

THE guilty controversial PAPER

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Selma

A Year After Selma: Some Personal Reflections

The author of this article was one of five students and three faculty members who, representing Newark State College in Union, N.J., participated in voting rights demonstrations in Selma, Ala., last March. He is currently a first-year graduate student in political science at MSU.--The Editors.

By DONALD J. KULICK

I realize it is only a year ago but it seems like eons since we filed into the plane that was to take us to another planet, the Deep South, Selma, Alabama, beforehand only a word to read in the papers like Cyprus, or the Congo, or Saigon--a "problem" to be sure, but one from which we were very much detached.

As I said, we filed into the plane, unblinkingly, even jauntily, but yet disbelievingly and more than a little naive. I came home four days later a little less naive perhaps but still doubting that I had been to Selma, and certainly a little more jaunty.

Yeah, we were real heroes, returned from battle, and we got the full treatment: newspaper features, admiring glances, and a full-blown assemblage of students and faculty (classes dismissed no less!) to which we recounted our gallantry (in a self-deprecatory style of course, an inverse snobbery), the lurid details of our "experience," and to make the usual appeal for contributions of money and spirit (well-received, I should add in all fairness).

I don't think I'll ever forget the admiring, even envious, faces in the audience as they hung on our every word. It was reassuring to know that they played the game as well as we did. I was of course proud--I said I was naive--but one year later the twinge of guilt I also felt is made a little more clearer. Even at that time though, if anyone could have known how goddamned scared I was in Selma or how so innocently unaggressive, they would have known the deception I helped to perpetrate. But does John Wayne admit that in the thick of battle he wanted to go home? So you pretend.

And we did. Oh how superbly and poignantly we pictured the snide, bitchy cops as our sworn enemies rather than the system they represent, in order to personalize the events. How we portrayed individual acts of bravery by Negroes and nuns. The good guys and bad guys were clearly depicted, simple as that, and you sat by your TV sets, as it were, and cheered just as you cheer the good guys in Vietnam.

I am not trying to demean anyone's personal experience in Selma, least of all my own. Even if the relating of our experiences missed the point, they were sincerely related and, I believe, sincerely received. The problem is, one year later, that is all they were and all they will ever remain--personal, treasured experiences.

Contrary to that old Negro woman --it doesn't matter who; it could have been anyone of hundreds--"the walls of Jericho" did not "come tumbling down." The "system" is still intact, with its miserable Sheriff Clarks, its bland Wilson Bakers, its plain ignorant Joe Smithermans (who pose as mayors), its vicious (quite literally) murderous Collie Wilkins, and worse, its cowed Uncle Toms and its tormented John Moderates.

To forestall self-righteous pro-

testations, I will only admit, and not attempt to measure, the long-run, and hence presently intangible, results of our "crusade" to Selma. But I do know, from the press and from friends in Selma, that one year later there is very little fundamental improvement; given the vengeance borne by bigots, it may even be worse. "They played, now they have to pay," as one cynic put it. The heartening applause of our return was transformed into an empty ringing.

Why is this so? I think the answer is symbolized by a question and answer exchange between an old Negro woman and myself as I bade my farewell before departing. "Why are you leaving, Son?" she asked with a wringing of her arthritic hands. "Can't ya'll stay a few more days?"

My embarrassed answer: "Well, I have to get back to school. I've missed four (whole) days of classes already and I have to graduate this June." Now my felt response was not as lame as the stated answer would imply; I was ashamed and sorry, I'm sure we all were.

But the crucial point is this: What I was really saying was "Sorry, I've made my show of support; my bourgeois conscience is salved, at least temporarily. I've got to get back to the 'system'--the 'system' you're trying to destroy. Okay, specific acts of injustice outrage me but in the final analysis I have to live in that system; my future is in it. I gave you my heart and you want my soul."

This rendering should not be construed to pass moral judgment on either attitude. The diametrically opposed frame of minds are an ineluctable fact of existence which no amount of moralizing can temper. Negroes cannot gain anything in the "system"; whites have nothing, materially, to gain from its destruction.

At best, we can be well-wishers; we can contribute money and a few days of our lives and, at least, applaud those that do (some of us can even misguidedly, give our lives). But we do not possess that fundamental commitment to destroy the system or even basically alter it. And it's clear, I think, that Negroes cannot find a meaningful life in any sense in the system as it stands; moreover, they, or at least their leaders, are convinced of this.

By the "system" I mean the essential power structure; I am referring to who gets what, how, and why. We may be willing to allow Negroes to vote or to help them buy a tractor for their miserable plots of land, but are we willing to let the

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Vietnam: A PFC's View

By JIM THOMAS

The opinions here are mine, not those of the United States government or its armed forces. I am a PFC in the Marine Corps, writing of men who have been to Vietnam, are going, or are there; writing with the knowledge that most historians and strategists won't go at all.

The tactical problem of combatting the guerrilla on his own ground has often been discussed. GI's, though, face another set of troubles more subtle, no less important, and too often neglected. They must fight without the past's comforts and justifications --patriotism, hatred, and illusions that their war is all-important. In Vietnam, there are no columns of hated Germans, only, perhaps, a six-year-old handing his primed grenade to a jolly green giant. That boy must be shot, "the job must be done," and yet the act's injustice cannot quite be glazed over.

"For God and country?" The soldier, like his forebears, carries an idea into a Godforsaken country, where he fights to maintain it. Yet, except for some officers and visiting congressmen, few in Vietnam do any flag-waving. Somewhere along the line, somebody misplaced the flag. Even more important, though he may joke--"another guy was killed, yesterday, demonstrating against us fighting over here"--the soldier knows he is sometimes forgotten and often disliked by the folks back home.

Civilians have not yet geared for war, and non-martial matters preoccupy them. During World War II,

there was an almost mystic involvement in the war efforts: Dwight Mac-Donald criticized capitalists by attacking Patton's example; and Lucky Strike Greens put on kaiki uniforms for the duration. Now, though, there are choices: to march in Mississippi, patrol the paddies or shuffle along for nothing in particular. The bright, volunteer spirit drives few into the recruiting offices. That enthusiasm has been claimed by M-2-M, the Peace Corps, "The Paper," which offer adventure and usefulness not so close to the bone as combat.

The soldiers I know, at least those who are morally involved, faced with what they must do and knowing that the nation isn't fully behind their efforts, adopt an attitude of grim resolve. There is no other choice.



Process of Elimination Department: The Catholic TV show "Insight" had a program on the problem of evil in a world ruled by a benevolent Deity. In a staged interview, Raymond Massey played a priest who had been imprisoned in Communist China.

Interviewer: "No one believes in the devil any more--isn't it any old-fashioned idea?"

Massey-priest: "It may be an old-fashioned idea, but I don't see how we can account for the evil of the professional Marxist in any other way."

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an editorial

The Merry-Go-Round

As this issue of "The Paper" appears, we are again appealing to the Board of Student Publications for authorization, to enable us to sell on campus, with advertising and everything. Those who have been able to wade through our previous statements on the distribution mess will recognize the Board of Student Publications as the real culprit in the confusion which has prevailed.

This issue again contains no advertising, to our very great disappointment, because we are awaiting the decision of the Board. Everything else has been tried.

This week again, Student Board has given permission for a "fund drive" to allow us to "give away" "The Paper" in return for contributions. Discussing this request at its Tuesday night meeting, the Student Board looked as disgusted about the whole thing as "The Paper" must have. We cannot exactly say we are sorry.

All along, the Student Board has expressed its concern for freedom of the press, and we have no reason to doubt the sincerity with which this concern is stated. But we agree strongly with the All-University Student Judiciary, which said in its decision--freeing "The Paper" from any penalty for two policy infractions of which we were nevertheless found guilty--that the Student Board has been derelict in meeting its responsibilities to student publications.

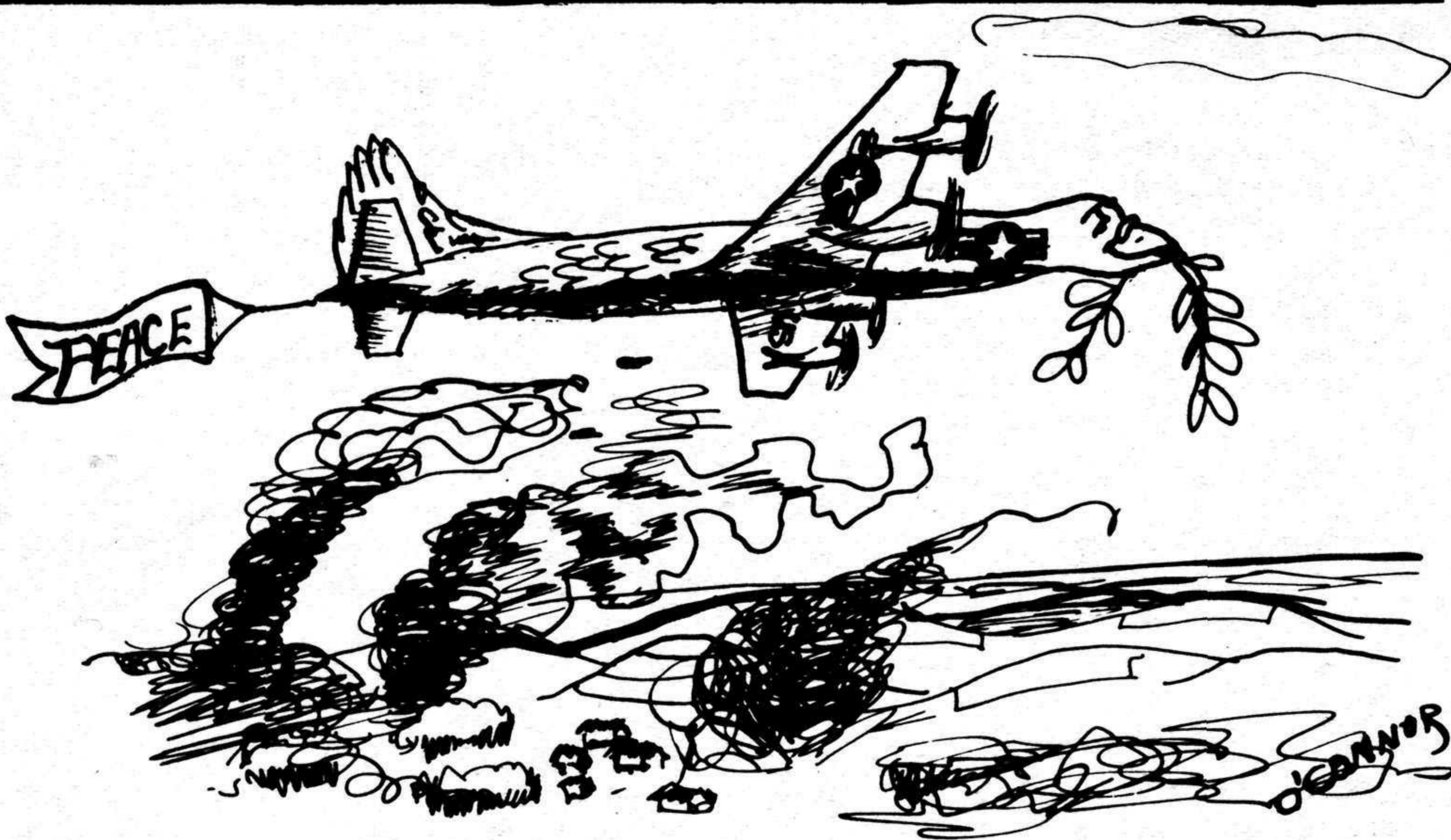
The Judiciary pointed out that Student Board has voiced protest against the inequities of the rules and against the monopoly allowed the State News, but has acted in accord with the inconsistencies and inadequacies of the rules to first grant favors to "The Paper" and then slap it with an indictment. At no point has Student Board made a formal attempt to clarify rules on publications, and it has not come close to what should be its position--a strong public defense of the right of students to publish independently, even if such defense would bring scorn upon it from the administration.

