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# OBSERVATION POST

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A FREE PRESS — AN INFORMED STUDENT BODY

VOLUME XXXII — No. 20 184 THURSDAY, JANUARY 3, 1963 CITY COLLEGE

## Group To Ask Gallagher For New Campus Lounge

President Buell G. Gallagher will soon be requested to allocate the ROTC Supply Room for use as an additional North Campus lounge. It will culminate years of petition signing and poll taking by the Technology Council.

### Deliberations

This action stemmed from the deliberations of an ad hoc student-faculty committee which met on Thursday, December 20.

### Designs Presented

Designs for the proposed new lounge will soon be presented to Dr. Gallagher by Larry Klaus and Professor A. P. D'Andrea. Chmn., Art) The object of the lounge will be to alleviate congestion in the cafeteria and in Knittle Lounge as well as to provide meeting facilities for organizations which presently use the Cafeteria. In addition to this, the re-designing of Knittle Lounge will be proposed to afford a more congenial atmosphere.

### Need Impressed

At the beginning of this term, the Tech Council Lounge Committee, headed by Marv Genzer, continued to impress the need for an additional lounge on North Campus upon all concerned.

Work on the lounge will begin as soon as the new quarters for the ROTC in Townsend Harris are

completed, financing is arranged, and Dr. Gallagher gives his consent.

## Auden & Roth To Speak Here As Last In Series Of Lectures

Two leading literary figures — W. H. Auden and Phillip Roth — both will appear at the College in the next four days.

The speakers will be the last in the term-long series of lectures by well-known authors in connection with the Comparative Literature 90 course on British and American writers.

Mr. Roth, the author of "Good-bye Columbus" and "Letting Go," will read from an unpublished manuscript tomorrow at 4 PM in Room 217 Finley. Poet and social critic W. H. Auden will appear here Monday at 12 Noon, also in Room 217 Finley.

Mr. Auden is the author of "Age of Anxiety," "Homage To Cleo," and many other works.

### OPostnotes . . .

Elections will be held today by the American Rocket Society, the Congress of Racial Equality and the French Club to select club officers for the coming term. The ARS meeting will be held in Room 108 Shepard at 12:30 PM; the CORE elections in Room 217 Finley at 4 PM and the French Club meeting in Room 212 Finley at 12:30 PM.

Other highlights of the program were the appearance here of poet Archibald MacLeish and writer Elizabeth Janeway earlier in the term.

## BHE Nominations Open To Civic Organizations

By HARVEY WEINBERG

Mayor Robert F. Wagner placed part of the responsibility for choosing two members of the Board of Higher Education (BHE) in the hands of the public Monday.

In a statement presented on radio and television, the Mayor said that he is asking for nominations to fill the two recently vacated BHE seats from public and private organizations.

Since the BHE has the power to impose tuition at the City University, the two vacancies are being eyed with great interest. If tuition advocates were appointed, the present "free higher education" majority on the Board could be endangered.

Dr. Gustave G. Rosenberg, Chairman of the BHE, said that the Mayor had instructed him to notify various civic organizations in an attempt to find men best capable of serving on the BHE.

Dr. Rosenberg added that the Mayor would be "strongly in favor of a man who is in favor of keeping the City University tuition free." This has been a topic of heated debate ever since the free tuition guarantee was removed from the State Education Law.



Seymour Weisman  
Favors Mayor's Policy

Dr. Rosenberg said that he has already contacted twenty-one organizations with the hope of receiving nominations. These include the Women's Civic League, the AFL-CIO, the chambers of commerce of the five boroughs, the alumni associations of the four senior colleges, as well as the Citizens' Budget Committee.

The BHE Chairman said that the Mayor has not set a definite time for his decision.

Yesterday, Mr. Seymour Weisman, Executive Secretary of the College's Alumni Association stated that the Association would meet today to decide upon its nominations and that if they were made public, the Association would do so on Jan. 16, when the Board of Directors meet to approve them.

## Academic Freedom Supplement

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## First Female IFC President Feels Terrible About Election

The first female president in the history of the Inter-Fraternity Council feels terrible about being elected.

"I ran against four top guys," Sheila Seidman explained last Monday. "Some of them were friends of mine. I feel really terrible about beating Ronnie Kalman. I have a great deal of respect for him."

The warm, bubbly senior is still slightly dazed at winning the election in which the voting member-

ship was almost 94 per cent male. "Quite a few boys told me that they thought I was qualified and the best candidate running, but each believed that he would be the only one voting for me."



Other IFC Member  
Didn't Get Elected

The economics major is looking forward with some trepidation to the first IFC meeting, at which she feels "quite a few people will come just to look."

## Student Hispanists And Pres. Disagree

Unsatisfactory results were obtained by the Student Committee for the Creation of a Department of Hispanic Studies at a meeting with President Buell G. Gallagher December 21, a representative said.

President Joel Leftoff said Dr. Gallagher told them that only time would tell what the best solution is, and that he is considering "other ways out."

The Committee's stand, according to Leftoff, is that a separate Hispanic department would result in greater emphasis in both French and Spanish, which are separate languages and should not be grouped together.

## Airplane Excursion To Cuba Never Gets Off The Ground

Twenty students from the College who had planned to spend Christmas in Cuba to test the legality of a State Department ban on travel to that country never left New York last week.

The group had intended to take a Cuban airliner from Canada to the Caribbean island, but the refusal of the Canadian government to let the plane land, forced the students to put off the trip until the summer.

The students along with over one hundred others from colleges in the New York area were invited for an all expense paid visit to Cuba by the Federation of University Students in Havana.

Joan Seckler, one of the students from the College declared at that time that the two year old travel ban was unconstitutional. "We intend to challenge it by going to Cuba," she said.

The penalty for violation of the ban, which is an outgrowth of the McCarran Walter immigration law, is a five year prison term.

### Snow



Students are advised that in case of a heavy snow they can call radio station WNYC. Calls to the College cannot be answered.

# Tshombe Calls For Cease-Fire; UN Troops Advance On Jadotville

## Negotiations

By J. ANTHONY LUKAS  
1963 NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE  
LEOPOLDVILLE, THE CONGO, JAN. 1 — President Moise Tshombe of Katanga called on the United Nations today for an immediate cease-fire in Katanga and a start of negotiations.

Tshombe's message was relayed through Union Miniere, the huge Belgian-controlled mining company in Katanga, and through the Belgian consulate in Elisabethville.

In the message, Tshombe said he would be willing to come to Elisabethville under certain conditions. He asked that his "total freedom" be guaranteed and that the U.S., British and French consultants in Elisabethville come to escort him into the city.

Tshombe requested that the three consuls meet him at the Lufira River, where U.N. troops marching on Kadotville have been temporarily halted by a destroyed bridge.

Tshombe also insisted that a Katangese official be permitted to go to Leopoldville immediately to start negotiations on division of Katanga's foreign exchange earnings with the central government.

The message said Tshombe had "received the proposals of Lord Home," the British Foreign Secretary. Officials here said they were not aware of any proposals made by Lord Home. However, Britain is known to have urged a cease-fire in Katanga.



UN Ambassador Stevenson Favored Initial Action

Tshombe conferred with British officials in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, over the weekend before flying to Jadotville yesterday.

The message received from the Union Miniere director did not make clear whether the proposals in Tshombe's statement were based on Lord Home's proposals, on those of a third party, or on his own initiative.

Diplomats here were not surprised tonight by Tshombe's proposals. Despite his appeal for resistance to the death against the U.N. forces, observers believed Tshombe would come up with a proposal for negotiations to save his regime from complete extinction.

One Western diplomat said worriedly tonight "He's trying to get himself another Kitona; I just hope he doesn't get away with it." (In December 1961 Tshombe agreed at Kitona to an eight point plan for reintegration of Katanga into the Congo, he later reneged on that agreement.)

## Fighting

By LLOYD GARRISON  
1963 NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE  
WITH UNITED NATIONS FORCES, NEAR JADOTVILLE, KATANGA, JAN. 1 — A motorized column of Indian troops worked their way through the Katangese defense outside of Elisabethville this morning and advanced 60 miles down the Jadotville road.

Tonight, advance units of the Madras battalion were within firing distance of the strategic Lufira Bridge, which is heavily defended by the Katangese. The bridge is 15 miles from Jadotville, an important mining center of the Union Miniere and Katanga's second largest city.

The operation began yesterday when a company of Raj Rifles advanced as far as Tumbwepa Road Junction about 15 miles from Elisabethville. There they ran into heavy machine-gun fire from well concealed positions. The two sides fought throughout the night. Just before dawn the Indians mounted a bayonet charge and overran the Katangese.

Two Indians were killed in the charge. Three Katangese bodies were visible. Indian officers estimated that perhaps 15 were killed in and around the push.

## Stamp...

President Kennedy announced today that a special commemorative stamp in honor of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt would be issued late next year.

# Cuba Situation Still Displeases Kennedy, Hopes For Changes

By TOM WICKER  
1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

PALM BEACH, FLA., JAN. 1 — President Kennedy believes the onrush of Communist influence in the world was checked in 1962 and that the outlook for peace is slightly better in 1963.

He has cautioned his associates, however, that the free world's problems remain many and diffi-



President John F. Kennedy Peace Hopes Improved

cult, particularly in the underdeveloped areas. And he does not as yet see evidence of a softening of Soviet policy or a halt to the Communist desire for expansion.

Three major confrontations that,

in the President's opinion, might have escalated into war were precipitated by the Soviets in his first 24 months in office—Berlin, Laos, and Cuba. Although Kennedy believes Soviet Premier Khrushchev may proceed more cautiously after his Cuban adventure, he does not believe this one setback will prove to have reversed the bruising trend of Soviet policy.

These and others of Kennedy's views, ranging widely over the world scene, have been learned on the highest authority.

The problem of Cuba, like the bone of Berlin in Khrushchev's throat, still weighs heavily on the President. With Castro still in power and in the Communist orbit, and with Soviet troops and ground-to-air missiles still in Cuba, he does not regard the situation there as satisfactory.

His administration will not support, however, an invasion by any force, including Cuban refugees, unless there is an aggressive act by Castro. He is equally committed to working for an ultimate change in the Cuban regime and to the breaking of Havana's links to Moscow.

Beyond the policy of not supporting or launching an invasion, Kennedy is not prepared to discuss what the US might do to aid internal dissidence in Cuba, or foment rebellion there.

There is no force, in his view, which could successfully invade Cuba if the US was not involved. Such an operation would require a major military effort, he believes.

The President thinks that his successful action in forcing the removal of Soviet offensive missiles from Cuba had two vastly important and interlocking effects.

One was to bring to at least a temporary halt and to take the glow off the impression of gathering Soviet momentum and success. This impression, in his view,

(Continued on Page 11)

# Independent Nuclear Ability To Remain In British Forces

By DREW MIDDLETON  
1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

LONDON, JAN. 1 — Britain's Defense Minister tonight asserted that the government intends to maintain an independent power of nuclear retaliation within the Atlantic Alliance.

Peter Thorneycroft, in an interview with critical conservative members of Parliament, emphasized that the government understood the importance of "keeping, building and maintaining for the United Kingdom an indestructible power of retaliation against any threat of nuclear attack."

Sir Arthur Vere Harvey, chairman of the Conservative Party's defense committee said after the interview with Thorneycroft that he was "satisfied." The British government, he said, had an "ab-

solute right" to use the Polaris weapons made available by the US "as the government sees fit."

This meant, he said, that they could be taken out of NATO and used for the support of British interests.

US and other allied observers in London pointed out that the statement contradicted the US administration's published view that all nuclear weapons are "inter-dependent."

## Labor Legislation

Legislation to replace the Condon-Wadlin Act but continue the prohibition against strikes by public employes was disclosed recently by Anthony P. Savarese Jr., Queens republican, chairman of the joint Legislative Committee on industrial and labor conditions.

The proposed bill, drawn by the Committee Staff, requires the State Attorney General to seek an injunction against any strike or threat of a strike by public employes.

The bill provides for compulsory mediation of disagreements under existing collective bargaining pacts.

# Chinese Communist Gov't Claims Farm, Industry Gains

By ROBERT TRUNBULL  
1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

HONG KONG, JAN. 1 — The Chinese Communist Party's traditional statement of conditions in the country on New Year's Day stressed economic readjustment today.

