closer together, the province's high-school students have formed Student Action for International Dialogue committees (SAID). These groups — representing the total student body, with no one class, grade or age dominant — get together for a discussion, tape it and send the tape to a similar committee somewhere in the Caribbean.

The aim of the taped dialogues, says project co-ordinator George Mason, is to make them as much like telephone conversations as possible. Students meet right after a tape arrives, listen to it, and then answer promptly.

It's all an extension of the department's project called "School-to-School", which was launched in the spring of 1968. Since then, more than 1,100 Ontario schools have been "twinned" by mail with an equal number in 17 Commonwealth Caribbean territories.

The SAID tapes are carried free by Air Canada, which also carries the School-to-School correspondence from the Caribbean to Canada without charge.

One Ontario school that has entered wholeheartedly into the scheme is Huron Heights Secondary in Newmarket. The SAID group at this institution, formed last September, has been matched with a group at Bishop's College in Kingston, St. Vincent. This isn't the first cultural exchange Huron Heights has been engaged in with the West Indies. Three classes are involved in letter exchanges through School-to-School, four students and two teachers are visiting Granada this month, one group has adopted a day-care centre in Nevis, and the school's athletic committee is thinking about bringing to Canada an all-round athlete from the Caribbean, all expenses paid.

CAR CHECK CAMPAIGN 1969

The nation-wide "Spring Car Check" campaign is aimed at preventing accidents by alerting drivers to the need for proper vehicle maintenance and is timed for the big increase in traffic once the roads are clear. The Canada Safety Council, sponsor of the campaign, asks Canada's drivers to have their cars checked thoroughly for mechanical malfunctions. Drivers are also urged to keep in mind the symptoms of mechanical hazard and remain alert to them every time they drive. There's no guarantee that something won't go wrong even after compulsory car checks in those provinces which have them.

The Council, in particular its Vehicle Safety Committee, strongly favours and strives for uniform car-check legislation across the country.

PROVINCIAL MEASURES

Six provinces now have legislation on the books setting up compulsory auto inspections. The laws are effective to the extent funds and facilities are made available to enforce them.

Inspections in British Columbia, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island apply to all vehicles and are by far the most effective. New Brunswick's compulsory check is effective as of April 1.

Compulsory inspection is on a selective basis in Ontario and Quebec. Motorists flagged into portable inspection lanes are required by law to have their vehicles checked at a garage if so directed. These lanes operate between May and October. In addition, used cars in Ontario must be checked on the 22 most important operating mechanisms at a registered dealer or service station before they can be resold.

The car check campaign is most important in those provinces with no compulsory programmes.

COLOMBO PLAN COMMITTEE IN B.C.

Cabinet Ministers, senior diplomats and planners from 24 countries will meet in Victoria, British Columbia, next autumn for the 1969 annual meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee. Mr. Mitchell Sharp, Secretary of State for External Affairs, has announced that the three-week conference will be held at the provincial Parliament Buildings from October 14 to 21.

The Committee, which has met only once before in Canada — in Ottawa in 1954 — was established after a meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers at Colombo in 1950, at which the Colombo Plan was born. The Plan permits an exchange of views on the development of South and Southeast Asia, and also provides the framework for an international co-operative effort to help the countries of the area raise their living standards.

MEMBER COUNTRIES

The member countries are Australia, Canada, Japan, New Zealand, Britain, the United States of America, Afghanistan, Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Iran, the Republic of Korea, Laos, Malaysia, the Maldive Islands, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and the Republic of Vietnam.

Representatives of these countries, who form the Consultative Committee, meet annually to assess what has been accomplished, to evaluate the tasks ahead, and by sharing of experience, to help find the best methods to promote economic and social expansion. The meetings are also attended by representatives of multilateral aid organizations working in the region.

NEW ROLE FOR TORONTO AIRPORT

Mr. Paul Hellyer, Minister of Transport, has announced that, in recognition of the growing importance of Toronto as a major international gateway, the Canadian Government is prepared to open bilateral negotiations with any country that may be interested in having landing rights at Toronto.

Toronto has become the terminal for a number of major transcontinental routes into the United States, and British Overseas Airways Corporation has for some years operated its transatlantic services between London and Toronto. Other governments with which Canada has bilateral air agreements have shown considerable interest in securing similar rights.

Mr. Hellyer's policy statement made it clear that countries seeking access to Toronto must be prepared, in accordance with the terms of the bilateral agreements, to offer concessions that would expect any foreign government to submit, as a basis for negotiation, a concrete proposal indicating reciprocal concessions equivalent in value to landing rights at Toronto.

Mr. Hellyer said that a programme was already under way, in accordance with his announcement of December 20, to provide important new facilities at Toronto International Airport. Until it is complete, the present traffic congestion at the airport will impose limitations on extra overseas traffic.

PEARSON GROUP TO AFRICA AND ASIA

The Commission of International Development, which is making a wide-ranging review of foreign aid policies and practices, is continuing during March and April the series of meetings in less-developed countries that it began in Chile in January. The Commission's chairman, the former Canadian Prime Minister, Lester B. Pearson, has invited 33 African and 19 Asian governments to send representatives to meetings at which he and some of his colleagues will hear their views on economic development and aid.

Meetings for this purpose are being held in Abidjan, Kampala, Rawalpindi, New Delhi and Singapore.