Supposedly speaking for the students' position, and in addition voicing lavish praise of "The Paper" and its function, the members of Student Board have through inaction taken an effective position in opposition to the independent student press.

"The Paper" has been directed by Student Board to "obey the all-university distribution policy" in its "fund drive" this week--specifically, we are directed not to sell in classroom buildings, even though the State News is distributed in all classroom buildings and even though it is well known that this is where we receive the most "contributions."

We will not obey this directive, and will sell in classroom buildings. As before, our primary consideration is the necessity we feel, which no one denies, of insuring our own survival. Our defense derives from the unequal and unnecessarily intolerant treatment accorded any individual or group seeking to follow the university's various policies on distribution.

By the beginning of next term, unless more roadblocks are thrown in our path, "The Paper" will have exhausted all possible channels in the university for authorization of a student publication. It is up to the Board of Student Publications to decide at its meeting March 10 whether or not the last remaining channel will make provision for "The Paper." If it will not, we will be left to survive in the university on the basis simply of the mandate from students and faculty we feel we have to continue publishing.



"Look! Up in the Sky. . . .It's a bird. . . .It's a plane!"

THE PAPER

"The Paper" is published by students of Michigan State University as an independent alternative to the "established" news media of the university community. It is intended to serve as a forum for the ideas of all members of the university community on any topic pertinent to the interests of this community. Neither Michigan State University nor any branch of its student government, faculty or administration is to be considered responsible for the form or content of "The Paper."

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The Circus And I

A Look At The Publications Laws

By ELLIOT BORIN

A funny thing happened on the way home from the circus. I began to wonder if it all was legal. Don't misunderstand, I knew the trial, all three rings of it, was an illegal farce. What I wanted to know was whether the whole idea of students tampering with the Bill of Rights was legal.

So I looked it up.

Article I Sec. 5 of the Michigan Constitution states: "Every person may freely speak, write, express and publish his views on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of such right, and NO LAW shall be enacted to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press."

The state fathers obviously realized that there would be those who claimed that the university is a private institution and exempt from constitutional inuencions. Because of this many sections of the constitution include this paragraph:

"The power of the boards of higher education provided in this constitution to supervise their respective institutions and control and direct the expenditure of the institutions' funds shall not be limited by this section."

There is no such paragraph in Article One. This clearly indicates that the framers of the constitution well understood that the stifling of free speech and a free press is not, and should not be, within the power of administrative bureaucrats.

Asked for a legal opinion in 1955 the state Attorney General said: "In matters dealing exclusively with operation of the university and going no further than that, exclusive authority is given to the State Board of Agriculture (now Board of Trustees) while in matters in which GENERAL LAWS and welfare are affected the legislature has the same powers of legislation as over any other portion of the State of Michigan."

Is any law more general than the First Amendment to the Constitution?

As if to echo the Attorney General, Michigan statute 15:1143 states, "The State Board of Agriculture is authorized to make any reasonable rules and regulations for the purpose of maintaining good order, harmony, discipline and general welfare of the college, where such rules and regulations ARE NOT purely arbitrary or IN VIOLATION OF ANY COMMON RIGHTS."

Is not freedom of the press our first and most common right?

The law also has much to say in regard to a state-chartered body's right to control distribution of the news. There have been numerous court decisions reaffirming the belief that free distribution is necessary for a free press.

In a Michigan action (Dearborn v. Ansell, 1939) we find that "an ordinance prohibiting distribution on PUBLIC OR PRIVATE PROPERTY of any circulars of handbills without having first obtained a license from the city clerk was found to be in derogation of the right of freedom of speech and of the press."

The Supreme Court of the United States earlier upheld this view. In Lovell v. Griffin (1938) the court stated: "Freedom of speech and freedom of the press which are protected by the First Amendment from infringement by Congress, are among the fundamental personal rights and liberties which are protected by the Fourteenth Amendment from invasion

by state action . . .

"It is also well settled that municipal ordinances adopted under state authority constitute state action and are within the prohibition of this amendment."

In this decision Chief Justice Hughes mentions the Fourteenth Amendment. Not as well known as the first, it states, in part:

"No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The questions posed by this amendment are three:

1. Has the liberty of "The Paper" Committee been abridged?
2. Does a trial before seven college students, a trial in which no witnesses or cross-examining are allowed, constitute due process of law?
3. Are the laws of the State of Michigan, specifically Article I Sec. 5 of the State Constitution, being applied equally to "The Paper" and to the other publications (Free Press, Life, State News, Christian Science Monitor, etc., etc.) being sold on this campus?

The answer to all these questions is no. The mere fact that "The Paper" has to get Student Board's approval for a "fund drive" is an abridgement of freedom of the press as defined by both of the above-stated precedents.

The second question is answered by Article VI of the Bill of Rights. To wit: "In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime was committed, which districts shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

Where, I ask you, was the "impartial jury of the state?" When has Student Judiciary allowed the accused "to be confronted with the witnesses against him?" Not only do they have no "compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor," they don't even allow the accused to produce such witnesses as will come forth voluntarily. As for the guarantee of the assistance of counsel, "The Paper" was allowed to have any attorney it wanted, so long as he was a member of the staff, of course.

This does not sound like equal application of the law.

On November 19, 1959, the Michigan State University Board of Trustees passed the following resolution:

"For many years the Board of Student Publications has operated as a faculty-student committee by authority of the Academic Senate. Because of the peculiar responsibilities involving control of large sums of money and potential liability for libel, for example, it is recommended that the Board of Student Publications be

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MILL OR McCARTHYISM: An Examination Of Dissent In America

By RICHARD A. OGAR

The United States is purportedly a nation which has thrived on dissent. Just last January 14, for example, I read in Life magazine that Norman Thomas "follows the great tradition of American protest which, from the beginning, has shaped our society and shattered its complacency."

But if dissent has had its impact on American history, it is certainly not because there has ever been a similarly great tradition of tolerance for those who have dissented; on the contrary, protest has generally been met with ridicule, violence and, on more occasions than most people prefer to recall, death. Nor can we say that this traditional intolerance has abated in any significant degree at the present time; in fact, if the cases of Julian Bond, David Miller, Cassius Clay, Herbert Aptheker, Staughton Lynd, Thomas Hayden, and the University of Michigan Selective Service sit-ins are any index, it would appear that it has increased to the point where dissent may be actively prosecuted without alarming a significant portion of the general public.

Political and ideological persecution, like all processes, waxes and wanes with the passage of time, actively enforced here, and violently reacted against there. The most recent crest of political persecution occurred in the 1950's, when it called forth such champions as Senator Joseph McCarthy, then Senator Richard Nixon, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities to do battle with the Communist dragon. Inevitably, the wave broke and began to subside; reaction had already set in when McCarthy died and formally resolved the question. Nixon and HUAC continued on, but with far more discretion than had formerly been their habit, and it was generally felt that the reign of McCarthyism had ended.

MOULDERING IN THE GRAVE

But since the inception and escalation of the war in Vietnam, one can no longer feel so certain of this; the current reaction against dissent in any form--but particularly against that directed toward the war--has raised the fearful possibility that, while his body may have been moul-

dering in the grave, McCarthy's soul has marched on as vigorously as John Brown's ever did. Or perhaps it's just that he's been resurrected for a second term, his spirit having been called forth not by Gabriel's horn but by McNamara's band. But, however he may have made the trip, it seems clear that he's back, and smelling all the worse for having spent so many years underground.

What this means is that American freedom, if it is to survive in any meaningful form, is going to have to withstand yet another assault upon it by those who wish to suppress it in the name of preserving it. The prospect is indeed ominous, for it seems to me that the American public, if not actually antagonistic toward the idea, is at least exceedingly ill-prepared to make such a defense.

Dissent has by no means been a welcome commodity of late, regarded at worst as a part of the Communist plot to subvert America, and at best as a current and singularly noxious fad. Those who protest are singled out as "kooks," "beatniks," "Vietniks," or--what is perhaps the most hideous appellation, if we consider its implications, "peace creeps." Dissenters are parodied by night club and television comics, maligned in cartoons and comic strips, and blasted in editorial pages. Lip service is paid to what are called "respectable" dissenters, by which are usually meant those whose opinions are voiced but not acted upon, or, if acted upon, done so ineffectually.

True, few people--with the possible exception of the questionable men of the ultra-right--would actually urge that we abandon our so-called constitutional liberties, for to do so would be a blasphemy against the American way of life. Still, many people are greatly perplexed whenever the liberties which they seek to preserve for themselves provide equal aid and comfort to those with whom they violently disagree, and consequently seek some means or other by which these benefits may be withheld from those who by their actions prove themselves unworthy to receive them.

The technique which has been found

most effective is to approve the form while denying the content of the freedom in question, as in the idea that Negroes have a right to demonstrate to obtain their civil liberties, so long as they don't violate any laws in the process; now, if there are laws against demonstrating--as there usually are--the Negro has been denied his rights by the very hand that ostensibly affirmed them.

'HIGHER GOOD

A similar process has obtained in regard to the question of dissent against the war in Vietnam. Beginning with the old saw which holds the freedom of speech does not guarantee the right to yell "Fire!" in a crowded theatre, the opponents of dissent have argued thus: since there are situations in which, as the maxim suggests, the freedom of speech may be abridged in order to effect a higher good, there are no doubt OTHER situations to which the principle applies as well, of which this is one. Once this position has been reached, the only thing left to do is to produce a sufficient number of "higher goods" with which to justify suppressing the unpopular opinion.

So it is that we hear that dissent has no effect beyond that of annoying people and causing trouble, and is therefore nothing but pointless irritation to the body politic; the higher good is, of course, domestic tranquility--or, more exactly, that sedative atmosphere which allows the mind to disengage itself and run in whatever idle circles it chooses. Or we may take the freedom from choice to be a positive good, and say that dissent ought not to be allowed because it raises questions which cannot be answered for lack of proper information.