The statement, a kind of State of the Nation Message, is always published as the leading editorial in Jenmin Jihpao, Communist Party daily newspaper in Peking, on Jan. 1.

"Sweeping success has been achieved in the past two years in

tions and transportation organizations was in 1962 gradually adjusted to the line of taking agriculture as the foundation of the national economy" the statement continued.

The editorial claimed gains in farm output and in industries supporting agriculture.

"Major industrial targets set in the second five-year plan were reached ahead of schedule" the statement asserted. It did not give figures. The period of the second five-year plan ended as the new year began, no third plan has been announced.

Communist China's official new year message to the Soviet Union emphasized the desire for unity between the Communist parties of the two countries which divided sharply in 1962 over the "hard line" toward the West espoused by Peking and the "peaceful co-existence" policy of Soviet Premier Khrushchev.



Mao Tse Tung Government Issues Statement

comprehensive construction work which concentrated on readjustment" the editorial said. "The work of the industrial communica-

# Senator Robert Kerr Dies; Powerful Figure In Congress

FROM COMBINED DISPATCHES

WASHINGTON, JAN. 1 — Sen. Robert S. Kerr, Dem. of Okla., collapsed and died today of a coronary occlusion in Doctors Hospital here. He was 66 years old.

Kerr, one of the most powerful men in the US Senate, had been a patient in the hospital since Dec. 16, when he was admitted for treatment of a respiratory ailment.

The Senator, who was a forceful blunt and vigorous personality, moved into the apparent power vacuum left by the resignation of Lyndon B. Johnson. His death appeared certain to have many repercussions.

The most obvious was to complicate the administration's job of

getting its new tax proposals through the forthcoming Congress.

The administration had planned to rely on Sen. Kerr, the second-ranking democrat on the powerful Finance Committee, to manage its tax bill in the Senate.

Kerr played the part of manager of the bill in the last session of Congress when Senate Finance Committee chairman Harry F. Byrd stepped aside to emphasize his opposition to the administration's tax credit plan.

## OP Academic Freedom Supplement

By BARBARA BROWN

Everyone is in favor of academic freedom, but few agree on what the term means.

Perhaps it is necessary for each member of the academic community to search after the freedom—and that can be its only definition.

It is certainly easiest to undertake this on the abstract level. The professor's need to think, to form opinions, to criticize, is the guarantee of the student's freedom to learn. The teacher needs the freedom, because the student does; the apprentice must learn to use his critical faculties after the fashion of his master. Both must be free to learn.

Academic freedom, then, is the freedom of the members of the community to fulfill their roles; each to teach the other. While it is necessary for scholarly investigation, it is not a legal immunity. The scholar has to be free to think and to investigate, but it does not imply the right to undertake illegal action. Just as he is not singled out for particular favoritism, he should not be subject to discrimination.

The university must harbor differing points of view, for, in the words of Justice Holmes "the ultimate good desired is better reached by free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market."

Exposure to competing ideas will only serve to sharpen the student's critical faculties, will perhaps send him out in search of the truth. The professor has to be free to express his judgment as well as the "facts" for without freedom of judgment there is no freedom of expression, without freedom of judgment there are no facts.

On the other hand, the scholar must pay for his freedom and the price of it is intellectual integrity.

To be academically free, the professor must be economically free, i.e. he must have tenure. This arrangement frees him from the whim of administration and of outside groups and assures him of dismissal only on cause. Promotion and higher pay are also prerequisites for the morale of the teacher.

The greatest danger to academic freedom today lies in fear to think and speak freely. When an engineer is afraid to sign a Student Council nominating petition or when a technology newspaper complains that an editorial in another may hurt the engineers' chance of getting a job, evidences of invisible, but none-the-less powerful, curtailment of freedom of thought is at hand.

Another such issue is the denial of the right of students to hear Communist speakers. The

## The Scholar & His Freedom Continue To Be Vital Issues



"The professor's need to think, to form opinions, to criticize, is the guarantee of the student's freedom to learn."

topic is now particularly relevant as the State Supreme Court has recently kept a Communist from speaking on the University of Buffalo campus.

In the Fall of 1961 just such a ban was imposed here by the Administrative Council of the City University. At the same time that this action was taken, the Council asserted its belief in "The university commitment to the independent search for truth . . . The preservation of an atmosphere of free inquiry . . . and the preservation of the university's intellectual integrity."

In keeping with these high ideals, the presidents of the Colleges and Junior Colleges in the City University said:

"Although it is recognized that members of the Communist Party of the United States are under a form of intellectual discipline which precludes their engaging in the independent search for truth, it is not necessarily a fact that their appearance on a campus would compromise an institution's commitment.

"It is clear that the Communist Party of the United States is not interested in preserving an atmosphere of free inquiry. However, it is not necessarily true that the university's commitment would be endangered if a Communist Party member is invited to a campus for valid

educational purposes . . . The important matter is the affirmation of the university, not the articulate convictions of occasional guests.

"The Administrative Council sees no reason to assume that the appearance of a properly identified member of the Communist Party of the United States at a college will necessarily challenge the university's intellectual integrity."

The Council then affirmed "the necessity of all parts of the university to obey the laws of the state and nation." Before asserting that many government agencies "have all determined that the Communist Party is, in fact an organization which teaches, advocates and works for the overthrow of established government by conspiratorial and unlawful means," it conceded that "neither the Congress nor the Supreme Court has in so many words denied the right of Communist Party members to speak freely in this country."

It then went on to invoke the ban and curiously concluded: "In the judgment of the Administrative Council, any faculty or administration that supplies a place of assembly for known members of the Communist Party of the United States is acting contrary to law. Further, any faculty or administration that permits known United States Communist Party members to use

university facilities to commit criminal acts is acting contrary to law."

Despite this stand, the ban was revoked ten weeks later after many student and faculty protests. This has not been the only recent question of academic freedom to affect students here directly.

During the course of the term, the engineering newspaper, *Tech News*, charged that *Observation Post* had published an editorial, which might become deleterious to the future employment of engineers. Thus was a pertinent question raised: Should the student's thought and expression be determined by outside financial pressures?

After *Observation Post* answered that such considerations were irrelevant, the technology newspaper took up the cudgel again and proposed first, outright censorship and then, a plan by which funds would be allocated according to the number of votes each journal received in an election. The first is so odious as not to merit any answer, the second was aptly termed "financial censorship" by President Gallagher.

Nevertheless the question is of such importance that it cannot be answered too often. Within the academic community a student, a newspaper, and a teacher all have the obligation to think, to judge, to criticize,

to express their views on the basis of the facts. Pressures from outside groups cannot be taken into account, if one is to retain his intellectual integrity.

A student newspaper exists to report the news, all of the news, which it considers relevant. But this is not its only function, a newspaper should lead opinion and provoke thought through its editorial columns. A minority voice would not hinder, but encourage this goal. At the same time, that it expresses its own views, the papers should conscientiously leave space open for other opinions from the community.

The way to prevent irresponsible journalism is not through the means of censorship or publication boards, but through an aware student body, a body that will demand a quality newspaper by its interest.

Other issues of academic freedom are being raised at the College every day. The charges of discrimination against Hispanic personnel by the Romance Languages Department raised one in particular. Dr. Josefina Romo, a noted Spanish scholar, was released from her position as a lecturer last May.

While no one has denied the power of the College to take this action, Dr. Romo charged that only one member of the departmental Committee on Appointments had ever come to see her teach and that she had been notified too late in the year to find other employment. Specifically, she asked to have the conditions of her release made public. Dr. Gallagher replied that the College did not release such information, both for the protection of the school and of the person involved.

Undoubtedly this is a viable policy generally, but are conditions changed when the reputation of the College is at stake? When the person involved has asked to make the information public? When all public evidence points to a competent teaching job? All of these questions were raised. Dr. Gallagher has answered no, the Committee disagrees.

Is academic freedom a dead issue? When *Observation Post* asked a number of teachers, who were in favor of Communists teaching at the College-level to write a column, some were too busy, but others were coming up for tenure. None could write the article.

This special supplement is being written because academic freedom is a vital issue. It is, or should be, a leading topic for thought and expression. To this end, an Academic Freedom Week should be reinstated at the College next term. For a day, or a period of a day, classes could be suspended and forums, speakers, and discussions on the topic should be held.

# Should Communists Be Allowed To Teach?

NO

By HILLMAN M. BISHOP  
PROFESSOR, POLITICAL SCIENCE

To answer the question whether members of the Communist Party should be permitted to teach in public schools and colleges it is necessary to understand the fundamental aims and purposes of academic freedom and to examine the singular methods of organization and operation of the Communist Party.

The primary purpose of academic freedom is to protect the individual teacher from censorship exercised by the non-college community. The basic assumption is that the pursuit of knowledge requires complete freedom of inquiry, complete freedom to search for that which can be verified and proved. Any attempt by the college administration or by pressure groups outside the college to control the direction or limits of scholarly inquiry places shackles on those who advance the frontiers of knowledge.

The primary allegiance of the teacher and scholar is to what Sidney Hook has called "the ethics and logic of reasoned inquiry or to those processes which constitute intellectual freedom." The ethics and logic of the teaching profession assume that the members of the teaching staff have intellectual honesty and intellectual integrity, that the teacher will examine all sides of any question before reaching his own conclusion, that the teacher or scholar will continue to re-examine any question in the light of newly available evidence, and that in the classroom the teacher will try to present all points of view, including viewpoints opposed to his own. Particularly important is the assumption that the teacher is capable of reaching his own conclusions through the exercise of *his own reasoning, his own analysis, his own judgment.*

Therefore any attempt by non-educators to control college matters is the most flagrant abuse of academic freedom. From this standpoint it is immaterial where the pressure comes from. All attempts by outsiders to control the college, whether by conservatives or liberals, by business interests, by Tammany Hall, or by the Communist Party must be defeated if academic freedom is to remain inviolate. Only the teacher who is free from outside dictation has the right to freedom from institutional control. The teacher who joins an organization which requires him to follow a party line in educational matters has violated the ethics and obligations of his profession.

Leaders of the Communist Party in America have frequently emphasized that their party is a "new kind of Party," different from all other parties in America.

In Lenin's words, the Communist Party requires of its members "the mentality of the soldier of the proletarian army" as distinguished from "the mentality of the bourgeois intellectual." The Communist Party has never abandoned this basic premise of Marxism-Leninism. Today, as in Lenin's day, the Party insists that only a unified, disciplined party can provide direction and leadership to the "oppressed masses."

As pointed out by Mr. Justice Jackson in his concurring opinion in the case of *Dennis v. U. S.*, the Communist Party is a "highly disciplined" paramilitary organization.

This conclusion of Mr. Justice Jackson can be fully supported by numerous quotations from official publications of the American Communist Party. Space permits only two illustrations.

In 1936 the Ninth Convention of the American Communist Party stated:

"In order to carry through their work effectively, and to win the respect and confidence of the workers, all Communists must at all times take a position on every question that is in line with the policies of the Party, which always are designed to serve the best interests of the masses."

In *The Communist* of May 1937 we find 14 pages of detailed instructions as to how the Party should operate in schools and colleges. We are told that, "The Marxist-Leninist analysis must be injected into every class." The official organ of the Communist Party states:

"Communist teachers . . . must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working class education.

Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism, will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time to conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner."

Those who believe that the situation in the Communist Party today is different from what it was in the thirties and forties should read Howard Fast's "Naked God," published in 1957. While others compare the Party to a disciplined army, Fast compares the Party to an authoritarian church.

In joining the Party, writes Fast, "ones sells his soul, accepting the proposition" that this extinction of the individual is necessary for the redemption of mankind.

In 1933, when Hitler came to power in Germany, the New School of Social Research in New York City founded the famous "University in Exile" staffed by professors who had been dismissed or forced to flee from Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Soon the question arose as to whether an institution dedicated to academic freedom could deny appointments to Nazis, Fascists and Communists. The answer was the following resolution which later became part of the by-laws of the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Sciences of the New School:

"The New School knows that no man can teach well, nor should be permitted to teach at all unless he is prepared to follow the truth of scholarship wherever it may lead." Jealously safeguarding this precious principle, the New School has stoutly affirmed that a member of any political party or group which asserts the right to dictate in matters of science or scientific opinion is not free to teach the truth and therefore disqualifies himself as a true teacher."