This round of regional meetings was preceded by a regular meeting of the Commission in Rome from March 13 to 15, and will be followed by personal visits of Mr. Pearson to two donor governments, Australia and Japan. In all, he will be away for six weeks.

AIM OF COMMISSION

The formation of the Commission on International Development was announced by World Bank President, Robert S. McNamara, last August, when Mr. Pearson agreed to preside over a distinguished international group that would, in Mr. Pearson's words, "examine

the progress and problems experienced in the field of international aid and development assistance over the past 20 years, and make recommendations on the best policies and methods to help promote the economic growth of the developing world in the years to come".

It has been widely felt, and has been explicitly suggested by the President of the World Bank, that the recent faltering of the aid effort is due to a weakening of the political will to aid. During a recent press conference Mr. Pearson promised that the Commission would give close attention to this problem.

At the first full Commission meeting in Mont Gabriel, Quebec, last December, the Chairman announced that he planned to complete the report by September 1969. Although it is financed by the Bank, the Commission is otherwise independent of that institution. Its report will make recommendations which, it is hoped, will be helpful to governments in dealing with aid and development.

Other Commission members are Sir Edward Boyle (Britain), Mr. Roberto de Oliveira Campos (Brazil), Mr. Douglas Dillon (U.S.A.), Dr. Wilfried Guth (Germany), Professor W. Arthur Lewis (St. Lucia), Dr. Robert E. Marjolin (France), and Dr. Saburo Okita (Japan). These men, who were appointed by Mr. Pearson for their broad experience and international stature, are not representatives of their respective governments.

OLD HOCKEY GREATS STILL GREAT

Just as old soldiers who never die, athletes who have reached the heights in the National Hockey League are reluctant just to sit back and read their press clippings.

The National Hockey League Old Timers group (Montreal version) has just completed a series of five exhibition games in Germany against teams from Canada's Air Division and Mechanized Brigade. The Old Timers, led by Maurice "Rocket" Richard, Elmer Lach, Dickie Moore, Bill Mosienko and other former stars, downed Canadian service teams by scores of 5-2, 10-5, 8-4, 9-2 and 12-4. Emile "Butch" Bouchard coached the Old Timers, who were managed by Frank Selke, Sr.

The NHL Old Timers receive no salary, pay for their own equipment and transportation and donate all proceeds from their games to the Crippled Children's Fund. To date, they have contributed more than \$350,000 to the fund in adhering to their motto, "*les jambes des vieux permettent aux jeunes de marcher*" - old legs allow the young to walk.

CANADIAN-BUILT HOTEL IN CEYLON

Contract for the design and construction of a 150-room luxury hotel in Ceylon has been awarded as

a joint venture to Duncan Rattray Peters Searle, Architects, and McAllister Contracting Co. Ltd. of Winnipeg. The hotel, the first to be built in Ceylon since 1905, is being developed by Pegasus Hotel Co. of Ceylon. It will be built on the site of Hendala Farms, a former coconut plantation located about four miles north of Colombo, Ceylon.

A prestige building, the hotel will have 60,000 square feet of space in guest-rooms with 30,000 square feet of space in public rooms. It will feature exterior recreational facilities including a swimming pool, tennis and shuffleboard courts, as well as access to 2,000 yards of ocean beach, well protected by a reef, which affords excellent sea bathing. Total construction cost of the building will involve \$2 million, with furniture and fittings amounting to another \$500,000.

STUDENT POWER - A STUDY IN DISSENT (Continued from P. 2)

conventional forms customarily chosen. Moreover, as more and more dissent emanates from the young and the deprived, it can be expected to be more and more vigorous, and increasingly to take the form of mass demonstrations. Such mass demonstrations have the potential for escalation into violence. Accordingly, they must be confined to its functions which, as Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas has pointed out, are: "to communicate a point of view, to arouse enthusiasm and group cohesiveness among participants, to attract others to joining, and to impress upon the public and the authorities the point advocated by the protesters, the urgency of the demand and the power behind it. *These forms do not include terror, riot or pillage.*"...

These, then, are suggested guide-lines for legitimate protest and constructive dissent. These are the limiting principles against which the right of dissent or any legitimacy of civil disobedience must be tested. But there will be no solution unless we deal with the root cause of that dissent - both at the university level and in society.

ROOT OF PROBLEM

Let's deal with the university. I can understand the anger and disillusionment that students feel when legitimate grievances are frustrated. The university administration should not reply to legitimate student protest by trying to repress it. Indeed, the inadequate response within the university hierarchy to the pressure of responsible students has sometimes made it possible for irresponsible elements to turn the issue to their demagogic advantage.

The real core of the problem is one of meaningful participation. Students have a right to participate in determining what happens to them during their tenure at university. The student is consumer of the educational process. It is time that we look at the matter from the "consumer perspective".

What thinking there has been in the academic community about the relations of students to the university has primarily centred on theories that no longer seem relevant. The poverty of the concepts is nowhere more apparent than in the area of student conduct and discipline. Accordingly, the university must develop a basic rationale for university regulations of student conduct that would allow the students as much freedom as possible in the pursuit of their educational objectives.

What is needed is more flexibility on the part of university administrators and a better understanding by faculties that one of the prime purposes of the university is undergraduate teaching and that the student is what it's all about....