For the authoritarian, dissent is undesirable because it impugns the supposed infallibility of the Presidency and imposes an intolerable responsibility (that of detecting or correcting error) on the public. We may assume that victory is one of the highest goods, and deny dissent because it aids and abets the enemy and thereby prolongs the combat. To the sentimental, loyalty to the men on the battlefield may require us to view dissent as an abrogation of the limitless love and fidelity to which "our boys" are entitled. Or, what is perhaps the hardest of all, we may cite the national interest as the highest good, and suppress dissent in its name, without ever being required to

state exactly what the "national interest" is.

That this mistrust of dissent should be so prevalent in America is not at all remarkable when we consider that such a view is countenanced by most of our elected officials, from the White House on down. Johnson himself is notoriously intolerant of criticism, and has recently upbraided dissenters in general and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in particular for having dared to question the wisdom of his decisions.

Of course, we must realize that it is in Johnson's best interests to quell his opposition; he has yet another election to win, and, having defrauded the electorate in 1964 by posing as a man of peace, he might have a more difficult time of it in 1968 (despite the fact that it seems to be almost an axiom of American politics that the most effective way for a bad President to insure his re-election is to become a worse one and start a war).

THE NATIONAL INTEREST

But however much it might be to Johnson's political advantage to suppress his opposition, it is not in the best interests of the nation to allow him to do so, nor is it wise to allow the force of public opinion to do the job for him. At present, it is the latter danger which is most to be guarded against, for while the power of the Presidency is, to some degree at least, restricted by certain mechanisms is the political structure, there are no such safeguards against the tyranny of public opinion.

This problem is by no means a new one, for John Stuart Mill faced almost the identical situation in regard to mid-nineteenth century England. He felt that the tyranny of public opinion was in many respects more formidable than that of political oppression, and argued, in his essay "On Liberty," that the society which values individual freedom must protect itself "against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them." At this point in our history it is, I feel, necessary to return to Mill for one of the finest defenses of individual liberty that has yet been given us.

If social tyranny is to be avoided, argued Mill, "it is necessary that the institutions of society should make provision for keeping up, in some form or other, as a corrective to partial views, and a shelter for freedom of

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"Indicted!" says Student Board.

"Controversial!" says the State News.

"Guilty!" says the Student Judiciary.

"Unauthorized!" says the Publications Board.

"High camp!" says the chairman of the Political Science Department.

"Approved!" says Student Board.

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Improvement Reading: Where Is The Mark?

By CHAR JOLLES

Off on an innocuous assignment for journalism class, I stumbled accidentally into what seems to be the vast wasteland of the philosophy of education. My assignment was to write a feature on MSU's reading improvement program for students in "academic trouble" and freshmen who score significantly low on the entrance reading test, but I seem to have encountered a harpoon in the side of that whale, the land-grant philosophy.

The reading program, according to its designer, Byron Van Roekel, professor of education, is not a "remedial" program. Its emphasis is on reading "improvement," as opposed to speed reading, and as opposed to the combination reading and composition skills taught in the English preparatory course by the Department of American Thought and Language.

Depending on one's sources, the number of students enrolled in the 55 sections (not 63, as reported in the fall time schedule) was either 1300-1400 or 1400-1500. Four out of five of whatever the total is are freshmen, more than a handful are transfer students, a tiny bit are foreign students, and a teeny tiny bit are graduate students.

Van Roekel says he tries to discourage graduate students from en-

rolling. He figures that if they've gotten as far as grad school, they don't need his program, and he usually refers them to the speed reading program offered by the Evening College.

Freshmen who score significantly low on the MSU Reading Test (with its scale based on the MSU norm) are "strongly urged," but not required to take the reading improvement series, Van Roekel said. A study concludes spring term, 1965, revealed an apparent "correlation between the university drop-out or students in 'academic trouble' and their performance on the reading test," he said.

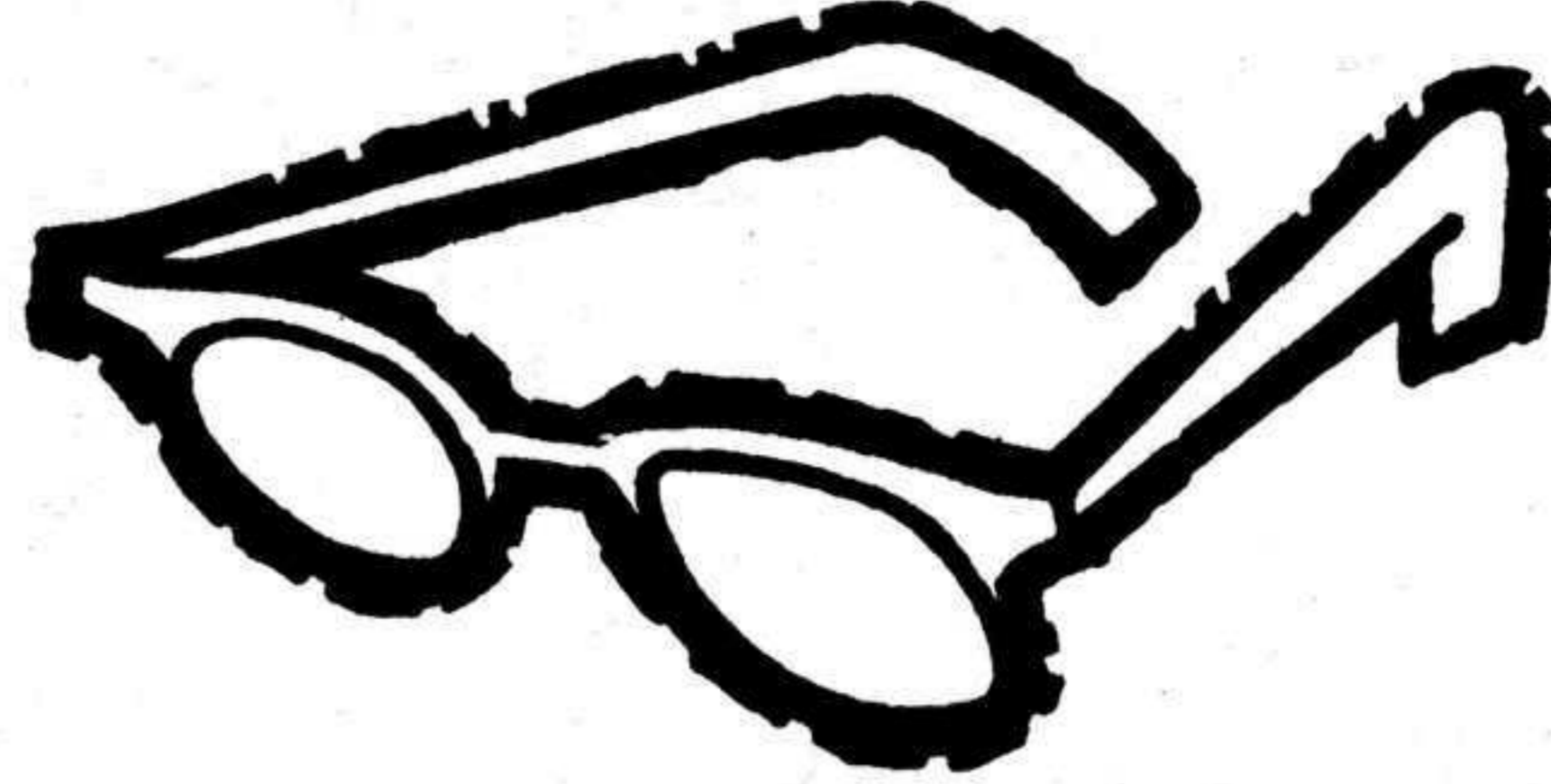
The first question that occurred to me was this: how can the university justify admitting high school (albeit) graduates who read at a substandard level?

"Nobody says its substandard," said Gordon A. Sabine, vice president for special projects and director of the reading improvement program. The students still read at a level well above the high school average, for MSU only admits the "top slice" of the high school graduates.

When I asked for the specific cut-off point on the reading test--in other words, just how well are these high school graduates reading--Sabine replied that all that information, including the MSU norm, was classified.

The students are nevertheless far enough above the high school average

Miss Jolles is still at it. This is the fifth in her series of "punchy articles" on education developments at MSU.--The Editors.



not to have "realized they had a real problem," Sabine said.

They became aware of their need for reading improvement "when they come into contact with the rigor of college texts."

The more immediate emphasis of the reading program is reading effectively in the University College courses (the basics) because "all freshmen take them and they're representative of major areas of study," Van Roekel explained.

The course is designed to develop reading fluency, to build vocabulary power and to help students interpret test items. "There are a number of students that have never really learned to interpret what a test question is really asking for," Van Roekel said.

Other problems the students encounter include how to memorize efficiently, to break careless reading habits, and "how to tackle a lesson in a textbook."

The students are by no means "remedial" readers, Van Roekel said. The remedial reader would have trouble with, say, word recognition. For example, he might confuse "was" and "saw," or understand only the common meaning of a word and not its less obvious meaning.

Reading problems aren't so severe for those college-bound high school grads who score significantly low on the reading test. "They have mastered the basic reading skills. But it's one thing to sit down and read a novel, and another to read social science, or political science," Van Roekel said. "Most students who come to college still have to learn how to read, or how to handle printed matter."

I pointed out that learning how to read in the different academic disciplines was a problem for many at first, but with time and experience one discovers how to "tackle" it all.

"But some are so far below the others that they need help, or they can't make it," Van Roekel replied. "A lot of these kids are capable youngsters and must be given a chance. Are we only going to admit those who are competent already?"

He cited examples of the "late bloomer," or those students who stay on academic probation for, say, two years, and then suddenly blossom academically. He asked me if I would have booted them out, just because they are in academic trouble.

No--but I would probably indicate to them that their experience here is obviously not very worthwhile academically, and that perhaps they should leave and come back when they're ready. (The question isn't "do they meet our requirements?" but "do our requirements suit them?")

Van Roekel noted that "somebody makes the decision to let these students in, and when they're in, we can't let the investment go down the drain, so we help them. My point is that if they keep these kids out, we might lose all kinds of potential talent."

Or, as F. Craig Johnson, assistant director of the Educational Development Program (EDP), put it: "We can

bring an awful lot of students a long way."

Students in the reading improvement course are graded on a pass-fail basis. If they fail, they are encouraged to take the course again; but most of the students can get along anyway, Van Roekel said, and so they usually go on to higher things.

The reading improvement program was revived this fall after it had been discontinued in 1961. I asked Sabine why the program had been discontinued in 1961, and he replied, "You're entering the whole area of the philosophy of education. See Van Roekel on that."

When I asked Van Roekel why the program had been discontinued in 1961, he said, "I have no idea." "You're bringing in an age-old argument," which he described, essentially, as the problem of who should be admitted to college. "Some find that the student doesn't meet up to the professor's expectations of what a high school graduate should know. Others say we should try to make something of them."

When I asked Van Roekel what the cancellation of the reading improvement program for four years had to do with the venerable problem of admission standards, he said, "I don't know."

I left the interview with a strange sense of incompleteness. I seem to be out here in the tundra of the land-grant philosophy, all alone.

.....