## OPology . . .

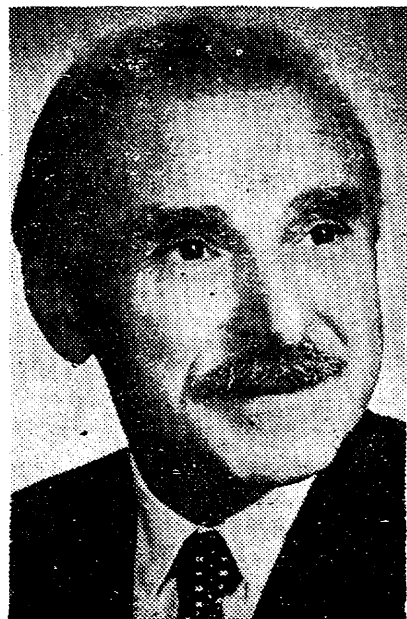
Several paragraphs had to be deleted from Professor Bishop's column due to a lack of space. The editors hope that everything vital was retained and that the continuity of the article was not destroyed.

## Feinberg Measure Had Stormy Past

New York's Feinberg law, which sought to bar "subversive" persons and doctrines from state classrooms, was passed fourteen years ago, following a bitter legislative debate which foreshadowed a five year legal battle.

Proposed by Republican Majority Leader Benjamin Feinberg to prevent the dissemination of propaganda "among children of tender year," the measure was contested by Senate Democrats who called it "un-American," "subversive to the fundamental principles of our democracy" and "a bugle call to the witch hunters of our day."

The bill, which was appealed until it was upheld by the Supreme Court, authorized the Board of Education to make a listing of organ-



BHE Chairman Rosenberg Files Annual Feinberg Report

izations which were "subversive," membership by a teacher in any one of which was to be automatic cause for dismissal.

Implementation of the act was in the hands of the school authorities but the regents were requested to submit annual reports to the legislature on the enforcement of the law.

The legislature authorized the Board to incorporate any similar federal list, and it was expected that 100 organizations on the Attorney General's list would be included.

The refusal of the FBI to hand over information to the Board as to the subversive nature of the groups, resulted in the listing of only the Communist Party which had been convicted of advocating the overthrow of the US government.

The implementation of the act costs the jobs of many public and City University teachers some of whom were dismissed for refusal to answer questions about the political activities of colleagues. In the last few years the annual BHE report to the state legislature has declared that there are no communists now working in the state school system.

YES

By BARBARA SCHWARTZBAUM

This column was written by a student because no teacher asked, would write it. Whether from lack of time, tenure or as one instructor candidly admitted, "courage," no one approached would defend in print the right of a Communist to teach, although all but one felt they should be allowed to, and several thought the issue critical to any discussion of academic freedom.

The reactions of some noted liberals on the campus when asked to write this article: the instructor who said he didn't want to give his tenure committee "anything to throw at him"; the teacher who urged us not to ask a colleague because he lacked tenure; the professor who explained that such a column might harm one's work in other areas—bluntly indicates that:

Those who have barred or advocated the barring of Communist teachers because they "lack an open mind, are incapable of the independent search for truth" and would "destroy freedom," have themselves taken some small but significant steps to close minds, limit the search for truth and narrow the bounds of intellectual freedom.

That this has been the rule rather than the exception was the conclusion of a 1955 study by the Ford Foundation's Fund For the Republic. Polling 2,451 Political Science teachers around the country, the survey sought to assay the effect of the "legislation of the McCarthy Period" on academic freedom. It disclosed that over fifty per cent of the teachers interviewed felt there had been a decline in the "intellectual and academic freedom" on their campuses.

Professors replied that they "equivocated, compromised, eschewed political participation and public appearances, gave up subscriptions to magazines and membership in "non-conformist" organizations" as a result of the pressures to conform.

While the practical result of such a policy cannot help but, as Justice William O. Douglas has said, "raise havoc with academic freedom," it also directly subverts one of the fundamental tenets of the teaching profession — the right of the teacher to be judged by his acts in the classroom and not his political beliefs. The subject of why Communists are barred from teaching has been wrapped in a lot of academic verbiage, but the actual fact of the matter is that most state laws outlawing Communist teachers ultimately rest on criteria of belief.

New York's Feinberg Law, for example, does not require that a teacher be proved in court to have done anything except join the Communist Party. This is prima facie grounds for dismissal; no more questions need be asked. The procedure, as New York State Supreme Court Justice Harry E. Schirik declared, when striking down the law, constitutes a violation of due process as well as being a bill of attainder. And if one is "naive" enough to hold with Justice Black and Douglas that the First Amendment means what it says, the law achieves an almost perfect score in violating bill of rights guarantees.

The barring of Communist teachers has been defended on two grounds; one, the special nature of the Communist Party, the other, the charge that Communist propagandize in the classroom.

Although several points of fact and common sense could be raised against the first assertion lack of space limits the writer to asking two brief questions.

First, is it not a fact that although democratic centralism undoubtedly restricts the freedom of dissent of a Communist once a party decision has been made, that he himself helps to make these decisions at general party congresses? Secondly, would those who would bar Communists for this reason, keep from teaching the forty million members of the Catholic Church, who are theoretically expected to follow on pain of excommunication the dictates of an infallible Pope?

The argument that Communists will use the classroom to propagandize rests heavily on an article written in a 1937 issue of "The Communist" which advocates such action. This is a fact.

Other facts, however, may tend to balance it. The tenure committee investigating Herbert J. Phillips (a Communist Professor of Philosophy at the University of Washington) in 1949 found not only that he taught philosophy objectively, but that he made a practice of calling attention to his personal beliefs in the opening sessions of his classes and urged his students to keep this statement in mind when weighing what he had to say . . . Brooklyn College President Harry Gideonse, who is opposed to Communists' teaching, is on record as saying that "open Communist propaganda is exceedingly rare . . ." the legislative preamble to New York's Feinberg Law admits that Communist propaganda may be and frequently is sufficiently subtle to escape detection by conduct in the classroom. One might say at this point that everybody's doing it, but no one has any proof.

As the chairman of the Board of Higher Education, Orway Teed, said in 1938, "differences of opinion and attitude (including Communist opinion) among faculty members is a wholesome sign of vitality and as this is reflected in the teaching it supplies the student with a useful cross-section of the divergence of views of the community at large." The following of such a dicta would no doubt provide some limited risks for the school system in regard to the dissemination of propaganda. But calculated risks must be weighed against their opposites and the opposite is, according to Justice Douglas, a continued "forgetting of the teachings of the first amendment." With words that it would do well for institutions of higher learning to remember, Justice Douglas argues.

"Of course the school system of the state need not become forums for propagandizing the Marxist creed. But the guilt of the teacher should turn on overt acts. So long as she is a law-abiding citizen, so long as her performance within the public school system meets professional standards, her private life, her political philosophy, her social creed should not be the cause of reprisals against her.

# Academic Freedom: Burdens & Opportunities

By PRESIDENT BUELL G. GALLAGHER

Freedoms are usually thought of as liberties—freedom from restraint. Two things, however, distinguish freedom from liberty: (1) where liberty means merely the absence of restraint, freedom implies positive opportunity and the means to act; and (2) where liberty is subject only to customary and legal controls, freedom carries with it positive obligations and duties.

"Liberty" is what a sailor gets after six months at sea with no recreation, whereas "freedom" is what a society guarantees to all citizens as a birthright.

Academic Freedom is a special form of freedom, but it has many of the general characteristics of the generic class of freedoms, worked out within the context of the academic community.

When threatened, either because of indifference on the one hand or because of censure and cen-

sors on the other, academic freedom calls for stout defenses. Most of the time, however, it calls for something much more difficult—it calls for understanding and use.

Good education, like great music, calls not so much for defense as for demonstration. I cannot convince another of the excellence of my music by beating him over the ears with my clarinet; but if I play well, and he has any ear for music, good rendition is a convincing answer. So, too, with this matter of academic freedom. Nothing is as convincingly compelling as continuing exercise of freedom by persons in the academic community who act responsibly.

Two things are essential, among others. Neither is prior to the other; both are conditioned each upon the other. They are the

symbiotic components of a single phenomenon.

The first of these is the effort



President Buell Gallagher

to translate the principle of academic freedom into the realities

of daily experience. It is not enough that there be no artificial restraints imposed on learning and inquiry either by intruders or by indigenous demagogues. In the absence of such restraints, it is necessary also that the institution itself be one in which the patterns of free inquiry, free discussion, free report, and free criticism are normal and expected. Organizations of students and of faculty members, in such an atmosphere, have something to do which is much more important than the watch-dog function demanded in less fortuitous circumstances. It becomes the function of (say) Student Government and the American Association of University Professors to promote and encourage responsible expression of opinion from every segment of the political and social

spectrum—with full opportunity for critical answer and debate, and with impunity for the man who replies just as clearly as for the man who speaks.

In this process, the key concept is that of "responsibility." The anonymous or conspiratorial device is not needed or used by free men. It is a tool appropriate only to those who seek to destroy or undermine prevailing patterns and to supplant current leadership through other than democratic means and procedure. Only the brave can be responsible, while irresponsibility is the coward's retreat.

It is therefore true that academic freedom is actually only one concrete expression of many other freedoms, because we shall live in the land of the free for only so long as it is also the home of the brave.

## Life Tenure, Celibacy, And Wine; Were Eighteenth Century Needs

By SAMUEL MIDDLEBROOK, Dean, Liberal Arts & Science

Like academic freedom itself, permanence of tenure for a teaching staff is a means not an end. Hopefully it is an aid to excellence. It is not the excellence itself. The firmest tenure rules cannot turn a faculty made up of clods into good teachers. The historian Edward Gibbon found this out in the eighteenth century. The mentors of his youth, the jolly good fellows and tutors of Magdalen College, Oxford, were clergymen, and they were on life tenure so long as they did not disgrace themselves by marrying or turning Catholic or Dissenter. But neither celibacy, nor their non-existent teaching schedules, nor the thirty-nine articles of their faith, nor deep potations of port wine kept them from being



Dean Samuel Middlebrook

—in Gibbon's opinion—a set of dull dogs. He left the college in disgust and later turned free-thinker as a kind of revenge upon the faculty of Oxford.

Whether these fat slumberers would have been better teachers had they been subject to peremptory discharge, Gibbon did not ask. But we, in mid-twentieth century America, assume that they would not. Nowadays we do not favor shooting down one professor so as to encourage the others to work harder or to think as the president or trustees or alumni

or even student editors think they should think. No firing without strict attention to more or less elaborate rules is our motto.

In simplest terms tenure is the right, either in law or morality, to keep your job after you have held on to it for a stipulated period. Let me outline the setup at City College.

Tenure throughout the City University may be earned by three full years of service in the rank of tutor, instructor or any of the three professorial grades followed by a fourth annual appointment to any of the above-named ranks except that of tutor. The process can be shortened for people in professorial ranks. (Service as a lecturer doesn't count toward tenure). In all cases the appointments have to be determined first by a majority vote of an elected departmental committee, then by committees of chairmen, deans and members of the Board of Higher Education.

Tenure at City University differs from that in most private institutions in several ways. First, it is a legally enforceable contract rather than just a moral obligation. Second, it can be earned more quickly (in three years as opposed to terms elsewhere running up to seven or more years) and at a lower rank. In most other institutions one does not get tenure until becoming an associate professor. Also, especially in less gigantic institutions than ours, the central administration dominates the department in these most critical decisions. With us initiative and authority remain strongly with the tenured members of the staff.

It is assumed that the probationary period will be one of serious examination of the candidate by the elected appointments committee, of which the department chairman is a member. The professional conscience of these people, and of the department that has elected them, will be tested by their acts. Adverse decisions bring pain, perhaps a tragic loss

of self-esteem, to the teacher who is denied tenure. But lazy acceptance of second-raters will send a department downhill.

Once a teacher gets tenure at City College, he can be removed only by a rigidly prescribed and public process: written charges, confrontation of hostile witnesses, assistance of counsel, right of appeal, etc. Very few such departmental trials have been held in the twenty-five years since the tenure law was written. Almost nobody has been fired, although a few have resigned before charges were formally made.

Students and people not on college faculties still argue about the merits of tenure. Against it are charges that it perpetuates mediocrity, stifles ambition, politicizes the scholarly activities of a department, hamstringing efforts toward imaginative change, encourages laziness, raises the cost of higher education intolerably, makes a bad teacher unsalvageable, etc.

Proponents, including most teachers, say flatly that tenure is the bulwark of academic freedom. Before the founding (during World War I) of the American Association of University Professors and the great upsurge of unionism in the New Deal era of the thirties, they say that teachers trembled helplessly before trustees and presidents who had the temper of robber barons. Professors had nothing, in those bad old days, to lose except their brains.

Of course both sides exaggerate. To lay all the defects of academic human nature upon tenure is silly. Teachers have been cranky, talkative, pedantic, obstinate, selfish—and now and then wonderful—since they silenced Socrates with hemlock; and tenure only helps them to be more so. On the other hand to find in tenure a source of courage, joy, brilliance of mind, affection for students and charm is equally silly. There were giants even in nineteenth century American colleges, when teachers held their posts only at the pleasure of auto-



The library has served as the preserver of wisdom through the centuries. Scholars must have a source for the knowledge, which they can absorb and then pass judgment on.

cratic trustees. Who, then or now, would question the right of William James to profess whatever he wanted to profess? Or Josiah Willard Gibbs, scientist extraordinary? Or John Quincy Adams, who resigned from the US Senate and became a college professor on rhetoric and oratory? So on and on for pages.

But all in all, I vastly prefer these new times of tenure earned by competence rather than accorded by reason of unassailable brilliance. The hard-driving army of professional scholars of today seem to me better than the isolated amateurs of yesteryear. College teaching as a profession seems much better because of tenure, as most of my colleagues will agree.

With tenure, unpopular opinions may be discriminated against but not destroyed. Minorities get better treatment. Even women in college teaching may some day get a break, all because of tenure!

Of course, being a dean as well as teacher, I note an inconsistency. If tenure is a good thing, if it promotes academic freedom, which shouldn't it be extended also to administrators? Professors pale at the thought! One must draw the line somewhere, they feel—against students at one end of the academic spectrum, against deans and presidents at the other. Trustees agree with them on the point. So do I. Academic freedom must not descend into a riot of security for everybody. If you can't bedevil both your students and the administration, what's the fun of being a professor?

## Brownstein . . .

(Continued from Page 9)

A college has an obligation periodically to assess the population which it serves, evaluate its goals and methods, and make changes accordingly. The student of today is not the same in terms of needs and aptitudes as that of sixty years ago; neither has our curriculum been static. Why, then, should we assume that the pattern of the extra-curriculum, brought to fruition by President Finley in the first decade of this century, is valid for either today's student or today's educational objectives. We need to know more about the ways in which students learn if our educational offerings in the future are to have any meaning. We need to know more about the student peer culture, about attitude and value change (or reinforcements) and the ways in which the total college experience affects these. We need to know, too, about the kinds of learnings which occur in the extra-curriculum, and how these can be related to the objectives of the college; for if they cannot, then they have no place on the campus. We cannot know any of this, however, if we do not know the population with which we are working. While the political and legal aspects of the complicated membership list controversy may have been resolved, there are still educational considerations waiting to be dealt with. In succumbing to the hysteria of the times, and in not adequately realizing this, our College has deprived itself of a valuable area of research.

## A DEAN ANSWERS

# What Are The Rights Of A Student?

By WILLARD BLAESSER  
DEAN OF STUDENTS

WHAT is the nature of the relationship between a college and its students?

Sometimes it has been characterized by two terms: *fiduciary*—the obligation of a trustee for the welfare of another person, usually a minor, and the second term—one more often quoted—in *loco parentis*; this phrase has for centuries defined the loving care of a foster mother for her foster children.

The legal principle of *in loco parentis* has been stated by Blackwell as follows: "The power which the officers of a college may lawfully exert to restrict and to control the actions of its students is based upon the fact that, in law, the college stands in the same position to its students as that of a parent—in *loco parentis*—and it can therefore direct and control their conduct to the same extent that a parent can."

In recent years increasing numbers of students have taken issue with the legal principles involved and the methods some college administrations have employed to carry out this relationship. I would assume that commuting students especially would be somewhat allergic to any doctrine, legal or not, which populates their lives with parents and parental substitutes. During the past two years the United States National Student Association has strongly attacked this principle. In the NSA Congress of 1961 the organization in formal resolution condemned "the tradition of *in loco parentis* and the educational habits and practices it justifies."

This has offended many college administrators. I am not one of them. I regret some of the language used, but I believe the whole issue needs to be met more frankly and openly than has been the case to date. Here are some illustrative questions: What happens to "in loco parentis" when the real parent supports a student's request for greater freedom than permitted by the college? What happens to the doctrine when a student reaches legal majority?

HOWEVER can students in their relations with college governing boards, faculties, and administrators expect to have some or all of the civil liberties of the American adult society?

A former dean of Barnard College, Dr. Virginia Gildersleeve, has written: "The only right the student has as a student is the right to receive the best possible education the college can give (he retains, of course, his political rights as a citizen of the state)."

Others, when thinking of a fuller application of the civil liberties of adult society to the student in the college community, have urged that certain college rules and regulations governing student behavior should be less restrictive, that disciplinary procedures should contain more due process protections for the students, that the practice of faculty and administrative disclosure of student views and records should be severely limited, that student privacy should not

be invaded by unannounced housing inspections and compulsory counseling, that colleges should exercise greater care in entering material in student records, that records about a student should be accessible to the student in question, that a student convicted in court of an off-campus legal infraction should not be penalized by college

sities," the ACLU stated:

"The relationship between the educational institution and its students must be viewed in the light of the function of the college or university: to transmit to the student the civilization of the past, to enable him to take part in the civilization of the future. In this

as off-campus citizens, gave attention to freedom of expression, freedom from discrimination, freedom of student association, role of student government, role of the college newspaper, community regulations, and off-campus political activities.

More specific attention was given by the NSA Congress of 1960 in its legislation regarding

negative, since the record shows that faculty and administrators have set forth very few established rights in comparison with the many prohibitions adopted for the restriction of students' lives.

WHAT about the record of student rights and responsibilities at the City College of New York?

I have not had opportunity to confer with those faculty, administrators, and alumni who have had many years of experience here. For example, I should have consulted with Dean Morton Gottschall who has served this College for fifty years. Prior to my arrival this fall, I did gain impressions from meeting representatives of City College at various conferences in years past and from occasional stories in the *New York Times*. One central impression was that despite having for some years an umbrella-wielding president with a secret back office door which enabled him to duck large delegations of protesting students, that a few freedoms and responsibilities survived that regime. Another central impression was that with the arrival of City College's current president ten years ago, and his immediate flaying of the McCarthyism blight in American society, the climate of freedom for both faculty and students improved considerably. Also, I should confess that I would not have made the long move east were it not for the nation-wide record of President Gallagher and City College in regard to basic freedoms.)

Upon arriving this fall, it was a pleasure to read the new constitution which gave wide freedoms and wide responsibilities to student government. Also, I read with keen interest the brochure of March, 1960, entitled, *An Open Invitation to Discussion Before Decision*. This publication included President Gallagher's open letter to student, faculty members and administrators on the subject of student government, a draft of a Model Constitution, and the majority and minority reports of the special student-faculty committee appointed by the President to undertake a "large-scale, and long-view assessment of what powers may be delegated to Student Government, and what structure will best facilitate the effective employment of these powers."

The calibre of thought and analysis in this document is high. The basic approach—that of stimulating debate and careful consideration in the college community before building a new structure for student government—was clearly sound. I understand that this open invitation was accepted readily and that lively discussion took place before the current constitution for student government (up-town, day) emerged.

The new constitution has now been in force for almost a full term. It seems to me that students have carried out well their increased responsibilities. The faculty and administrators concerned seem to have cooperated

## NSA BILL OF RIGHTS

### Responsibilities:

1. We recognize the responsibility of every student to devote himself to increasing his knowledge and understanding of the world around him, in preparation for the fulfillment of himself as a human being.
2. We recognize the responsibility of every student to seek, discuss, and promulgate the truth.
3. We recognize the responsibility of every student to respect the rights of the faculty, the administration, and fellow students.
4. We recognize the responsibility of every student to support and to administer student government and all student organizations in a democratic manner.
5. We recognize the responsibility of every student to use the appropriate channels when exercising his rights pertaining to the educational community.
6. We recognize the responsibility of every student to make himself cognizant of, and to comply with, the regulations pertaining to the educational and co-curricular policies that govern the institution of his choice.
7. We recognize the responsibility of every student to uphold the academic integrity of his educational institution.

### Rights:

1. We recognize the right of every student who meets the educational institution's specific academic standards, to admission to that institution, with the understanding that non-coeducational institutions may discriminate on the basis of sex and that institutions set up for specifically avowed sectarian religious purposes may require membership in their religious denomination as a basis for admission.
2. We recognize the right of every student to clear and concise written statement of regulations and responsibilities pertaining to educational policies and curricular activities, the allied rights of students to be informed through proper channels of any change; such changes not to be effective until after such notification, no punishment or restrictions to be ex-post-facto.
3. We recognize the right of every student to protections against any unreasonable or arbitrary actions by members of the faculty and/or the administration.
4. We recognize the right of every student to be advised in writing of any charges that might lead to his suspension, expulsion or other severe disciplinary action; the right to trial by a body including equal student voting representation.
5. We recognize the right of every student to request liaison with the faculty and administration regarding changes in curriculum, teaching personnel, and policy of the institution.

disciplinary action and that students should enjoy full freedom of press, of inquiry, speech, assembly, association, petition, and conscience.

The American Civil Liberties Union recently stated its own views with respect to the proper freedom and responsibility of college students. In a 1961 publication entitled, "Academic Freedom and Civil Liberties of Students in Colleges and Univer-

great pursuit, the student must be viewed as an individual who is most likely to attain maturity if left free to make personal decisions and to exercise the rights, as well as shoulder the responsibilities, of citizenship on and off the campus."

The bulletin, in outlining the rights and responsibilities of students as campus citizens and

student responsibilities and rights. A bill was passed which outlined seven responsibilities and sixteen rights; this legislation was modified somewhat in 1961 but the basic points remain.

Perhaps the ratio of sixteen to seven illustrates NSA's concern about the record of higher education in the years past. As Williamson has pointed out, the historical backdrop is largely

6. We recognize the right of every student to conduct research freely, and to publish, discuss, and exchange findings and recommendations.
7. We recognize the right of every student to establish democratic student government with the authority to administer, legislate, and adjudicate in all areas within its constitutional jurisdiction and with adequate democratic safeguards against abuse of its power.
8. We recognize the right of every student to participate through his student government in setting up activity fees and in allocating these fees and other student activity funds.
9. We recognize the right of any student organization to be recognized upon filing a statement of purpose, a constitution, and specified minimum membership list, provided that the constitution or purposes shall not include discriminatory clauses as to race, or as to religion except where the avowed purpose of the organization is to bring together members of one specific religious purpose. Recognition may be revoked upon proof of the group's violation of its own statement of purpose, or of the regulation of the institution.
10. We recognize the right of any student organization to choose or approve its own faculty advisor. However, when an advisor is required and none consents to serve, the organization shall continue to function while conscientiously seeking one.
11. We recognize the right of authorized student organizations and students to use campus facilities subject to such uniform regulations as are required for scheduling meeting times and places, provided the facilities are used for the purposes contracted.
12. We recognize the right of authorized student organizations to use the name of the institution subject to uniform regulations with respect to off-campus activities.
13. We recognize the rights of students and authorized student organizations to hear speakers of their choice subject to clearly stated educational policies of the institution which have been made known to the students previous to admission.
14. We recognize the right of every student to establish and issue regular student directed publications free of any student government, faculty, and/or administration censorship or other pressure aimed at controlling editorial policy of staff appointments and removals, provided that these publications do not transgress the code of common decency, civil or criminal laws against libel, pornography, or indecency.
15. We recognize the right of every student to exercise freely his full right as a citizen in off-campus activities in connection with local, national, or international organizations for intellectual, religious, social, political, economic, or cultural purposes, and to publish and distribute his views without impairing his standing in the institution, provided he does not claim to represent that institution.