Save-Our-Boys-And-Girls Department: The war-protesting W.E.B. DuBois Clubs last week were labeled a Communist front by the Attorney General. Right away, a few protectors of our bodily fluids withdrew their support from the Boys Clubs of America, which are "not to be confused with the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs," the radio said.

(On the other side of the news, Hugh Fowler, the national president of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs, will speak at 8 p.m. Friday in the MSU Union (room to be announced) on "The McCarran Act and the DuBois Club Program")

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But Only When
They're Printed

You knew it was coming. We're complaining again. Complaining that we couldn't run our classified column this week because it's paid advertising (sometimes we wonder just how paid it is).

But, like the sun after a storm or like a smile after tears or like other things like that, it will be back, and will get results once again. Because that's what classifieds do.

We will continue to have all the ordinary classified classifications, plus some classified classifications of our own: coming events, sound-off, ultra-personals, etc. Just \$1 each, up to 50 words.

Just call 351-6516 or 351-5679. Or, better yet, call Paramount News Center, 332-5119, or go to Paramount at 211 Evergreen, East Lansing. They know all about it, and are prepared to take your ad.

Go classified.

New Sewage Plant Praised

Church Picnic A Success

"Put a tiger in your tank." With this admonition, the editors of "The Paper" early this week congratulated the winners of their fabulous find-a-caption contest. The winners were:

First prize: James A. Dillon, social security number 362-50-7130. His winning entry was, "I contend that all pussies on this campus have gone to pot!!" Congratulations, Jim, and enjoy your two-term subscription to "The Paper," complete with back issues.

Second prize: Michael Saxton, badge number 3.88341 x 10 (5), for "Eureka! The headwaters of the Red Cedar!" Good thinking, Mike. Mike wins a one-year subscription to Zeitgeist.

Third prize: a tie for third between Robert Scheer, whose social security number is withheld, whose best entry among several submitted was "Are you sure Esther Williams started this way?" and a "Paper" staffer who is ineligible for the valuable prize, but whose entry--"Look, I'm a White Rock commercial"--was judged to be among the best.

Scheer was all prepared for winning the third prize, a one-term subscription to the State News, and said, "Your CATchy contest, I felt, had a great deal of POTential. Therefore, I would like to enter the following captions with hopes of donating my third prize to the William Randolph Hearst Foundation in reassurance that W.R.H.'s brand of journalism is still alive."

The editors, taking the role of judges, said, "The choice was very difficult. There were so many amusing entries, and some that were so original, that we

just didn't know where to start. In fact, we felt so badly about being able to give only three prizes, even with a tie for third, that we'd like to note some others that deserve honorable mention."

Entries cited for honorable mention were:

R.A. Strait, social security number 008: "The secret life of Jim DeForest";

Lynne Cronquist, badge number 390362, N.Y. driver's license number C18570-85858-454468: "WHERE did you say ASMSU meets?";

Dane L. Hutchins, badge number (?) 406935 (?): "He's gone! Quick! To the Bogue Street bridge!";

And that "Paper" staffer again: "What do you know, the little light does go out!"

The sponsors of this year's exciting contest say they are looking forward to next year's great find-a-caption contest. "We're hoping to find a funny picture of a dog next year," they said. "And just a word to the winners--those subscriptions will be going out right away. Happy reading!"

A good time was had by all.



THEATRE:

Death Of A Sailor

By LAURENCE TATE

More nonsense has probably been written about Herman Melville's "Billy Budd" than about any other work of comparable length. Its ambiguities are such that almost anybody with a theory to push can go to it and find some justification for arguing that it means what he thinks it ought to mean.

Most of these theory-pushers just write scholarly papers to be dutifully reprinted in "casebooks." Louis O. Coxe and Robert Chapman, however, wrote a gloss on the novel in the form of a play; the Performing Arts Company production of their play opened Tuesday night.

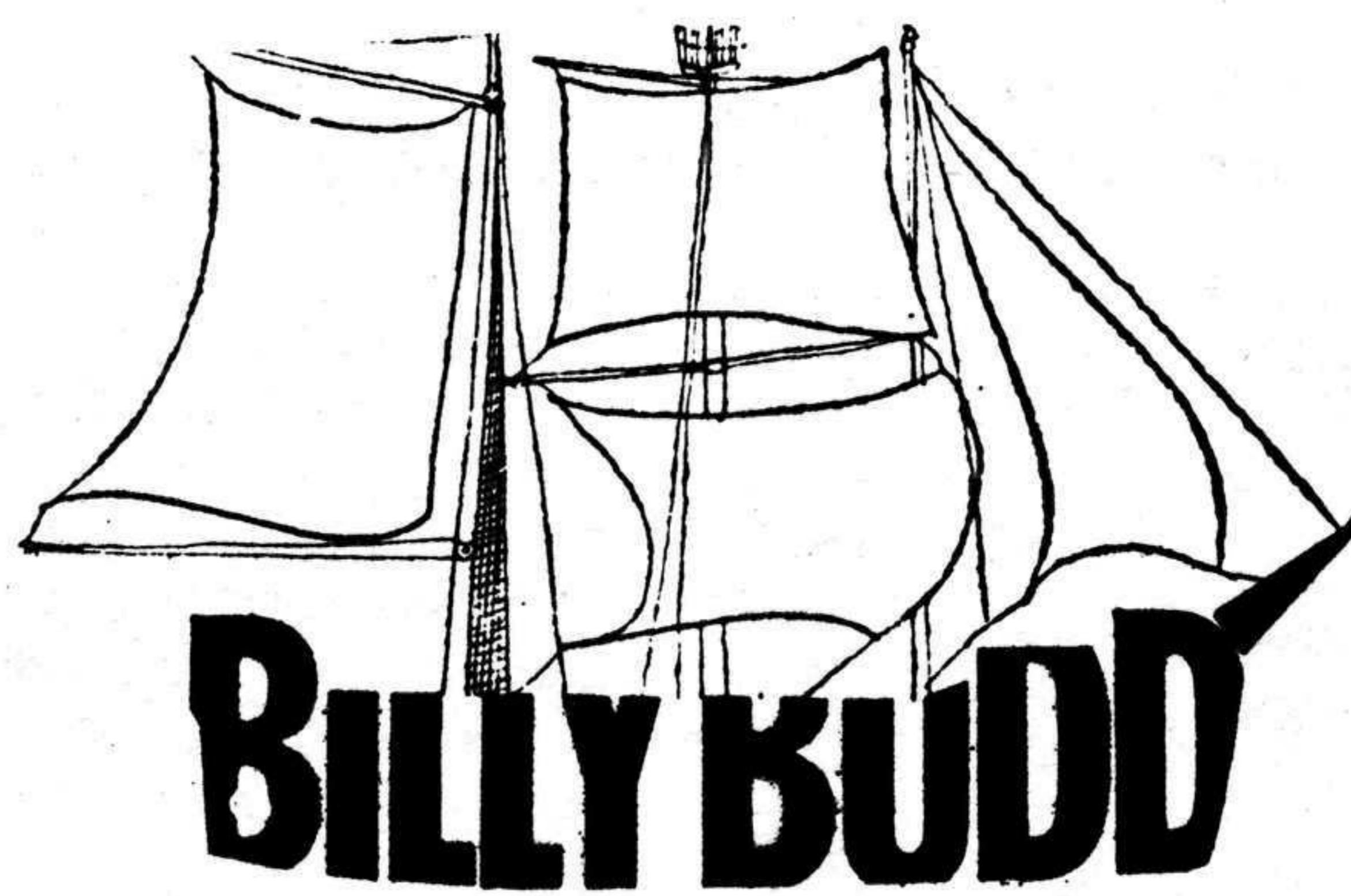
I don't think the production is very good, but let me put that off for the moment.

To refresh everyone's memory:

aboard an English warship, Claggart, an incarnation of pure evil, flaselly accuses Billy Budd, an incarnation of pure innocence, of mutinous activities; Billy cannot find words to answer the charge and answers with an accidentally fatal blow. Vere, the ship's captain, summons a court martial and elicits a death sentence for Billy, although he knows him to be innocent before God.

Now: your theory depends on your attitude toward Vere. The playwrights' attitude is clear enough; they are on Vere's side all the way. They alter Melville freely to provide Vere with doubts, scruples, and the purest of motives.

Their problem is that Vere hangs Billy, and that his action must be recognized as unjust. Injustice can be



excused (if ever) only in the explicit service of a higher justice; but the authors seem unaware of this.

They make, in terms of the higher-justice argument, only the most perfunctory effort to justify Vere's action; in fact, they introduce, as Melville did not, the most damning argument against Vere: that the hanging is not only unjust but also very probably inexpedient, i.e., useless in the service of any higher justice.

They then proceed to justify Vere on the grounds that human justice--embodied in the law--is necessarily imperfect, that life itself is a war in which men are conscripts forced to obey wartime laws regardless of

their sense of justice.

This line of defense, besides being downright silly, is morally abhorrent; it is Eichmann's argument. Yet it is the argument the plays asks us to swallow whole. (Melville, of course, is much, much more complex.)

We are also asked to swallow a lot of talk about the "incompleteness" of Billy and Claggart, with the implication that the world is set up to destroy absolute good and absolute evil. Well, perhaps the world is, but I don't see that the play has anything much to say about the matter. (I'm not convinced the book does either, but it at least gives you more to talk about.)

We see an extraordinarily evil man try to destroy an extraordinarily good one, and quite fortuitously be destroyed in the process. We then see the good man quite arbitrarily killed for accidentally killing the evil man. Pardon me if I think the subject is a good deal more complex than these events suggest.

At any rate, on top of their other problems, the playwrights write dreadful dialogue, and seem to have only the most rudimentary conceptions of characterization and construction. When it isn't annoying, the play tends to lack interest entirely.

The current production is theatrically successful in only one sense, that of Billy's trial. Eberle Thomas plays Vere so persuasively, with such passion and subtlety, that he manages to make Vere's sincerity and torment believable even while his dialogue is running headlong in the other direction. In every way--the chill and shadowy lighting of the cabin within the gaunt darkened set, the fine performances of the three other actors involved, etc.--this scene works, and gives the evening momentum and excitement it otherwise lacks.

For the rest, the production is no improvement at all on the play, and even manages to make it seem worse than it is.

J. Michael Bloom, who in better days has been a superb comic actor, is cast as Claggart. Despite bizarre (almost Fu Manchu) make-up, he never manages to seem much more than catty or unpleasant. It isn't that he's amateurish; he simply suffers from a total lack of conviction.

Vernon Eagle, on the other hand, plays Billy quite self-consciously, seems ill-at-ease on stage, and winds up as a cross between Peter O'Toole and Peter Pan. He seems saccharine and almost dainty. But in fairness, he is young; the role is very very tricky; he seems to have been poorly directed; and he is fitted out in an incredibly fruity-looking pair of white bell-bottom trousers.

Of the large all-male cast, only David Karsten stands out, in the minor role of an office. He manages to make a fairly hackneyed comedy scene seem fresh, and maintains a consistent honesty and rightness in his playing.