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# A Roundup Of College Speaker Bans From New York Across To California

By MICHAEL GERSHOWITZ

"A faculty advisor at CCNY refused to allow Raul Roa, Jr., a Cuban diplomat, to speak to a student group . . . The University of California and Queens College refused to allow Malcolm X, a Black Muslim leader, to speak to campus groups . . . Northern Illinois University administrators refused to allow an Illinois Communist leader to speak on the campus . . .

"The trustees of Washington and Lee disapproved a proposed invitation to Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King . . . The President of Lehigh University prohibited Norman Thomas from speaking . . . Wayne State University attempted to bar author Harvey O'Connor."

The above excerpts, from a recent "Report on Campus Censorship" by the New York County Lawyers' Association, show that the banning of controversial speakers, such as was temporarily done at the City University slightly over one year ago, is not an unusual occurrence.

The issue was again spotlighted this semester when two new incidents occurred.

A court injunction prevented an appearance October 31st, at the University of Buffalo of Dr. Herbert Aptheker, a member of the Communist Party National Committee. The injunction has been obtained by an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress, despite opposition of the Board of Trustees of the State University of New York. The Buffalo school is a branch of the State University.

The prohibited speech was to have been one in a series of five lectures on the world's major political ideologies. The other speakers, whose appearances were not disallowed, were Sir Oswald Mosley, a British fascist; Russell Kirk, conservative columnist; Senator Eugene McCarthy (Dem., Wisconsin), a liberal; and Norman Thomas, many-time Socialist candidate for President.

The second incident took place at Michigan State University, where the leaders of six student organizations, including the Student Government, were placed on "severe disciplinary probation" for having violated recently imposed college regulations regarding outside speakers.

The new rules, establishing a Student-Faculty Clearance Committee, were made this semester "to screen proposed speakers and weed out Communists" after the arrival of "a barrage of protests from legislators and taxpayers" when one made an unsuccessful attempt to speak there last spring.

The six students, in a planned test of the "prior approval requirement" had sponsored a meeting which was addressed by three members of the Detroit branch of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.

Another outgrowth of last spring's abortive attempt to have a Communist speak on the Michigan State campus was a resolution passed by the Michigan State Legislature, declaring that all state-supported schools must

prohibit Communists from speaking on their campuses.

The *Daily Collegian*, the student newspaper at Wayne State, charged in its May 29 issue that the legislature exercises "subtle control of state universities."



Norman Thomas Spoke at Buffalo

There apparently is a high level of activity on the West Coast, not all of it unsuccessful, for those attempting to do away with speaker bans.

1957, when Queens College President Thomas B. Garvey refused to allow John Gates, editor of the *Daily Worker*, permission to speak on the campus.

Dr. Garvey cited the Feinberg Law, which prohibits Communists



Gus Hall Barred From Speaking

from teaching, and declared that speaking was a form of teaching. He then requested the Administrative Council to review its speaker policy.

were affected.

From April, 1961, when the Smith Act ban was lifted as "no longer necessary," until September of that year, there were no restrictions. At that time, following the appearance of Davis here, a temporary ban on "known Communists" was imposed. This was converted into a permanent ban the following month, and, following student demonstrations and the presentation of legal briefs by ACLU lawyers, lifted ten weeks later.

The practice of prohibiting unpopular speakers is not new. A *New York Times* survey, twelve years ago, of seventy-two American colleges, concluded that "a subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech is attacking college campuses . . . limiting both students and faculty in the area traditionally reserved for the free exploration of knowledge and truth. They take a variety of forms."

The County Lawyers Association report traces a variety of subjects which were "taboo" in American schools at various times

during World War I; socialism, again, between the two world wars; and Communism and other left-of-center ideologies, today.

## Blaesser . . .

(Continued from Page 6)

effectively with student leaders during this "test run."

Certainly there has been controversy and stress and strain, as evidenced by the recent elections. This will and should continue, as part of the never-ending educational process in a college community that takes seriously its rights and responsibilities. There is much unfinished business ahead as students, faculty and administrators learn better how to share in the task of moving toward the goals of higher education.

Some of the unfinished business on the docket for City College should include thorough discussion and formal definition of rights and responsibilities, such as those formulated by the United States National Student Association. I am not suggesting an easy acceptance of the NSA list, or any other list. There should be thoughtful and critical analysis of rights and responsibilities of students within the educational framework and organization of City College. This should lead to definitive, written codes which include specific policies and operational procedures made clear to every student.

For example, what are the "due process rights" of students in disciplinary proceedings? The Student-Faculty Committee on Discipline is currently completing a codification of existing policies and procedures in this area.

The whole area of student freedoms, rights and responsibilities merits formal definition to the greatest extent possible. If this task of re-examination is shared by students, faculty and administrators, there will be gains from the partnership process itself as well as from the formal actions taken. Student government, student newspapers, and all student organizations could stimulate and enrich discussion toward meaningful definitions at City College. We have a commuting citizenry, so perhaps the term "apathetic majority" has more significance here than at residential colleges. On the other hand, it is my opinion that we have assets enjoyed by only a minority of colleges and universities in the United States. I refer to assets such as an intellectually able student body, a capable president committed to the learning, earning and sharing of freedoms and responsibilities, a student government with a substantial grant of authority and responsibility, numerous and active student newspapers, a wealth of student organizations, including the many units of the unique House Plan Association, "non-residential" fraternities, and a student personnel staff anxious to serve as consultants and partners in the development of students rights and responsibilities.



Students at the College protesting the City University speaker ban.

At the University of California, a ban on speeches by members of the Communist Party was upheld last May by the State Superior Court in a suit brought by the American Civil Liberties Union.

In San Francisco State College there is no ban, but there is a regulation requiring that forms for scheduled speakers be filed one full semester in advance. Enforcement of the rule, students there say, is arbitrary, and used to exclude Communists.

The successful campaign was at the University of Oregon.

After the Portland City Council cancelled a rental arrangement for the city auditorium with a Reed College club, GP chairman Gus Hall was provided facilities by the Oregon President. Three other state-supported schools there soon followed suit.

At the City University, the speaker issue was first raised in

As a result, the first ban, barring as speakers persons who have been convicted under the Smith Act, was imposed. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Robert Thompson and Benjamin Davis

in the history of the nation. The list includes abolitionism and secession, from 1830-65; Darwinism, in the 1870's and 80's; socialism, at the turn of the century; German affairs and



Shortly after the City University speaker ban was lifted, Communist Party leader Ben Davis came to speak at the College. Conservative students objected by picketing.

# City University Academic Freedom

By STEVEN ABEL

The situation of academic freedom at the City University seems to be a darker reflection of its position at the College.

Although there is far from any sort of oppression on the campuses, there has often been cases of hesitation and reluctance of students and teachers to speak freely or on the record, student leaders in the City University stated Tuesday. Professor and instructors with tenure are seldom affected or involved with a necessity for tight-tonguedness but teachers under contract without tenure have not always felt free to express their views. According to one source, Dr. Harold Lenz of Queens College, "The actual laws leave us completely free. However, the faculty (at Queens College) does not feel free because of various incidents."

The mirror of course is not without some bright spots.

Brightest of all is the freedom of the student press. According to Jerry Solomon of the Queens College *Phoenix* there is no censorship of his paper other than the bounds of good taste. Ditto on the Brooklyn College *Kingsman* although they had one unusual affair a couple of years ago. A *Kingsman* photographer



Student Typewriter

*Free or Censored Words?*

took a picture of a Civil Defense (CD) protest which was going on at the time of a CD drill. The editors weren't allowed to use the photo since the photographer was obviously violating the rules of the school as he could not have been under cover during the drill.

At the Baruch School the newspapers also have complete freedom. The *Reporter*, the evening session newspaper, has had occasions when the Department of Student Life asked them not to print certain information, but Managing Editor Marvin Gross-wirth believes they are of an inconsequential nature and have been done as courtesies to the Department.

It is not in this department that academic freedom has found itself in bad condition.

Speaker regulations have been a far more common and virulent form of abridgement of academic freedom. The regulations and bans upon speakers went into effect for the first time in March of 1957. As has become almost traditional Queens College led

the way into this area. The then Queens College President Thomas B. Garvey barred the editor of the *Daily Worker*, John Gates from speaking. His action evolved into the Smith Act ban, under which anyone convicted of violations of the City University. The ruling did not bar communists not convicted under the Smith Act.

On October 26, 1961 the Administrative Council banned all members of the Communist Party (CP), the first being Party Secretary Ben Davis on the premise that the CP was an illegal agent citing various laws aimed at the organizations. By December they had reversed themselves with a statement that "there is at present no legal prohibition against the approval by City University authorities of speaking invitations to members of the Communist Party."

In its statement the Administrative Council did not seem to be concerned with the question of academic freedom but rather with legalisms.

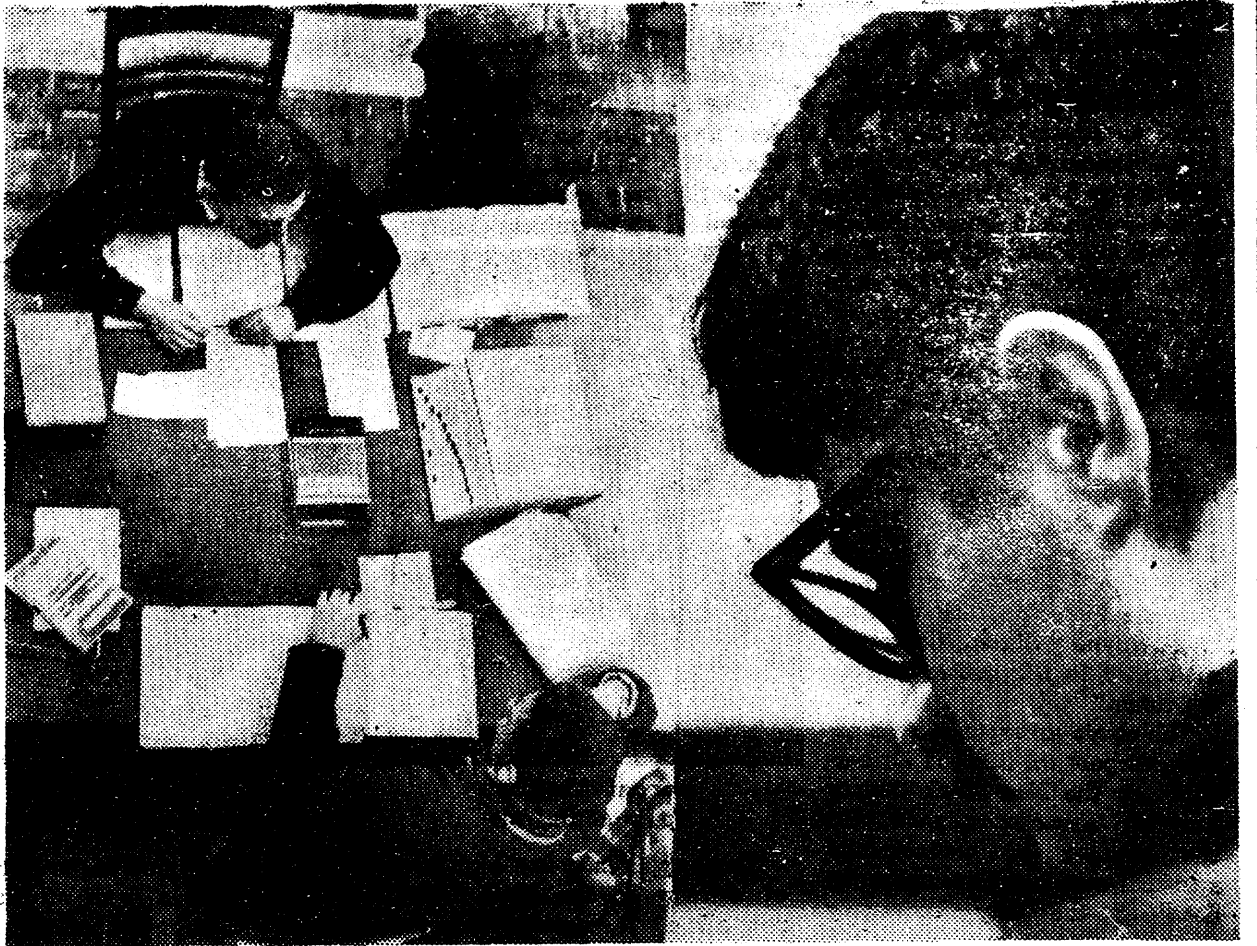
The birthplace of the bans, Queens College, added an interesting addenda to the speaker ban. Two instructors at QC took very active parts in campaigning against the ban, making speeches and sending letters to the newspaper. Both, Lawrence Crisp and John Boardman, lacked tenure. Mr. Crisp is now teaching in the Evening Session and Mr. Boardman preferred to move to Brooklyn College. No direct relation can, of course, be proved but the coincidence is still there.