Most of the other cast members are required to keep up a deadly yo-ho-ho heartiness. The sailors, most of them barefoot, pussyfoot around and set as if they were afraid of splinters.

The set itself is a striking piece of work, but it apparently requires the scene of Claggart's killing to be played on deck instead of in Vere's cabin; from every point of view this switch is disastrous.

MOVIES:

All The News We Never Printed

By LARRY TATE

Despite its good intentions, "The Paper" hasn't really done much in the way of film criticism; that is to say, we have reviewed a shopping total of four whole movies this term, two of which even I haven't seen.

In the interest of restoring the balance, I'd like to talk a little about some of the movies that people actually SAW this term.

Well, let's admit it: everybody saw "Thunderball." I hope we can all agree that it was a stinker, for under all its sex and violence and expensive gadgets it lacked not only heart and substance ("Goldfinger" got along without those quite nicely) but any semblance of coherence or suspense. It offered pure mindless shocks that went off like an interminable string of firecrackers, and with about as much variety and wit.

"The Loved One" followed "Thunderball" into the Campus Theatre--appropriately. It offered--in a different way, to be sure--another series of pointless, disconnected shocks, this time in the name of black comedy. The picture was essentially Tony Richardson's hate valentine to America, and its dominant tone was hysterical rage. Now, controlled rage is

the basis of all good satire, but Richardson simply engaged in an artistic tantrum.

There were two great scenes--those with Liberace and with Milton Berle and Margaret Leighton--but, after all, the damn thing went on forever and SOMETHING had to work now and then.

The film's ad campaign was shrewd: "The Motion Picture with Something to Offend Everybody." Now how can ANYBODY go to a picture under those circumstances and admit being offended? Even if it deals with death and related subjects in a tasteless and witless way?

"The Spy Who Came in from the Cold" is at the Campus now. It's the sort of film that's praised for its understatement while everybody puts aside the ugly suspicion that it may just be drab. It's almost all plot and atmosphere; the plot is confusing if you haven't read the book and old-hat if you have, and the atmosphere is uncompromisingly bleak and dingy throughout.

The picture doesn't have any falsification or misplaced flamboyance; it doesn't have much imagination either.

A whole bunch of giant cotton-candy extravaganzas descended on Lansing; there were two big comedies and two big musicals, all among the most expensive films ever made and all more-or-less not worth the effort.

"The Sound of Music," which I saw last Easter for reasons that had nothing to do with artistic expectations, has finally arrived here, and will probably stay a good while. Seeing it is like having a candied apple rubbed in your face for two-and-a-half hours. The film, Variety reports, will probably be the biggest moneymaker in movie history. Also, it marks a decisive point in the precipitous decline and fall of Julie Andrews, who, as Stanley Kauffmann put it, "is rapidly becoming the most revoltingly refreshing actress in films."

"Those Magnificent Men in Their Flying Machines" was a slapstick comedy about an old-time airplane race; "The Great Race," still playing, is a slapstick comedy about an old-time auto race. Both are too long; both have pedestrian romantic subplots; both have lots of good gags

and lots of bad ones. "The Great Race" is better because it has Jack Lemmon, who used to be a comic genius before he made all those bad sex comedies and who isn't bad, kiddo, even in his rusty old age.

"My Fair Lady" came and went. For people who like that sort of thing...

"The Umbrellas of Cherbourg" was an upper-middlebrow sentimental musical, somewhere above the "West Side Story" level of pure middlebrow. All its dialogue was sung, and it was done up in bright, poster-ish, deliberately artificial colors--it had, in other words, an air of chic about it. However, the hint of a tang quickly dissolved in cream-centered soap opera that managed to be finally tolerable only because the film did have, at bottom, something good and real to say about the transiency of love. Its resemblance to Joshua Logan's "Fanny" has probably been noted somewhere else.

"Inside Daisy Clover" was a long, low-key, elegiac little picture. It worked from several preposterous premises, e.g., that Natalie Wood could pass for fifteen, that she could sing and act well enough to be credible as a young Judy Garland type promoted to instant Hollywood stardom; and nothing managed to cohere very well. But the film did have a vision of sorts, of Hollywood as a lonely desolate place whose inhabitants wander among huge bizarre constructions doing bizarre things as a matter of course, never quite in touch with reality. It was a good picture, although it may have been a bad good picture.

I somehow missed "That Darn Cat," "Do Not Disturb," "The Heroes of Telemark," and "Never Too Late." I want to keep the public informed, but I have to draw the line somewhere.

Neatest Trick of the Week (from a State News column by Charles C. Wells): "CSR members have attended the East Lansing Human Relations Commission's open hearings on discrimination in East Lansing. They could have collected facts, figures and testified, but they didn't. In fact, no one was interested enough to attend the hearings."

SOB SOB

Why aren't you working for "The Paper" yet? All these problems we're having, all this extra time we're spending feeling sorry for ourselves, and YOU still haven't offered to take some of the burden of the work off our shoulders. That sure is gratitude.

"The Paper" is badly in need of salesmen, clerks, office-watches, reporters, and other miscellaneous people. Mostly salesmen, though. If you care to prove that you're really grateful and really concerned whether we have enough free time to feel sorry for ourselves, please call 351-6516 or 351-5679 and let us know.

Call now even if you don't plan to work until spring term. We'd like to know who our friends are.

LETTERS

Carroll Hawkins--Uncensored

Professor Hawkins has expressed concern that "The Paper," like the State News, would see fit to exercise censorship of his writing. We assure our readers that his letter appears here uncensored.--The Editors.

I begin on a personal note. I hesitate to do this piece. This academic community is such a fantastic combination of the sublime and the ridiculous, with the ridiculous at times dominating, and I have so much at stake in the immediate future, that the temptation to play it safe and be "respectable" by remaining silent was strong.

But I am neither a "safe-player," nor am I "respectable." So I write as a respectable scholar, hoping that the consequences of this will be appreciation and not retribution among the Powers that Be whom St. Paul told us to honor. For what I have to say illustrates in a small but significant way what must be overcome as this institution struggles to be born as a great university--seeks to continue its advance from "Moo" to "U."

For some strange reason the State News has seen fit to either censor my one letter to the editor which they did print, or not to print the others at all. I find this passing strange--and rude. In addition, as my readers will see if they persist with me, the "journalistic" antics involved indicate the greatest sin--a sense of humor. For a sense of humor is frequently an essential in order to survive in this tight community where one is frequently caught between tears and laughter. If you can't laugh you must only cry--and professors should always cry tomorrow (MANANA).

My first letter concerned professors who honestly believe in causes advanced by the administration in Washington (with the advice and consent of the Pentagon, and the consent of the Department of State). In answer to a student's inquiry as to what I would do were I sincerely devoted to the just cause of the present LBJ foreign policy and had to periodically leave the classroom to hurry to strange and awesome places with my honest advice, I indicated that I would resign as a professor and join the Defense or State Department. That would be even more honest in my opinion.

The State News printed that letter, but censored part of it. The part censored concerned the comment of a colleague who said that if I were REALLY devoted and sincere on such a matter I would NOT resign as a professor, but I would continue in the classroom where I could better influence young minds to appreciate my sincerity. Meanwhile, the colleague added, I would continue (at perhaps more than the going rate) to also draw income for my advice in Washington and points East--or West as the case might be.

Previous to this I had written a very short note to the editor enclosing a column from the National Review written by the brilliant conservative and slightly pompous former MSU faculty member, Russell Kirk. This column was in a sense epoch-making for it represented the only time that I had ever agreed with anything in Buckleyville--and I agreed with everything in the column. It was a tribute to the gentle giant, athlete, teacher (above all) and scholar, Prof. John Abbot Clark, who passed away last October.

The note and column never appeared. After finally calling up the editor I learned that the "reporter" to whom I had personally given both pieces had lost them! (As a former newspaper man I can see that kiddie getting his head handed to him by his city editor in the future after a two-day career. But this paper here

must be a lab for fun and games.) The editor assured me that they all would scurry around and find another copy of the Kirk tribute, and, with the new note that I would write, justice would be done. I wrote the note, took it over personally, but nothing has yet appeared. I guess the kiddies are still scurrying.

About three weeks ago there was a really brilliant cartoon in the News. A student (male) in the men's "john" was washing his hands and looking over his shoulder with a puzzled expression on his face at the closet behind him. There protruding from the bottom was an enormous pair of snow shoes.

This inspired me to write a letter to the editor congratulating him on the fine cartoon and saying that it had inspired me to address the TOP and ask if we males at MSU couldn't have privacy in the "john." Trying desperately as always around here to be a bit humorous I added that I was too poor to purchase snowshoes, and my skis made things awfully awkward under the present circumstances.

Again no go with the editor. I realize that the present situation in the men's "place" does underscore the principles of the French Revolution (especially fraternity and equality) for I have seen several department heads (and once a dean) in action and they are just as you and I. But the majority of the students--and practically no political science graduate students--study the French Revolution.

By this time I had virtually given up all hope and had decided not to write again to the editor. Then a letter to the editor from a Buffalo, N.Y., student asking why Bessey Hall couldn't be open at night for students who wanted to study but couldn't with all the racket in the dorms caught my eye. Since all who know me know that I have my primary sympathy for students I weakened and wrote the following:

To the Editor (hopefully):
Comment to the student from Buffalo (letter of such and such date):
Do not despair. President Hannah IS there.

Once again blank. So now I say when in hell is the News ever going to return to the high standard it had when Prof. George Hough was its advisor? For then it was reaching towards the sublime! But now?????????

I wish to close on another note. Lest the "journalists" on the News (I doubt that they will ever become newspapermen) might think I am in cahoots with "The Paper," I close with the following:

"The Paper's" drama critic was as sophomoric in his review of "Bernarda Alba" as was the News critic in his review. To call Mary Hardwick and Marianne Lubkin who in one sense "carried the show" (although all the gals were good)--to call the performances "disgraceful" is the mark of a sophomore.

Only there is some hope for "The Paper's" reviewer. He's bright. When he quits being a "bright" and realizes his brightness as he undoubtedly will do some day in the future, the hope will be realized. I'm afraid that for the News critic, like the paper he works for, there is very little hope. (One finishes Peanuts in a few seconds.)

Please, Mr. President, if he is willing, may we reorganize the already reorganized News and have Professor Hough back? As a serious scholar I want the sublime to overcome the ridiculous as this U struggles to be born.

Carroll Hawkins (PAP)
Department of Political Science

From The Student
Government Mailbox

To the Student Judiciary of ASMSU:

Let it be known that in light of the present actions of this committee, we, the members of the Michigan State University Young Democrats, can no longer abide by the regulations concerning student organizations, now do we any longer recognize the authority of ASMSU to arbitrarily regulate student affairs.

Let it be known that we will not abide by the ASMSU regulations concerning student organizations this term unless the following inequities of the present ASMSU organization are corrected:

1. That the basic American right of freedom of the press be re-established on this campus. We view this freedom as a basic right of the American people that shall not be tampered with. We recognize that in certain cases a public monopoly is a necessity, however a state monopoly of the means of communication is a danger that we can no longer tolerate.