Queens College seems to have always been in a tough situation where academic freedom is concerned. According to one informed source on the campus the main trouble lies in the neighborhood of the college, Flushing. When the College was first built in 1937 it was an unwanted child due to its effect on property values. Since then various local neighborhoods have always seemed ready to pounce upon the orphan for whatever reason handy.

The case of Dr. Harold Lenz is the most noteworthy. Dr. Lenz, an outspoken liberal had moved up from the German Department to the position of Dean of Students. In 1952 the FBI asked to look at rosters of student groups. Dean Lenz refused, and after a study of his department he offered his resignation which was accepted by Dr. Theobald. Back in his position as German instructor he now feels that as a member of the administration he was a second class citizen, not free to express his views.

In general the effect of such actions upon the faculty at Queens College has been to form a very cautious, reserved group, who sit back rather than fight, according to Dr. Lenz.

If reputation meant everything Brooklyn College would be a feudal fief ruled over by its President. But one member of its Student Government, Jay Ostrow, held opinions strongly to the contrary. He noted that SG was allowed complete freedom of action at BC and did not know of any instances in which tenure had been broken. He did not feel that President Harry Gideonson



Students studying at the City University. Knowledge and judgment is their goal.

had done anything which would violate academic freedom. Ostrow added that the editor of the *Worker* was allowed to speak there, as a positive point for freedom at BC.

At the College's own Baruch School the business aspect of the curriculum seems to effect the attitudes of the students and faculty. There has never been any form of controversy because most of the business students tend to be of a conservative turn of mind. The faculty, many of whom come from the business world into teaching, are also more conservative than their uptown colleagues. So academic freedom is in good standing downtown but, like the entering freshman, has yet to be put to a test.

Overall the outlook for academic freedom at the City University is good. Academic freedom was abridged when the short-lived speaker ban was in



Benjamin Davis  
Banned from Speaking

effect last year. The fact that it was in effect for only a short time would seem to indicate a good future for academic rights at the City University. Generally it looks fairly well at this check-

## Cuba & The History Professor

(Continued from page 9)

that he had supported President Kennedy in 1960, but had voted for George Romney, the successful republican candidate for Governor of Michigan, in last November's election.

He took exception also to Matthews' reflection on the caliber of his work as a scholar, saying that the Dean had made no complaint during the last two and one-half years. Of five books published by the 60 members of the Oakland faculty since the University opened here in 1959, he said, his book on Richard Henry Dana, Jr., a 19th century politician and novelist, was one. This book was published, incidentally, by the Michigan State University Press.

During the last year, Shapiro has had a grant from the Oakland branch for research on Daniel Webster's diplomacy. Another of his books, "Invisible Latin America" is scheduled for publication next year by the Beacon Press of Boston.

In addition, Shapiro has been a prolific writer for magazines and other publications, including the *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Reporter*, *New Republic*, *Nation*, *The London Economist*, *The New England branch for research on Danland Quarterly*, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, *American Heritage*, *Commentary* and others.

In 1960, Shapiro made a speech here in which he referred to US Congressional policy toward Latin America as "idiotic," said that President Eisenhower's shipment of arms to the Batista dictatorship in Cuba made him "an accomplice of murderers" and referred to a former ambassador to a Latin American nation as a "fat slob."

In an interview this week, he

expressed regret for having used such an expression but said that his comments had been made at an informal faculty meeting and that in the context of a worsening situation in the Caribbean he did not believe that he went beyond the bounds of academic propriety.

At the time of Shapiro's release, the Chancellor declined comment. On Dec. 14, however, he wrote a letter to Dr. John A. Hannah, President of MSU in which he reviewed the case.

"The central issue involved in this public discussion," he wrote, "is that of academic freedom. Was professor Shapiro's contract not renewed because he held and advocated an unpopular view toward Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution?"

"The answer to that particular and specific question is an unqualified no."

Varner said the real question was whether it was in the best interests of the University to accord tenure to Shapiro. He said that Shapiro had many fine qualities but that in awarding tenure many additional and sometimes peripheral factors had to be considered which did not lend themselves to public discussion.

"Having reviewed all aspects of this decision," he said, "it is my unqualified conclusion that the best interests of this institution are served by not reappointing Professor Shapiro."

Shapiro said that he had referred his case to the American Association of University Professors and would take whatever action that organization recommended.

"I know—if I had kept my mouth shut," he said, "I'd have had tenure."



**The Answer Man ...**

Q. "Are there any Communists teaching in the New York City schools?"  
 A. "No sir, none of that. A man would be under suspension in twenty minutes after I heard of such a thing, and on trial under charges."  
 Q. "Why would it take so long?"  
 A. Well maybe it would be five minutes after I heard of it."  
 From Superintendent William O'Shea and Representative Hamilton Fish during a legislative investigation.

**Faculty Sees No Discrimination  
Tech Grads Still Sought After**

The charge that the College's "reputation" costs its engineering graduates job opportunities appears to be a myth according to a brief sampling of engineering faculty opinion.

Engineering teachers here denied any knowledge of students whose vocational chances were harmed because they were graduates of the College. Quite to the contrary, they maintained that the College was held in high repute among the nation's technology schools.

These teachers said that they had been questioned about students by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other federal agencies, but added that these checks were purely routine.

FBI agents asked teachers if they had any reason to doubt a man as a security risk, but probed no further. They did not ask specific questions about applicants. Civil service forms were similarly vague.

Mr. Demos Eitzer's (Electrical Engineering) assertion that there is "no prejudice against City College" was typical. "With the demand what it is," he explained, "employers are anxious to get our people. That is the crux of the matter."

Professor Cecile Froehlich (Electrical Engineering) conceded that "twenty years ago" the College's graduates may have been adversely affected by the College's reputation, but "certainly not

now." Now, she said, there are "good opportunities."

Professor Vincent Deltoro (Electrical Engineering) said he would be "rather surprised" to discover any prejudice. Mr. Shee-Ming Chen (Electrical Engineering) was also "not aware of any problem about graduates" seeking jobs. He said the College was "nationally known" among technology schools.

These findings contrast with charges made earlier this term by *Tech News* and the Technology Council. In a controversy revolving about an *Observation Post* editorial, these two tech organs were perturbed about the effect of the College's reputation on engineers' jobs.

*Tech News* was worried about "a widely distorted image of the CCNY student." In its editorial of October 19, it called for stricter control of the student press, saying, "No longer do we wish to have our careers hindered by this false impression of CCNY, being created by a small minority."

In a letter to *OP*, Ken Rosenberg, President of Technology Council, wrote, "Technology Council believes that *OP* . . . has used the students' money and the students' name to create a public image of the College which will ultimately be harmful to the future professional opportunities of the graduates."

stirred discussion about freedom of inquiry and expression at Michigan State University-Oakland here, came in late November when Shapiro's name came up for re-appointment as assistant professor of American History. The Board of Trustees, which governs MSU at East Lansing and the Oakland branch here, routinely accepted the recommendation of the Oakland administration not to reappoint Shapiro. His present contract runs until September. If he had been reappointed he would have had tenure.

Shapiro was not notified of the Oakland administration's recommendation until after the Board's concurrence. Subsequently, associate Dean George Matthews, Shapiro's superior, was questioned about the professor's release and he said that Shapiro "would have had a better chance" of being retained if he had written and said less about Cuba and Latin American affairs.

Matthews insisted, on the other hand, that "our judgment has nothing to do with the nature of his (Dr. Shapiro's) writing." But

**Clubs And Religion Equally Secret,  
Brownstein Attacks College's Policy**

By IRWIN L. BROWNSTEIN

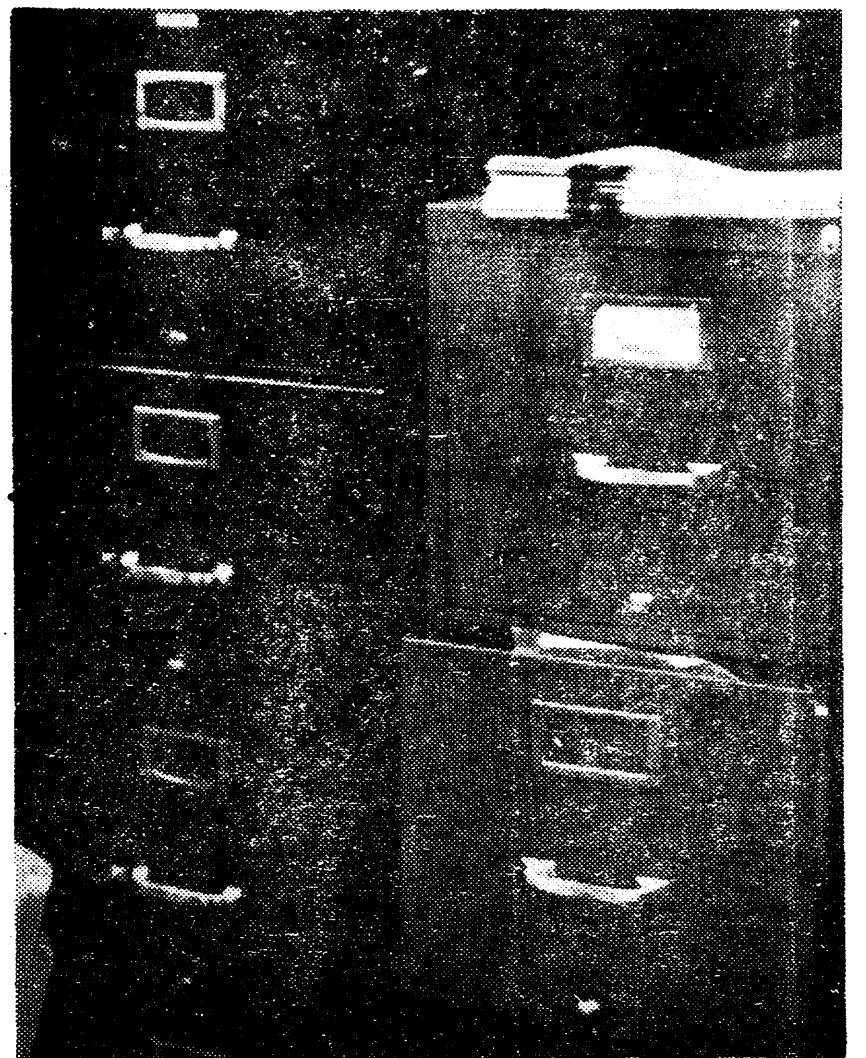
One of the issues on this campus which sustained the most interest over a period of years was that of the so-called Membership Lists. Many members of the College community felt that the College had a right to know the names of the students who belonged to organizations which it chartered; that this information presented a rounded picture of the student's experiences in college; and that this knowledge was necessary for counselling purposes and for Graduate School references. Others, fearing the tenor of the past decade, made the issue one of civil liberties. They felt that some social action groups existed on campus which, for the moment, were out of favor with the public at large; that a student might belong to one of these groups as part of his educational experience, and his membership, despite College assurances to the contrary, would be used for nefarious purposes. Besides, they argued, membership in an organization, like religious affiliation, was a private matter, and it was as much a violation of a student's rights to have to reveal that he was a member of a Tiddley-Winks club as it was for him to have to state involuntarily that he had a proclivity for Zen.

No one seemed to object that the Registrar's Office maintained a "membership list" for every academic course; and the student had no compunction about having displayed on his transcript both "popular" and "unpopular" courses. Somehow, though, the extra-curriculum was not considered a part of the College's educational offering, and it was only in this area that we got into difficulty. The problem could have been resolved, albeit facetiously, if the College assigned

catalogue numbers to its student activities and evolved some sort of point system for participation. Then, a student could list Radicalism 101 or Reactionism 102 with impunity. Actually, there were many proposals and many closed conferences on the

rather than filed in the student's personnel folder.

I feel the regulation was unfortunate, not for what it stated, but for the way it was stated and for what it left unsaid. In the concern of civil liberties, however valid this may have



issue, and a compromise was ultimately offered: every organization, as part of its semesterly rechartering procedure, was to submit a card for each of its members, but any organization had the right to declare itself "sensitive," thereby indicating that its cards were to be destroyed at the end of the semester

been, consideration of the institution's educational objectives were overlooked. The regulation was offered simply as a clarification of a rechartering procedure with no rational or educational context behind it. The students looked upon this regulation as just another bureaucratic procedure to be dealt with as summarily as possible. Only four groups of our two hundred fifty have ever availed themselves of the "sensitive" appellation, and even these four have been inconsistent from term to term. Groups will submit cards at the beginning of the semester only so that they can be allowed to publicize, apply for Fee Funds, and get meeting rooms, etc. Some submit only the minimum required (12); others turn in cards gathered from friendly non-members either to make the group appear to be larger than it is, or because their own members could not be reached by the registration deadline. Nearly all groups fail to bring their membership statistics up to-date as students drop out or join during the semester. Thus, the College does not know, at any given time, how many students are involved in extra-curricular activities; nor does it know the distribution of students in the myriad activities which exist on campus. Those of us who are actively involved with the supervision and guidance of student groups find that we are working not only with an expected transient population, but also with an amorphous, and at times, even a sub rosa one. From an educational viewpoint, this is absurd.

**Controversial History Professor Removed;  
Michigan State Calls It An Academic Affair**

By DAMON STETSON  
From the New York Times  
News Service

Rochester, Mich., Dec. 26—A recent decision of Michigan State University-Oakland to relieve a controversial history professor has precipitated a dispute over whether his academic freedom was at issue.

The 35-year-old professor, Dr. Samuel Shapiro, has been an outspoken critic of US foreign policy in Cuba and South America, blaming the policy's inflexibility for turning Premier Fidel Castro to Communism. He has defended some aspects of Castro's revolution in Cuba and in 1961 visited Cuba with the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

More recently, however, following another trip to the island, he criticized Castro's obeisance to Moscow, his muzzling of the press, and his growing militarism. He also wrote recently that "there is no guarantee against Castro's turning into a Caribbean version of Hitler."

The University action, which

he was appointed as an American historian, the Dean said, and "we expect a certain amount of scholarly work in his field of specialization."

"His writing has been on a level of journalism," Matthews



Premier Fidel Castro  
Center Of Controversy?

said, "and in a man seeking tenure we look for scholarship."

When Matthews was asked whether the quality of Shapiro's work was in question, he said: "I

would not call him a bad teacher. Competence is a relative word. But he's a good teacher.

"We just made an academic decision. We felt we could better develop our program the way we want to with another man."

At first, Shapiro declined to comment on his release. Later, however, after Matthews' comment and a statement by Chancellor Burward B. Varner, the professor said that he felt he should speak up and present his side of the case to avoid having his professional career placed in jeopardy.

Shapiro readily acknowledged that he had been controversial and that his views about Cuba had been criticized by the publisher of the Pontiac Press. He denied that he was a communist or a fellow traveler as he said a Lansing Television Commentator had implied. The professor had initiated a damage suit against the television station.

Shapiro emphasized that he was not a political person and noted

(Continued on Page 8)

(Continued on Page 5)

# OBSERVATION POST

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## Wrap-Up

Among the events of the term, one stands out from all the rest.

Early last fall the beginning of a series of charges were publicly hurled at the College by a group calling itself the Committee for A Creation of A Hispanic Department at the City College. It consisted of representatives of Puerto Rican community organizations from outside the School.

Chief among these were allegations of anti-Hispanic bias on the part of the Romance Languages Department. Dr. Josefina Romo, a noted Spanish scholar, became the cause célèbre. Dr. Romo charged that she had been released by an Appointments Committee, only one member of which had seen her teach. She also added that she had been notified too late in the term to find other adequate employment.

President Gallagher met these burgeoning charges with a forty-two page statement, which attempted to dispose of the reasoning behind them. The report offered a considerable array of evidence and profuse assertions to discount almost all of the Committee's grievances.

The one charge which was not adequately reckoned with was the most serious — anti-Hispanic discrimination against a number of named faculty members. Dr. Gallagher affirmed the College's stand that information concerning the appointment or release of teachers cannot be made public for the protection of the School and of the personnel.

The Committee answered Dr. Gallagher's statement with a "token" picket in front of the Administration Building. In support of their stand, the Committee released the "highlights" of a longer statement documenting their original assertions.

The report was only a skeleton restating some of the old charges. Most were left out, presumably answered by Dr. Gallagher, no proof was offered to back up the others. An informed source later said that this did not contain the highlights of another report, but was merely literature to explain what the picket was about. This would justify the sketchiness of the report, but does little to explain why the group picketed the College before answering Dr. Gallagher's reply.

All that exists at this point are rumors, rumors of a Committee report which answers the Gallagher statement in full — a lengthy document detailing names and instances to be issued "the day after the picket," "one week," "one more week," "in another week," "it's coming soon," "before Thanksgiving," "after it," "during Christmas," "you'll get it in the mail two weeks after Dr. Gallagher gets it, you can't call up here anymore."

Another situation that occurred this term bore portent of worse things to come. Recently the State Supreme Court ruled that the University of Buffalo could not have a Communist speak on its campus.

This breach of the right of the College to determine its own educational policies and of the right of the student to learn from all sources reminds us of things past and is a cause of great concern for things to come. We can only hope that the Appellate Court will reverse this unhappy precedent. And then, of course, there was the SG election. The IRT sweep of Student Council and the highest executive posts was a disappointment. Perhaps these people will alter their unnecessarily severe restriction of the scope of representative action once in office.

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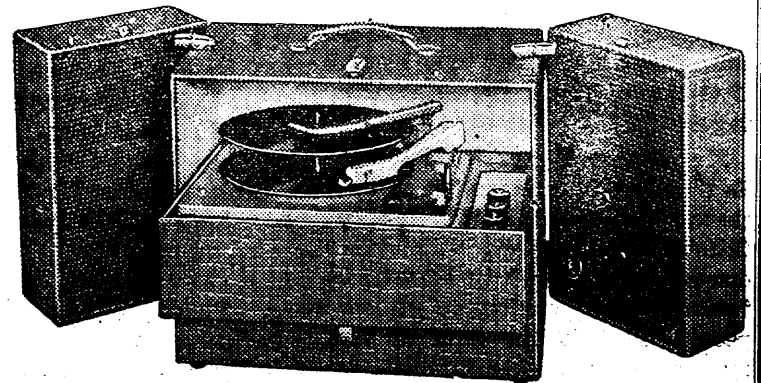
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# DeGaulle Tells French Of 'Our Atomic Force'

1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

PARIS, JAN. 1 — President De Gaulle told the French armed forces today that 1963 would see "the appearance of our atomic force."

The president's message was a follow-up to the one he addressed by radio and television last night to the nation in which he called for efforts to build a Western European Union that could achieve balance with the US.

In all, the French leader set out an ambitious domestic and foreign program for 1963.

De Gaulle called the new year a "decisive" one for the land, air and sea forces. He said "the appearance of our atomic force, the modernization of our conventional weapons and the regrouping of our units and services in view of a possible world conflict are going to increase French power."

The president's message to the military establishment implied that he meant to proceed with his ambition of building up a national atomic force despite the recent US offer to furnish France with Polaris submarine missiles within the framework of a North Atlantic pact.

The end of 1963 is expected to see the first deliveries to the French Air Force of Mirage IV fighter bombers travelling at Mach 2 speeds and capable of carrying atomic bombs. A striking force based on manned aircraft is considered already outmoded by the US. But it will be France's mainstay until she can get missiles. It is almost as much a political and diplomatic weapon as a military one, since in the President's view, it is only with an atomic force, however small and however outdated, that France can play a major world role.

There has been no definite answer to the US offer which means France must build submarines to carry the Polaris. But the reaction of De Gaulle is understood.

thus far to be negative and he is expected finally to turn the offer down.

US Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen is expected to be received by the President very shortly to give a further explanation of Washington's proposals. There are reports that Kennedy would like to see the French leader personally, but up to now French diplomatic sources here stressed the President's heavy program did not seem to allow much time for a trip to Washington.

## TV Bowls . . .

(Continued from Page 12)

stayed in the game, tallying the last three points on an FG from the 12.

Arkansas' Razorbacks evened the score on a FG also from the 20. The Rebs got the lead back with two minutes to go in the half on a 32 yard pass play to wingback Louis Guy. Arkansas evened the score early in the second half on a Mississippi miscue. Griffin opened it up again on a 1 yard plunge after a long drive.

### Cotton Details

Louisiana State made the Cotton Bowl in Dallas a one sided contest, shutting out Texas, 13-0. The Longhorns never got inside LSU's 25 yard line and missed their only field goal attempt from the 32. The LSU line hasn't been scored upon by rushing in 17 games. Lynn Amedee broke the Cotton Bowl field goal record with a shot from the 37 yard line. Amedee kicked

## Tax Reductions And Reforms Receive Presidential Priority

By TOM WICKER

1963 NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

PALM BEACH, FLA., JAN. 2 — A one-package program of tax reduction and reform, with the effective dates staggered to reduce the impact on the budget, will be President Kennedy's top-priority legislative item in 1963.

The President hopes that enactment of this program before the year is out will produce enough economic stimulation and new jobs to reduce unemployment from its present 5.8 per cent level to less than 5 per cent. Without a tax cut this year, he believes unemployment will rise above 6 per cent.

Kennedy expects a hard fight in the 88th Congress on his tax program, and other high-priority bills like Medical Care For The Aged and Federal Aid to Education. And, in his view, if the House Rules Committee is returned to the control of a republican-southern Democratic coalition, his program will have been completely repudiated.

Kennedy's concern with tax reduction and reform in 1963 is predicated on his belief that the biggest budget deficits result from economic recession, and his desire to stimulate the economy now to head off such recessions.

He recognized that his tax program will be criticized for producing a temporary budget deficit, but he does not believe that the need for increased defense and space expenditures would have allowed a balanced budget anyway.

## Castro May Release Political Prisoners Now Held In Cuba

By TAD SZULC

1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, JAN. 1 — A far-reaching amnesty for political prisoners in Cuba was said today to be planned by Premier Castro.

The amnesty plans were reported to have been mentioned by Castro to Mrs. Berta Barreto, a member of the Cuban prisoners families committee.

Reports from Havana this week indicated that the Castro regime had, in fact, already begun releasing a number of political prisoners.

Some exile sources in Miami estimated that between 150 and 200 persons may have been thus liberated. At least four of them were with the families of the Bay of Pigs prisoners who arrived in Florida last week.

It was understood that the amnesty plans would include those who had been charged with "aiding counter-revolutionaries" and who had already served one-third of their sentences.

Under the Cuban law, persons who have served this portion of a prison sentence are eligible for parole or amnesty at the discretion of the government.

The reported amnesty decision

# It's One Or The Other The Skybolt Or RS 70

By JACK RAYMOND  
1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON, JAN. 1 — Air Force leaders and their supporters in Congress are preparing an "either-or" campaign involving the cancelled Skybolt Missile project and the languishing RS-70 Bomber development program.

The administration formally scrapped the Skybolt project yesterday, after committing close to \$500,000,000 to the attempt to develop a 1,000-mile range ballistic missile that could be launched from bombers to ground targets.

70. The Air Force professionals have stressed that these can only result in reducing the number of weapons options the armed forces will have in the future.

Congressional complaints are building up on the grounds that when funds were withheld from the RS-70 Bomber Project last year, the availability of bombers armed with the Skybolt missile was offered as an important reason.

Sen. Stuart Symington, a former Secretary of the Air Force in the Truman administration, has been particularly active in rounding up Congressional opposition to the administration's air weapons policies.