2. That arbitrary taxation of the student body without consultation for the purposes of maintaining a monopolized news system and a malapportioned student government that does not adequately represent student opinion on campus be eliminated.

3. That the only standards which should govern the distribution of student literature on campus be those standards which have proven acceptable to the United States Supreme Court and not the standards which have been arbitrarily established by the Administration and ASMSU.

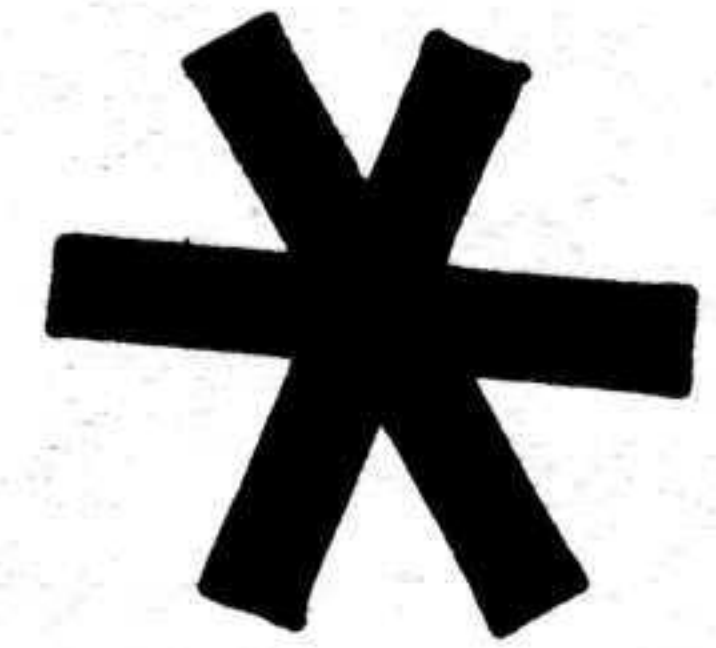
4. That the students who reside off campus and who are but nominally represented now, and the student political clubs who represent the more politically active and concerned students on and off campus be given a stronger and more authoritative role to participate in student government-

tal affairs.

5. Finally that the present Associated Students organization be redesigned to more adequately represent both student opinions and student residences both on and off campus. The present system of election at large maintains an imbalance in representation to those few men's organizations who have both the money and organization to publicize a candidate. If we are to overcome student apathy which has reigned supreme at Michigan State University then let us return student government to the students.

Let it be known that a copy of these complaints have been sent to the board of trustees of Michigan State University, and that we urge all other campus student organizations not to comply with ASMSU regulations concerning student organizations until these demands are met.

MSU Young Democrats



John McQuitty, chairman
Committee on Student Rights and Responsibilities
ASMSU

Dear Mr. McQuitty:

Thank you for your invitation to appear at a meeting of the ASMSU Committee on Student Rights and Responsibilities. I will decline your invitation for several reasons.

You state that "the purpose of the meeting is to receive a cross-section of student opinion in regard to existing University Regulations." But toward what ends? Do you intend to produce still another set of rules, besides those announced February 7?

The Faculty Committee on Student Affairs, which has authority over ASMSU recommendations, was directed by the Academic Council to review all rules and procedures pertaining to academic freedom on campus. This Committee has proclaimed a willingness to hear the views of students and faculty members on these matters. By holding parallel hearings, ASMSU can only confuse the present discussion and deflect attention from the ultimately responsible Faculty Committee. The role of ASMSU seems to be a "buffer" between the students and the Faculty Committee.

A deeper reason for not appearing before your committee concerns the legitimacy of ASMSU itself. Recent revelations and developments again confirm the unrepresentative nature of ASMSU. Your powers are severely limited and there is a widespread belief that you speak for the administration of the university and not for the students.

In addition to the divisive effect of your committee's hearings and the unrepresentative nature of ASMSU, the recent treatment of "The Paper" raises serious questions about your sincerity. The issue reveals to me that you do not feel strongly about eliminating the arbitrary and undemocratic use of power and creating an academic community free from stultifying and unnecessary restrictions.

Finally I refer your attention to the Council for Academic Freedom "Statement Concerning the Rules Adopted by the Faculty Committee on Student Affairs"--rules introduced by ASMSU. I feel that you could take a step in the direction of regaining student respect by withdrawing those inappropriate regulations.

Paul M. Schiff



Correction

If it didn't matter to the sense of the poem I wouldn't care so much; since it does, would you mind offering your readers the proper twelfth line for "In Grateful Memory, etc.," which you printed in your March 3 issue. It should read, "Potpourried THE over-blown."

I don't know much about these things, but it also seems to me that you ought to have given some credit to The Tri-Quarterly at Northwestern which first printed the poem in their Winter, '65 issue.

Stephen Beal

The poem in its entirety:

'IN GRATEFUL MEMORY OF
THE 133 WOODBRIDGE MEN
WHO MADE THE SUPREME
SACRIFICE IN THE GREAT WAR'

The guns in France felled England's roses,
All her cutting-gardens died;
Throughout the land, through reddened noses,
England's garden mothers cried:

"The sacrifice of youth and beauty"--
Pause to blow their noses hard--
"Is every mother's bounden duty!"
Then they tidied up the yard,

They culled in armloads blasted flowers,
(Mutilation all their own);
And giddy through the scented hours,
Potpourried the over-blown

Till every home could boast war's chattels:
Medals, photos, barren wombs;
Mute relics of the greatest battles
Roses ever fought for tombs.

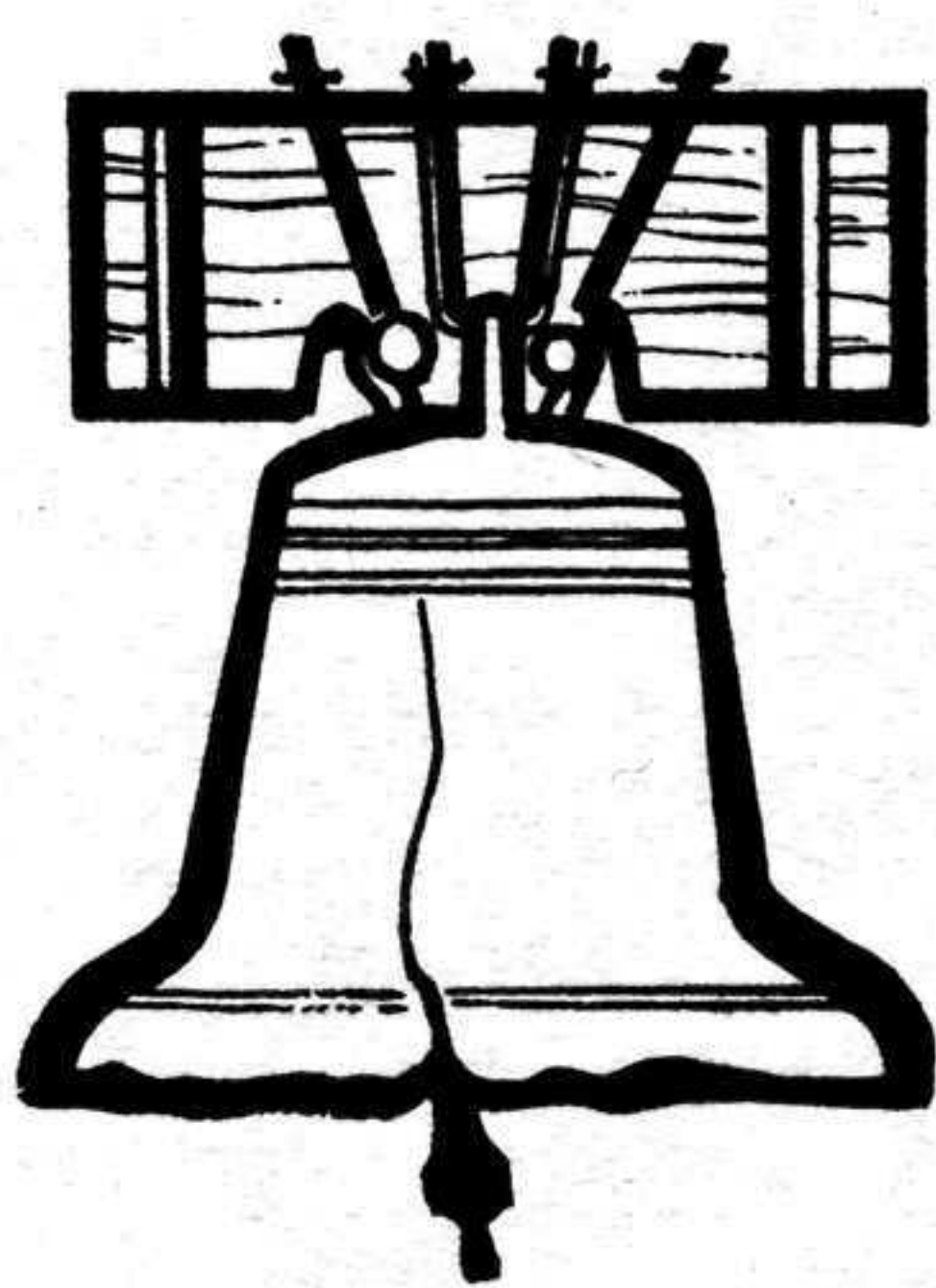
Selma. . .

continued from page 1

sharecropped have an effective say in his local government or the slum dweller to direct the battle on poverty in his slum? And we must answer that now trite but still basic question: "Will we let our daughters marry a Negro?"

I can't help but feel that the answers to all these questions and similar ones are in the negative. We may be humanitarian, reforming liberals; but the civil rights leaders, at least the effective ones, are revolutionaries, are radicals, and there is a deeper cleavage here than any prosaic Left-Right continuum will ever admit. Moreover, they can be nothing less. Can we be anything more?

If we can, it will be demonstrated by the fact that the next time we go to Selma it will not be for a brief skirmish but for the duration.



Scientific Discovery of the Week: "Southern counties with a high rate of lynchings and with recent experience with violent racial conflict tended to have lower than average Negro registrations." -- Lester W. Milbrath, in "Political Participation."

* * *

Scientific Discovery of the Week, II: From the Cleveland Plain Dealer, in an article on Berkeley a year later: "A great many authorities have tried to explain why Berkeley is the capital of dissent. A writer in Fortune magazine laid it all on the kind of state California is--'part leader, part guinea pig, part whipping boy, (where) every man casts himself as a rebel (and) underdogery is universal.'

"There is also the contribution of an agriculture professor at Cal, whose research has turned up what he calls 'micro-climates' in California--zones where weather profoundly affects sexual activity in farm animals. He found that in San Francisco, Berkeley and parts of Oakland, livestock become pregnant six times faster than in the rest of the state, suggesting that humans there are also affected by these 'micro-climates,' only their urges have been sublimated into political and artistic activity."