The Air Force announcement of a successful Skybolt missile test Dec. 22 caused the administration considerable embarrassment. It came one day after the US and Britain had decided during the Kennedy-Macmillan talks in Nassau to write off the Skybolt as an expensive failure and not to depend upon it.



Prime Minister Macmillan Heavily Berated

In the meantime it has been withholding \$141,600,000 in money appropriated by Congress last year to press forward with the development of the RS-70 high-altitude, high-speed reconnaissance bomber.

Uniformed leaders of the Air Force have indicated their concern with the administration's actions against both the Skybolt and RS-

## Kennedy . . .

(Continued from Page 2)

had been building since the first Soviet Sputnik was orbited — an event which he regards as having been a major turning point of the fifties and the most politically fruitful Soviet achievement of the post-war period.

The other result was to prevent what the President believes would have been a very great Soviet victory in Cuba, comparable to his estimate of the Sputnik launching, with far-reaching psychological and political effects throughout the world and with slightly more limited impact on the strictly military balance of power.

Such a victory would have been, he believes, a disaster in South America and other underdeveloped areas. A major reason would have been that it would have given tremendous impetus to what he thinks was a widespread feeling—stemming from the Sputnik triumph, talk of a missile gap in the US, and such Communist advances as were made in Laos and the Cuban revolution — that the Communist system represented the tide of history.

The President also believes that had Khrushchev's Cuban missile gambit brought him the huge success he sought, the Soviet Union would have been worse off, paradoxically, from the point of view of risking war with the US.

This conviction flows from Kennedy's historical view that every major setback for a powerful nation carries the seeds of its own reprisal.

For this reason, the President believes that if the Soviets hoped that a Cuban triumph would lead to another in Berlin, they were mistaken; rather it would have made a Berlin solution more difficult.

Holding such strategic and historical views, Kennedy attempted to make the ultimate Soviet setback in Cuba not so harsh as to bring an increase in Soviet-US hostility but one which would leave room for an easing of relations.

## He Makes Some Proposals For Constitutional Alteration

By FELIX BELAIR, JR.

1963, NEW YORK TIMES NEWS SERVICE

GETTYSBURG, PA., JAN. 2 — Former President Dwight Eisenhower has been quietly promoting the idea that no more than half of an individual's federal income tax be collected in the form of withholding from earnings.

The proposal is one of a series of legislative and constitutional changes he considers necessary to enter the mounting deficit spending by the Federal Government with an apparent acceptance of the tradition as normal and healthy fiscal policy.

One of Mr. Eisenhower's plans modernize government procedures and give greater effect to constitutional principle of checks and balances would abolish substantially modify the constitutional seniority system of promoting members according to political longevity. To this end he suggests that senatorial tenure be limited to two terms of six years that of House members to be terms of four years each,

presently sitting members to be excepted.



Ex-President Eisenhower Wants Constitutional Changes

Here lies the  
AE TT  
Pledge Class  
who died after  
being slaughtered  
in a football  
game by the  
AM Phi  
Pledge Class  
30-6

# Beaver Vanquish Queens, 53-47; Greenberg Almost Outdoes Knights

For a while it looked as if Jerry Greenberg would outscore the entire Queens' team as the College's basketball team rolled up an amazing 25-9 half-time lead. The Knights did somewhat better in the later going, but the Beavers had no trouble nailing down a 53-47 win in their final pre-Christmas game.

After thirteen minutes and thirty-eight seconds of play, the score was Queens 6, Greenberg 6 (incidentally, the Beavers were ahead by twelve points). At half-time Greenberg trailed by only a single point, 9-8. Moreover he had four field goals; the Queens team had two.

The Knights seemed to improve with age, but the Beavers kept pace with them through most of the second half, enjoying a 29-21 margin when Steve Golden fouled out at 9:59. Even then the Beavers proved more than a match for their municipal rivals.

The final score was close only because Queens engineered an 18-point rally in the last five minutes — after Coach Dave Polansky had gone to his bench.

The difference between the two teams lay in defense and shooting percentages. In the first half, the



Coach Dave Polansky Uses Bench

Beavers held Queens to two field goals in 27 attempts. Golden used his long arms to block three shots during this period.

Knight Irwin Dubinsky got hot to the tune of 13 second-half

points and led all scorers with 15. Greenberg was high man for the Lavender with 13. Alex Blatt, who started because Ray Camisa has a leg injury, hit for 11 while pulling down seven rebounds. Blatt hasn't missed a foul shot since the season started — that's eighteen straight for him.

Jay Hirshkowitz, who saw more action than usual, clicked for eight points and seven rebounds. Golden, although he fouled out early, still rolled up seven points and six rebounds. Sidat had an identical record.

The holiday game was attended by over 1000 fans including two all-time Lavender greats from last year: Tor Nielson and Andre Houtkruyer. President Buel G. Gallagher also viewed the victory.

The Lavender frosh also won, rolling up a 55-46 triumph over their Knight counterparts. The Beaverlings are now 3-2 for the season.

## Plunk . . .

Alex Blatt is on a real rampage from the foul line this year. So far Blatt has hit 18 of 19 from the foul line. He missed his only shot in the Columbia game to break-up an otherwise perfect streak. The record is 56 by Bill Bradley, who did it two years ago while in high school. Bradley is now out at Princeton, so the Beavers' champ and Bradley will never meet.

# Columbia Rips College, 16-11; Team Learns From Losses

The parachute jump is pretty popular out at Coney Island and the College's fencing team just took the full ride. After going all the way up with three Ivy League victories, Penn, Yale and Harvard, the bottom fell out two Saturdays ago with a 16-11 loss to Columbia.

A loss to Columbia isn't the worst thing in the world. There are exactly three colleges in the country that give fencing scholarships—NYU, Navy, and Columbia. The Beavers met all three which is in accordance with Coach Edward Lucia's philosophy, "You can't learn anything from a team you can beat."

So the Lavender took quite a few lessons from the classy Lions.

Flashy Leon Agaronian gave the Beavers the opening bout win, the last time they were to lead,

as he started on his way to a triple.



Coach Edward Lucia Learn From Losses

# Giants Fail In Title Match With Packers

## Old Man Winter Hurts Giants

NEW YORK, Dec. 30 — Yankee Stadium was no place for a warm-blooded mammoth today — especially Y. A. Tittle of the New York Giants. His passing arm was as cold as a popsicle, hence, the Green Bay Packers scored a 16-7 triumph and captured the National Football League crown for the second straight year.

Field goals of 26, 29 and 30 yards — all by Jerry Kramer provided the margin of victory.

A capacity gathering of 64,892 witnessed this exciting, closely-contested affair. The most conspicuous witness in attendance was old man winter. His temperature ranged from 20 to 17 degrees and he exhaled frigid, swirling gusts of wind that frequently reached 30 miles an hour.

Weather and wind seemed to rack greater hardships on Tittle than on any other man on the field. On at least 10 occasions, the 36-year-old quarterback overthrew or underthrew open targets far down the field.

### Collier Scores

It was a miserable day for Tittle. He rarely looked like the same chap who had established a league record of 33 touchdown passes during the regular season. The New York score was made when Erich Barnes blocked a Packer punt and Jim Collier recovered it in the end zone.

All told, Tittle connected on 18 of 41 aerials for 197 yards. His longest completion was a 21-yard pitch to Del Shofner in the first quarter. Too many of Yatt's tosses went for

short gains, and the giants did not have the kind of rushing power that consistently could penetrate the Packer line.

Part of Title's trouble stemmed from a formidable rush by the Green Bay forwards, notably Bill Quinlan, Willie Davis and Ray Nitschke, a blitzing middle line-backer.

Nitschke always seemed to be in the right place at the right time. He recovered two fumbles that led to Green Bay scores.

The Giants acquitted themselves far better than they had in Green Bay last year, when the Packers crushed them, 37-0, in the playoff. In fact, they could have won today except for two heartbreaking incidents.

### Tittle Intercepted

In the first quarter, Tittle guided them from their 38 to a first down on the Packer 16. But then Tittle tried to pass to Joe Walton, alone on the goal line. Nitschke deflected the ball, however, and Dan Currie intercepted for Green Bay at the 15 and returned it 24 yards.

A touchdown for the Giants at that point would have put them ahead, 7-3, and might have made a big difference in the final result. Bad luck thwarted the New Yorkers again in the third quarter. This time, a pass interference penalty called against Willie Wood of the Packers, plus a personal foul by the same player, gave a first down to the Giants on the Packer 18.

Wood's foul was an abrupt, violent turn toward the official who had just called interference, back judge Tom Kelleher of Holy Cross. He knocked Kelleher to the ground and was ejected.

But immediately after that break, two penalties for pushing and holding set the Giants back to their 40. The New Yorkers had gotten their touchdown earlier in

the period, narrowing the deficit to 10-7. Had they been able to capitalize on Wood's misdemeanors here they would have gone ahead, perhaps to stay.

In the end it would have taken New York offense to win this grudge match . . . and there just wasn't much offense to be had.

The 64,892 frozen Yankee Stadium fans were stunned into silence by the failure of Tittle to mount a sustained scoring drive.

The shame of it was that the defense played with the killer instincts of jungle animals.



Y. A. Tittle Frozen Out

Jim Katcavage, Andy Robustelli, Rosey Grier and Dick Modzelewski held Taylor, the league's leading rusher, to only 85 yards in 31 carries. Paul Hornung, the injured all-league halfback who was a surprise starter, managed but 35 yards in eight attempts.

The Giants even held a 273 to 244 lead in total offense, but it was Green Bay's ability to make the big play, the big first down and the key yardage which led to the victory.

## The Bowls

There's nothing like waking up New Year's Day, putting the ice-pack on the hung-over head, and sitting back and watching the Bowl games on TV.

### Rose Details

All those poll-takers were finally vindicated Monday when No. 1 ranked Southern Cal beat No. 2 Wisconsin. The Trojans took the greatest college game of them all, the Rose Bowl, 42-37.

The record breaking game was the highest scoring affair in the history of the contests, while Wisconsin's ace quarterback Ron VanderKelen rewrote all the records in passing. All except one which told the story of the game. Trojan quarterback Pete Beathard completed four touchdown passes for a new record.

### Orange Details

Oklahoma's highly touted offense didn't and Alabama won a surprisingly easy Orange Bowl victory in Miami. President Kennedy and 80 degree weather watched Alabama quarterback Joe Namath give the boys from Bama a 7-0 lead in the first half on a 25 yarder. Later they got to the seven yard line but fumbled and lost the ball. Cotton Clark scored the second touchdown on a 15 yard run and Tim Davis kicked a field goal from the 8 late in the third period for the final score.

### Sugar Details

In the 29th edition of this classic Mississippi's fabulous quarterback Glynn Griffing directed the Rebels to a 17-13 victory in New Orleans. The statistics were more lopsided than the score with Ole Miss piling up 22 first downs to Arkansas' 7. Billy Erwin started the Reb scoring on a field goal from the 20.

(Continued on Page 11)

## Round-Up

### RANGERS

Those Rangers have looked frighteningly good over the vacation. n Wednesday they racked up the Boston Bruins, 9-3, which is their highest score in ten years. That night Muzz Patrick quit his coaching job, leaving members of the Society To Oust Muzz Patrick (STOMP) without a cause.

Red Sullivan took over, and the Rangers can't lose with him. Fact is they can't win either having picked up two ties. They came back from a 4-1 deficit to tie Montreal 4-4 and tied the Detroit Red Wings 1-1 Monday.

### KNICKS

The luckless Knicks dropped another Tuesday to the Cincinnati Royals, 112-106. This puts the Knicks fourteen games behind the league leading Boston Celtics. Richie Guerin hit for 25 points to lead the Knicks, who were ten points ahead at the end of the third period.

### BOXING

NEW YORK—The government has agreed to release an estimated \$1,000,000 to Championship Sports Inc. (CSI), of tax receipts seized for tax purposes after the September Sonny Liston-Floyd Patterson heavyweight title fight, Thomas Bolan announced Sunday.

He said that this clears the way for the return, the site and date of which will be announced within a few days.

### RACING

Hitting Away won the New Year's Handicap at Tropical Park paying \$12.80, \$7.60 and \$4.90. Ridden by Larry Adams, the 5 year old finished four lengths ahead of Fauvre. The Daily Double, Empirie and Parrot Peter (12-5) paid \$58.10.