Intellectual Climate And Student Unrest

By PAUL A. VARG

Editor's Note: Paul A. Varg, dean of the College of Arts and Letters, last fall delivered the speech from which excerpts are here reprinted to the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges meeting at the University of Minnesota. In the early part of his address, Dean Varg speaks of the great world problems and "inner uncertainties as to what is worthy and what is unworthy of our dedication" that made us increasingly pessimistic. He traces the roots of the present situation to recent trends in literature, science, sociology, psychology and philosophy (particularly existentialism, with its call to political activism).

Looking at today's intellectual climate we find that the roots to the past are absent from the realm of immediate awareness. There is neither a sense of continuity with the past nor a degree of historical perspective strong enough to make any real mark on our thinking. There are more historians than ever before, more history courses, more history books, and paradoxically less historical mindedness.

A John Adams and a James Madison found it natural to approach the problems facing them as high officers in the government by way of the history of these problems. When the question of drafting a constitution for a republic stared them in the face, they studied the history of the Greek republics and all succeeding ones, never doubting that they would learn much from previous experiments, and as Secretary of State, James Madison, during the course of a controversy with Great Britain, wrote a noteworthy history of international law and neutral rights.

The major cause of this ignoring of the past appears to be that the dizzying speed of political, economic, and social change has hurtled us into such pressing crises that we have no more inclination to consult the past than a soldier in a foxhole. The effect is a lack of appreciation of yesterday's contributions and the prevalence of the notion that the human predicament began in 1945.

Consequently, we confront the paradoxes of our day, the problems to

which there are no solutions, in a state of agitation. We lack the poise that has its being in an awareness of the tragedies and the noble achievements of the past. We seek too impatiently to quiet the gales that blow rather than learning how to live meaningful lives on a stormy sea. And, as Santayana said, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

It may be said that the intellectual climate provides few bearings for young people seeking to find meaning and direction for their lives. Many students seek commitment to some cause greater than themselves. A university cannot readily satisfy this craving, for its highest purpose is to develop an open-mindedness, a spirit of searching inquiry, and a dedication to reason. Ideally, it welcomes new points of view and seeks to keep society's avenues of discussion completely open.

Confronting the human predicament of today a university should be doubly anxious to maintain a free traffic in ideas. Insofar as the university achieves these ideals and keeps them before the students, it fulfills its role.

However, the challenge today is not to be met simply by encouraging a free exchange of ideas. The mood of many students can be more accurately described as akin to the fervor of Luther than the humanism of Erasmus. In the name of realism they find only irrationality, status-seeking, and expediency. Some of them

take the view that only a frank facing of the horrible reality will enable us to build a new morality and a better world.

As it did to Luther, it appears to them that divine grace is available only to the sinner who feels so sinful that damnation appears gloriously just. Luther in his agony threw ink-wells at the devil while the students throw them at administrators. They would have us become institutional zealots for their chosen causes. Because we do not see that as our role, they view us as spineless men unwilling to make a commitment.

This spirit of the students of the restless persuasion is evident in what appears to be a greater interest in the actual cleansing quality of demonstrating than in the cause espoused, in the reduction of complex questions to simple formulas, and in an apparent desire to convert the campus into a boiling cauldron of political activity.

Therefore, our universities threaten to become houses divided. The purely intellectual commitment appears sterile to students and it is always suspected of camouflaging apathy. The noisy demonstration, on the other hand, may appear to the senior members of the academic community as an attempt to feel self-important.

This house divided may be nothing more than evidence that, in the words of Mathew Arnold, we live between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born."

Lit. Crit.

One of the undiscovered literary achievements of recent years was re-discovered recently--in a stationery store in Lansing. Entitled "Folk Tales of Vietnam," it is one of the otherwise popular and witty Peter Pauper series. Glenn W. Monigold compiled the tales in 1964.

This writer does not feel qualified to evaluate the tales themselves, whose titles sound like self-consci-

ously slant-eyed versions of "The Hare and the Tortoise." But the introduction, labeled "The Country of South Vietnam" (subtle change in titles there), deserves discussion.

It begins, "In Asia, on the shores of the China Sea, is the little country of South Vietnam. Vietnam was settled by Chinese refugees in search of a new home more than two hundred years ago." (Certainly a few Vietnamese nationalists would be interested in that, especially since the introduction goes on to tell how Vietnam is little more than a miniature China, with the same religions, cultures, etc. But . . .)

"One day some French missionaries came to Vietnam and taught the people about Christianity. Today nearly half the Vietnamese are Christians." (Which half?)

"Soon after the arrival of the missionaries, France declared that Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos would be protectorates of France and be called French Indo-China." (Funny the way these things happen--all the missionaries wanted to do was teach the poor Chinese Vietnamese about Christianity, and then along came their government brusquely declaring the whole peninsula a protectorate. Probably wanted to protect the Christians from those barbaric Buddhists. But persevere we must.)

"France ruled Indo-China more than eighty years. Then one day the people decided they wanted independence and war broke out." (Silly people; if they hadn't up that day and decided they wanted independence that war would never have broken out. Then no one would have gotten hurt.) "In 1954 the war ended and Vietnam was divided at the seventeenth parallel. The northern half went to communist rulers and South Vietnam became a democracy."

Aha. Maybe that's why all these folk tales of Vietnam are southern-style; everyone knows there are never any folk tales created in a country north of the seventeenth parallel which has "gone to communist rulers." Thank God there are a few democracies left where folk tales can be written.

M.K.

Balance Of Payments

The dollar mentality swept into Spain
And all of the purists were feeling the strain.
They wanted the old days back again
When tourists--say purists--could feel no pain;
The service was better; no drain on the brain
Or the pocketbook came; things were sane
--they would claim--or what's almost the same
"Before Spain went mad and the waiters turned bad
I was happy in Spain, why I loved it in Spain,
My best friends--amigoes--were Spaniards."

"ANDY"

Some Days It's Good To Be Alive Department

Dear The Paper People--

I think the picture of the cat sticking its head in the post should be entitled Role Reversal. I also think you should be congratulated on what you're doing. I also enclose copy for an ad, preferably 1/2 of page 3. I also want another copy of the LBJ in Batman drag cartoon issue to give to a friend of mine who puts out the Batman posters. I also want to offer my services, that is, to do a benefit show for you out there if my expenses could somehow be met in the process. I also enclose a back issue of the Realist which had an article titled "Academic Sin" which as you will see relates ashamedly to your alma mater to be. I also have nothing else to say.

paul krassner

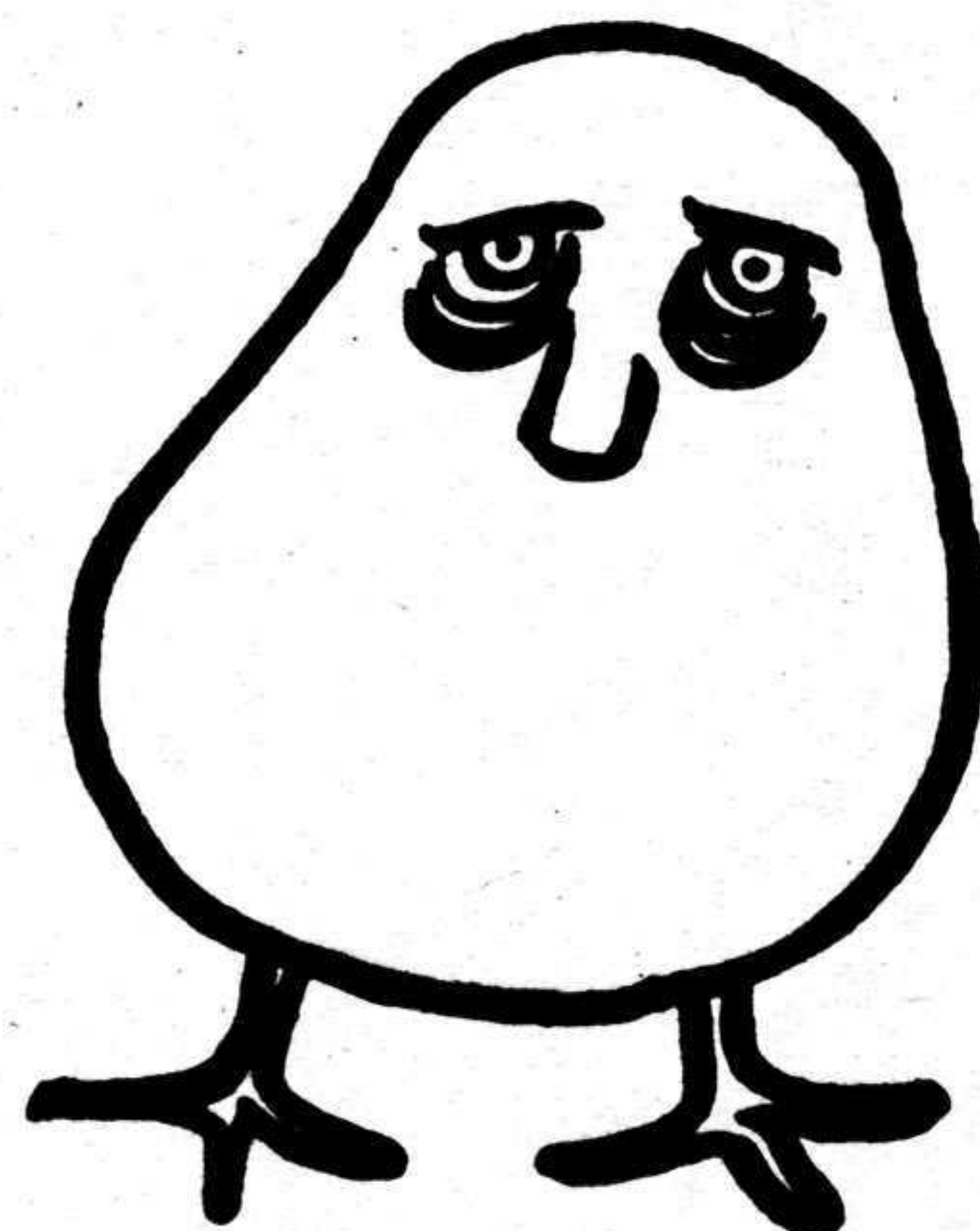
P.S. how come you ain't got no girls on your staff?

* reprint it if you wish.

The Realist

box
242
madison
square
station
new
york
n. y.
10010

gr 7-3490



MILL OR McCARTHYISM

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thought and individuality of character, a perpetual and standing opposition to the will of the majority." ("Bentham.") Moreover, he said, even "if all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

Mill did not argue his principles out of anything as vague as a nation of natural human rights, or of "self-evident" truths; rather, he saw them as being an essential element in the process of civilization. For to suppress the opinion of even one man is, in that measure, to deprive the human race of an opportunity for advancing the state of its knowledge. Only by allowing the greatest latitude for the expression of ideas, argued Mill, can man improve himself and his condition.

TO ERR IS . . .

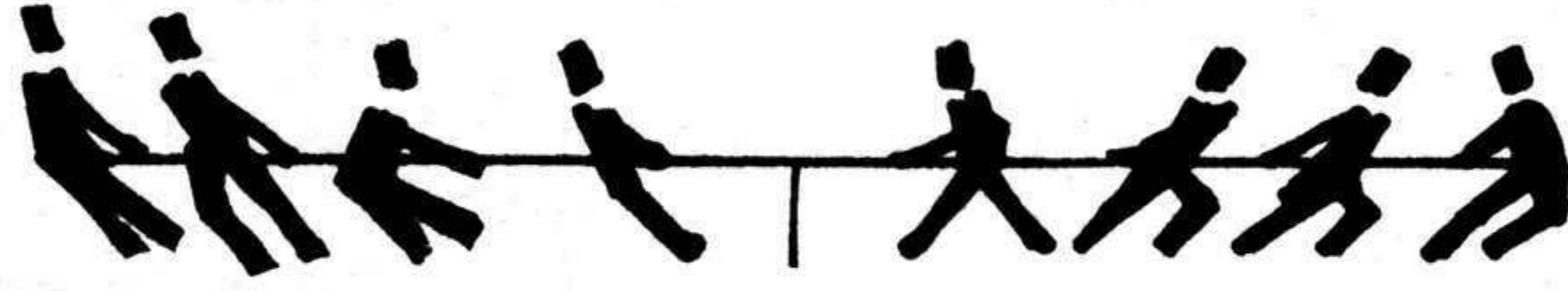
Perhaps the most obvious argument against the suppression of opinion is that the suppressed idea may be, in fact, the right one, and the popular opinion wrong. Surely, no reasonable man would seriously argue that falsehood should have precedence over truth. The difficulty arises, however, when we consider that most men consider that their beliefs are self-evidently and irrefutably true, and that all contrary views are false, and therefore worthy of suppression.

But, says Mill, "All silencing of opinion is an assumption of personal infallibility." Of course, human beings, whether they care to acknowledge it or not, are NOT infallible--the intellectual history of the world, in fact, would seem to insist rather upon their fallibility that the reverse--and therefore "have no authority to decide the question for all mankind, and exclude every other person from the means of judging."

Mill recognizes that it might be objected that, if men are denied the right to believe in the truth of their opinions, they will have been deprived, by that fact alone, of the grounds for taking any action whatsoever; in other words, that "there is no such thing as absolute certainty, but there is assurance sufficient for the purposes of human life. To this Mill readily asserts, but he carefully points out that "there is the greatest difference between presuming an opinion to be true, because, with every opportunity for contesting it, it has not been refuted, and assuming its truth for the purpose of not permitting its refutation."

But what if one dissenting opinion is indeed false? Is mankind then not justified in suppressing it in order that the true opinion may not be damaged by being exposed to it? Mill's answer is an emphatic No; for, he argues, any idea, however true, "if it is not fully, frequently, and fearlessly discussed . . . Will be held as a dead dogma, not a living truth." Lifeless dogma, he felt, was little better than a total lack of truth, and he disparaged the man who clings to an opinion even though "he has no knowledge whatever of the grounds of the opinion, and could not make a favorable defense of it against the most superficial objections.

This demand that all opinion be grounded in reason is not merely an elevation into the world of universal values of what is essentially a philosopher's personal predilection; rather, it derives from the observation that such unsupported beliefs are no more than groups of words from which all living idea has vanished, and thus have little or no actual effect upon the actions of the person professing to hold them.



MAJORITY WILL?

New ideas, when they arise, are dynamic, and serve as inspiration both to their initiators and disciples. But once an idea has reached its ascendancy, and has either become the majority opinion, or has gained all the territory that it is possible for it to gain, it loses its power over the mind; the spirit flags, the doctrine steadily leaks all meaning, and action becomes more and more independent of belief: "Both leaders and learners," says Mill, "go to sleep at their post, as soon as there is no enemy in the field."

It is constantly faced with opposition, so that its adherents are kept on their toes to defend it. In lieu of such opposition, men ought to provide it for themselves, each man acting as the devil's advocate of his own opinions. Such a situation is, of course, but a poor substitute for the heat of actual combat, mere shadow-boxing in respect to life in the prize-ring itself.

Therefore, says Mill, "If there are any persons who contest a received

opinion, or who will do so if law or opinion will let them, let us thank them for it, open our minds to listen to them, and rejoice that there is someone to do for us what we otherwise ought . . . to do with much greater labor for ourselves."

Thus far it has been established that dissenting opinion, whether true or false, ought, for the good of mankind, to be encouraged. But Mill notes that by far the most common situation is that in which "the conflicting doctrines, instead of being one true and the other false, share the truth between them; and the on-conforming opinion is needed to supply the remained of the truth, of which the received (i.d. popular) doctrine embodies only a part."

In such a case, it is only by means of free and open discussion of both sides of the question that anything approximating the truth may be derived. Both opinions are necessary to the discussion, but, says Mill, if either of the opinions has a better right to be heard than the other, it is the minority opinion, for "that is the opinion which, for the time be-

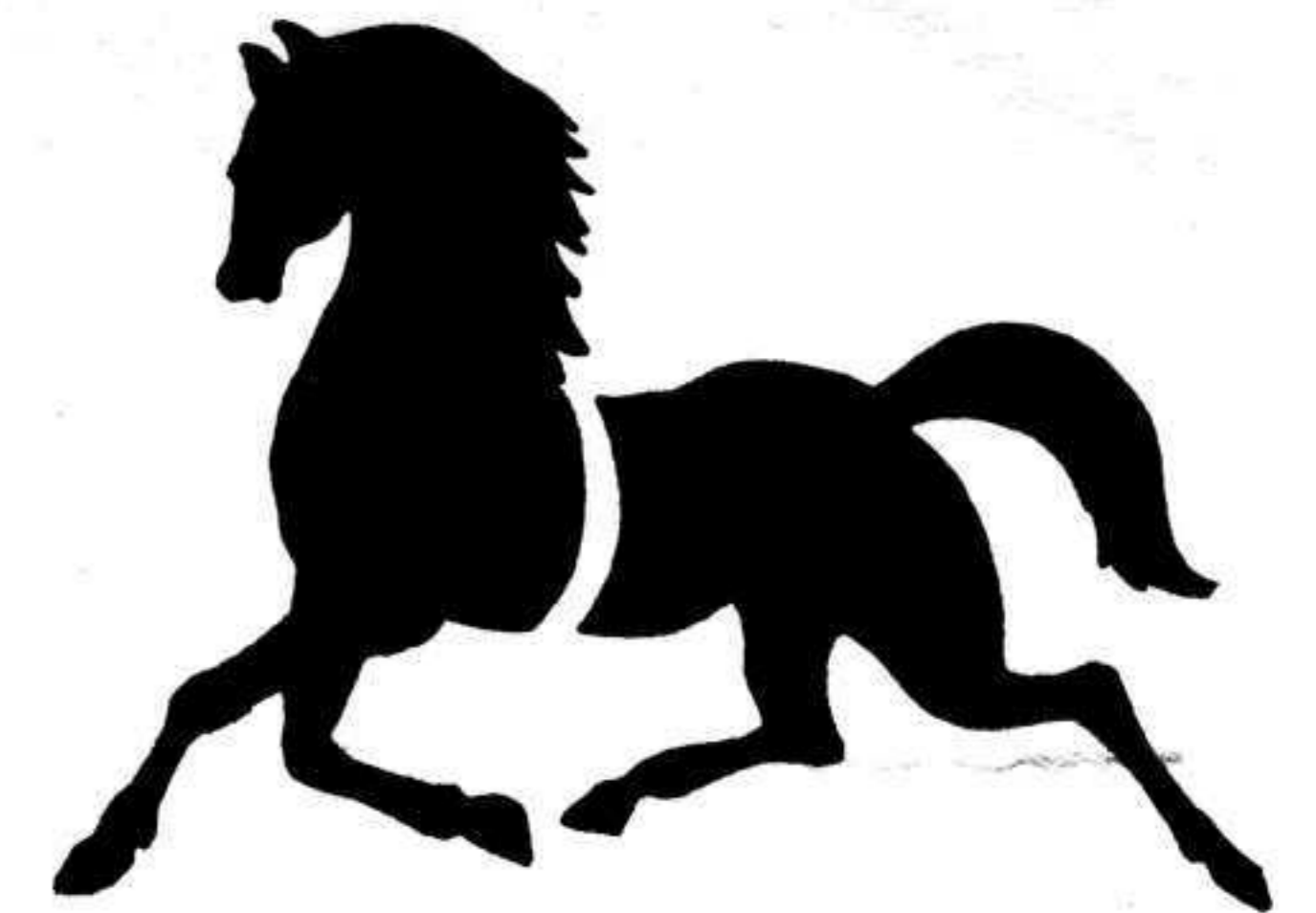
ing, represents the neglected interests, the side of human well-being which is in danger of obtaining less than its share."

THE CHALLENGE

At the present time there have been, indeed, a number of serious challenges made to the American way of life. Some of these new ideas are no doubt sound; others of them, strangely enough, are actually not new ideas at all, but attempts at revitalizing the more time-worn aspects of the American creed which appear new only by dint of being, after so long a lapse, put into practice once again.

Unfortunately, the tendency of most Americans these days has been to assume their own infallibility (or the infallibility of America as a whole), and consequently to call for the suppression of the interloping beliefs. But if America is to survive as a nation, it is necessary that exactly the opposite road be taken; we must accept, even encourage, opposition on all questions, including that of the war in Vietnam. Far from viewing dissent as a threat to the national interest, we must embrace it as the most vital element of that national interest.

We must remember, with Mill, that "the beliefs which we have most warrant for, have no safeguard to rest on, but a standing invitation to the whole world to prove them unfounded."



Publications . . .

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reconstituted by the Board of Trustees as a committee by delegation of the Board and enjoying the protection conferred on the Board by the Constitution and statutes of Michigan."

There are two ways to interpret this resolution. The first is that it intended this "new" committee to control only those publications which the university owns, operates, manages the finances of, and/or is legally responsible for. The second interpretation says that this resolution is meant to give the Board of Student Publications authority over every publication sold on campus, or at least every student publication.

If this second interpretation is true, the Board of Trustees is guilty of delegating authority which, under both state and federal law, it does not have. If this is true, the Board of Student Publications, dare I say this out loud, is an illegally constituted organization and must disband itself voluntarily or be faced with the embarrassment of having a court perform the task.

Moral Choice

Since I have come to MSU I have been plagued by a question that has bothered me considerable: Why do the chairmen of campus organizations choose members of the CLERGY to represent the MORAL aspect in discussions concerning current social problems?

Tim Wernette

vincent van gogh: the garden of the parsonage



There Are Makers Of War . . .

I remember when the apples were green
It seems long ago that first time
when we talked of snow flakes
falling
and it saddens me
that I have never known you in late spring

There are makers of war pursuing us

after the flowers have fallen
and the leaves are new

They want to kill us all
with their determined
fierceness
and the question is not whether
they can
or will
but will they only wait
until we can meet

When the apples are green again

ELAINE CAHILL